



**FACULTAD DE TEOLOGÍA
INSTITUTO DE ESPIRITUALIDAD**

**“MOVED BY THE LORD ON THE CROSS”
A JESUIT SPIRITUALITY OF THE CROSS
IN THE POST CONCILIAR PERIOD
(GENERAL CONGREGATIONS 31 - 36)**

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Visto Bueno del Director

Prof. Dr. D. José García de Castro, S.J.

Fdo.

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DEDICATED:

*To Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish: Where I fell in love
with the Crucified Christ.*

*To Rigobert Kyungu, SJ; Who showed me the way to the
Society of Jesus.*

*To Sean O'Connor, SJ; The humble flame that enkindled
in me the zeal for the Society of Jesus.*

*To Terry Charlton, SJ: Who Introduced Me to God's
Infinite Mercy.*

*To All the Jesuit Martyrs of the 20th Century, who
embraced the Cross of Christ.*

*Soul of Christ, Sanctify me.
Body of Christ, save me.
Blood of Christ, inebriate me.
Water from the side of Christ, wash me.
Passion of Christ, strengthen me.
O good Jesus, hear me.
Within your wounds hide me.
Do not allow me to be separated from you.
From the malevolent enemy defend me.
In the hour of my death call me,
and bid me come to you,
that with your saints I may praise you
forever and ever. Amen.*

(Anima Christi - Soul of Christ)

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Abbreviations

AHSI	<i>Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu</i>
AR	<i>Acta Romana Societatis Iesus</i>
ARSI	<i>Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu</i>
Au	<i>Autobiografía/Autobiography</i>
BAC	<i>Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos</i>
CCC	<i>Catechism of the Catholic Church</i>
CA	<i>Centisimus Annus</i>
CELAM	Consejo Episcopal Latinoamericano/ Conference of the Latin American and Caribbean Bishops
CIS	Centrum Ignatianum Spiritualitatis
Co	<i>Constituciones/Constitutions</i>
CVII	Concilio Vaticano Segundo
De	<i>Diario Espiritual/Spiritual Diary</i>
DEI	<i>Diccionario de Espiritualidad Ignaciana</i>
DH	<i>Dignitatis Humanae</i>
DHCJ	<i>Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús</i>
EG	<i>Evangelii Gaudium</i>
Ex	<i>Spiritual Exercises/Ejercicios Espirituales</i>
FI	<i>Formula del Instituto/Formula of the Institute</i>
FN	<i>Fontes Narrativi</i>
GC/CG	<i>General Congregation/Congregación General</i>
GS	<i>Gaudium et Spes</i>
LG	<i>Lumen Gentium</i>
MHSI	<i>Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu</i>
MI	<i>Monumenta Ignatiana</i>
MM	<i>Mater et Magistra</i>
OA	<i>Octagesima Adveniens</i>
PC	<i>Perfectae Caritatis</i>
PP	<i>Populorum Progresio</i>

General Introduction

Motivation and Justification

The theme on the Spirituality of the Cross draws its inspiration from my own vocation story, where as a small boy I would find myself transfixed to the huge crucifix in the Church and wonder in amazement at the figure of Christ hanging on the Cross at Our Lady of Guadalupe Parish, Nairobi. Unknown to me then, I had begun a spiritual journey of contemplating the mystery of the Cross. When I later joined the Society of Jesus I discovered in Ignatian Spirituality a connection with the Cross and was especially drawn to the gaze of the merciful God through the colloquy with the Crucified Christ hanging on the Cross [Ex 53]. In my previous studies of Masters in Ignatian Spirituality I explored the meaning of the Cross in Saint Ignatius of Loyola, drawn from an observation that the Cross would appear in key moments of Ignatius's own pilgrimage and mentioned in key documents of the Society of Jesus.¹ It is this quest for the impact of the Cross on the Society of Jesus that led me to explore the Documents of the General Congregations held after the Second Vatican Council.

This thesis was inspired in a particular way by the most recent Jesuits' General Congregation 36 (2 October – 12 December, 2016), which made an invitation to Jesuits to be nourished and renewed spiritually from the sources of Ignatian Spirituality, that is, to return to the sources for inspiration and reflect on how they can rekindle a spirituality that is ideal for our time.

The foundational inspiration comes from the *Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius of Loyola*, where Ignatius himself makes the Cross present from the first week to the final week, beginning with the famous Colloquy with the crucified Christ [Ex. 53]; through to the incarnation [Ex. 101-109]; the Call of the King [Ex. 91-99]; the two Standards [Ex. 136-147]; the three classes of men [Ex. 149-156]; the third degree of humility [Ex. 165-168]; the graces of the third week [Ex. 193] and fourth week [Ex. 221] of the *Exercises*; and implicitly in the Principle and Foundation [Ex. 23] and Contemplation to Attain Divine Love [Ex. 230-237]. The *Constitutions of the Society of*

¹ Joseph M. Oburu, *The Spirituality of the Cross in Ignatius of Loyola: Examining a Jesuit Spirituality Enkindled by the Cross*. Trabajo Fin de Master, Universidad Pontificia Comillas: Madrid, June 2017.

Jesus, in the Formula of the Institute, affirms that a Jesuit is one who is called to serve the Lord and serve the Church «beneath the standard of the Cross» [FI 1]

To the members of the Society of Jesus today, and following the invitation of both Pope Francis and Father General, Arturo Sosa, being a «fire that enkindles other fires»² and having the «audacity to seek the improbable»³ means, allowing themselves to contemplate and to be moved by the Cross.

Objective

The thesis has the main objective of examining and proposing a Jesuit Spirituality inspired by the Cross through the lenses of the major themes of GC 31-GC 36. It seeks to establish a connection between the inspiration of the charism of the founding documents and a renewal and deepening of Jesuit identity, spirituality and mission in our contemporary age. Both Pope Francis and Jesuit superior General, Fr. Arturo Sosa, made an explicit invitation to the Society of Jesus to draw spiritual profit by contemplating the Cross. Pope Francis asked the Jesuits to allow themselves to be moved by the Cross.⁴ Fr. Arturo Sosa urged the Jesuits to allow Christ to be present in their labors, and that by gazing into the merciful eyes of Christ crucified, they may identify with him and be able to look at the world through his loving gaze, especially the oppressed.⁵

Structure

This thesis will therefore examine the recent documents of the General Congregations of the Society of Jesus (GC 31-GC36) in light of the theme of the Cross. The thesis will be divided into four major chapters: The sources, the context and the Spirituality; The Cross in Jesuit identity; The Crucified Poor of Christ; and Jesuit Martyrdom. Chapter One examines the sources of Ignatian and Jesuit Spirituality and contextualizes the period leading up to and after the Second Vatican Council and

² «A fire that enkindles other fires» is the title of GC 35 Decree 2

³ Bruno Cadoré, O.P., Homily to members of General Congregation 36 in the Church of the Gesù, Rome on 2 October, 2016.

⁴ Pope Francis, “Allow ourselves to be moved by the Lord on the Cross”, Address to the 36th General Congregation of the Society of Jesus, General Curia of the Society of Jesus, Monday, 24 October 2016, in *36th General Congregation Documents*, General Curia, Rome 2017, 52-53.

⁵ Arturo Sosa, Homily on the Closure of the General Congregation 36, Church of Sant’ Ignazio, Rome, 12 November 2016, in *36th General Congregation Documents*, General Curia, Rome 2017, 75-76.

General Congregations 31-36. The chapter also defines a theology and spirituality of the Cross in light Jesuit and Ignatian Spirituality.

Chapter Two, on the Cross and Jesuit identity, is directly related to following of Christ, humble and poor [*Ex.* 146], to the point of even embracing the Cross. Jesuits know who they are by looking at him – the crucified Christ, and Christ carrying his Cross.⁶ The *Formula of the Institute* invites Jesuits to «serve beneath the banner of the Cross»; GC 32 reminds us that a Jesuit is a sinner, forgiven and Called to follow Christ in the service of faith in the promotion of Justice; GC 33 emphasizes that Jesuits are companions of Christ sent into today's world; GC 34 emphasizes that Jesuits are servants of Christ's mission; whereas GC 35 invites Jesuits to be a fire that kindles other fires, and to go out to the world with renewed vigor and zeal; finally, GC 36 reemphasizes that Jesuits are witnesses of friendship and reconciliation, companions in a mission of reconciliation and justice. A Jesuit, as a companion of Jesus Christ, seeks a configuration with Christ through his vows of Poverty, Chastity and Obedience. Christ on the Cross is the model of the fragility of this vocation. Christ on the Cross, obedient, even unto death. Christ on the Cross, emptied and dying in the same way, he came to earth – poor and abandoned.

Chapter Three goes on to affirm that there is a direct relationship between following the crucified Christ and serving the poor. This is living according to the third degree of humility [*Ex.* 167] as expressed in the *Spiritual Exercises*, that is, embracing spiritual poverty and actual poverty. The Church in the period after the Second Vatican Council, talked of a «preferential option for the poor», which was particularly embraced by the Society of Jesus, predominantly in GC 32. Jon Sobrino and Ignacio Ellacuría, talked often of the «Crucified peoples of Christ»⁷, in direct reference to a preferential option in favor of the poor. A Jesuit spirituality of the Cross must therefore have a close relationship and identification with the poor. Promotion of Justice is key in such an option. In this period, we have seen an increase in immigrants and refugees, who also feature mainly in recent documents of the Society

⁶ Cf. GC 35 D 2, 2.

⁷ See Ignacio Ellacuría, «El pueblo crucificado. Ensayo de soteriología histórica», *Revista Latinoamericana de Teología*, 18 (1989), 305-333; Ignacio Ellacuría, Arnaldo Zeneto, Alberto Arroyo, *Fe, Justicia y opción por los oprimidos*, Desclée de Brouwer, Madrid 1980.

of Jesus. Recent Jesuit General Congregations have made an option to serve these people in the margins.

Chapter Four is a reflection on the fact that the promotion of justice has had consequences for many members of the Society of Jesus, who have paid the ultimate price with their lives in martyrdom. Martyrdom is a following of Christ up to the Cross, giving of one's very life for the sake of the Kingdom. Therefore, the spirituality of the Cross in its highest form involves a readiness and willingness to embrace death, yet this is a special grace received only by a few. We will therefore examine the lives of how some Jesuits paid this ultimate price of death and its impact on the spirituality of the Society of Jesus.

In the end, the thesis proposes the elements of a spirituality of the Cross and its implications on the Society of Jesus today and in the future. By looking at him whom they follow, Jesuits draw their identity and go out with zeal and vigor for the mission of service to the world and saving souls. They will be able to promote justice and stand on the side of the poor and oppressed.

Methodology

The thesis is a multidisciplinary work that combines spiritual theology, Jesuit and Ignatian Spirituality, Ecclesiology, Christology, Eschatology and Moral theology. I used a historical critical research-based methodology that began with studying the documents of the post conciliar Jesuit General Congregations, that is, GC'S 31, 32, 33, 34, 35 and 36. I examined the development of major themes through this period of Church history. Of great help were the works of John W. Padberg and Urbano Valero Argúndez, who are unarguably the two authorities on the post conciliar GC'S in English and Spanish respectively. I paid attention to the language of the Cross, both explicit and implicit.

For Chapter One, I related the founding documents with the GC'S, that is, the *Spiritual Exercises*, *Autobiography* and the *Constitutions*. I also studied the ecclesiological documents, in order to put a context on the events before, during and after Vatican II. My main points of reference were John W. O'Malley, Santiago Madrigal and Yves-Jean Calvez, as well as papal documents. For Chapter Two I relied on Jesuit documents and articles published by various writers in journals. These

included *Revista Manresa* and *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits*. Chapters 3 and 4 were an interesting discovery for me. I appreciated the writings of Yves-Jean Calves, Jon Sobrino, Ignacio Ellacuría, Gustavo Gutiérrez and Leonardo Boff, as well as the documents of the *Medellín* and *Puebla* conferences of the Episcopal Conference of Latin America Bishops (CELAM). Karl Rahner's *Theology of Death*, was an invaluable source on the theology of martyrdom as I examined the lives of individual Jesuit martyrs, especially through the researched works and references of Ignacio Echarte and John W. O'Malley.

My research would have been incomplete if I did not enjoy the well-researched entries in *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús (DHCJ)*, *Diccionario de la Espiritualidad Ignaciana (DEI)*, *Collección Manresa*, *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu (MHSI)*, and Boston College's website of the *Institute of Jesuit Sources*. In addition to these are the inspirational writings of Frs. Pedro Arrupe and Peter-Hans Kolvenbach.

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Chapter One

“Moved by The Cross” – The Sources, the Context and the Spirituality

“You have a spirituality strongly traced out, an unequivocal identity, and a centuries-old confirmation which was based on the validity of methods, which having passed through the crucible of history, still bears the imprint of the strong spirit of St. Ignatius. Hence there is absolutely no need to doubt the fact that a more profound commitment to the follow-up until now – to the special charism – will be the renewed source of spiritual and apostolic fruitfulness”⁸

[...] “Do not be afraid, then, to be ever more authentic sons of St. Ignatius, living fully your original inspiration and your charism in these last days of the century, deepening your full commitment to the Society of Jesus”

Allocution of Pope John Paul II to members of GC 34 on 5 January 1995.

⁸ Pope Paul VI to members of General Congregation 32. See: *Insegnamenti di Paolo VI*, 12 (1974), 181.

1.0 Introduction

This chapter contextualizes the period marking the Second Vatican Council and how that impacted the Society of Jesus at a time when there were many calls for change in the Church. While the Vatican Council was ongoing, Fr. Jean-Baptiste Janssens, the Jesuit Superior General, died on 5 October, 1964, prompting the convocation of a General Congregation. This GC set the pace for the subsequent decades by raising pertinent questions for the Society of Jesus. Both Vatican II and GC 31 pointed towards a revitalization of religious institutes by going back to the inspiration of their founding charisms. This chapter explores Ignatian sources, defines Christian, Ignatian and Jesuit spirituality, and finally introduces us to a theology and spirituality of the Cross, that is both Christocentric and Christological.

Pope Francis while addressing the congregated members of the Society of Jesus at their Thirty Sixth General Congregation (GC 36) emphasized that the Jesuits have to allow themselves to be moved by the Cross:

The Lord, who looks upon us with mercy and chooses us, sends us forth with the same powerful mercy to the poor, the sinners, the abandoned, the crucified and anyone who suffers from injustice and violence in today's world. Only when we experience this healing force in our own lives and in our own wounds [*wounds with first and last names*] - as individuals and as a body - will we be able to lose our fear of allowing ourselves to be moved by the immense suffering of our brothers and sisters so as to go out and walk patiently with our peoples, learning from them the best way to help and serve them.⁹

Furthermore, Fr. Arturo Sosa, the General of the Society of Jesus in his closing homily of General Congregation 36, echoes this message of the Cross: "The Lord has given himself completely, even to death on the cross, and remains with us daily until the end of the world, because he has given us his Spirit [...] Christ on the cross was present in our labors, to bring the discernment beyond our reasoning, our liking or disliking, in order to arrive at the consolation of being in harmony with the will of the Father [...] The merciful eyes, which we received by identifying ourselves with Christ

⁹ Address of His Holiness Pope Francis to the 36th General Congregation of the Society of Jesus, General Curia of the Society of Jesus, Monday 24 October 2016, in *36th General Congregation Documents*, General Curia, Rome 2017. Pope Francis cites *General Congregation*, 32, D 4, 50.

crucified, allow us to deepen our comprehension of all that oppresses men and women in our world.”¹⁰

The theme of the Cross marks the Identity of the Society of Jesus and its members as in the first article of the *Formula of the Institute* where the Jesuits are invited to follow Christ and serve His Church «Beneath the Banner of the Cross» [FI 1]. The same Cross is present during Ignatius vision at La Storta, where he is «Placed with Jesus carrying the Cross» [Au 96], as a confirmation for the founding of the Society of Jesus. In writing the *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, Ignatius of Loyola drew inspiration and consolation by celebrating the Holy Eucharist, as a graced moment for discernment. The Holy Eucharist for its paschal mystery, is therefore a moment to be inspired by the crucified Christ who asked us to do this in memory of Him

1.1 The spirit of the second Vatican Council

It is without doubt that Vatican II (1962-1965) marked the most elaborate process of renovation and modernization, not only of religious life, but also the life of the Church in general.¹¹ Vatican II can be described as the “most important religious event of the twentieth Century.”¹² Pope John XXIII popularized the Italian word ‘*aggiornamento*’, meaning to bring up to date (updating or modernizing), to indicate that time was ripe for a much-needed change in the Church.¹³ Yves Congar, who had earlier published a book on reform in the Church, used the words ‘adapt and revise’ to point to what the Church, which he referred to as «the people of God», needed the most at that time.¹⁴ Pope John XXIII intended for the Council as an invitation to spiritual renewal for the Church and for the world.

Vatican II laid down the theological foundations with respect to religious life in its Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, *Lumen Gentium* (LG)¹⁵, while at the same time

¹⁰ Homily of Fr. Arturo Sosa, S.J. on the Closure of the General Congregation 36, Church of Sant’ Ignazio, Rome, 12 November 2016, in *36th General Congregation Documents*, General Curia, Rome 2017.

¹¹ Urbano Valero Agúndez, 11-12.

¹² John W. O’Malley, *What Happened at Vatican II*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge 2008, 1; Ildefonso Camacho, “La opción fe-justicia como clave de evangelización en la Compañía de Jesús y el Generelato del Padre Arrupe”, in *Manresa* 62 (1990), 220.

¹³ Cf. *Ibid.*, 9, 37.

¹⁴ Cf. *Ibid.*, 78. See Yves. M. J. Congar, *Vraie et fausse réforme dans L’Église*. Cerf, Paris 1950.

¹⁵ LG 42-47.

inviting the religious institutes to an accommodated renovation of religious life through their manner of living, praying and working as can be found by the Decree *Perfectae Caritatis* (PC).¹⁶ *Lumen Gentium* (light to the nations) with the theme of a “Universal Call to Holiness” was an important because it affirms that Christ calls every Christian to holiness and provides the grace and other means to accomplish it, regardless of one’s state in life.¹⁷ Christians subsequently are called to fulfil the call to holiness through the love of neighbour and in imitation of Christ. The imitation of Christ can be through the choice of embracing the evangelical counsels as a religious or simply the laity vocation.

The Church as the «people of God» includes all the baptized who participate in Christ’s priestly, prophetic, and regal mission. Vatican Council II reminded members of the laity of their dignity, calling on them to share in the work of evangelization, urging an active engagement (cooperation) of all the baptised. Baptism is the basis of equality in the Church.¹⁸

The declaration on «religious liberty», *Dignitatis Humanae* (DH), meaning human dignity, affirms that human beings are created in the image and likeness of God and raised to an even higher dignity by the redemption Christ effected. The role of the Church, is therefore, to proclaim the Gospel and to work to bring the people to the fullness of truth. According to John O’Malley, *DH* related to *aggiornamento* in a manner that it would apply the church’s teaching to contemporary political practise and political philosophy.¹⁹ Perhaps this declaration would turn out to be very important in the subsequent documents of the post conciliar General Congregations, especially to do with human rights and the option to attend to the most vulnerable and marginalized of society.

Perhaps the document of utmost importance and impact on the Society of Jesus was the Pastoral Constitution *Gaudium et spes* (GS), on «the Church in the modern world» which touched on the key issue of human dignity, defending the dignity of human labor and the dignity of the family. It also dealt with themes of human solidarity across ethnic, racial, religious, and socioeconomic differences and the

¹⁶ Pope Paul VI, *Decree on the Adaptation and Renewal of Religious Life: «Perfectae Caritatis»*, October 28, 1965.

¹⁷ Cf. John W. O’Malley, 174.

¹⁸ Cf. *Ibid.*, 186.

¹⁹ Cf. *Ibid.*, 214-215.

obligation of all peoples to work together for a safer and more just world. The document recognizes the important and indispensable role that the Church plays in promoting human dignity.²⁰ GS 29 brings to the fore important issues such as social justice, equity and human dignity:

Therefore, although rightful differences exist between men, the equal dignity of persons demands that a more humane and just condition of life be brought about. For excessive economic and social differences between the members of the one human family or population groups cause scandal, and militate against social justice, equity, the dignity of the human person, as well as social and international peace.²¹

We can therefore say that the promotion of faith and justice that would mark the documents of the Society of Jesus will have a lot to do with GS.

1.2 A call for Renewal of Religious Institutions (*Perfectae Caritatis*)

Perfectae Caritatis (PC) called for the adaptation and renewal of the religious life that includes both the constant return to sources of all Christian life and to the original spirit of the institutes and their adaptation to the changed conditions of our time. This document proposed some principles for renewal, under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit and the guidance of the Church: The first was the ultimate norm of the religious life is the following of Christ as set forth in the Gospels; The second that the founders' spirit, special aims as well as their sound traditions be held in honor; Thirdly, that institutes should promote among their members an adequate knowledge of social conditions of the times they live in, as well as the needs of the Church; The fourth emphasized that religious life is modelled by the following of Christ and unity with God through profession of the evangelical counsels.²² Perhaps the key points here are the invitation to return the biblical sources and the original founding Charisms.

PC also highlighted the need for an examination of the manner of government of various institutes, that is, their key documents, for example, constitutions, directories, custom books and so forth. The document proposes re-editing,

²⁰ Cf. *Ibid.*, 233-234.

²¹ For more on Vatican II and the Society of Jesus see: Santiago Madrigal, "P. Arrupe, un líder para el sueño conciliar", en *Memoria del concilio. Diez evocaciones del Vaticano II*, UP Comillas-Desclée de Brouwer, Madrid 2005, 297-330.

²² Cf. *Perfectae Caritatis*, 2.

suppression of old laws, and their adaptation to the decrees of the synod on religious life.²³ *Perfectae Caritatis* warns that “the hope of renewal lies more in the faithful observance of the rules and constitutions than in multiplying laws²⁴ [...] These communities, then, should adjust their rules and customs to fit the demands of the apostolate to which they are dedicated to.”²⁵

Furthermore, “religious communities should continue to maintain and fulfill the ministries proper to them. In addition, after considering the needs of the universal Church and individual dioceses, they should adapt them to the requirements of the time and place, employing appropriate and even new programs and abandoning those works which today are less relevant.”²⁶ In other words, this calls for an evaluation and discernment of apostolic priorities. With regards to the Society of Jesus this point is key because what followed was a faithfulness to the founding documents but at the same time an openness to listening to the signs of the times and making necessary adjustments.

Perfectae Caritatis on speaking on the evangelical counsels reminds the members of each institute that through their vows they renounce the world that they may live in God alone, seeking God solely and before everything else. They are required to embrace “chastity for the sake of the kingdom of heaven (Mt. 19:12), which religious profess as outstanding gift of grace. Chastity frees the heart ...that it may be more inflamed with the love of God and for all men.”²⁷

The religious is exhorted to faithfully observe chastity by trusting more in God’s help and not overestimate their own strength. On poverty, the religious is urged to embrace voluntary poverty, which is especially esteemed as an expression of the following of Christ who became poor, even though He was rich, so that by his poverty we might become rich (cf. 2 Cor. 8:9; Matt. 8:20). Poverty of spirit is to be highly praised. With respect to obedience, the religious are encouraged to offer full surrender of their own will as a sacrifice of themselves to God, taking after Jesus who came to do the will of the Father (cf. John 4:34; 5:30; Heb 10:7). This obedience is translated into

²³ Cf. *Ibid.*, 3.

²⁴ Cf. *Ibid.*, 4.

²⁵ Cf. *Ibid.*, 8.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 20.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 12.

a humble obedience according to the institutes rules and Constitutions.²⁸ Religious vows and their expression became an important topic in the Jesuit General Congregations post Vatican Council II.

The document concludes with an exhortation, which among other things, talks about a «love for the Cross and hope for future glory» and a call to be «rooted in faith and filled with love for God and neighbor». We can already see that some of these terminologies found their way various times in the documents of the Society of Jesus.

1.3 General Congregations in the Society of Jesus

The Jesuit General Congregations is defined by *Diccionario de Espiritualidad Ignaciana (DEI)*, as the supreme governing body, both legislatively, judicially and administratively. It has the function of dealing with matters of supreme importance, such as making important declarations with regard to the *Formula of the Institute* and *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, taking caution not to change them, but rather adopting them as Decrees and rules that precede the General Congregation itself. In addition, it serves as the platform for electing a new Superior General, consultors and assistants to Father General.²⁹ Decrees has the function of making known to the whole Society of Jesus the outcomes and determinations of the General Congregation so that they can be complied with.³⁰

According to Jesús Iturrioz, the General Congregation is an internal organ of the Society of Jesus which meets to deliberate on internal matters on the life of the Order of the Society of Jesus.³¹ José M^a F. Martos defines a General Congregation of the Jesuits as a meeting of persons of wide and varied geographical and cultural backgrounds, gathered to reformulate the Ignatian Charism.³² Valero Urbano takes «Congregation», in the language of the Society of Jesus as equivalent to what Canon

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 12-14.

²⁹ Cf. Grupo de Espiritualidad Ignaciana, "Constituciones", en *DEI*, Mensajero-Sal Terrae, Bilbao-Santander, 2007, 397 See: *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús (DCHJ)*, Roma-Madrid 2001, I, 901-911;

³⁰ Cf. Ignacio Echarte, "Congregación General", en *DHCJ*, I, 909.

³¹ Cf. Jesús Iturrioz, "Presentación", en *Identidad y Misión de la Compañía de Jesús Hoy. Semana nacional de Loyola 1 - 6 setiembre 1975*, Centro de Espiritualidad Ignaciana Loyola (ed.), Mensajero, Bilbao 1976, 7.

³² Cf. José M^a Fernandez Martos, "Retratos con paisaje. La CG 34 de la Compañía de Jesús como ventana abierta al mundo", en *Manresa* 67 (1995), 219.

law and other institutes refer to as chapters.³³ These General Congregations were inspired, to a larger extent, by the spirit and quest for change that swept through the Church, both before and after the Second Vatican Council.

According to Ignacio Iglesias, GC 31 emphasized and reaffirmed the «following of Christ» as a fundamental option; GC 32 reformulated the definition and meaning of mission; while GC 33 redefined the concept of «thinking and feeling with the Church». This gradual reformulation of themes does not imply a displacement of objectives, but rather a progressive deepening of the sole and fundamental option – the Lord.³⁴ Through GC 33 the Society of Jesus renews its condition as servant and edifier of the People, renewing its bond of love and service to the Pope, recognizing its fidelities and infidelities as an area for institutional growth, growing in a sense of obedience deeply rooted in truth and in charity, and concretizing Christ’s love that should be put more in deeds than in words.

1.4 General Congregation 31

General Congregation 31 was convoked on November 13, 1964³⁵ while Vatican Council II was holding its third of four sessions. GC 31 took place in two sessions, first on May 7-July 15, 1965 and secondly, September 8-November 17, 1966.³⁶ GC 31 represented, the beginning and relaunch of the of the Society of Jesus in all its dimensions. Santiago Madrigal describes the second session of GC 31 as having the same intentions as Vatican II, that is, “with the same spirit with which the whole Church is renewed” - what he calls a deeper knowledge of the “church’s proper nature

³³ Cf. Urbano Valero Agúndez, *El Proyecto de la renovación de la Compañía de Jesús (1965-2007)*, Mensajero – Sal Terrae, Bilbao – Santander 2011, 11.

³⁴ Ignacio Iglesias, “La Congregación General XXXIII de la Compañía de Jesús. Acontecimiento Ecclesial”, en *Manresa* 74 (2002), 108.

³⁵ The convocation of GC 31 was mainly necessitated by the death of the Jesuit Fr. General, J. B. Janssens on October 5, 1964. It was not convoked with the intention of change and reform, but these would enter into the GC because of Vatican II which was midway. See Urbano Valero, *El Proyecto*, 35.

³⁶ Cf. John W. Padberg, *Together as a Companionship: A History of the Thirty First-Thirty Second-and Thirty Third General Congregations of the Society of Jesus*. The Institute of Jesuit Sources, Saint Louis 1994, 1.

and mission” (Cf. LG I, 1).³⁷ GC32, which will be discussed at length in the subsequent chapter, was expressly called as an extension of its predecessor.³⁸

According to Thomas Stahel the two key principles of the Second Vatican council of renewal, the charism of the founder and awareness of the signs of the times, are very much evident in the post conciliar General Congregation 32.³⁹ It is for these reasons that I choose to briefly treat GC 31 in this introductory chapter, because when it was finally held, dust had not yet settled on the impact that Vatican II was going to have on the Society and the Church at large.

GC 31 acknowledges the fundamental importance of going back to the sources by revisiting the origins of the Society of Jesus in the *Spiritual Exercises*: “this history has its beginnings in the *Spiritual Exercises* which our holy Father Ignatius and his companions went through. Led by this spiritual experience, they formed an apostolic group rooted in charity.”⁴⁰ There was also a perceived need for a revitalization of the mission of the Society of Jesus in the face of changing conditions of human history.

The GC talks of «social and cultural transformations» marked by changed ways of thinking and feeling and weighing the values of human life. Linking this with the Jesuit vocation the GC says, “Our Lord, with whose name our Society has been signed and under the standard of whose cross it desires to serve His kingdom of His love, is Himself the goal of human history, the point to which the desires of history and civilization converge.”⁴¹ The mission of the Society of Jesus, as we can see, is inspired by Jesus and the Cross, as well as a rich historical legacy and foundation, and called to take part in a social and cultural transformation of a rapidly changing context.

The final thing we highlight in this text is the call to a renewal of vows which implies an adaptation and renewal of the way of living of the Jesuits and extends to “the body of laws which contain the spirit and end of the Society and also describes its structures and govern its apostolic action.”⁴² The GC makes a determination that “the entire government of the Society must adapt to modern necessities and ways of

³⁷ Santiago Madrigal, *Memoria del concilio. Diez evocaciones del Vaticano II*, Universidad Pontificia Comillas-Desclée De Brouwer, Madrid 2005.

³⁸ Cf. Urbano Valero, *El proyecto*, 20.

³⁹ Cf. Thomas H. Stahel, “Towards General Congregation 34: A History ‘from below’ of GC 31, GC 32 and GC 33”, in *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits*. Vol. 25 (September, 1993), 21.

⁴⁰ GC 31 D 1, 3.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, D 1, 16.

⁴² *Ibid.*, D 2, 1.

living.”⁴³ This seems to be in line with what we have seen before of the quest for ‘aggiornamento’ of the Second Vatican Council and the call for a renewal and adaptation that is spelled out by the decree *Perfectae Caritatis*.

After looking at the context and major documents that preceded the quest for reform in the Society of Jesus, our attention now turns to key definitions of concepts that will be used throughout the thesis. What follows is literally a return to the sources by examining what is Ignatian and Jesuit spirituality as well as the central theme of the Cross.

1.5 Drinking from the Well of Ignatian Sources

The Ignatian sources are drawn first and foremost from the experience of St. Ignatius of Loyola and how he and his first companions transmitted the fruits of their experience. It is without doubt that as Pope Paul VI states in his address to the congregated members of GC 32, “We come from Ignatius Loyola, our Founder – we come from him who has made an indelible imprint not only on the Order but also the spirituality and the apostolate of the Church [...] we come from Manresa, from the mystical cave ... there began at the time the first outlines of the Spiritual Exercises [...] we come from Montmartre [...]”⁴⁴ GC 36 describes the return to the sources with the analogy of returning to the roots. It expresses it in this way: “This Congregation finds consolation and joy in returning to these roots, this integral vision of who we are, as well as in the knowledge that there are many others who, like us, hear the call to labor with Christ. We return to those roots now, first to a discerning community, then to our life in faith, and finally to the mission that flows from both.”⁴⁵

The *Spiritual Exercises* and the *Constitutions* form the bedrock of what we can call the foundational documents. The *Constitutions* and the *Spiritual Exercises* of Saint Ignatius form a unity. The *Constitutions* presuppose a familiarity with the *Exercises*. Both the *Constitutions* and the *Exercises* are fundamental sources of Ignatian

⁴³ Ibid., D 2,21.

⁴⁴ Address of Pope Paul VI to the Members of the 32nd General Congregation, December 3, 1974. See John W. Padberg (ed.), *Jesuit Life and Mission Today*, 381.

⁴⁵ GC 36 D 1, 6.

Spirituality. These sources are always reorienting us in our mission, inspiring us silently so that all our “intentions, actions, and operations may be ordered purely to the service and praise of the Divine Majesty” [Ex. 46].⁴⁶ Along with these foundational documents we can also include the *Autobiography of Ignatius of Loyola*, the *Spiritual Diary of Ignatius of Loyola*, and the *letters of Ignatius of Loyola*. We can say, like Aldama, that the foundational documents to the Society are a ‘pathway to God’, in which one should walk with ardent zeal, spiritual discretion, and humility and abnegation.⁴⁷ This rich spiritual tradition is what enables us to consider a «spirituality of the sources».

James Veale describes the *Constitutions* as “a contemplation for obtaining love [Ex. 230] addressed to the whole body of the Company.”⁴⁸ The *Exercises*, the *Formula*, the *Constitutions* and the *Rules* reflect the talent of a man who knew how to integrate other’s cooperation. According to Carlos Coupeau, the *Constitutions* “became the canonized expression of a charism reified out of the saintliness of a founder recognized by the Church.”⁴⁹ The *Constitutions* capture and interpret the essence of the pilgrim’s experience as an individual and as a member of the companionship.⁵⁰ Coupeau suggests that the end to which the *Constitutions* advance towards is, strictly speaking, a spiritual one, for they seek to assist the Society of Jesus in its conservation and growth [Co 790]. The *Constitutions* can therefore be attributed to a providential action of God [Co 812].⁵¹

We can say that the *Constitutions* are a spiritual document. They can be read on the background of the history of salvation. This leads us to consider three important perspectives, that is, the *Constitutions* as a deposit of faith, as a doctrinal evolution and as a school of spirituality.⁵² The spirituality of the *Constitutions* has everything to do with Jesus Christ, whose name the Society of Jesus bears: “our society which we want to be distinguished by the name of Jesus” [FI 1].

⁴⁶ Cf. José García De Castro, “Alcanzado por las Fuentes: ¿por qué? ¿cómo?”, in *Manresa* 81(2009), 313.

⁴⁷ Antonio M. De Aldama, *The Formula of the Institute: Notes for a Commentary*, (Ignacio Echaniz, Trans.), The Institute of Jesuit Sources: St. Louise 1990, 105-106.

⁴⁸ Joseph Veale, “From the Exercises to Constitutions: A Spirit in Search of a Body”, in *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus: Incorporation of a Spirit*, Gujarat Sahitya Prakash, Anand 1993, 3-9.

⁴⁹ Carlos Coupeau, “Five Personae of Ignatius of Loyola”, in *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2008, 41.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 45.

⁵¹ Cfr., Carlos Coupeau, “Constitutions”, in *DEI*, 437-438.

⁵² Cfr. *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, George E. Ganss (Trans.), The Institute of Jesuit Sources, St. Louis 1970, 5.

1.6 Christian Spirituality, Ignatian Spirituality and Jesuit Spirituality

*Diccionario de la Espiritualidad*⁵³ defines spirituality as a particular service of God, which accentuates certain truths of faith, prefers certain virtues according to the example of Christ, pursues a specific secondary end and uses particular means and practices of piety, sometimes showing distinctive character.⁵⁴ It is worth noting the words such as 'truths of faith', 'virtues', and 'practices of piety' as some fundamental constitutive elements of spirituality.

According to Herbert Alphonso, spirituality is that basic, practical, habitual attitude of a person(s) which is the consequence and expression of the way in which that person(s) grasps his or her religious existence. This means that the starting point of spirituality is a person's relationship with God. This relationship leads to attitudes by which the person lives. This attitude, for Alphonso, is a basic and fundamental one, that which is habitual and flows into everyday practical living. It implies a genuine faith-commitment.⁵⁵ Here we see that spirituality begins with a relationship with God and is expressed through a practical way of living.

Christian spirituality is also the way in which a person or persons animated by the living presence of the spirit of Christ acts and reacts habitually in accordance with his or her characteristic Christian gifts. Herbert Alphonso sums up the main components of Christian Spirituality as a spirituality that leads to a practice of faith and justice; that is about continuity as well as initiates change; that has to do with both the incarnation and eschatology; that implies both prayer and action; that implicates the person and the community; is inspired by a charism but within an institution; has to do with grace and nature; and finally, that has a dimension of transcendence and immanence. Jesuit spirituality on its part must be seen as a fruit of a discerned experience, which has to be sought in the very person of Jesus Christ.⁵⁶ The concept of spirituality as a 'fruit of a discerned experience' is worth pointing out here.

⁵³ *Diccionario de espiritualidad II*, Ermanno Ancilli (Dir.), Editorial Herder, Barcelona 1987, 12-14.

⁵⁴ Cf. Atanasio Matanic, "Espiritualidad (escuelas de)", in *Diccionario de espiritualidad II*, Ermanno Ancilli (Dir.), Editorial Herder, Barcelona 1987, 13.

⁵⁵Cf. Herbert Alphonso, 152.

⁵⁶ Cf., *Ibid.*, 161-162.

Christian spirituality according to George E. Ganss, is the application of relevant elements in the deposit of faith to the guidance of men toward spiritual perfection, that rich development of persons which flowers into corresponding greater insight and joy in the beatific vision. Ignatian Spirituality for him is a Christian spirituality with emphasis on the elements in the deposit of faith which Ignatius stressed.⁵⁷ In other similar words, Ganss defines Christian spirituality as “an application of the deposit of faith to the guidance of men towards the richest fulfilment of their Christian personalities here and hereafter.”⁵⁸ Ganss seems to emphasize the end towards which spirituality should move one to, a spiritual perfection, which in other words is union with God.

Ignatian spirituality springs forth from the spiritual experience of Ignatius of Loyola while Jesuit spirituality has to do with the spiritual history of the Jesuits. Jesuit spirituality is essentially apostolic, our apostolates help to condition it.⁵⁹ Ignatian Spirituality would mainly have as its source the *Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius* but includes other documents that he penned down.⁶⁰ Jesuit spirituality comes not only from the *Spiritual Exercises*, the *Constitutions*, and the documents from the General Congregations but from the lived experiences of the Jesuits. While Jesuit spirituality is confined to the Jesuits through their charism and identity, Ignatian spirituality is accessible to a wider group of people.

1.7 A Theology of the Cross

What is known as *theologia crucis* was advanced in the 16th century by the figure of Martin Luther in the Hiedelberg Disputation in order to find words for the reformation insight of the liberating gospel of the crucified Christ, by contrast to the *theologia gloriae* of the medieval institutional Church. The theology of the Cross in this way sees the crucified Christ as the image of the invisible God.⁶¹ Although it is

⁵⁷ Cf., *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, George E. Ganss (trans.), The Institute of Jesuit Sources, St. Louis 1970, 6-7.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 33.

⁵⁹ John W. Padberg, “Continuity and Change in General Congregation XXXII”, *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits*. Vol. 7 (November, 1975), 213.

⁶⁰ Rossano Zas Friz, “Espiritualidad ignaciana”, in *DEI*, 811-819.

⁶¹ Jürgen Moltmann, *The Crucified God: The Cross of Christ as the Foundation and Criticism of Christian Theology*, SCM Press, London 2015, 66-67. For more on the theology of the Cross in other authors such as Karl Barth and Jungel,

attributed to Luther it has biblical roots, especially in the theology of St. Paul in the first chapters of his epistles to the Corinthians.⁶² We can also see that it was inspired by St. Paul's theology that justification cannot be achieved only by works of the law, but only by grace that comes through the Cross of Christ (Rom 3:20-25).

Paul develops justification by faith in a critical direction against justification by the works of the law, so that it leads to liberation from the self-justification by works, such that in 1 Cor. 1:18ff he developed the word of the cross against wisdom and the knowledge of God from the world, so that the knowledge of the Cross would bring about liberation from the powers of the cosmos. Paul's theology of the Cross is the revelation of the crucified Christ in the light of his resurrection from the dead.⁶³ What I consider as most important about St. Paul's theology of the Cross and Luther's theology of the Cross is that Ignatius seemed to have understood that *theologia crucis* and *theologia gloriae* are inseparable. Moltmann makes an important observation to the effect that "the event of the revelation consists not only of the event of the Cross and resurrection of Christ, but also the preaching of the gospel."⁶⁴

Víctor Codina demonstrates that Ignatius of Loyola was brought up in a society that was largely influenced by a popular medieval tradition centered on the creed. For him, this points towards a Christocentric faith. Consequently, Ignatius, growing up, was influenced to some extent by the predominantly Franciscan heritage marked by a devotion to the humanity of Jesus and the passion. Codina further alludes to the fact that Ignatius' desire to go to the Holy Land after his conversion is an indicator that his Christocentric piety was inspired by desire to go in search of the footsteps of the historical Jesus in order to imitate and follow him as faithfully as possible.⁶⁵ It is no surprise that in Montserrat a certain monk referred to Ignatius as a pilgrim who was crazy for Jesus: *'aquel peregrino era loco por nuestro Señor Jesucristo.'*⁶⁶ Ignatius lived the rest of his life after conversion in search of and in imitation of Jesus Christ.

see Fernando Rodríguez Garrapucho, *La cruz de Jesús y el ser de Dios. La teología del crucificado en Eberhard Jungel*, Publicaciones Universidad Pontificia Salamanca, Salamanca 1992.

⁶² José M^o Lera Monreal, *La pneumatología de los Ejercicios Espirituales. Una teología de la cruz traducida a la vida*, Mensajero-Sal Terrae-Universidad Pontificia Comillas, Bilbao-Santander-Madrid 2016, 172-177.

⁶³ Jürgen Moltmann, 70.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁶⁵ Cf. Víctor Codina, "Jesucristo", in *DEI*, 1071.

⁶⁶ *FN III*, 205.

What is known as *devotio moderna* and *imitatione Christi* influenced the schools of spirituality, as much as humanism that placed its main focus on man and civil life.⁶⁷ *Devotio moderna* is the spiritual school that flourished in the mid 14th and 15th centuries, and was basically a movement of devout renovation of Christian life.⁶⁸ It was a movement for religious reform, calling for apostolic renewal through the rediscovery of genuine pious practices such as humility, obedience and simplicity of life. This devotion was best exemplified in the classic written by Thomas A. Kempis- “The Imitation of Christ”, a book that invited Christians to a meditation of the life and death of Christ using simple ordinary language that was accessible to many and inspired them to an imitation of Christ. Ignatius of Loyola had a deep devotion for this book from his days in Manresa. He recommends its use in the *Spiritual Exercises* [Ex. 100]. We can easily draw many parallels with the ambience before the council of Trent and Vatican Council II, both informed by a strong desire for reform in the Church.

We can also talk of spirituality viewed in a tripartite division towards Christian perfection, that is, 1) the purgative way, 2) the illuminative way and 3) the unitive way. The unitive way is considered the one of intimate mystical union with God. Indeed, some authors such as A. Gagliardi (1538-1607) tried to establish a connection between the third week of the *Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius Loyola*, which deals with the passion of Christ and the unitive way.⁶⁹ This may be because he saw that the Cross is the place of perfect union with God. Perhaps the experience of mystical union with God comes from one of the most profound effects of the *Exercises* as the Creator is able to deal directly with the creature and the creature with its Creator and Lord [Ex. 15].

J. Alfaro is of the opinion that the third and fourth weeks of the *Exercises* highlight the peculiarity of what we can term as an Ignatian theology of the cross. Accordingly, the death and resurrection of Christ appear as two internal moments of the incarnation in the sense that by the Son of God becoming man, he assumes our mortal existence while in return divinizing our humanity. The conclusion is that a theology of the Cross and a theology of glory, a descendant and ascendant Christology

⁶⁷ Ermano Acilli, “Espiritualidad cristiana (historia de la)”, in *Diccionario de espiritualidad II*, Ermanno Ancilli (Dir.), Editorial Herder, Barcelona 1987, 16-32.

⁶⁸ Álvaro Huerga, “Devotio moderna”, in *Diccionario de espiritualidad I*, 575-580.

⁶⁹ Cited in Rogelio García Mateo, “Teología de la Cruz”, en *Estudios Eclesiásticos* 92 (2017), 133-161.

are inseparably united.⁷⁰ These lay the groundwork for a Christocentric and Christological spirituality.

1.8 Ignatian and Jesuit Spirituality - a Christological and Christocentric Spirituality

A Spirituality of the Cross in the *Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius* must be read from the point of view a theology and mysticism of the *Spiritual Exercises*. Hugo Rahner argues that it is impossible to talk about a Christology of the *Exercises* of which mysticism does not form a part of.⁷¹ This in turn implies a Christological and colloquial spirituality. We can say Christological because the *Exercises* are overwhelmingly centered on the person of Jesus Christ and his role in God's salvific plan. From the second week to the fourth week of the *Exercises*, almost all meditations, contemplations and prayers have to do specifically with the Jesus Christ. This is what is referred to as implicit Christology.

According to John Sobrino, the authentic theology of Saint Ignatius of Loyola is a theology oriented towards a Christology of the historical Jesus and following him. This approach leads one ultimately to a certain comprehension of God and of sin.⁷² George Ganss, on his part, is of the opinion that Ignatius theology was theocentric and Trinitarian, seeking always what brings greater praise or glory to God, and simultaneously Christ-centered, aiming to cooperate intimately and loyally to Him.⁷³

This brings us to the affirmation that theology of the *Spiritual Exercises* is a theology of the cross that takes the form of the hymn of Philippians 2: 5-11:

Christ Jesus, who, though he was in the form of God, did not regard equality with God something to be grasped. Rather, he emptied himself, taking the form of a slave, coming in human likeness; and found human in appearance, he humbled himself, becoming obedient to death, even death on a Cross. Because of this, God exalted him and bestowed on him the name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus

⁷⁰ Cf., Juan Alfaro, "Teología de la vida de Cristo", in *Ejercicios y Constituciones. Unidad vital*, Congreso Ignaciano, Loyola, 2-7 septiembre 1974, Mensajero, Bilbao 1975, 186.

⁷¹ Hugo Rahner, *Ignatius the theologian*, Michael Barry (Trans.), Geoffrey Chapman, London 1968, 53.

⁷² Jon Sobrino, *El Cristo de los Ejercicios de San Ignacio*, Sal Terrae, Santander 1990, 7.

⁷³ Cf., George Ganss, 22.

every knee should bend, of those in heaven and on earth and under earth, and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.⁷⁴

This, more than any other biblical text, has parallels with the colloquy with the crucified Christ [Ex. 53]. They both talk of Christ, who is God, who takes the form of man and dying on the Cross. Up until the second week we speak of an implicit Christology, but the central theme of the second week of the *Exercises* begins with the meditation on the incarnation, introducing us to an explicit Christology that runs from the second to the fourth week culminating in the glorious resurrection of Jesus Christ.

Hugo Rahner argues that it is quite certain that the whole Ignatian theology and mysticism was essentially Christological.⁷⁵ Gilles Cusson, on his part, is of the view that Ignatian spirituality is eminently Trinitarian and Christocentric. For him, this Christocentrism is manifested principally in the meditations of the Kingdom and of the two standards, which are dedicated to the service of the Church of Christ.⁷⁶ Nurya Martínez-Gayol, in her reading of the works of Hans Urs Von Balthasar affirms that Christocentrism in the *Spiritual Exercises* is unarguable; it is a Trinitarian Christocentrism that points to the Cross from the incarnation. The Cross is inscribed in the world since its foundation.⁷⁷

One cannot speak about Ignatian Christology without examining Ignatian mysticism. This Ignatian mysticism, according to Rahner, is drawn from Ignatius' visions in which he saw Christ and the other persons of the Blessed Trinity.⁷⁸ The culmination of the Christological content of the experience of Ignatius was the spiritual experience he had in the vision of La Storta, where Christ bearing the cross, spoke to him: "It is my wish that you should serve us"⁷⁹ This mystical experience narrated more clearly in the *Autobiography* relates to the meditation on the two standards and also finds its way in the Formula of the Institute, that is: "To be received under the Standard of Christ our Lord" [Ej 147]. This theological mysticism of a

⁷⁴ The version of the Bible used here is: V. Zinkuratire, A. Colacrai (General eds.) et al., *The African Bible*, Paulines Publications Africa, Nairobi 1999.

⁷⁵ Hugo Rahner, *Ignatian the theologian*, 53.

⁷⁶ George Cusson, *Experiencia personal del misterio de salvación. Biblia y Ejercicios Espirituales*, Apostoldado de la prensa-Hechos y Dichos, Madrid-Lima 1973, 55.

⁷⁷ Cf., Nurya Martínez-Gayol, "Cristocentrismo dramático: la centralidad de la Cruz" (Capítulo preliminar), in Hans Urs Von Balthasar, *Textos de Ejercicios Espirituales*, Mensajero-Sal Terrae, Bilbao-Santander 2009, 48-54.

⁷⁸ Cf. Hugo Rahner, 53, cit. FN I, p. 504.

⁷⁹ Ibid., cit FN II, 133.

Christological nature can be considered as important because it appears in the key documents in the foundational experience of Ignatius of Loyola. Hugo Rahner cites Jeronimo Nadal as stating that Ignatius consulted other branches of theology in conjunction with scriptures as a confirmation of what he had learned from spiritual inspiration.⁸⁰

Rahner considers two main reasons as to why it is important to take note of the Christology of the *Exercises*. The first is that Ignatius had dogmatic convictions that he attached to the theological elements of the *Spiritual Exercises*; and second that it is impossible to appreciate the historical growth or apostolic effectiveness of the *Exercises* without an accurate grasp of their Christocentric elements.⁸¹ Inasmuch as the *Exercises* contain a meditative concentration on the life of Christ they are also an essentially a clearly defined method of contemplating the divine and human life of Christ on earth.⁸²

When we speak of the text of the *Spiritual Exercises*, what are called the *Exercises* proper, begin with the Principal and foundation and end with the contemplation to attain love. The principal and foundation and the contemplation to attain love are texts which contain an implicit Christology, that is to say, no direct mention of Christ is made - it is implied.

1.9 The Implicit use of the Cross in Jesuit terminology

This thesis will employ many instances that make indirect references to the Cross. The Cross as a word appears only once in the body of the *Constitutions* [Co 487, 1] and a second time as a sign [Co 812, 1].⁸³ In my opinion this is an interesting detail, being a document drawn from a rich spiritual heritage of the *Spiritual Exercises*. My observation would be that the Cross is implied all through the body of the *Constitutions*. We can say, for example, that the cross appears implicitly through words

⁸⁰ Cf. Hugo Rahner, 53. Cit. *Chron.* III, 529 f.

⁸¹ Hugo Rahner, 54.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ The recurrence of the Word 'cruz' can be found in: Ignacio Echarte (ed.), *Concordancia Ignaciana. An Ignatian Concordance*, Mensajero-Sal Terrae-Institute of Jesuit Sources, Bilbao-Santander-Saint Louis 1996, 281.

such as ‘penitence’ [Co 8,1; 90,2; 98,9; 239,2; 240,2; 263,4; 269,1; 270,4; 291,2; 300,1; 582,5; 754,1], ‘mortification’ [Co 103,1; 297,2; 340,3; 362,1; 363,2; 423,1], ‘abnegation’ [Co 81,2; 83,1; 103,2; 117,3; 258,2; 280,3; 284,3; 289,1; 296,1; 297,2; 307,4; 308,4; 516,5; 518,5; 819,4], ‘humiliation’ [Ej 75,2, ‘contempt’ (*menosprecios*) [Co 671,4] and ‘sacrifice’ [Co 313,2; 640,3; 790,1; 803,6; 812,4].

In the one time the Cross is mentioned explicitly, it has to do with prayer: “If the prayer cannot be said with proper devotion, it had better be omitted; and instead the teacher will make the sign of the Cross with head uncovered⁸⁴, and straight away begin” [Co 487]. This particular reference comes in Part IV of the *Constitutions* that has to do with intellectual and practical training of Jesuits, and more concretely about the formation of character. It recommends that the sign of the Cross be made before lectures in the event that it is deemed impossible to say an appropriate prayer [Co 486]. A spirituality of the Cross would entail always striving to make Christ present in our work, where in this case making the sign of the Cross brings us back to this awareness of the mystery of Christ and his mission.

The implicit inclusion of the sign of the Cross in part X of the *Constitutions* [Co 812] comes right before one of the most fundamental phrases of the whole document of the *Constitutions*: “It was not human means that brought the Society into being, so neither can they provide for its future: survival and progress will come from the mighty power of Christ Jesus our Lord and Our God, in whom alone we must hope, trusting that he himself will foster and advance this project which he has launched for his service, and assistance to his people [...] our first and most obvious resource is prayer and the holy sacrifice [...]”

My inclination would be to see the Cross implicitly mentioned in the words ‘from the mighty power of Christ Jesus’. The mighty power of Jesus Christ is none other than the triumph of the Cross. Thus, the Society which serves under the banner of the Cross will, in my view, draw its strength from that same Cross. The second implicit mention of the Cross is in the word ‘holy sacrifice’. The holy sacrifice can be nothing else apart from the ultimate sacrifice of God offering his Son to die on the

⁸⁴ In the original Spanish ‘uncovered’ appears as “quitado el bonete”, which can be literally translated as removing one’s bonnet (cap). This is a sign of respect and reverence.

Cross for our salvation and liberation from sin. The Society of Jesus can only be preserved through the saving graces of our Lord.

1.10 Conclusion

This chapter presented a contextualization of the clamor for change, revision and renewal that came with the Second Vatican Council and the impact it had on religious institutions - in our case the Society of Jesus. The chapter also defined Christian Spirituality, Ignatian and Jesuit Spirituality, as well as a theology and spirituality of the Cross from the point of view of the foundational documents of the Society of Jesus. We have argued that Jesuit and Ignatian Spirituality are Christocentric and Christological and that both in the foundational documents and in the documents of the General Congregations. The next chapter will focus on the theme of Jesuit identity and mission in light of the General Congregations that were held after the Second Vatican Council. Jesuit identity comes from Christ, Christ carrying his Cross. Identification with Christ leads to mission for the individual Jesuit and for the Society of Jesus as a whole.

Chapter 2

The Cross and Jesuit Identity: “Jesuits know who they are by looking at Him – The Crucified Christ”

“What unites us as Jesuits is Christ and the desire to serve him: not to be deaf to the call of the Lord, but prompt and ready to do his most holy will. He is the unique image of the unseen God, capable of revealing himself everywhere; And in a tantalizing culture of images, he is the single image that unites us. Jesuits know who they are by looking at him”

GC 35 Decree 2:2

2.0 Introduction

The previous chapter laid the framework by defining the major aspects of Ignatian and Jesuit Spirituality in light of its foundational Charism. It also contextualized the period after the Second Vatican Council with its appeal for change and reform. This chapter poses the question “Who is a Jesuit?” and, “What does a Jesuit have to do with the Cross?”

2.1 Jesuit Identity

Defining Jesuit identity can be an arduous task because there is no one precise definition that we can allude to. Ignacio Iglesias sustains that Jesuit identity cannot be understood without reference to the identity of the Society of Jesus. He further argues that a crisis of identity is a mystical crisis as well, in such a way that a decline in the institutions mysticism deforms the personal convictions of its members.⁸⁵ We saw in the previous chapter that Jesuit mysticism comes from the experience of the *Spiritual Exercises*.

So important was the matter of defining Jesuit identity after the Second Vatican Council that the Congregation of Procurators (1970) designated to have it as an item for a possible General Congregation (GC 32).⁸⁶ The Society of Jesus, a constant pilgrim, finds ways to become incarnate in greater depth in the present times, marked by the «*aggiornamento*» or innovative updating decreed by the Second Vatican Council.⁸⁷ Indeed, the documents of GC 32 begins by grappling with the essential matter of defining both Jesuit identity at personal level and as an apostolic body, relying on its rich foundational history and founding documents, which comprise Jesuit Spirituality.

⁸⁵ Cf. Ignacio Iglesias, “Declaración «Jesuita Hoy»”, Centro de Espiritualidad Ignaciana, Loyola, *Identidad y misión de la compañía hoy (Semana nacional de Loyola, 1-6 Setiembre 1975)*, Mensajero, Bilbao 1976, 14-15. Iglesias: “Por eso se haya podido afirmar que toda crisis de identidad es en el fondo una crisis mística”.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁸⁷ Cf. Ignasi Salvat, *Servir en misión universal*, Mensajero-Sal Terrae, Bilbao-Santander 2001, 260.

Pedro Arrupe⁸⁸, on his part states that GC 32 in decree 2 gave an authoritative description of Jesuit identity in our times.⁸⁹ However, this not only calls for a return to the original sources in order to adapt them for our times, but also demands a study of attitudes, conduct and sentiments, because identity has natural consequences various expressions and adaptations of «our manner of proceeding».⁹⁰

GC 33 embarked on a quest in which the Society of Jesus was seeking to redefine and integrate its identity in terms of 'being' and 'doing' (a manner of doing that is geared towards service to people). The corporal identity, in terms of the 'reason for being/existence, is closely linked to mission, marked with a desire to be the people with people, instead of being a privileged segment of the people, rather to work, to live, to suffer, to die for and with God's people.⁹¹ Therefore we can see that defining Jesuit identity helps to focus the Jesuit(s) better in terms of service of the Divine Majesty and for the People of God.

General Congregation 34 makes a link between Jesuit identity and mission, emphasizing that because Jesuits are companions of Jesus, their identity is inseparable from Jesuit mission: "The Jesuit mission, as a service of the Crucified and Risen Lord, is always an entry into the saving work of the Cross in a world still brutally marked by brutality and evil ... it is the risen Christ who calls and empowers us for his service under the banner of the Cross."⁹²

Pedro Arrupe underlined divine service as key in Ignatian charism. Accordingly, this service has to be unconditional, unlimited, magnanimous, and humble, all for the greater glory of God.⁹³ Citing Jerónimo Nadal, GC 34 further states that, for Ignatius, although the risen Christ is now in glory, through the Cross he is present in the suffering which continues in the world for which he died: «Christ, having risen from the dead, and dying now no more (Rom 6:9), still suffers in his members, and

⁸⁸ Pedro Arrupe, the 28th Superior General of the Society of Jesus led the Jesuits through a difficult period in history (1965-1983). See Bartolomeo Sorge, "Arrupe, Pedro. Vigésimo octavo General", *DHCJ* II, 1697-1705.

⁸⁹ See Pedro Arrupe, *La identidad del jesuita en nuestros tiempos*, Sal Terrae, Santander 1981.

⁹⁰ Pedro Arrupe, "El modo nuestro de proceder", en *La identidad del Jesuita en nuestros tiempos*, Sal Terrae, Santander 1981, 294.

⁹¹ Cf. Ignacio Iglesias, "La Congregación General XXXIII de la Compañía de Jesús. Acontecimiento eclesial", en *Manresa* 74 (2002), 102-104.

⁹² GC 34, D 2, 4-5.

⁹³ Pedro Arrupe, "Servir sólo al Señor y a la Iglesia, su esposa, bajo el Romano Pontífice, Vicario de Cristo en la tierra", *Pedro Arrupe, carisma de Ignacio*, Darío Mollá Llácer (ed.), Mensajero-Sal Terrae-UP Comillas, Santander-Bilbao-Madrid, 2015, 151. See also, *La identidad del Jesuita en nuestros tiempos*, Sal Terrae, Santander 1981, 294.

constantly carries his Cross»⁹⁴. With this, we can affirm that indeed, Jesuit identity is intrinsically linked to the Cross

Pope Paul VI also describes the Jesuits as religious, as men of prayer, of the evangelical imitation of Christ, protected by the religious vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience; they apostles, men whom Christ himself sends into the world to spread his holy doctrine among people of every state and condition; they are priests, who serve or minister to the grace of God through the sacraments, especially uniting the community through the celebration of the Eucharist; and finally, that they are men united to the Pope by a special vow - a visible sign of communion with Christ.⁹⁵ Consequently, the figure of a Jesuit is essentially a man of God who has made a choice of the Cross in the struggle against the structures of evil.

We can also highlight some important aspects of Jesuit identity from the point of view of holy desires. Edward Kinerk, stresses that Ignatius, wanted all the Jesuits to regard «holy desires» as graces to be deeply appreciated and actively sought. For Kinerk, three of these 'holy desires' stand out as very important for a Jesuit vocation: a deep desire to be a Jesuit and live a life of the vows; a desire to have the desire to suffer with Christ; and a desire to help souls.⁹⁶ One has to constantly have that burning desire to be and remain a Jesuit and if the desire has dried up, one should at least have the desire to desire it.

The Jesuit is thus a man of the *Spiritual Exercises*, one who is called to embrace Ignatian Spirituality, and to live guided by its *Constitutions* and through the vows pronounced in the Society of Jesus. Furthermore, we can say that a Jesuit is one who desires the Cross, is one who has a desire to identify with Christ, particularly Christ on the Cross. According to Edward Kinerk, it is characteristic of those progressing in the spiritual life 'to wish to suffer injuries, false accusations, and affronts' [Co 101].⁹⁷

In sum, a Jesuit can be said to be one characterized by a desire to help souls, as Ignatius wrote to the Jesuits in Coimbra, "I should wish to awaken in you the pure love of Jesus Christ, the desire for his honor and for the salvation of souls whom he

⁹⁴ GC 34, D 2, 4. See also *FN I*, 314.

⁹⁵ Cf. "Address of Pope Paul VI to the members of the 32nd General Congregation", December 3, 1974. See *Jesuit Life and Mission Today*, pp. 379-390.

⁹⁶ Edward Kinerk, "Eliciting Great Desires: Their Place in the Spirituality of the Society of Jesus", *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits*, Vol. 16 (1984), 15.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 17.

has redeemed”⁹⁸. A Jesuit’s identity is hence predominantly shaped by his desire for a conformity with Christ, to imitate Christ and identify oneself with Christ. That is why we assert that a Jesuit will know who he is by gazing at him who is crucified on the Cross.

2.1.1 Jesuit Identity and the Inspiration of La Storta

The vision of La Storta [Au 96] is widely viewed as a very important event in the foundation and naming of the Society of Jesus. According to Herbert Alphonso La Storta can be viewed as the animating source of creative fidelity to the Jesuit today and also the vivifying source for the recent General Congregations of the Society of Jesus. He also sustains that GC’s 31-34, drawing their inspiration from La Storta, can be seen as the new Pentecost of the Society of Jesus that was inaugurated by Vatican II.⁹⁹ GC 31 and subsequent General Congregations made many references to the experience and image of La Storta.¹⁰⁰

The earliest reference we can make as regard this vision has its roots in the *Spiritual Exercises*, in specific with the constant petition “place me with your Son” which can be found in the meditation of the two standards, particularly with a triple colloquy beginning with Our Lady: “I beg her to obtain for me the grace from her son and Lord that I may be received under his standard” [Ex. 147] in poverty, spiritual as well as actual, and in bearing reproaches, in order to imitate Christ even more. It is worth noting that in the *Exercises*, Ignatius continuously makes a petition of closely following Christ up to his glory (the Cross and subsequent resurrection).

Special attention is drawn to the colloquies where Ignatius seeks the grace of being received under the standard of Christ and imitating him through insults, injuries, affronts as well as actual and spiritual poverty [Ex. 98, 147, 168]. We can also see a connection of this in the *Formula of the Institute*, “beneath the banner of the Cross”. The Spirituality of the Cross is directly linked to taking up the standard of

⁹⁸ *Epp*, I (Roma, 7 mayo 1547), 501. My own translation.

⁹⁹ Herbert Alphonso, “La Storta”, in *DEI*, 1091-1100.

¹⁰⁰ GC 32 D 17, 2; GC 34 D2, 4; GC 35 D2, 3, 6, 11, D 3, 16, and D 4, 3.

Christ, the Eternal Lord, which is the standard of the Cross, which subsequently becomes the standard of the Society of Jesus.

It is in the vision of La Storta that Ignatius of Loyola felt he received a definitive confirmation for the founding of a religious order.¹⁰¹ After this vision Ignatius was convinced that God had answered his petition to be 'placed with His Son' and took on the name of the 'Society of Jesus' as recounted in the *Spiritual Diary of Ignatius of Loyola* of 23rd February, 1544: "I recall the day when the father placed me with His Son [...] (I only had) this in mind; to carry deeply the name of Jesus [...] seemingly confirmed the future" [*De* 67].¹⁰²

There are many variations on how the events at La Storta were recorded.¹⁰³ Diego Laynez recounts it this way: "Then another time he said that it seemed to him he saw Christ carrying a Cross on his shoulder and the Eternal Father nearby who said to Christ: 'I want you to take this man for your servant'. And so, Jesus actually received him and said: 'I want you to serve us'. And because of this, getting great devotion to this most holy name, he wished to name this Congregation: The Company of Jesus".¹⁰⁴

José J. Romero is of the opinion that this particular narration of Laynez may have had a biblical inspiration that oriented the spiritual itinerary of Ignatius. He makes a connection between this experience of Ignatius at La Storta and the biblical passage on the Transfiguration of Jesus, where a voice was heard from heaven saying, "This is my chosen Son; listen to him" (Lk 9:35; Mt 3:17; Mt 12:18; Mk 1:11).¹⁰⁵

According to Ignacio Iglesias the event at La Storta became a key feature in the founding identity of the Society of Jesus as a mystical confirmation. Central to the La Storta experience is identification with the person of Christ, more so Christ

¹⁰¹ FN II, 133 [19]; FN I, 498 [23].

¹⁰² See MHSI 63 MI, *Constituciones* I, 104. This version is translated by A. de Nicolas, *Powers of Imagining. Ignatius de Loyola*, State University of New York Press, Albany 1986, 201.

¹⁰³ Diego Laynez, Ignatius successor as Superior General, recounts what happened in La Storta: see MHSI 73 FN, II, 133. Another version is that of Goscálves de Camara Luis Gonçálves da Cámara, the redactor of "Acta Patri Ignatii", MHSI 66 FN I, 497-498, but which is referred to as the *Autobiography* [*Au* 96-97]

¹⁰⁴ MI, *Font. Narr.* II, p. 133. The English translation is found in: Herbert Alphonso, *Placed with Christ the Son. Glimpses into the Spirituality of the Jesuit Constitutions*, Gujarat Sahitya Prakash, Anand 1993, 131-132. See also Herbert Alphonso, "La Storta", in *DEI*, 1091-1101.

¹⁰⁵ José J. Romero, "Ser puesto con el Hijo hoy, un Hijo 'cargado con la cruz'", *Manresa* 84 (2012), 340-341. See Herbert Alphonso, "La Storta", in *DEI*, 1091-1101.

crucified.¹⁰⁶ However, we can conclude that La Storta was a confirmation of a process that began in the spiritual experience of Ignatius from the time he left Loyola after his conversion.

Ignacio Iglesias furthermore sees a connection between the petition “to be placed with the son”, with some New Testament scripture passages, that is: “yet I live, no longer I, but Christ lives in me” (Gal 2:20); “may I never boast except in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ” (Gal 6:14); “for I resolved to know nothing except Jesus Christ, and him (crucified). It is quite possible that Ignatius was inspired in his affection for the Cross and devotion to it from some biblical passages that have to do with the Cross.

The vision of La Storta lays emphasis on the fact that following Christ carrying the Cross doesn't stop with contemplating him, rather it is an invitation to see the Father and Holy Spirit so that imbued with the Trinitarian vision of the incarnation we are able to contemplate the world in which we are to go out to serve: “I am to contemplate. Here it is how the three Divine Persons gazed on the whole surface or circuit of the world, full of people; [...], they decided in their eternity that the second person should become a human being, in order to save the human race” [Ex. 102]. “...to ask for what I desire. Here it will be to ask for an interior knowledge of our Lord who became human for me, that I may love him more intensely and follow him more closely” [Ex. 104]. Just as the Trinity is present in the contemplation of the incarnation, sending the second person of the Trinity to the world, God the Father invites Ignatius to follow the same Jesus, but this time carrying a Cross.

2.1.2 Serving Beneath the Banner of the Cross: The Formula of the Institute

According to John W. Padberg, the *Formula of the Institute* is for the Jesuits, the most fundamental source for continuity with the past, for the phrase “«Jesuits Today» expresses our purpose by summarizing a lengthier statement of the Formula: ‘Our Society was founded principally for the defense and propagation of faith and for

¹⁰⁶ Cfr., Ignacio Iglesias, “Bajo la bandera de la cruz. Los Jesuitas y el crucificado”, *Manresa* 78 (2006), 317.

rendering any service in the Church that may be for the glory of God and the common good”¹⁰⁷.

Whosoever would enlist in the cause of God neath the standard of the Cross, to serve the Lord alone and his bride the Church under the Roman Pontiff, the Vicar of Christ on earth, and wishes to do this in our Society, which we want to be distinguished by the name of Jesus, will make a solemn vow of perpetual chastity, poverty and obedience. He must take to heart that he now becomes a member of a Society that was founded chiefly to engage in the defense and propagation of faith, and the promotion of Christian life and principles [...].¹⁰⁸

Having attempted to underline the basic highlights of what it means to be a Jesuit we now look to Jesuit corporate identity, that is, the identity of the Society of Jesus as an apostolic body. We now go to the key document that spells out why the Society of Jesus was founded and the traits of its members: “Whosoever would enlist in the cause of God neath the standard of the cross ...” The word ‘enlist’ can also mean to sign up or join and is traditionally used in a militaristic sense.

In the Spanish context of the middle ages “*guerrear por Dios*” (*militare Deo* in latin) was an expression commonly used for designating the religious life. Its origin may be traced St. Paul, who used the phrase ‘soldier of Christ’ (2 Tim 2:3). The reference to the Cross envisions a battle against evil, but in this case a battle not to be won with violence or force, rather through love.¹⁰⁹ Thus those who want to follow Christ as his companions have to be ready to also carry their Cross in the saving mission of Jesus but relying on the grace that the Spirit bestows on each one.

This first article of the *Formula* articulates a profound experience of God in Christ in the body of the Society of Jesus. It is worth noting that contrary to the perceptions, serving as a soldier of Christ does not have any military connotations in the strict sense. Perhaps those who make this connection do so because of Ignatius previous military career. According to Pierre Jacob and Maurice Dullard, this phrase is a vibrant summary of Ignatius experience at Loyola, Manresa, the Holy Land and the experience of Ignatius and his companions at Montmartre, La Storta and Rome.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ John W. Padberg, “Continuity and Change in General Congregation XXXII”, *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 7 (1975), 203.

¹⁰⁸ The version of the Formula is taken from *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*. Annotated and complemented by General Congregation 34, Gujarat Sahitya Prakash, Anand 1996.

¹⁰⁹ Stefan Kiechle, “Cruz”, in *DEI*, 508-9.

¹¹⁰ Pierre Jacob and Maurice Dullard, *The Inspirational Sources of our Jesuit Charism*, Gujarat Sahitya Prakash, Anand 2003, 65.

I would agree more with a more spiritual reading of this as opposed to a strictly militaristic imagery.

We likewise find such references in the rules of the Dominicans and Augustinians.¹¹¹ Biblically speaking, this phrase can also be traced to St. Paul's second letter to Timothy: "Bear your share of hardship along with me like a good soldier of Christ Jesus" (2 Tim 2:3). According to Aldama the continuing phrase "neath the banner of the Cross" seems to draw its inspiration from the liturgy ("*Vexilla Regis Prodeunt*"), but in this case we can say that this phrase has a direct relationship with the meditation on the two standards in the *Spiritual Exercises*: "...that I may be received under his standard..." [Ex. 147].

The article of the *Formula* with this phrase also includes the words "to serve the Lord alone and his bride the Church under the Roman Pontiff..." We can say that this alludes to the service of the Lord through the service of the Church. In principle, serving the Church implicitly points towards serving Christ, whose spouse is the Church, which is subordinated by the Vicar of Christ on Earth, the Pope.

2.4 The Cross and General Congregation 32

The 32nd General Congregation recognized the importance of defining the Jesuit identity in our time. It can be argued that the entire GC was geared towards answering the question of Jesuit identity.¹¹² In its famous decree 2 titled «Jesuits Today», the GC asks "What is it to be a Jesuit? It is to know that one is a sinner yet called to be a companion of Jesus as Ignatius was ... who then saw the Father Himself ask Jesus, carrying his Cross, to take the pilgrim into his country".¹¹³ We find here the clear link between Jesuit identity and the Cross. Jesuits are companions of Jesus carrying his Cross. The decree goes further to link companionship with Jesus with standard of the

¹¹¹ Cf. Antonio M. de Aldama, *Notas para un comentario a: La Fórmula del Instituto de la Compañía de Jesús*, Centrum Ignatianum Spiritualitatis, Roma 1981, 44.

¹¹² Cf. Urbano Valero Agúndez, *El proyecto de renovación de la Compañía de Jesús*, Mensajero-Sal Terrae, Bilbao-Santander 2012, 174.

¹¹³ GC 32 D 2, 1. This Decree makes reference to the *Autobiography of Saint Ignatius* [Au 96] which relates the earlier mentioned experience of Saint Ignatius in his vision at La Storta.

Cross: “What is it to be a companion of Jesus today? It is to engage, under the standard of the Cross, in the crucial struggle of our time”¹¹⁴.

The phrase «Jesuit Today» that is followed by a description of Jesuit identity resonates with phrases that are familiar every Jesuit. According to John Padberg, they are hollow phrases that vibrate with each one’s history and memories of the novitiate, vow Masses, the *Exercises*, exhortations, and what is at the core of our Jesuit selves. For Padberg, the genius and gamble of this document lies in the conviction that each individual Jesuit will recognize the continuity of their most basic desires. It is expected that each Jesuit has very often asked Christ crucified what he has done for him, what he is doing for him, and what he is going to do for him [Ex 53].¹¹⁵

The decree makes a final explicit reference to the Cross by alluding to the colloquy with the crucified Christ [Ex 53], “The Society of Jesus, ...acknowledging with repentance its own failures in keeping faith and upholding justice and asking itself before Christ crucified what it has done for him, what it is doing for him, and what it is going to do for him, chooses participation in this struggle as the focus that identifies in our time what Jesuits are and do”¹¹⁶. A Jesuit is described as essentially a man on a mission, “He belongs to a community of friends in the Lord who, like him, have asked to be received under the standard of Christ the King”¹¹⁷.

The Allocution of Pope Paul VI, which has been quoted many times, including by both Pope John Paul II, Pope Benedict XVI, and Pope Francis is very important because it gives the Society of Jesus a missionary and spiritual foundation, reminding the Society of Jesus of its origins, inspired by the experience of Saint Ignatius of Loyola in Manresa, and later with a group of companions in Paris and Rome. The resulting impact, along with the documents of GC 32 is the identifying of the Society of Jesus as a religious body of apostles and priests united to the Pope through a special vow.¹¹⁸ These are the now famous words of Pope Paul VI:

Wherever in the Church, even in the most difficult and extreme fields, in the cross roads of ideologies, in the front line of social conflict, there has been and there is confrontation between the deepest desires of man and the perennial message of the Gospel, there also there have been, and there are, Jesuits. Your Society is in accord with and blends with

¹¹⁴ GC 32 D2, 2.

¹¹⁵ Cf. John W. Padberg, “Continuity and Change in General Congregation XXXII”, 202.

¹¹⁶ GC 32 D2, 3.

¹¹⁷ GC 32 D2, 15, making reference to the call of Christ the King [Ex. 147].

¹¹⁸ Cf. Ignasi Salvat, *Servir en misión universal*, 264.

the Society of the Church in the multiple works which you direct, also taking into account the necessity that all should be unified by a single aim, that of God's glory and sanctification of men, without dissipating its energies in the pursuit of lesser goals.¹¹⁹

Ignasi Salvat summarizes the spirit of GC 32 saying it was so extraordinarily fruitful because it learned how to look at the world through a contemplation of it and from the point of view of the incarnation in the same way St. Ignatius had. Furthermore, the GC learned how to dispose itself for mission in discernment in order to seek and find the will of God. The GC, finally, learned how to peregrinate (journey) with the Church in its needs of the time, yet remain deeply faithful to its demands."¹²⁰

2.4.1 The Jesuit as a Forgiven and loved Sinner

GC 32 asks the question, "What is it to be a Jesuit?" and gives the response that to be a Jesuit is to "know that one is a sinner, yet called to be a companion of Jesus as Ignatius was: Ignatius, who begged the Blessed Virgin to «place him with her Son» [Au 96], and who then saw the Father himself ask Jesus carrying his Cross, to take the pilgrim into his company [Au 133]."¹²¹

Jesuits are known to describe themselves as loved sinners. This stems from an experience of the first week of the *Spiritual Exercises* where the exercitant or the one doing the retreat experiences the merciful love and forgiveness of God to an extent that one sees themselves as a sinner, but yet loved infinitely by God. In the exercises one asks for the grace of shame and confusion [Ex. 48] and intense sorrow and tears for one's sins [Ex. 55], to an extent that one is moved by God's mercy and gazing at the crucified Christ one can ask: "What have I done for Christ? What am I doing for Christ? What ought I do for Christ?" [Ex. 53].

This concept of a Jesuit as a «loved sinner» is at the core of the spirituality of the Cross in the first week of the *Exercises*. What we may therefore term as a

¹¹⁹ Address of Pope Paul VI to the members of the 32nd General Congregation. December 3, 1974. Cited in *Jesuit Life and Mission Today*, 384. See also Address of Pope Benedict XVI to the participants of the 35th General Congregation of the Society of Jesus, 21 February 2008; and Address of His Holiness Pope Francis to the 36th General Congregation of the Society of Jesus, General Curia of the Society of Jesus, Monday, 24 October 2016

¹²⁰ Cf. Ignasi Salvat, 269.

¹²¹ GC 32 D2, 1

spirituality of the Cross in the first week is an awareness and recognition of one's sinfulness and personal history of sin, followed by repentance and a profound experience of God's merciful love and forgiveness. Once the exercitant feels liberated from sin and moved to discipleship by gazing and meditating the mystery of Christ on the Cross (a *Kenosis* – God emptying himself in the form of man), he or she is drawn to participate in God's salvation history through one's personal history of salvation.

This profound personal experience of personal sin, ultimately reminds us that the Cross is the source of God's mercy in the face of sin and brokenness. A Jesuit, therefore who is able to see himself as a «loved sinner», will be capable of looking at others with same merciful love that he has experimented. He becomes, as Henri Nouwen's book is titled, a "Wounded Healer"¹²² – a sinner, forgiven, loved and called to love and to serve others.

2.4.2 The Service of Faith and the Promotion of Justice

GC 32 had as its defining mark an insistence that the service of faith and the promotion of justice could not be delinked from Jesuit identity and mission. In other words, its emphasis was that faith and justice should constitute the DNA of a Jesuit's identity today: "today the Jesuit is a man whose mission is to dedicate himself entirely to the service of faith and the promotion of justice, in a communion of the life and work and sacrifice with the companions who have rallied round the same standard of the Cross and in fidelity to the Vicar of Christ, for the building up of a world at once more human and more divine"¹²³. We can see again the link between the promotion of justice and serving under the standard of the Cross, which is the standard of Christ.

The GC calls Jesuits to a commitment to justice and an effectiveness in communicating truths while emphasizing that "To promote justice, to proclaim the faith and to lead others to Christ are the three inseparable elements that make up the whole of our apostolate"¹²⁴. This service of faith, can be seen as a global horizon and

¹²² See Henri J. M. Nouwen, *The Wounded Healer: Ministry in Contemporary Society*. Image Doubleday: New York, 1972. Here Henri Nouwen sustains that in our own woundedness, we can become a source of life for others. GC 36 D1, 3 refers to Jesuits as 'humbled and weak sinner'.

¹²³ GC 32 D3, 31.

¹²⁴ GC 32 D3, 51-52.

root of everything that the Society of Jesus can undertake to realize its own purpose, understanding and realizing in such a way that it necessarily includes the promotion of justice and leads to it, by demanding the same service of the faith.¹²⁵ Perhaps this implies that the service of faith will therefore remain as hollow concept if it fails to incorporate the promotion of justice.

Decree 4, with the title “Our Mission Today: The Service of Faith and the Promotion of Justice”, reminds the Society of Jesus that it is called to commit itself to work for the promotion of justice because at the heart of the Christian message is God revealing Himself in Christ as the Father of us all whom through the spirit He calls to conversion. Jesuits are therefore witnesses of a Gospel which links the love of God in an inseparable way to the service of man. The Decree further names three inseparable elements that constitute the Jesuit’s apostolate, that is, to promote justice, to proclaim the faith and to lead others to a personal encounter with Christ.

2.4.3 GC 32 and Jesuit Life of Vows

Jesuit identity is also inherently linked to the evangelical vows they profess.¹²⁶ According to Jesús Iturrioz, the Society of Jesus, from its origins is especially marked by the three religious vows, with a need to reintegrate them according to the times.¹²⁷ The relation between the vows to the Cross, is in my point of view, linked to an option to follow Jesus Christ, poor, chaste and obedient to his father. GC 32 Decree 2 goes further to define a Jesuit as essentially a man on a mission who belongs to a community of friends in the Lord who, like him, have asked to be received under the standard of Christ the King (*Ex. 147*).

The distinguishing mark of Jesuits with regards to vows, can be viewed in terms of freedom to be at the service of those they serve: “free, by our vows of poverty, to share the life of the poor and to use whatever resources we may have not for our own security and comfort, but for service; free, by our own chastity, to be men for others,

¹²⁵ Cf. Urbano Valero, *El Proyecto de renovación*, 177.

¹²⁶ A similar reference to this is made in GC 32 D3, 31, which states that “We are witnesses of a Gospel which links the love of God to the service of man, and that inseparably”.

¹²⁷ Cf. Jesús Iturrioz, “Los votos religiosos de la Compañía, su identidad según la C. G. XXXII”, in *Manresa* 50 (1978), 233-236.

in friendship and communion with all, but especially with those who share our mission of service; free by our vow of obedience, to respond to the call of Christ ... the Church...superiors and especially Father General”¹²⁸. Paul VI, on his part reminded the Jesuits of availability of obedience. For him, “In obedience there is the very essence of the imitation of Christ”¹²⁹ who redeemed, by his obedience, through his death on the Cross.

Decree two closes by a call to the Jesuits to proclaim the Gospel worthily in love – a personal love for Jesus Christ for an intimate knowledge of him whom we follow [Ex. 104]; in poverty – relying more on God’s providence than human resources; and in humility – accepting that the Jesuits cannot engage in all apostolic enterprises.¹³⁰ Singled out as important, the vow of poverty is treated in a whole Decree (Decree 12) with a rounding call for a more authentic poverty. It speaks of voluntary poverty imitation of Christ, whose principal and foundation, is found in a love of the Word made flesh and crucified.¹³¹

2.5 The Cross and GC 33: Companions of Jesus Sent into Today’s World

The Thirty Third General Congregation was convoked with the main purpose of receiving the resignation of Pedro Arrupe as Superior General, as well as ratifying the documents of the previous GC 32. Owing to the resignation of Pedro Arrupe, the GC also elected his successor, Fr. P.-H Kolvenbach. It is thus a brief document that dealt with “those questions that seemed more urgent, together with some specific matters entrusted to it.”¹³² The GC was not only a ratification of the two preceding congregations (GC 32 and GC 31)¹³³, but a recognition of the errors committed and weaknesses identified in the application.¹³⁴

¹²⁸ GC 32 D2, 20.

¹²⁹ Pope Paul VI, “Address to GC 32”.

¹³⁰ GC 32 D2, 27-30.

¹³¹ Cf. Ibid., D12, 2.

¹³² GC 33 D1, 4.

¹³³ Cf. Thomas H. Stahel, “Towards General Congregation 34: A History ‘from below’ of GC 31, GC 32 and GC 33”, in *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 25 (1993), 28.

¹³⁴ Cf. Urbano Valero Agúndez, *El proyecto de la renovación*, 230-231.

This GC, according to Ignacio Iglesias, first of all, evoked an experience of grace, in which Pope John Paul II called upon the Jesuits to take into consideration the theological and spiritual roots of the actual situation that the Society of Jesus found itself, in order to discover a manner of living inspired by the Ignatian desire to «feel and savour interiorly» [Ex. 2] the context of the GC.

The other things evoked by the GC was a conviction of being guided by the Holy Spirit; a profound redirection towards what is Ignatian; a confirmation of the mission of the Church for the Society of Jesus, in terms of a response from the GC on what efforts have been made to verify, specify, point out, and implement the mission by confronting and confirming it using Ignatian tools. Finally, a resituating of the Society of Jesus in the dynamics of the Church, which are in real sense the dynamics of the Holy Spirit. These include things like availability, humility, abandonment in the Spirit, terminology that is properly speaking evangelical and Ignatian.¹³⁵

Pope John Paul II, while addressing the members of the 33rd General Congregation quotes from Ephesians: “I implore you therefore to lead a life worthy of your vocation ... Do all you can to preserve the unity of the Spirit by the peace that binds you together” (Eph. 4:1-3) and reminds them that “ought to be a Society of contemplatives in action who strive in every way to see, to know and to experience Christ, to love Him and to make Him loved, to serve Him in every way and in all things and to follow Him even up to the Cross”.¹³⁶

Here we find a direct reference to the following of Christ up to the Cross. The Pope further reminds the Jesuits that the austerity of a simple and poor life should be a sign that they have put all their confidence in Christ as their sole treasure and that obedience on the ground of faith should be a sign of their close imitation of Christ who was obedient even to death on the Cross. Again, we see a direct reference that is made between obedience and the Cross.

Just like in the previous instances, Jesuit identity draws from the rich Ignatian tradition, GC 33 states that, “Following the example of St. Ignatius, a Jesuits life is rooted in the experience of God who, through Jesus Christ and in the Church, calls us, unites us to one another, and sends us forth [...] Only to the extent that he is united to

¹³⁵ Cf. Ignacio Iglesias, “La Congregación General XXXIII ...”, 104-107.

¹³⁶ Pope John Paul II, “Homily of the Holy Father to the members of the 33rd General Congregation in the Chapel of the General Curia”, September 2, 1983, in *Jesuit Life and Mission*, 465-470.

God so that he can be «led gladly by the divine hand», is a Jesuit «a man on a mission»¹³⁷.

The Fr. General elected in GC 33, Peter Hans-Kolvenbach,¹³⁸ in his first homily as the Superior General of the Society of Jesus indicates that Jesuits have a deep desire to live the Paschal mystery for the sake of others, so that they may come alive. Fr. Kolvenbach says: “The Gospel serves to remind the General Congregation that the great majority of Jesuits, following the example of St. Ignatius, desire to lose their life in order that their brothers and sisters—all men and women—may live by the truth of the life of God [...] there should always be present among us the Jesuit who is willing to lose his life so that Christ may live in his brothers and sisters.”¹³⁹ This is a very direct reference to the carrying of the Cross of Christ and reminds us of Jesus words “whoever does not take up his cross and follow after me is not worthy of me. Whoever finds his life will lose it, and whoever loses it for my sake will find it” (Mat 10: 38-39). From this homily we see a call to the Jesuit to give entirely of himself, including his life for the sake of the Reign of God.

The same invitation extended to individual Jesuits by Kolvenbach is repeated to the Society of Jesus as an apostolic body. This is perhaps also in reference to the famous phrase of Fr. Pedro Arrupe that Jesuits are called to be «men for others». Symbolically speaking of the Paschal mystery, Kolvenbach says that “The Congregation is called to lose its life in desiring for the Society - through its Decrees, initiatives and projects - only that which pleases the «divine Majesty» [Ex. 23].¹⁴⁰

General Congregation 33 urges the Jesuit to «labor with» Jesus in the service of the Kingdom [Ex. 93] and affirms that the more a Jesuit is exposed to situations and structures alien to the faith, the more he must strengthen his own religious identity and his union with the whole body of the Society.¹⁴¹ GC 33 describes Jesuits as companions of Jesus sent into today’s world who commit themselves to serving the

¹³⁷ GC 33 D1,11.

¹³⁸ Peter-Hans Kolvenbach was elected Superior General of the Society of Jesus in tumultuous times of the Society of Jesus when Fr. Arrupe was sick and John Paul II had named Paolo Dezza as his personal representative in place of Vincent O’Keefe who had been named Vicar by Fr. Arrupe. For more on the life of Fr. P.-H Kolvenbach, see Paul Begheyn, “Kolvenbach, Peter-Hans. Vigésimo nono General”, in *DHCJ* II, 1705-1706; Jesús Iturrioz, J., “P.P.-H. Kolvenbach. Cronología documental”, *Manresa* 55 (1983), 357-374.

¹³⁹ Homily of Father Peter-Hans Kolvenbach on September 16, 1983, in his first Mass after being elected Superior General of the Society of Jesus. See *Jesuit Life and Mission*, 482.

¹⁴⁰ Peter Hans-Kolvenbach, “Homily of Father General”, September 16, 1983. Cited in *Jesuit Life and Mission Today*, 482.

¹⁴¹ Cf. GC 33 D1, 31-33.

Church in her teaching, life and worship. This was to be done through a commitment to faith and to justice, the service of the poor, and especially the willingness to share the life of the poor.¹⁴²

This Congregation considered as important the living of an authentic and genuine poverty as key to being a true witnessing of the faith. GC 33 speaks of entering into full communion with others. A kind of freedom that cannot be separated from poverty. In fact, the GC says that “without poverty, such freedom cannot exist” and that “We must therefore strive with new heart to become truly poor with Christ poor so that we can really be said to «preach in poverty»”.¹⁴³ The witness of this poverty has to bear in mind the situation of the poor in today’s world where unjust structures force the human family to live in dehumanizing conditions. The state of poverty, therefore, acts a constant reminder to the Jesuit that God takes shares in the life of the poor through Jesus Christ who “came to proclaim the Good News to the poor” (Lk. 4:18).

GC 33 in terms of Jesuit identity recognizes that “every Jesuit is identified as one who has been «sent»” that they may give of themselves to this work without reserve and “that we might hear anew the of Christ dying and rising in the anguish and aspirations of men and women”, and to carry out the mission “to engage, under the standard of the Cross, in the crucial struggle of our times: the struggle for faith and that struggle for justice which it includes”.¹⁴⁴

Emphasizing on the theme of justice that gained a strong current in the previous General Congregation, GC 33 highlights that “in all our ministries, our work will only be credible if the practise of justice is evident in our personal lives, our communities, and our institutions”.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴² Cf. Ibid., 6-10.

¹⁴³ GC Ibid., 23-25.

¹⁴⁴ GC 33 D1, 28-30. A reference is made to the famous decree on faith and justice of GC 32 D2, 2.

¹⁴⁵ GC Ibid., 49.

2.6 The Cross and GC 34

The defining mark of GC 34 was that increased the awareness of the Society of Jesus of the cultural diversity in our mission engagement, helping us to comprehend better the Church and its mission in the 21st Century. For José M^a Fernández-Martos, in order to be servants of Christ's mission today, we have to deepen our souls, let ourselves be touched by the differences, and experience a communion with all life and all the world.¹⁴⁶ In fact Valentín Menéndez talks of cultural diversity as the typical experience of GC34.¹⁴⁷ This awareness is fundamental for mission because it reminds us the Christ is present in the world despite our cultural differences. It is Christ who sends us on mission to the same world of many diversities.

The document of GC 34 was inspired by the vision of La Storta, especially because "it was at the will of the Father that Jesus Christ, carrying his Cross as a standard of victory, took Ignatius as servant of his mission, to labor with him under that same Cross until his work is accomplished." Of importance is that the "risen Lord is now present in all who suffer, all who are oppressed and all whose lives are broken by sin [...] The Jesuit mission, as a service to the Crucified and Risen Lord, is always an entry into the saving work of the Cross in a world still marked by brutality and evil."¹⁴⁸ The Jesuit identity is inseparable from its mission which it receives directly from Christ, Christ now risen, but who draws all men and women into his Paschal Mystery.

2.6.1 The Jesuits and the Crucified Christ

The 34th General Congregation describes the Society of Jesus as 'servants of Christ's mission', and a Society that has felt both the strength of the Crucified Christ and Risen Christ and its own weaknesses, that is, a time of testing but also of grace.¹⁴⁹ To be with Jesus is to be placed with the Son in service. Likewise, to be with Jesus

¹⁴⁶ José M. Fernández-Martos, "Retratos con pasaje. La CG 34 de la Compañía de Jesús", en *Manresa* 67 (1995), 220.

¹⁴⁷ Valentín Menéndez, "Eclesialidad desde la experiencia de la Congregación General XXXIV", in *Manresa* 67 (1995), 249-252.

¹⁴⁸ GC 34 D2, 4.

¹⁴⁹ GC 34 D2,1.

means to serve in the Society of Jesus with Christ.¹⁵⁰ We find that “the Crucified Jesus reminds us that in weakness and vulnerability God’s love can shine forth mightily”¹⁵¹ Jesuits “follow this Christ, the crucified and risen Lord, in pilgrimage and labor”¹⁵². This, in my opinion, can be termed an important aspect of a spirituality of the Cross, that it incorporates the Paschal Mystery of the crucified yet risen Christ, in service and laboring for Him.

2.6.2 The Cross and “Our Way of Proceeding”

The distinguishing mark of GC 34 was the publication of the document *Our Way of Proceeding*, which denotes “Certain attitudes, values, and patterns of behavior”¹⁵³ called the Jesuit way of proceeding, whose characteristics are derived from the manner of living of Saint Ignatius of Loyola and his first companions. The phrase is attributed to Jerome Nadal who wrote that God set up in the life of St. Ignatius a living example of our way of proceeding.¹⁵⁴ This document is perhaps the closest attempt made to defining the attributes of a Jesuit identity in its history. We can see in this document an implicit spirituality of the Cross in the sense that it points out how Jesuits are to live, as followers of Christ on mission.

GC 34 proposes the following characteristics. The first is a «Deep personal love for Jesus Christ», where a Jesuit is inspired by the foundational grace of desiring “an intimate knowledge of our Lord, who has become human for me, that I may love him more and follow him more closely” [Ex. 104]. This foundational grace is what binds Jesuits to Jesus and to one another, leading them to respond to the question posed by GC 32: “Who is a Jesuits today? It is to know that one is a sinner yet called to be a companion of Jesus as Ignatius was”¹⁵⁵. A Jesuit as a reconciled sinner is subsequently tasked with the mission of reconciliation, in other words, the work of a faith that does justice. Consequently, we can say that a “Jesuit freely gives what he has freely

¹⁵⁰ Joseph De Guibert, *The Jesuits: Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice*, Institute of Jesuit Sources, St. Louis 1985, 596-597.

¹⁵¹ GC 34 D1, 9.

¹⁵² GC Ibid., 3.

¹⁵³ GC 34 D26, 1.

¹⁵⁴ See Nadal, MHSI, vol. 90, *Commentarii de Instituto Societatis Iesu*, bk. 5, p. 262.

¹⁵⁵ GC 32 D2, 1.

received: the gift of Christ's redeeming love"¹⁵⁶. The most privileged place to contemplate Christ's redeeming love is the Cross. It is the Cross that invites the Jesuit to see himself as a loved sinner. It is the same Cross that is the most privileged place of reconciliation – God reconciling humanity to Himself.

The second characteristic of Jesuit identity is that a Jesuit is a «Contemplative in Action»¹⁵⁷. To be a contemplative in action for the Jesuit implies to seek and find God working in all things and laboring for the salvation of all as laid down in the «Contemplation to Attain Divine Love» [Ex. 230-237]. The Jesuit is invited to “discover and join the Lord, laboring to bring everything to its fullness”, by employing the “Ignatian method of prayerful discernment, which can be described as a ‘constant interplay between experience, reflection, decision and action, in line with the Jesuit ideal of being a «contemplative in action»’”.¹⁵⁸

The third characteristic of Jesuit identity that is highlighted is that a Jesuit belongs to an «Apostolic Body in the Church». GC 34 borrows from the Deliberations of the first Jesuits, which stated that “we should not break this divinely constituted oneness and fellowship, but rather strengthen and consolidate it even more, forming ourselves into one body”¹⁵⁹. Jesuits are united because each of them has heard the call of Christ the King. It is from this union with Christ, that flows their love for one another, making them not merely fellow workers, but a group of «friends in the Lord». Even though the Jesuits may be dispersed throughout the world, they belong to a community that is the entire body of the Society of Jesus. Jesuits are called to serve in the Church under the banner of the Cross.

The fourth is a «Solidarity with Those Most in Need» that implies a solidarity with the poor, marginalized and the voiceless. The GC recognizes that it is only these persons who can teach a Jesuit what no document can about poverty, thus, “they help us to understand the meaning of gratuity in our ministries, giving freely what we have freely received, giving our very lives. They show us the way to inculturate gospel values in situations where God is forgotten”.¹⁶⁰ The fifth and the sixth characteristics

¹⁵⁶ GC 34 D26, 4.

¹⁵⁷ This concept of contemplative in action is also attributed to Jerome Nadal. See Nadal, MHSI, vol. 47, *Epistolae P. Hieronimi Nadal, 1546-1577*, bk. 4, p. 651.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. GC 34 D26, 7-8.

¹⁵⁹ See “Deliberations of the First Fathers in 1539”, MHSI, vol. 63, p.651.

¹⁶⁰ GC 34 D26, 12-14.

are «Partnership with Others», which implies cooperating with lay persons, other religious, priests, bishops, in the Church as well all men and women of goodwill¹⁶¹; and that Jesuits are «Called to learned ministry», that is, “men who are thoroughly prudent in Christ as well as conspicuous in the integrity of Christian life and learning”¹⁶², in a world which requires all learning and intelligence.¹⁶³ Solidarity with those in most need, as we shall see in chapters 2 and 3, is solidarity with the «crucified people(s) of Christ».

The seventh characteristic defines Jesuits as «Men Sent, Always Available for New Missions», who are ready to go where needs are not being met. A Jesuit in this sense is “essentially a man on a mission, a mission he receives from the Holy Father and from his own religious superior, but ultimately from Jesus Christ himself, the one sent by the Father”¹⁶⁴. This requires of the Jesuit an operative freedom, which means, Jesuits who are open, adaptable, and eager for any mission that may be given, free of any worldly interest and free to serve all men and women.¹⁶⁵ A Jesuit takes up the mission of Christ carrying his Cross.

Finally, Jesuits are to be characterized by being men «Ever Searching for the *Magis*», in other words, “Jesuits are never content with the status quo, the known, the tried, the already existing. We are constantly driven to discover, redefine, and reach out for the *magis*. For us, frontiers and boundaries are not obstacles or ends, but new challenges to be faced, new opportunities to be welcomed”.¹⁶⁶ The *magis* draws its inspiration from gazing at the one who is crucified and asking “What have I done for Christ? What I’m I doing for Christ? What ought I do for Christ?” [Ex. 57].

2.6.3 Servants of Christ’s Mission

The mission of the Society of Jesus, and by extension Jesuit identity, therefore “derives from our continuing experience of the Crucified and risen Christ who invites

¹⁶¹ GC 34 D26, 15-17.

¹⁶² See *Formula of the Institute* [5].

¹⁶³ GC 34 D26, 18-20.

¹⁶⁴ See *Const.* [588].

¹⁶⁵ Cf. GC 34 D26, 21-24.

¹⁶⁶ GC 34 D26, 25-27. See also Pedro Arrupe, *Our Way of Proceeding*, n.12, AR 17 (1979), 697.

us to join him in preparing the world to become the completed Kingdom of God”.¹⁶⁷ This leads us to affirm that to embrace a spirituality of the Cross involves embracing the mission of Christ crucified and risen: “As «servants of Christ’s Mission», we base our hope ultimately in Jesus Christ, crucified and risen, to preserve, to direct, and carry us forward in our service of faith and promotion of justice”¹⁶⁸. Ignasi Salvat points out that the concept of justice in its deepest sense implies a justice of the Kingdom, which means that reality that includes social aspects and solidarity with the marginalized as spoken by the prophets in the Old Testament but brought to fulfilment by the proclamation of the Kingdom by Jesus Christ.¹⁶⁹

A Jesuit who is inspired by the spirituality of the Cross, must be one who lives up to the characteristics of ‘*Our Way of Proceeding*’, that is one who: has a deep personal love for Jesus Christ; is a contemplative in action; is a part and member of an apostolic body in the Church; is in solidarity with those most in need; works in partnership with others; is called to learned ministry for the sake of the mission; and finally one who is ever searching for the *Magis*.

2.7 The Cross and GC 35: Enkindled by the Cross

GC 35 decree 2 affirms further that Jesuit identity and Jesuit mission are linked by community, and are also inseparable¹⁷⁰, thus we can see that “indeed, identity, community, and mission are kind of triptych shedding light on how our companionship is best understood. This companionship shows how people different in background and diverse in talent can live together as «friends in the Lord»”¹⁷¹. The Decree goes further to define Jesuit identity as relational, as one that grows mainly because their diversities of culture, nationalities, and languages, enriching and challenging us, inspired by the heart of Christ burns with love for our world, with all its troubles, and seeks companions who can serve with Christ.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁷ GC 34 D2, 6.

¹⁶⁸ GC 34 D3, 24.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Ignasi Salvat, *Servir en misión universal*, 275.

¹⁷⁰ AA. VV., “Identidad y misión en la CG 35^a. ¿Qué novedad? ¿Qué propuestas”, en *Manresa* 80 (2008), 372.

¹⁷¹ GC 35 D2, 19.

¹⁷² Cf. GC 35 D2, 19.

The theme of identity and mission as highlighted in GC 35 attempts to explain in detail the history and experience of God and the Ignatian vision of faith that is at the heart of Jesuit mission. The main preoccupation with identity here will be as to what makes mission have a Jesuit and Ignatian identity, centered on the person of Jesus Christ whom we desire to follow.¹⁷³

2.7.1 With Renewed Vigor and Zeal

GC 35 reminds Jesuits to live with a great spirit and generosity, emphasizing that a Jesuit is called to “serve as a soldier of God beneath the banner of the Cross”¹⁷⁴. It further challenges the Jesuits to be authentically «contemplatives in action», seeking and finding God in all things by continually returning to the spiritual experience of the *Spiritual Exercises*, which is a gift that the Lord has given, not only to Jesuits, but to the entire Church. The Society of Jesus demands of Jesuits to be men who are humble and prudent in Christ [*Ex.* 32-43], while inviting them, through GC 35 to live “with renewed vigor and zeal the mission for which the Spirit willed it [the Society] in the Church”¹⁷⁵. The GC further invited the Jesuits to renew their availability to be sent into the Lord’s vineyard, for the greater service of the Church and for the greater glory of God.¹⁷⁶

Jesuits live their identity as companions of Jesus in a context of a fragmented culture that demands their attention. They can only partake of this mission through an experience of the Lord, whose imagination and love for the world are inexhaustible – a love that invites them, according to the words of Pedro Arrupe, to a “participation in the mission of the One sent by the Father, in the Spirit, in an ever greater service, in love, with all the variants of the cross, in an imitation and following of that Jesus who wants to lead all people and all of creation to the glory of the Father”¹⁷⁷. The grace the Jesuit receives is to go and be with Jesus, “looking on the world with his eyes, loving

¹⁷³ AA. VV. “Identidad y misión...”, 371-372.

¹⁷⁴ See MHSI 63:375, “Formula of the Institute”, *Expositio debitum* (15 July 1550).

¹⁷⁵ Pope Benedict XVI, Allocution to the 35th General Congregation of the Society of Jesus, 21 February 2008.

¹⁷⁶ GC 35 D1, 9-17.

¹⁷⁷ Pedro Arrupe, *Trinitarian Inspiration of the Ignatian Charism*, AR 18 (1980-1983),150.

it with his heart, and entering into its depths with his unlimited compassion”¹⁷⁸. This will enable them to see themselves as sent with Jesus as companions consecrated to him in poverty, chastity, and obedience, recognizing themselves as sinners yet called to listen attentively to the people whom they seek to serve.¹⁷⁹ Serving Christ’s mission today implies paying special attention to its global context.

2.7.2 Fires that Kindles other Fires

GC 35 uses the image of a «fire that kindles other fires» as a rallying call to the Jesuits to draw inspiration from Christ carrying his Cross in the vision of St. Ignatius at La Storta: “We Jesuits, then, find our identity not alone but in companionship: in companionship with our Lord who calls, and in companionship with others who share this call. Its root is to be found in Saint Ignatius’s experience at La Storta, where the Father placed him with his Son Carrying the Cross, and Jesus accepted him saying: ‘I wish you to serve us’” [Au 97]. There «placed» with God’s Son and called to serve him as he carries his Cross”.¹⁸⁰ Here we can find a well-defined spirituality of the Cross: “Similarly today, the Society, in carrying out its mission, experiences the companionship of the Lord and the challenge of the Cross”¹⁸¹ [Ex. 53]. According to Josep M^a Rambla, it is in the *Spiritual Exercises* that the first fires are lit, and which in turn becomes the fire that enkindles other fires. Without this initial spark the Society of Jesus would be reduced to nothing more than any other organization. For him, therefore the *Exercises* are the source and central personal experience of the Jesuit and the Society of Jesus, and at the same time an inspirational source of apostolic service to the world.¹⁸²

The Jesuit who has an experience and encounter with Christ carrying his Cross, is in turn, placed with Christ at the heart of the world. Moved by a deep love of God and a passion for his world, the Jesuit should be set on fire – a fire that starts other

¹⁷⁸ GC 35 D2,15.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. GC 35 D2, 16.

¹⁸⁰ GC 35 D2, 3.

¹⁸¹ GC 35 D2, 7.

¹⁸² Josep M. Rambla, “‘Por medio de los Ejercicios’ (Au 82). La CG 35^a en clave de Ejercicios Espirituales”, in *Manresa* 80 (2008), 372.

fires.¹⁸³ This fire is the flame that the “Society of Jesus has carried for nearly five hundred years through innumerable social and cultural circumstances that have challenged it intensely to keep that flame alive and burning [...] because of the continued goodness of God, who has never allowed that fire to die”¹⁸⁴. Following Christ bearing his Cross, according to GC 35, means opening ourselves to every thirst that afflicts humanity today; it also means announcing his Gospel to the many poor who inhabit our world today.¹⁸⁵

2.7.3 A Call to Reconciliation

GC 35 links the experience of La Storta with a mission of reconciliation. Perhaps we can say that Christ who reconciled the world through his Cross, now invites us to continue the work of reconciliation, indeed a mission of reconciliation, through a «Call to establish Right Relationships»:

We are sent on mission by the Father, as were Ignatius and the first companion at La Storta, together with Christ, risen and glorified but still carrying the cross, as he labors in a world yet to experience the fullness of his reconciliation. In a world torn by violence, strife, and division, we are then called with others to become instruments of God, who “in Christ reconciled the world to himself, not counting our trespasses.” (2 Cor. 5:19) This reconciliation calls us to build a new world of right relationships, a new Jubilee reaching across all divisions so that God might restore his justice for all.¹⁸⁶

This work of reconciliation demands an apostolic response from the Jesuits, who as servants of Christ’s mission are invited to assist him in reconciling us to God, with other human beings, and with creation.¹⁸⁷ The image used to describe reconciliation is that of «building bridges across barriers»: “we become able to bridge the divisions of a fragmented world only if we are united by the love of our Lord, by personal bonds [...] and by the obedience that sends each one of us on mission to any part of the world”¹⁸⁸. Benjamín González Buelta talks of building bridges in a fragmented world, by learning from St. Ignatius of Loyola and his companions who were great mediators,

¹⁸³ Cf. GC 35 D2, 10.

¹⁸⁴ GC 35 D2, 1.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. GC 35 D2, 12.

¹⁸⁶ GC 35 D3, 16.

¹⁸⁷ See, GC 35 D3, 18-36.

¹⁸⁸ GC 35 D35 D3, 17.

while having as an ultimate goal reconciling all people in Christ as servants of reconciliation.¹⁸⁹ In a world marked by so much division and injustices, as well as destruction of natural resources, reconciliation, as pointed out by GC 35 will become one of the central themes and priority for mission for the Society of Jesus and its members. Christ on the Cross reconciles himself to the world, reconciles us to the world and calls us to carry out his mission of reconciliation.

2.8 The Cross and GC 36: Witnesses of Friendship and Reconciliation

General Congregation 36 picks up from where GC 35 signed off, that is, resounding the need for reconciliation. GC 36 makes a link between the Cross and the work of reconciliation by emphasizing that, “The Cross of Christ and our sharing in it are also at the center of God’s work of reconciliation”¹⁹⁰. Carrying the Cross of Christ is the mission that entails, in the first place, a reconciliation with God that roots the Jesuit in gratitude and opens them to a joy of living the Gospel of Christ.

Reconciliation with God implies a call to a profound conversion, convinced that “God is calling the entire Society to a profound spiritual renewal”; the second level of reconciliation is reconciliation with humanity, where the Jesuit hears Christ’s summons anew to a ministry of justice, peace, serving the poor and the excluded, while helping to build peace; and finally a reconciliation with creation that examines the current situation of environmental degradation, not of its own, but closely linked to poverty, social exclusion, and marginalization.¹⁹¹ GC 36 in Decree 1 describes Jesuits as «Companions in a Mission of Reconciliation and justice». Perhaps what stands out the most is the phrase that “with Christ, we are called to closeness with all of crucified humanity”¹⁹².

GC 36 draws inspiration from the experience of the first Jesuits in Venice [*Au*, 93-95], to urge its members to become a discerning community with open horizons, to be men on fire with passion for the Gospel, and men on a mission with Christ the

¹⁸⁹ Benjamín González Bueta, “Tender puentes en un mundo fragmentado”, *Manresa* 86 (2014), 229-240.

¹⁹⁰ GC 36 D1, 21.

¹⁹¹ Cf. GC 36 D1, 21-29.

¹⁹² GC 36 D1, 31. This concept of a crucified humanity will be dealt with in Chapter two which will be based on the theme of the ‘Crucified People of Christ’.

reconciler – “Filled with the fire of Christ’s mercy, we can enflame those we meet”¹⁹³. The Jesuit is urged to pray for the courage and the freedom to acquire the “audacity to seek the improbable”¹⁹⁴ and have the courage and “prophetic audacity”¹⁹⁵:

An assembly such as yours, rooted in a tradition of such rich evangelization, carrier of so many and such varied experiences, will without doubt move between the duty of constant calling the Society to dare the audacity of the «improbable» and the evangelical willingness to do it, with the humility of those who know that, in service where the human engages all his energy, «everything depends on God».¹⁹⁶

The Jesuits are urged to return to their roots, by first practicing discernment in common, then to living a profound life of faith, and finally to go out on mission – a mission which can only be fulfilled through a collaboration with others. Pope Francis, in his Address to the congregated Jesuits of GC 36, urged them to allow themselves to be moved by the Lord of the Cross.¹⁹⁷ This perhaps reflects the mention of Pope Francis call to mercy GC 36 decree 1, specifically, to be moved to compassion and action: “Yet we know that if we do not allow ourselves to be moved by compassion and action by an encounter with the Christ who is revealed in the suffering, vulnerable faces of people, indeed the suffering of creation.”¹⁹⁸ A spirituality of the Cross in this sense is a spirituality which allows the Jesuit to allow himself to be moved by compassion by the suffering faces of others after having a profound encounter with the crucified Christ.

¹⁹³ GC 36 D1, 19.

¹⁹⁴ This phrase is drawn from the homily of Rev. Bruno Cadoré, O.P. at the opening of GC 36 at the Church of the Gesù, Rome, on 2 October 2016, in *36th General Congregation Documents*, General Curia, Rome 2017 (Private Edition), 69-72.

¹⁹⁵ See “To have the Courage and Prophetic Audacity”, Dialogue of Pope Francis with the Jesuits gathered in the 36th General Congregation, on 24 October 2016, in *36th General Congregation Documents*, General Curia, Rome 2017 (Private Edition), 55-63.

¹⁹⁶ Bruno Cadoré, “Homily”, in *36th General Congregation Documents*, 69.

¹⁹⁷ Address of his Holiness Pope Francis to the 36th General Congregation of the Society of Jesus, General Curia of the Society of Jesus, Monday, 24 October 2016, in *36th General Congregation Documents*, General Curia, Rome 2017, 52.

¹⁹⁸ GC 36 D1, 20.

2.9 Conclusion

This chapter dealt with the question of Jesuit identity as viewed through the lenses of the General Congregations 32 – 36. It further developed a Spirituality of the Cross that has its roots from the rich Jesuit tradition of Ignatian Spirituality but through its reading in «our times». We observed that GC 32 was the most important document after the Second Vatican Council that attempts to define for the Jesuits an identity and especially with regards to mission – a mission of that is best captured by the vision of St. Ignatius at La Storta. Christ carrying his Cross takes the Society of Jesus in his service in the world. Subsequent General Congregations attempted to ratify and consolidate what had been done before but contextualizing it in the historical moments in which they found themselves.

It might be worth pointing out that in La Storta, Christ appears carrying his Cross and walking. Stefan Kiechle sustains that following of Christ implies fixing our eyes of the way followed by Jesus.¹⁹⁹ We can argue that this is a dynamic sense represented by the movement, by following Christ. The mission of the Society of Jesus can also be said to be dynamic, mobile, a pilgrimage, in following of Christ carrying his Cross. We can perhaps talk of the itinerary of GC 31-36 as a pilgrimage, a pilgrimage in the way of the Cross. It might seem as a contradiction that in the colloquy with the crucified Christ [*Ex 53*], we seem to contemplate Christ nailed and stuck on the Cross. We can however see a dynamism in the three questions we ask ourselves in dialogue with Christ crucified, “What have we done, what are we doing, what ought we do for Christ?”. Therefore, to be placed with Christ carrying His Cross and to serve beneath the banner of the Cross have this dynamic component. A spirituality of the Cross is therefore always dynamic.

The next chapter delves deeper into the second most important item that arose from these General Congregations, that is a «preferential option for the poor». The Jesuit is called to follow Christ in the service of faith and the promotion of justice, where words such as «marginalized» and «frontiers» come up. Indeed, after defining who a Jesuit is, the next step is to go out on mission, to serve those in most need and where the greatest need lies, the poor of Christ, who are «the crucified people of God».

¹⁹⁹ Stefan Kiechle, “Cruz”, *DEI*, 505.

Chapter 3

Jesuits and the Crucified Poor of Christ

The validity of our mission will also depend to a large extent on our solidarity with the poor. For though obedience sends us, it is poverty that makes us believable. So, together with many other religious congregations, we wish to make our own the Church's preferential option for the poor. This option is a decision to love the poor preferentially because there is a desire to heal the whole human family. Such love, like Christ's own, excludes no one but neither does it excuse anyone from its demands. Directly or indirectly, this option should find some concrete expression in every Jesuit's life, in the orientation of our existing apostolic works, and in our choice of new ministries.

General Congregation 33 Decree I:48.²⁰⁰

²⁰⁰ See: Sacred Congregation for Religious and Secular Institutes (SCRIS), *Religiosi et Promotio Humana*, n. 4 and 6, note 25; ET, 17-18; John Paul II, *Laborem Exercens*, 8; John Paul II, *Dives in Misericordia*, 3; Fr. Arrupe, *Rooted and Grounded in Love*, 61 (AR XVIII, 497).

3.0 Introduction

The previous chapter defined Jesuit identity with regard to the post conciliar General Congregations of the Society of Jesus. This chapter examines the meaning and expression of the phrase the «service of faith and the promotion of justice», specifically as regards the poor and the marginalized. In equal measure we pose the question, “What does the Cross have to do with the poor?” And hence the choice of the title «the crucified poor of Christ».²⁰¹ An explicit response to the question posed would be that the Cross has everything to do with the poor, while an implicit response would make reference to the theological underpinnings that the poor and suffering, as the symbol of God’s Kingdom, have everything to do with the Cross.

P.-H Kolvenbach puts it in these words: “Only when we come to live out our consecration to the Kingdom in a communion that is for the poor, with the poor and against all forms of human poverty, material and spiritual, only then will the poor see that the gates of the Kingdom are open to them.”²⁰² It is the same Cross that becomes the clearest link to the everlasting Kingdom. The poor, thus became a major focus for the Society of Jesus, in a way that all its documents would appear incomplete if they did not touch on the issue of service and attention to the poor, vulnerable and those in most need.

In the advent of the Second Vatican Council, Pope John XXIII made a rallying call for a Church that serves all, and more concretely, a «Church of the poor».²⁰³ The subsequent popes, Paul VI, John Paul II and Benedict XVI advanced the discourse on the poor in various forms.²⁰⁴ Most recently, Pope Francis on his part, on speaking about the poor, reminds us that we are called to find Christ in the poor, to lend our voice to their causes, but also to be their friends, to listen to them, to understand them, and to embrace the mysterious wisdom which God wishes to share with us through them.²⁰⁵ The treatise on the poor became even more popular and widespread in church circles and language, especially in Latin America, where it was converted into a

²⁰¹ This phrase is an adaptation of the theme of the «The crucified peoples/nations» popularized by Ignacio Ellacuría and Jon Sobrino. See Ignacio Ellacuría, “El pueblo crucificado. Ensayo de soteriología histórica”, in I. Ellacuría, et al., *Cruz y resurrección. Anuncio de una Iglesia nueva*, CTR, México City 1978, 49-82.

²⁰² Fr. Peter-Hans Kolvenbach, *Homily in St. Peter’s Basilica*, oct. 15, 1983. See *Jesuit life and Mission Today*, 483-484.

²⁰³ Pope John XXIII, Address. *La grande aspettazione*, Sept.11, 1962, AAS54 (1962) 682.

²⁰⁴ See Paul VI, *Evangelica Testificatio*, 17-18 and John Paul II, *Laborem exercens*, 8; *Dives in Misericordia*,3

²⁰⁵ Cf. Pope Francis, *Evangelii Gaudium*, 198.

theology of liberation.²⁰⁶ One of the most renowned proponents of this school of thought was Ignacio Ellacuría and Jon Sobrino.²⁰⁷ A theology of liberation²⁰⁸ emphasizes the liberating theme of Christ, who not only came to console the less fortunate, but also to fight against structures of oppression and injustices. It also makes allude a triple dimension of poverty, that is, first of all «real or material poverty», which it considers as something scandalous and unwanted by God; secondly, spiritual poverty, as a detachment from the goods of this world; and thirdly, poverty as a commitment, a solidarity with the poor and protest against poverty.²⁰⁹

The Society of Jesus in its documents made a repeated call for a «solidarity with the poor». For the Jesuit, a solidarity with the poor implies a choice, a solidarity in living in poverty. GC 31 refers to the poverty of the Society of Jesus as apostolic, that is, that Jesuits are sent “to preach in poverty.”²¹⁰ GC 31, while making reference to the movements of Vatican II invites the Jesuits to an adaptation and renewal by a return to the true doctrine of the Gospel and the original inspiration of the Society. Such an adaptation, as a consequence, must affect both the forms of living poverty as well as the juridical norms that accompany them.²¹¹

GC 31 specifically mentions a poverty that is characterized by: “sincerity, by which our lives are really poor; devotion to work, by which we resemble workers in the world; and charity, by which we freely devote ourselves and all we have for the service of the neighbor [...] to give a witness of evangelical poverty, humbly and fraternally serving all, especially the poor, so that we may gain all for Christ, living as

²⁰⁶ There are two important conferences of the General Conference of the Latin American and Caribbean Bishops (CELAM) that are often referred to, the first is known as the Medellín Conference, or CELAM II, convened by Pope Paul VI from August 24 to September 6, 1968, in Medellín, Colombia, to apply the teachings of Vatican Council II to the present needs of the church in Latin America. The second, known as CELAM III, was held in Puebla, Mexico in 1979 with the theme of “Evangelization in the present and in the future of Latin America” (“La evangelización en el presente y en el futuro de América Latina”). See Alejandro Croswaite, “Medellin Conference (CELAM II), in Gooren H. (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Latin America Religions*, Springer: Cham 2016; O.P.A.C, “Puebla Conference (CELAM III), in Gooren H. (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Latin America Religions...* online versions: https://link.springer.com/referenceworkentry/10.1007%2F978-3-319-08956-0_207-1

²⁰⁷ See their work on liberation theology: Ignacio Ellacuría, Jon Sobrino (eds.), *Mysterium Liberationis: Fundamental Concepts of Liberation Theology*, Orbis Books-Collins Dove, New York-Victoria 1993. This are translated from the original Spanish: *Mysterium Liberationis. Conceptos y fundamentos de la Teología de la Liberación* 2 vols., Trotta, Madrid 1990.

²⁰⁸For more on a theology of liberation and the figure of Jesus Christ as a liberator see General Conference of the Latin American and Caribbean Bishops. J. Sobrino, *Jesucristo liberador. Lectura histórico-teológico de Jesús de Nazaret*, Centro de Reflexión Teológica-Universidad Iberoamericana, México 1994.

²⁰⁹ “Pobreza de la Iglesia”, *Documentos finales de Medellín*. Medellín: Segunda Conferencia General del Episcopado Latinoamericano, septiembre de 1968, n. 5.

²¹⁰ MHSI, *S. Ignatii Epistolae et Instructiones*, I, 96.

²¹¹ Cf. GC 31 D 18, 2-6.

poor men and in externals in a manner common to all.”²¹² GC 32 urges the Jesuits to listen to the cry of the poor:

Jesuits will be unable to hear the “cry of the poor” (Ps. 9:13; Job 34:28; Prov. 21:13) unless they have greater personal experience of the miseries and distress of the poor. It will be difficult for the Society everywhere to forward effectively the cause of justice and human dignity if the greater part of her ministry identifies her with the rich and powerful, or is based on the ‘security of possession, knowledge, and power’. Our life will be no ‘witness to a new and eternal life won by Christ’s redemption or to a resurrected state and the glory of the heavenly kingdom’, if individually or corporately, Jesuits are seen to be attached to earthly things, even apostolic institutions, and to be dependent on them.²¹³

GC 33 urges the Jesuits to strive with a new heart to become truly poor with Christ poor so that they can have the freedom to preach in poverty: “Such freedom, however, as we learn in the *Spiritual Exercises* [Ex. 136-147], cannot be separated from poverty. In fact, without poverty, such freedom cannot exist.”²¹⁴ Pope John Paul II, in a homily to the members of GC 33, reminds them that the austerity of a simple and poor life should be a sign that Christ is their sole treasure.²¹⁵ GC 34, on its part, emphasizes that being friends of the Lord implies being friends with the poor, in such a way that we cannot turn aside when our friends are in need. It adds that “we are a community in solidarity with them because of Christ’s preferential love for them.”²¹⁶

GC 34 further makes a link between the poor and mission by stating that “the aim of our mission received from Christ, as presented in the *Formula of the Institute*, is «the service of faith». The integrating principle of our mission is the inseparable link between faith and the promotion of the justice of the Kingdom.”²¹⁷ GC 36 on its part used a rich image to speak of poverty by taking us back to the experience of the first Jesuits in Venice, where they lived on alms and spent time with the poorest of the poor and sick in hospices, attending and ministering to their needs [Au 93]. Indeed GC 36 describes this meeting of the founding group of companions in Venice as “a powerful image, an important step in the formation of the Society”, and furthermore states with respect to the poor that, “the poverty of life and proximity to the poor of the First

²¹² GC 31 D 18, 6; 13.

²¹³ GC 32 D12, 5.

²¹⁴ GC 33 D 1, 23-25.

²¹⁵ Homily of the Holy Father, Pope John Paul II, to the members of the 33rd General Congregation in the chapel of the General Curia, on September 2, 1983. See J. W. Padberg (ed.), *Jesuit Life and Mission Today*, 470.

²¹⁶ GC 34 D2, 9.

²¹⁷ GC 34 D2, 14.

companions in Venice must mark our lives too, that poverty that engenders creativity and protects us from what limits our availability to respond to God's call. Such poverty of life constantly calls us to reflect on how we can live more simply with less."²¹⁸ We see here a consistent linking between solidarity with the poor and the kind of lifestyle that Jesuits should live that witnesses to such a solidarity.

Solidarity with men and women who live a life of hardship and who are victims of oppression cannot be the choice of a few Jesuits only. It should be a characteristic of the life of all of us as individuals and a characteristic of our communities and institutions as well. Alterations are called for in our manner and style of living so that the poverty to which we are vowed may identify us with the poor Christ, who identified Himself with the deprived [Ex. 90].²¹⁹

Solidarity with the poor has its foundation in the Gospels and specifically to the person of Christ who lived in solidarity with the poor. The poor are the sign of Christ's presence (cf. Mt 11:5; Lk 4:18). According to the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (CCC), the Church's love for the poor is a part of her constant tradition. It is a love inspired by the Gospel of the Beatitudes, of the poverty of Jesus, and of his concern for the poor (cf. Lk 6:20-22; Mt 8:20; Mk 12:41-44). Love for the poor is even one of the motives for the duty of working so as to "be able to give to those in need" (Eph 4:28). This love also extends not only to material poverty but also to the many forms of cultural and religious poverty.²²⁰ Referring to these gospel values, we can find a lot of wisdom in the words of GC 32:

The Gospel demands a life freed from egoism and self-seeking, from all attempts to seek one's own advantage and from every form of exploitation of one's neighbor. It demands a life in which the justice of the Gospel shines out in a willingness not only to recognize and respect the rights of all, especially the poor and the powerless, but also to work actively to secure those rights.²²¹

We can conclude by resounding the words of GC 32 that "If we have the patience and the humility and the courage to walk with the poor, we will learn from what they have to teach us what we can do to help them."²²² José García de Castro calls this a

²¹⁸ GC 36 D1, 6.

²¹⁹ GC 32 D4, 48

²²⁰ *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (CCC), 2443 – 2445. See also John Paul II, *Centesimus Annus* (CA), 57.

²²¹ GC 32 D4, 18

²²² GC 32 D4, 50

«spirituality from the poor to the poor»²²³. We can therefore affirm that such a love for the poor is incompatible with immoderate love of riches or their selfish use.

3.1 Service to the Poor in the Ignatian Tradition

Ignatius of Loyola, ever since his conversion, had a deep desire to be identified with the poor in such a way that his spiritual experience and his actions of always living poor and among the poor became fundamental, not only to him but would influence his first companions and the Society of Jesus. Throughout most of his pilgrimage experience after his conversion up to and inclusive of the time he would settle in Rome as the General of the Society of Jesus, Ignatius lived the life of a beggar, living on the grace of God. His companions Diego Laínez, Jerónimo Nadal and Pedro Ribadeneira in giving testimony about Ignatius, observed keenly his affection for the poor, begging with them and for them, and sleeping in deplorable conditions alongside beggars and the sick.²²⁴

We can make mention of various persons mentioned in his *Autobiography*, for example, prostitutes²²⁵, converted Jews and orphans [Au 98]; then also beggars [40, 50, 57, 61, 89]; people with various material needs [66, 73, 93]; the sick [79, 83, 93, 95]; the oppressed [18, 38, 59]; those considered to be sinners [79, 88] and finally the marginalized [98]. Ignatius dedicated a lot of time looking for resources to help the poor. He did this by giving them money he had obtained through begging, making visits, through institutions and mobilizing persons and structures for this end.²²⁶ Ignatius related with different classes of poor persons who were marginalized and discriminated upon by the society of his day. On the one hand we can talk of him

²²³ José García de Castro, "Companionship in the spirit. A history of the spirituality of the Society of Jesus", in *Estudios Eclesiásticos*, Vol. 91 (2016), 138.

²²⁴ Cf. José M^a Castillo, "Opción preferencial por los pobres", in *DEI*, 1353. See *Fontes Narrativi (FN)*, FN III, 203-204; FN I, 78; I, 160; FN II, 525; FN II, 159.

²²⁵ The *Autobiography* [Au 98] mentions Saint Martha, a house founded by Ignatius in 1543 for the rehabilitation of prostitutes. See John W. O'Malley, "Ministry to prostitutes"; "Orphans and daughters of prostitutes", *The first Jesuits*, 178-188. See *Polanci Complementa. Epistolae et comentaria P. Joannis Alphonsi de Polanco, P Co.*, 1:63-65. Here Polanco talks about the founding of Santa Marta in a memorandum he wrote in 1551.

²²⁶ Cf. José M^a Rambla, "El peregrino con los pobres", en *Tradicón ignaciana y solidaridad con los pobres* (J. M.^a Rambla, et. al) Mensajero-Sal Terrae, Bilbao-Santander 1990, 18-19.

offering material help, but on the other we can clearly see that he was convinced of the need for «helping souls» [Au 45].

Ignatius of Loyola spent his life preoccupied with the welfare of the poor on the one hand, but with a deep concern that he and his companions were called to live a life of poverty that leads one to a total dependence on God's providence [Cons. 134, 398] and emphasizing in the *Constitutions* that Jesuits ought to give freely what they have received freely [Cons. 565]. In his *Spiritual Diary*, we find in him a man who spent more than one year in discernment on whether the works of the Society of Jesus should have rent or not, in other words, whether to choose complete poverty or have some income [De. 1-9; 56-60].²²⁷

A precursor to Ignatius discernment on poverty was a communal discernment of the first companions with one of the themes being living a life of service in poverty.²²⁸ Other examples suffice here. The first we can say is how the companions lived while in Venice [Au 93]; the second is through a letter of instructions that Ignatius sent to the Jesuits participating in the Council of Trent, requesting them to find some time daily to administer to the sick and the poor: "Visit the hospitals at some convenient hour during the day [...] Hear the confessions of the poor and console them [...] If you are at least three in number, each one should take his turn visiting the poor, a day at a time, twice a week"²²⁹; the third is from the letter that Ignatius sends to the Jesuits in Padua reminding them that friendship with the poor makes them friends of God:

I call poverty a grace because it is a very special gift from God, as Scripture says: poverty and riches are from God (Sir. 11:14). How much God loved it His only begotten Son has showed us, who, coming down from the Kingdom of heaven (Wis. 18:15), chose to be born in poverty and to grow up in it. He loved it, not only in life, suffering hunger and thirst, without any place to lay His head (Mt. 8:20), but even in death [...] Friendship with the poor makes us friends of the eternal King [...] To the poor and to those who suffer persecution for justice's sake, Immutable Truth promises it for the present: blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven (Mt. 5:3).²³⁰

²²⁷ For the purpose of this thesis we make reference to the English Translation by Simon Decloux. See S. Decloux, *The Spiritual Diary of St. Ignatius Loyola: Text and Commentary*, Centrum Ignatianum Spiritualitatis, Rome 1990.

²²⁸ This famous gathering, popularly known as *Deliberación de los Primeros Padres* took place in Rome between March and June of 1539, setting the stage for the publication of the Formula of the Institute of 1540. See *MI, Series Tertia I; Sancti Ignatii de Loyola, Constitutiones et Regulae Societatis Iesu Tomus Primus; Monumenta Constitutionum Praevia*.

²²⁹ Cf. Letter of Saint Ignatius to the Jesuits at the Council of Trent with the title: *To the Fathers attending Council of Trent: On Dealing with Others*, Rome 1546. See *Obras Completas de San Ignacio Loyola*, BAC, 669-670. My Translation.

²³⁰ Ignatius, *To the Fathers and Brothers at Padua: On Feeling the effects of poverty*. Letter of Saint Ignatius of Loyola to the Jesuits of Padua, August 6, 1547. See *Epp*, I, 572-577.

The Society of Jesus since its inception has always engaged with the poor, performing various works of mercy. The first Jesuits engaged in peace making, hospital and prison visits, ministry to the dying, ministry to prostitutes, orphans and daughters of prostitutes, Jews and New Christians who were discriminated upon and, and finally they carried out various ministries in groups through the confraternities and Marian Congregations that they started.²³¹ Inspired by this tradition, Jesuits throughout history have continued ministering to the poor in various capacities.²³² The *Constitutions* urge the Jesuits to love poverty as their mother [Co 287], whereas the *Formula of the Institute* extolls us to embrace evangelical poverty [FI 5]. Daniel Izuzquiza presents the Ignatian tradition using various images and verbs from the documents of the Society of Jesus, for example poverty as a forge, as fertile ground, as a sound wall.²³³ Such are themes that would be captured in the documents of the GC'S we have dealt with in Chapter 2.²³⁴

We can, therefore, point out that there is a rich Ignatian tradition on the observance and concern for the poor, first from the experience of Ignatius of Loyola himself, then to the shared and lived experience of the founding group, and finally in the founding documents of the Society of Jesus and writings of Saint Ignatius of Loyola. Poverty and identification with the poor and most needy was deeply embedded in the Ignatian Charism and Spirituality from its foundations. Serving these poor and needy is embracing Christ and his message of the coming of the Kingdom, it is a conformity with the crucified Christ.

3.2 The service of Faith and the Promotion of Justice

The option faith-justice is closely linked with the theme of social justice which might have gained impetus from the papacy of Pope John XXIII, with the publication

²³¹ John W. O'Malley, "Works of Mercy", in *The First Jesuits*, 165-199. See also: José M^o Rambla, et. al., *Tradición y solidaridad con los pobres*, Mensajero-Sal Terrae, Bilbao-Santander, 1990.

²³² For a link between Ignatius work with the poor and our contemporary society see: Daniel Izuzquiza Regalado, "Una opción entrañable. Ignacio, lágrimas y pobres", *Rincones de la ciudad. Orar en el Camino fe-justicia*, Narcea S. A. de ediciones 2005, 25-34.

²³³ Daniel Izuzquiza, "La pobreza apostólica en clave Ignaciana. Siete imágenes y tres verbos", *Manresa* 87 (2015), 245-257.

²³⁴ Urbano Valero, "Pobreza", *DEI*, 1452-1462.

of his two encyclicals *Mater et Magistra* and *Pacem in Terris*. In *Mater et Magistra* John XXIII expresses his concern for a world in which differences between people keep increasing while there is an increasing lack of access to natural and economic resources, thus resulting in inequalities caused by the rise of an industrial society which in turn impacts economic sectors, geographical regions and nations. *Pacem in Terris*, on the other hand opened up an honest dialogue with the modern society of the time, with Pope John's call to all men and women of goodwill to build a world order based on the respect of human dignity and human rights and peace.²³⁵

From this we can see clearly the themes that would be a major preoccupation for the Church, not only then but also in our context today. We can therefore affirm that these documents of John XXIII, not only had an impact on the Church and Vatican II but changed the course for what the Society of Jesus would thereafter lay its focus, that is «the service of faith and the promotion of justice».

Fr. Pedro Arrupe, on his part, was at the forefront of adopting the theme of «justice in the world». Arrupe wrote a short document on the theme of justice at the behest of the Pontifical Commission on Justice and Peace that recapitulated the main ideas of the synod of bishops into concrete action in favor of justice.²³⁶ He later gave a speech to an association of Jesuit Alumni in Valencia in 1973, where he used the phrase «the promotion of justice».²³⁷

3.2.1 Faith-Justice in the Post Vatican II Church

In 1967 Pope Paul VI wrote an encyclical *Populorum Progreso* and also created a Pontifical commission on justice and peace²³⁸, with the purpose “to awaken in the People of God full awareness of their mission today. In this way they can further the progress of poorer nations and international social justice, as well as help less

²³⁵ Cf. Idelfonso Camacho, “La opción fe-justicia como clave de evangelización en la Compañía de Jesús y el Generelato del Padre Arrupe”, in *Manresa* 62 (1990), 223. See the papal encyclicals *Pacem in Terris*, Encyclical of Pope John XXIII on Establishing Universal Peace in Truth, Justice, Charity, And Liberty, April 11, 1963; and *Mater et Magistra*, Encyclical of Pope John XXIII, on Christianity and Social Progress, May 15, 196.

²³⁶ Pedro Arrupe, *El testimonio de la justicia*, PPC, Madrid 1973.

²³⁷ Pedro Arrupe, “La promoción de la justicia y la formación en las asociaciones de Antiguos Alumnos de Jesuitas”, in *Proyección* 20 (1973) 296-312 y 21 (1974) 38-49.

²³⁸ Matías García, “La expresión ‘promoción de la justicia en su contexto eclesial’”, in *Manresa* 55 (1983), 227.

developed nations to contribute to their own development.”²³⁹ We find an important link between social justice and integral development, especially of the poorer nations. As we shall see later, it is in these poor nations where many forms of injustices take place, prompting the use of the word «the crucified poor of Christ».

The publication of *Populorum Progresio* set the stage for the synods of bishops in the third world countries with the intention of reflecting on what they felt God was asking of the Church in the post conciliar period, especially with respect to integral development and justice. The Episcopal Conference of Latin American bishops (CELAM), which was held in 1968 in Medellín was focused on the themes of evangelization and growth of faith.²⁴⁰ With respect to justice and peace, the Conference talked of a liberating education. This synod was followed by a synod of African bishops in 1969, a conference of Asian bishops in Manila in 1970, and finally the synod of bishops in 1971.²⁴¹ Before this synod Pope Paul VI published an encyclical, *Octogesima Adveniens*, that cut out the work of the synod as summarized in these words: “It will moreover be for the forthcoming Synod of Bishops itself to study more closely and to examine in greater detail the Church’s mission in the face of grave issues raised today by the question of justice in the world.”²⁴²

Paul VI, in his encyclical *Octogesima Adveniens*, made a rallying call to action with his teaching on charity which affirmed that the Gospel instructs us in the preferential respect due to the poor and the special situation they have in the Society. He put it forward that the more fortunate should renounce some of their rights so as to place their goods at the service of others.²⁴³ It is perhaps Paul VI who became the first Pope who used the words «preferential» and «poor» in the same phrase for the first time: “... the Gospel instructs us in the preferential respect due to the poor and the special situation they have in society” (OA 23).

John Paul II, in his homily to CELAM in 1979, summed up the originality of Medellín in three points: “With its option for Latin American seen in its entirety, with its preferential but not exclusive love for the poor, with its encouragement to an

²³⁹ Pope Paul VI, *Populorum Progresio*, Encyclical on the Development of Peoples, March 26, 1967, 5.

²⁴⁰ See II Conferencia General del Episcopado Latinoamericano, *Iglesia y liberación humana*. Los documentos de Medellín, Ed. Nova Terra, Barcelona 1969, 51-160.

²⁴¹ Cf. Matías García, 229. See the document of the World Synod of Catholic Bishops, *Justice in the World*, 1971.

²⁴² Pope Paul VI, *Octogesima Adveniens* (OA), Vatican 14 May 1971.

²⁴³ Cf. *Octogesima Adveniens*, 23.

integral liberation of men and of peoples.”²⁴⁴ He again used the phrase «option for the poor» in his encyclical *Centesimus Annus* (CA), in which he affirms that such an option includes spiritual as well as material poverty. John Paul II asserts that a love for the poor, in whom the Church sees Christ himself, will only be made concrete in the promotion of justice.²⁴⁵ With these two encyclicals we can perhaps intuit how the phrase «preferential option for the poor» came about in Church circles.

The Sacred Congregation for Religious and Secular Institutes (SCRIS)²⁴⁶, on its part urged a solidarity between religious institutes and a collaboration in upholding a solidarity with the poor. SCRIS argues that “The validity of our mission will also depend to a large extent on our solidarity with the poor. For though obedience sends us, it is poverty that makes us believable. So, together with many other religious congregations, we wish to make our own the Church’s preferential option for the poor”.²⁴⁷ The preferential option for the poor, as we see comes from the Church as a mission from Christ Himself and the religious are called to be genuine witnesses of this option, first by their way of living poverty and second, by their way of ministering to and attending to the poor.

3.2.2 The Society of Jesus and the Service of faith in the Promotion of Justice

In the context of the Society of Jesus, it is perhaps GC 33 that expresses clearly and gives a solid meaning to the theme of the preferential option for the poor:

This option is a decision to love the poor preferentially because there is a desire to heal the whole human family. Such love, like Christ’s own, excludes no one but neither does it excuse anyone from its demands. Directly or indirectly, this option should find some concrete expression in every Jesuit’s life, in the orientation of our existing apostolic works, and in our choice of new ministries.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁴ Juan Pablo II. “Homilía en la Basílica de Ntra. Sra. De Guadalupe”, 27 de enero de 1979. My translation.

²⁴⁵ Pope John Paul II, *Centesimus Annus*, Vatican 1 May 1991, #58.

²⁴⁶ Founded by Pope Sixtus V on 27 May 1586 with the title *Sacred Congregation for Consultations about Regulars*, and confirmed by the Constitution *Immensa* (22 January 1588), the Congregation was joined in 1601 to the *Congregation for Consultations about Bishops and Other Prelates*. St. Pius X, by the Constitution *Sapienti Consilio* (29 June 1908) separated the two institutions again and, placing the Bishops under the Consistorial Congregation, made the *Congregation for Religious* autonomous. By the Constitution *Regimini Ecclesiae Universae* (15 August 1967) of Paul VI, the Congregation for Religious was named the *Congregation for Religious and for Secular Institutes*. Source: http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/ccsclife/documents/rc_con_ccsclife_profile_en.html

²⁴⁷ SCRIS, *Religiosi et Promotio Humana*, n. 4 and 6, note 25; ET, 17-18; John Paul II, *Laborem Exercens*, 8; John Paul II, *Dives in Misericordia*, 3; Fr. Arrupe, *Rooted and Grounded in Love*, 61 (AR XVIII, 497).

²⁴⁸ GC 33 D1, 48

According to Ildefonso Camacho, GC 31 can be said to have set the tone for this option faith-justice because it took place in the context of Vatican II. In the subsequent period after the Second Vatican Council, Pedro Arrupe, as a follow up to GC 31, wrote a very important, challenging and visionary letter on «poverty, work and life in common» to the whole Society of Jesus with a focus on the actual reality of poverty. In the letter he emphasized: poverty in the following of Christ; as an imitation of the apostles; that is proper to the apostolic charism of the Society of Jesus; that should exceed all forms of greed for the service of God's Kingdom; and that leads us to a perfect charity.²⁴⁹ Along with GC 31, Fr. Arrupe's letter paved the way for what would become popularly known as the «preferential option for the poor».

The option faith and the promotion of justice can be said to be the focal point that gives identity to who the Jesuits are today. This option can also be said to be, in other words, “a priority of capital importance for its mission in the contemporary world”²⁵⁰. GC 31 Decree 32 was focussed on «Social Apostolate», which would become an undoubtable pillar for mission in the Society of Jesus.²⁵¹ The Social Apostolate was envisaged as having the aim “to provide most men, and indeed all of them insofar as earthly conditions allow, with that abundance or at least sufficiency of goods, both temporal and spiritual, even of the natural order, that man needs lest he feel himself depressed and despised [...] the scope of the social apostolate is broader, therefore, than the task of exercising our ministries or maintaining social works among workmen or other groups of the same sort that are especially needy”.²⁵² Furthermore, on emphasizing the importance of the Social Apostolate, we can affirm with GC 31 that:

From this it is clear that the social apostolate is fully in harmony with the apostolic end of the Society of Jesus according, namely, to that distinctly Ignatian criterion by which we should always keep before our eyes the more universal and more enduring good. For social structures, above all today, exert an influence on the life of man, even on his moral and religious life. The “humanization” of social life is, moreover, particularly effective as a way of bearing evangelical witness in our times.²⁵³

²⁴⁹ Cf. P. Arrupe, “Carta sobre la pobreza, trabajo y vida en común. A toda la Compañía” (14 de abril de 1968), in *La Identidad del Jesuita en nuestros tiempos*, Sal Terrae, Santander 1981, 139-159.

²⁵⁰ S. Decloux, *For the Greater Glory of God*, Michael Buckley (trans.), Loyola University Press, Chicago 1983, 93.

²⁵¹ For more on the Jesuits and the theme Faith-Justice post Vatican II, see Jean-Yves Calvez, *Fe y Justicia. La dimensión social de la evangelización*, Sal Terrae, Santander 1985.

²⁵² GC 31 D32, 1, citing Father Janssens, *Instruction on the Social Apostolate* (October 10, 1949), No. 7, *ARSI* 11 (1949) 714.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*

We see the important link between Jesuit mission and the neediest, who without doubt constitute the poor, discriminated and marginalized.

The fourth Decree of GC 32 emphasized the importance of a «faith that does justice», which means that faith and the promotion of justice are intrinsically linked. We can affirm with this popular decree that to promote justice, to proclaim the faith and to lead others to a personal encounter with Christ are the three inseparable elements that make up the whole of our apostolate. The result is that we urged therefore, to review not only our commitment to justice but our effectiveness in communicating the truths which give it meaning and in bringing men to find Christ in their daily lives.²⁵⁴ This same decree emphasizes that the justice we are dealing with is that of the gospels, an evangelical justice not based only on the material or economic, and personal human development but that has much to do with the mission of the Society, described here as the priestly service of faith, as an apostolate whose aim is to help people become more open toward God and more willing to live according to the Gospel.²⁵⁵ We can say that the promotion of justice is an integral part of the ministry of the service of faith.

Ildefonso Camacho alludes to the fact that evangelization is a requisite for the promotion of justice.²⁵⁶ As such GC 32 Decree 4 is convinced that there can be no genuine conversion to the love of God without conversion to the love of neighbor, and therefore, to the demands of justice. Such a conversion demands an openness and generosity to those in need, who may include even enemies and strangers. It demands a spirit of reconciliation and pardon towards those who have injured us.²⁵⁷ Thus, “fidelity to our apostolic mission requires that we propose the whole of Christian salvation and lead others to embrace it. Christian salvation consists in an undivided love of the Father and of the neighbor and of justice. Since evangelization is proclamation of that faith which is made operative in love of others (cf. Gal. 5:6; Eph. 4:15), the promotion of justice is indispensable to it.”²⁵⁸ For the Jesuit, working for the promotion of justice has to spring forth from his faith, from his life of prayer, and

²⁵⁴ GC 32 D4, 51-52.

²⁵⁵ Cf. Ildefonso Camacho, “La opción fe-justicia...”, 238-239.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 238.

²⁵⁷ Cf. GC 32 D4, 18.

²⁵⁸ GC 32 D4, 28.

indeed from a daily personal encounter with Jesus Christ – Christ carrying his Cross to the world and in the world.

The service of faith in the promotion of justice does not imply an utopic ideal, but rather it will lead the Jesuit to engage in a broken world, full of broken people and broken structures. It is for this reason that GC 34 reminds us that “Our Jesuit mission touches something fundamental in the human heart: the desire to find God in a world scarred by sin, and then to live by his Gospel in all its implications. This, the instinct to live fully in God's love and thereby to promote a shared, lasting human good, is what we address by our vocation to serve faith and promote the justice of God's Kingdom.”²⁵⁹ Filled with this desire, yet confronted with the harsh reality a Jesuit draws consolation in the fact that Jesus Christ invites him to serve the people, and to move, in conversion of heart, from solidarity with sin to solidarity with him for humanity, and to promote the Kingdom in all its aspects.²⁶⁰

Fr. Peter-Hans Kolvenbach asserted that the promotion of justice is for the Jesuits a call to insert themselves more profoundly in the concrete lives of peoples and nations, not as we think they ought to be, but as they actually are.²⁶¹ This, in my opinion, demands engagement and integration with the people at the very core of their daily lives and respective needs and challenges. Kolvenbach was also convinced that “God has always been the God of the poor because the poor are the visible proof of a failure in the work of creation.”²⁶² This resounds with the words of Pope Benedict XVI in his allocution to the Jesuits gathered at the 35th General Congregation that “the preferential option for the poor is implicit in the Christological faith in God who became poor for us, so as to enrich us with his poverty (cf. 2 Cor. 8:9).²⁶³ God, through the incarnation of His son made an option to be on the side of the poor, oppressed, marginalized, segregated, sick and disadvantaged of the Society. We can perhaps say, that Jesus Christ himself made a preferential option for the poor in the manner he was

²⁵⁹ GC 34 D2, 11.

²⁶⁰ Cf. *Ibid.*

²⁶¹ Peter-Hans Kolvenbach, "Our Mission Today and Tomorrow", *Faith Doing Justice: Promoting Solidarity in Jesuit Ministries*, 1991, 49. Cited in *Jesuit Life and Mission Today*, 535.

²⁶² Kolvenbach, "Our Mission Today and Tomorrow," 48-49.

²⁶³ Pope Benedict XVI, *Allocution to the 35th General Congregation of the Society of Jesus*, 21 February 2008. See Padberg, *Jesuit Life and Mission Today*, 728. Pope Benedict had the year before, mentioned the same theme during his homily in the Eucharist inaugurating the Fifth General Conference of Latin American Bishops on May 13, 2007, in Aparecida, Brazil.

born (in a manger) and the manner he died (stripped of everything and alongside two criminals).

We can emphasize that the call to a ministry of the promotion of justice comes from Christ himself, for as GC 36 expresses, “we hear Christ summon us anew to a ministry of justice and peace, serving the poor and the excluded and helping build peace [...] the injustices and inequalities experienced by marginalized people: Along with an enormous growth of wealth and power in the world comes an enormous and continuing growth of inequality.”²⁶⁴ Faith and justice are indispensable as the springboard from which we can launch a service to the poor and solidarity with them. The message of the Cross has everything to do with the service of faith and the promotion of justice with the obvious result for the Society of Jesus in making a preferential option for a solidarity with the poor of Christ.

3.3 The Cross and the Preferential Option for the Poor

The discourse on the Cross and the «preferential option for the poor»²⁶⁵ proceeds by examining the writings on the same by three prominent liberation theologians of our time, Ignacio Ellacuría, Gustavo Gutiérrez²⁶⁶ and Jon Sobrino, for as Sobrino says “the Christian faith has as its essential content the option for the poor, justice and liberation”²⁶⁷. The «option for the poor», according to Gustavo Gutiérrez, has its origins from the very evangelical mission of Jesus Christ, who came to evangelize the poor (Cf. Mt. 11:5; Lk. 7:22). Ignacio Ellacuría, on his part, had made a personal preferential option for the poor.²⁶⁸

The Society of Jesus in GC 33 observed, in a similar tone, that “the situation of the poor, who live today in a world where unjust structures force the greater part of the human family to exist in dehumanizing conditions, should be a constant reminder to us that God takes the part of the poor, according to that salvific design revealed in

²⁶⁴ GC 36 D1, 25-27.

²⁶⁵ For more on the preferential option for the poor in the Ignatian tradition and Jesuit history see José M^a. Castillo, “Opción preferencial por los pobres”, in *DEI*, 1352-1359.

²⁶⁶ Gustavo Gutiérrez was a diocesan priest until 2001 when he joined the Dominicans.

²⁶⁷ Jon Sobrino, *Opción por los pobres*. Online <http://servicioskoiononia.org/relat/251.htm>

²⁶⁸ Ignacio Ellacuría, *Mi opción preferencial por los pobres*, Nueva Utopía, Madrid 2009.

Jesus Christ who «came to proclaim the Good News to the poor» (Lk. 4:18)”.²⁶⁹ We can see that when it came to taking sides, almost on all occasions Jesus systematically chose to be on the side of the poor²⁷⁰, or as Karl Barth puts it, God always places Himself, principally and passionately, on the side of the most miserable, and only from their side does God act against the powerful in favor of the humiliated²⁷¹.

There can be no better summary of the relationship between the option for the poor and the crucified Christ that this abstract from a homily of Peter-Hans Kolvenbach:

This true communion with the deeper history of humanity is also the source of our confidence that we can “save our souls” by unveiling to them the true face of God in Christ on the Cross. This Epiphany of the Lord, who is meek and the maker of peace, poor in depths of his being and merciful to the very end, persecuted and crucified, shows us just how far God will go to remain faithful to his Beatitudes of love and to what horrible lengths man will go in his curse of hatred. “Raising my eyes to Christ nailed on the Cross, I shall ponder within myself” [Ex. 53]. Underneath all forms of wretchedness and injustice we always find the blood-stained face of Christ crucified, but-mystery of faith-his embodiment of the Beatitudes also enables us unfailingly to find the seeds of reconciliation. “When I am lifted up from the earth, I shall draw all to myself” (Jn. 12:32).²⁷²

3.3.1 Gustavo Gutiérrez on the Option for the Poor

Gutiérrez makes a threefold theological distinction of the use of the word «poor», that is: In the first place real poverty (material poverty), which is for him a scandalous state that is not desired by God; in the second place he talks of spiritual poverty as an infant spiritual state, characterized by a lack of detachment towards the goods of this world; and finally, he speaks of poverty as a commitment, which is marked by a solidarity with the poor and a fight against poverty.²⁷³

Gutiérrez goes further to argue that the theme on poverty and marginalization invites us to necessarily talk of justice and have in mind the duties that are requisite

²⁶⁹ GC 33 D1, 26

²⁷⁰ Cf. Luis González-Carvajal Santabárbara, *El clamor de los excluidos. Reflexiones cristianas ineludibles sobre los ricos y los pobres*, Sal Terrae, Santander 2009, 121.

²⁷¹ Cf. Karl Barth, *Dogmatique*, vol. 2, Labor et Fides, Genève 1957, 135.

²⁷² Homily of Fr. Peter-Han Kolvenbach in St. Peter’s Basilica, October 15, 1983. See J. W. Padberg, *Jesuit Life and Mission Today*, 483-484.

²⁷³ Cf. Gustavo Gutiérrez, “Opción preferencial por los pobres”, in *solidaridad.net*. Por una cultura solidaria, 21 de febrero de 2017. Online <https://solidaridad.net/opcion-preferencial-por-los-pobres/>. See: “Pobreza de la Iglesia”, *Documentos finales de Medellín*. Medellín: Segunda Conferencia General del Episcopado Latinoamericano, septiembre de 1968, n. 5.

of a Christian. The option for the poor implies a commitment on the part of the Christian that is fundamentally based on faith in the God of Jesus Christ. It is a theocentric and prophetic option that has its roots in the gratuity of God's love.

An option for the poor is an option for the Kingdom of God that was announced by Jesus, and which is a re-echo of the prophetic biblical messages in which God's love for the weak and those mistreated in human history is clearly manifested. Consequently, a preferential option is made for the poor, not because they are necessarily better than others from the moral or religious point of view, but because God is God and God has identified with and decried injustice against them throughout the biblical history. For Gutiérrez, to mistreat a poor person is to offend God while a kind gesture towards the poor is an act towards Christ Himself (Cf. Mt. 25: 31-46).²⁷⁴ With the ideas of Gutiérrez, we see a link between the option for the poor, justice and the Kingdom of God. A critique that we can make is that this point of view can lead to a radical segregation and opposition towards the rich committed faithful.

3.3.2 Jon Sobrino on the option for the poor

For Sobrino that option for the poor is first and foremost an option for life and faith, which for those poor that has the greatest capacity for the human person to plan and humanize their history. This option is an anthropological faith that confronts the human person with his or her humanity while at the same time has everything to do with God's revelation. From this anthropological point of view, Jon Sobrino argues that the option for the poor is necessary for understanding revelation, in the sense that Jesus Christ being incarnated takes the form of a creature – a human being. With this in mind, it is for example, easier to understand «God's anger» against impiety and injustice towards those who are unjust (Cf. Rom. 1:18).²⁷⁵

Consequently, it is in the context of the option for the poor that the truth of the reality of history can be viewed with much more clarity from the perspective of the poor. For it is through the poor that we can only come to know the extremes of history

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

²⁷⁵ Cf. Jon Sobrino, *Opción por los pobres*.

and the totality of our world. It is indeed from the perspective of the poor that we can be able to see the world as it truly is. The reality of the world which is sinful and to see how sin always seeks to hide itself and passes unperceived. Viewing the world from the perspective of the poor is the starting point for conversion.

Using the image of the «good Samaritan» who was filled with compassion on seeing the wounds of the man robbed and injured by robbers (Cf. Lk. 10:33ff), Jon Sobrino emphasizes that all of humanity finds itself injured on our journey of life. For him there are only two possible reactions: to ignore the injuries and walk away from them or approach them in order to cure them and take the injured to a safer place so that they may recuperate. Therefore, an option for the poor would imply, especially in third world countries, a confrontation of the structures of poverty. This option also entails a reaction against misery, not in the sense that it is a commandment that one is obligated to obey but rather a primary way of reacting towards a reality that surrounds us.²⁷⁶ This perhaps can relate to the image we used in the previous chapter of a «wounded healer», to mean that living in a sinful and wounded world we ourselves are wounded but called to act as wounded healers.

3.3.2.1 *Solidarity with the Poor against their Oppressors*

What is perhaps the most controversial aspect of Sobrino's views on the option for the poor is his affirmation that those who serve the poor cannot at the same time serve their oppressors who are responsible for turning the oppressed into victims. Jon's reason for this is because he believes that to make an option for the poor means an incarnation into their conflictive history and being ready to bear the consequences of the conflict, or bear with the scandal of the seeming triumph of the oppressors over those they victimize. He alludes to the passage of the last judgement of Mathew 25:31-46. The option for the poor is thus a way of seeing history, of reacting to it and of incarnating in it; the option for the poor is salvation because it is love and it is a love that decentres the human being. According to the affirmation of Jesus that whoever wants to gain their life will lose it and whoever loses their life gains it (Cf. Mt. 16:25).

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

In an eschatological sense we can say that to affirm that the option for the poor is salvation is, moreover, to affirm that salvation is possible; it is to bet on hope in history, that the last word of history is blessing and not condemnation. To affirm that the kingdom belongs to the poor and that those who opt for them enter the kingdom is the way of accepting that in history there is an ultimate meaning against many appearances; it is a form of faith that moves us to choose salvation.²⁷⁷

3.3.2.2 *A Christological approach to the option for the poor*

In the biblical tradition, God reveals himself in and through an option. To give a reason for the election of a people, of the incarnation or death of Jesus on the cross, one can only appeal to the eternal design of God, to God's free self-determination to show himself this way and not in any other way. God reveals himself as the one who makes an option for the poor and that option is the essential mediation of his revelation. God not only makes an option for the poor, but through it he shows himself as God. The revealing capacity of the option of the poor is shown both in the content of what is God and in its dimension of transcendent mystery. The option for the poor concretizes God's love as justice that comes out in favour of the oppressed and as tenderness that is left to be affected by the suffering caused to the weak and defenceless. And the option for the poor is a way to keep the mystery of God, which is how God is for being God. God's option for the poor does not find its justification, as logical reason claims, in the personal, ethical or religious quality of the poor analogous to the gradual vision that God reveals himself on the cross is a very effective way of expressing God's transcendence.²⁷⁸

Jesus Christ is the definitive mediator of God and also likewise the definitive mediator of man. He historicizes God's option for the poor and brings to fulfilment the option that every human being must take. The option for the poor is at the beginning of their activity – a mission is to announce the good news of the kingdom of God to the poor. Jesus presents a vision of history from the poor that transforms

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

traditional and conventional visions: of the poor, of the despised, of the defenceless, of the victims. This is the vision that is the kingdom of God, not of the oppressors and executioners. Sobrino asserts that is the good news that must be announced as the ultimate truth of history against all its appearances.

At the service of the Good news, Jesus performed signs that manifested the Kingdom: he heals, he expels demons and welcomes sinners and the despised of the Society. They were beneficial signs that meet the concrete needs of the weak and despised. In response to these needs, Jesus reacts with mercy and makes it something central. For us this means that in the face of needs, whatever their nature, and therefore also to the fundamental needs of life, we must react with mercy, without justification that the very fact of needs. Jesus, finally, celebrates the signs of the coming of the kingdom, he sits at table with the most despised of the world and thus affirms that a fraternity has begun. These activities of Jesus are signs of the Kingdom that have the objective of transforming the society in favour of the poor. The only requirement is a conversion.²⁷⁹

We can therefore make a link between the option of the poor and the Cross according to Jon Sobrino. The cross of Jesus is the clearest argument to show that Jesus made an option for the poor and the conflicting character that resulted from that option. The cross of Jesus presents to us the stark reality that there are the poor and those who cause others to be poor; that there are the oppressed and oppressive; there are those who are for the kingdom and those working against it; that we have the God of life and idols of death, historical mediators of life and death. This brings us to the true realization that both types of realities are in conflict and in struggle, and that the option for one is an option against another. The cross may present us with the answers as to why Jesus died, and also clearly shows why he is killed. Jon Sobrino concludes by using a term that will be central in the final part of this chapter – he points out that God did justice to the crucified of history, who are for him the oppressed and the poor.²⁸⁰

We conclude this Theological-anthropological, as well as Christological reflection of Jon Sobrino on the option for the poor emphasizing that such an option

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

can only be done through gratuity and gratitude. For as Sobrino says, “Keep the gratuity, remember that everything has its origin in Him who loved us first, who chose us before us for Him, who forgave us -also our sins against the poor- for love, that has given us new eyes to see, new ears to listen and new hands to act [...] The spirit of gratitude is of justice to recognize what the poor return to those who choose them, with which the option for the poor and its costs become something more than pure ethical demand, it also becomes joy, in the hidden treasure for which it is worth selling everything”²⁸¹.

3.4 The Crucified Poor of Christ

Our attention now moves to the concept of the «crucified people of Christ», an expression that is attributed to Ignacio Ellacuría²⁸², but also advanced mainly by Jon Sobrino²⁸³, Gustavo Gutiérrez²⁸⁴ and Kevin Burke²⁸⁵. We can assert, therefore that these Jesuits, who are known as the main proponents of liberation theology (Ellacuría and Sobrino), alongside Gustavo Gutiérrez,²⁸⁶ drew their inspiration from a deep reflection of the reality of the world, using their Jesuit charism as lenses of reading Vatican II and the General Congregations that came after it. The premise of the «crucified people» springs forth from the preferential option of the poor and the service of faith for the promotion of justice.

Ignacio Ellacuría begins his premise by making a connection with the option for the poor and the theme of liberation. He is of the opinion that “The people of God are preferentially a people of the poor, a people constructed on behalf of the poor, a people whose preferential option is the liberation of the poor”²⁸⁷. Kevin Burke, in support of

²⁸¹ This is a translation into English of this phrase from the article of Jon Sobrino, *Opción por los pobres*.

²⁸² See: Ignacio Ellacuría, “El pueblo crucificado. Ensayo de soteriología histórica”, in I. Ellacuría, et al., *Cruz y resurrección. Anuncio de una Iglesia nueva*, CTR, México City 1978, 49-82; Ignacio Ellacuría, “El pueblo crucificado”, in Ignacio Ellacuría, *Conversión de la Iglesia al Reino de Dios. Para anunciarlo y realizarlo en la historia*, Sal Tarrae, Santander 1984, 25-47.

²⁸³ See: Jon Sobrino, *El principio-misericordia. Bajar de la cruz a los pueblos crucificados*, Sal Terrae, Santander 1992.

²⁸⁴ See: Gustavo Gutiérrez, *Hablar de Dios desde el sufrimiento del inocente*, Sígueme, Salamanca 2006.

²⁸⁵ See: Kevin F. Burke, *The Ground Beneath the Cross: The Theology of Ignacio Ellacuría*. Georgetown University Press: Washington, D.C. 2000.

²⁸⁶ Gustavo Gutiérrez is in fact referred to as the founding father of liberation theology, for example, by Jean-Yves Calvez who makes such a reference. See: Jean Calvez, *Fe y justicia. La dimensión social de la evangelización*, Sal Terrae, Santander 1985, 24.

²⁸⁷ Ignacio Ellacuría, “Pueblo de Dios”, in C. Floristán and Juan José Tamayo (eds.), *Conceptos fundamentales de pastoral*, Trotta, Madrid 1983, 847. Cited in Kevin Burke, *Ground Beneath the Cross*, 189.

this view, states that “the poor of God is characterized by a fundamental option for the poor, thus springs from the theological affirmation that God manifests, in God’s own words and deeds, a special attentiveness to the oppressed, marginalized, and those in bondage”²⁸⁸. In Ellacuría’s perception, “the poor themselves have become the preferred locus of benevolence and grace, of God’s faithful love”²⁸⁹, such that “the image of the crucified people obviously alludes to the death of Jesus and the significance of death”²⁹⁰.

Burke sees in Jesus the figure of the suffering servant of Yahve who triumphs because he sacrifices his life for the sake of others. For this reason, he shall be raised high and greatly exalted (Is. 52:13). He suggests that Ellacuría may have explored the possibility of correlating the crucified peoples and the crucified Jesus in terms of the servant of Yahve in order to view the Cross of salvation from the ground of historical reality. The crucified peoples then, represent the saviour in history insofar as they epitome the crucified body of Christ which bears the sins of the world in order to save the world.²⁹¹ We can see a soteriological approach to this view of Ignacio Ellacuría.

From this theological perspective Burke relates God’s love and special concern for the oppressed as an invitation to confront sin and injustices. He says, “Because the poverty and oppression of this world stem primarily from sin and injustice, a people constituted by a preferential option for the poor must become engaged in the struggle to establish justice and freedom, while overcoming injustice and bondage”.²⁹² This rallying call extends to all people of God, for as Burke says “The people of God is thus not only characterized by a willingness to bear suffering caused by historical injustice, but also a willingness to confront the evil which causes the suffering”.²⁹³ This, perhaps resonates with the call made by GC 32 Decree 4, that asks, “What is to be a companion of Jesus today?” and answers, “It is to engage, under the standard of the Cross, in the crucial struggle of our time: the struggle for faith and that struggle for justice which it includes”.²⁹⁴ “With Christ, we are called to closeness with all of crucified

²⁸⁸ K. Burke, *Ground Beneath*, 189.

²⁸⁹ Ignacio Ellacuría, “La historicidad de la salvación cristiana”, in *RLT* 1 (1986), 361.

²⁹⁰ Burke, 182

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 184.

²⁹² *Ibid.*, 189.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, 189-190.

²⁹⁴ GC 32 D2:2

humanity”.²⁹⁵ A Jesuit is thus called to stand on the side of the poor, making a preferential option for them, that entails the call to establish justice by confronting injustices.

3.4.1 «The Crucified People(s)» - A Definition

Jon Sobrino, a close companion of Ignacio Ellacuría, believes that Ellacuría was inspired towards this definition by Jürgen Moltmann’s book with the title *The Crucified God*.²⁹⁶ What does the «Crucified people mean»? According to Ellacuría, “«the crucified people» is that collective body, which as a majority of humankind owes its situation of crucifixion to the way society is organized and maintained by a minority that exercises its dominion through a series of factors, which taken together and given their concrete impact within society must be regarded as sin.”²⁹⁷

José Sols Lucia sees the importance of breaking down the concept of «Crucified people(s)» and defining it in its context as a starting point. He first of all makes an important distinction on the use of the word «people(s)». For José, the first use of the word is representative of a majority of people in third world countries, who are poor and oppressed. The second use of the concept would be from the point of view of a democratized western-European context, in which «people(s)» refers to the «society in general», that is to say, the collective members of a country, state or nation.²⁹⁸ We can say that this second use of the word is the same one generally used within the religious circles and Church documents where «people(s)» refers to all humanity.

Sols Lucia then underlines Ellacuría’s concept of «people(s)» as used in liberation theology, that is with reference to the oppressed. The context of its use was mainly developed in the Latin America of the 1970s and 1980s composed of a relatively small weak middle class, a minority rich oligarchy and a majority of poor peasants. It is this majority group of peasants who were a preoccupation for Ellacuría because they fall

²⁹⁵ GC 36 D1, 31.

²⁹⁶ See Jürgen Moltmann, *The Crucified God: The Cross of Christ as the Foundation and Criticism of Christian Theology*, SCM Press: 1994. Jon Sobrino alludes to this possible influence in his book *El principio-misericordia*, in the chapter titled “Los pueblos crucificados, actual siervo sufriente” (pages 83-95) dedicated to the memory of Ignacio Ellacuría.

²⁹⁷ Ignacio Ellacuría, “El pueblo crucificado”, 201. Cited in Burke, *Ground Beneath*, 181. See also J. Sols Lucia, *La teología histórica de Ignacio Ellacuría*, Trotta, Madrid 1999, 253-255; J. Sobrino, *El principio-misericordia*, 83-86; J. Sobrino, *Jesucristo liberador*, 313-314.

²⁹⁸ Cf. José Sols Lucia, *La teología histórica de Ignacio Ellacuría*, Trotta, Madrid 1999, 245-246.

under the category of the oppressed, living in pathetic conditions of poverty and under political repression.

Sols Lucia concludes therefore, that with respect to the «Crucified people(s)», 'people(s)' refers to the majority of the Latin American society that faces conflicts and social contradictions, and furthermore have a subjective conscience of being a people, a collective conscience that is obviously lacking in the oligarchs. The «Crucified people(s) are in sum, the majority of the population that suffer economic hardships and political injustices».²⁹⁹ We can however go beyond the Latin American net and include other people from around the world suffering a similar context, including in the Western societies, where there exists a sizeable group of oppressed and marginalized persons.

In addition to this we can make reference to a «theology of the people(s)» that gained currents in Latin America as an assimilation of the documents of *Medellín*, *Puebla* and *Aparecida*, that have at their core a preferential option of the poor, but that focusses more on the cultural context of the people of a certain area. Evangelization, it insists, must be contextualized. One of the proponents of this school of thought is Juan Carlos Scannone, who argues that Pope Francis papacy is modelled along the «theology of the people(s)», often referred to as Argentinian theology. He examines Pope Francis' Apostolic Exhortation, *Evangelii Gaudium* (EG) and points out the characteristics of this current of theology.³⁰⁰ We see a more emphasis on culture and popular religiosity as a proposal to step further from Ellacuría and Sobrino's liberation theology that is more focussed on a preferential option for the poor. I support more this concept of a «theology of the people(s)» because it resounds inculturation.

The use of the words «Cross», «crucifixion», and «crucified» deserve some attention as well. In general, these are all theological concepts, in as much Christian dogmatic tradition sees in Jesus Crucified, the salvation that God offers to mankind. Sols Lucia underlines the fact that the «Cross» is normally associated with Jesus but we can also speak of our crosses, for example, in the following of Jesus and in the participation in the building of the Reign of God, Christians are called to carry their crosses (Mk. 8:34). The focus, however, should be on the Cross of Christ from whom

²⁹⁹ Cf. *Ibid.*, 246.

³⁰⁰ Juan Carlos Scannone, "El Papa Francisco y la teología del pueblo", in *Razón y Fe*, 271 (2014), 31-50. See also: Juan Carlos Scannone, *La teología del pueblo, Raíces teológicas del Papa Francisco*, Sal Terrae, Santander 2017.

then comes the invitation to participate in the suffering of the crucified Christ so that we can later share in his Glory. The cross³⁰¹, taken on its own, can be reduced to symbolize any form of human suffering, whereas, according to Ellacuría, the Cross of Christ is, in the first place a historical fact; in the second place, it has a theological and soteriological character; and thirdly, it establishes a continuity between the life of Christ and the idea of discipleship – a participation in the Cross of Jesus of Jesus. We can only speak of the «Crucified people(s)» in light of the Crucified Jesus, whom many authors affirm as the suffering servant of Yahve of Deutero-Isaiah.³⁰² The Cross is therefore nothing without the Crucified Christ, and that is why we argue that it makes more sense to speak of the “Crucified people(s) of Christ” or as the title of this chapter goes, the “Crucified poor of Christ”.

Ellacuría’s concept of «Crucified people» also refers to a suffering. The crucified people refers to “a people whose suffering results directly or indirectly from historically deliberate choices, that is, from historical necessity. The suffering of the «Crucified people» is thus a result of historical necessity – a necessity that many suffer so that a few may enjoy, that many be dispossessed so that a few may possess, and the necessity that those who hunger and thirst for justice suffer persecution”.³⁰³

According to Burke, Ellacuría clarifies the concept of «Crucified poor» so that it does not lead to a division of the world into crucifiers on the one hand, and the crucified on the other. For him, the subsystems of crucifixion exist in both groups of the oppressors and the oppressed. These subsystems should be examined in order to prevent us from falling into the trap of categorizing people into good and vilifying another group while ignoring the problem of personal transformation. Personal transformation would imply those who consider themselves as victims of systematic oppression assume the obligation of acting in ways that will not support the very systems that support them nor contribute to their own oppression and that of others.³⁰⁴ Here we see that Burke underlines the importance of personal transformation and personal responsibility.

³⁰¹ It is generally the practise of many authors to make a distinction between the ‘c’ in small letters and ‘C’ in capital letters, the former to mean normal usage with reference to Christians, while the latter to make reference to Jesus Christ. See José Sols Lucia, 248.

³⁰² José Sols Lucia, 247-250.

³⁰³ Kevin Burke, 181.

³⁰⁴ Cf. Kevin Burke, 181-182.

The other interesting concept from Ellacuría, is his view of examining the death of Jesus from the perspective of ongoing crucifixion of the people and at the same time to look at oppression from the perspective of the Cross of Jesus. It follows, therefore, that a believer who comes face to face with the historical reality and recognizes it, must begin by asking genuine questions about the sin of the world. The other reason for viewing the death of Jesus in light of the oppression of the crucified people serves to safeguard against the tendency to romanticize the suffering of either.³⁰⁵ We can see here a clearly direct relationship between the oppressed and suffering and the suffering of Jesus Christ on the Cross.

For Burke, “«the crucified people» is not merely a colourful metaphor for human suffering in general, nor does it simply represent the sum total of all individual injuries and griefs, but rather refers to a historical theological reality that embraces a communion of victims.”³⁰⁶ Leonardo Boff uses interesting phrases such as «the historically crucified»³⁰⁷ in reference to many who have died witnessing to their faith. He also speaks of a «society of the crucified» and a «crucified humanity»³⁰⁸.

Jon Sobrino, on his part, talks of the «Crucified people» as a metaphorical language that communicates the magnitude of the historical debacle of poor countries which are termed as third world or developing countries where the majority of the population live in inhuman conditions of poverty.³⁰⁹ It is worth noting that the context of Sobrino’s discourse is that of Latin America, a pointer to the reason why liberation theology is usually attributed to that part of the world.

John Sobrino analyses the «Crucified people» as a useful language in three aspects: The first is that the «Crucified people» is a useful language at the factual level, because the cross implies death, and death is what the Latin American peoples were subjected to in many ways in the decades that followed the Second Vatican Council. For Sobrino, death is slow but real death, and caused by the poverty generated by unjust structures or what can be termed as institutionalized violence.

³⁰⁵ Cf. *Ibid.*, 183.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁷ See Leonardo Boff, *Teología desde el lugar del pobre*, Sal Terrae, Santander 1986, 132-134.

³⁰⁸ Boff, 117-134.

³⁰⁹ Cf. Jon Sobrino, *El principio-misericordia*, 84-85. Sobrino makes reference to *Medellín*, “Justicia” #1; *Puebla* #29; and Pope John Paul II, *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* (1987).

The poor in this case are thus, those who died before time; secondly, we can speak of the «Crucified people» as a useful and necessary language at the historical-ethical level, because «Cross» in this sense expresses a type of death that is actively inflicted. To die crucified does not mean only to die, but to be killed, it means that there are victims and that there are executioners. It also means that there is sin; Finally, we can speak of the «Crucified poor» as a useful and necessary language at the religious level, because «Cross» has to do with the death suffered Jesus.

Jesus death was not just any death, instead it was a death that evoked the theological themes of sin and grace, condemnation and salvation, action of men and action of God.³¹⁰ The «Crucified people» can also be viewed as a Christologically useful language.³¹¹ We can conclude by saying that from a Christian point of view, God himself is present in these crosses, and that the «Crucified peoples» become the main sign of the times. This sign, which is that of the presence of God in our world, can always be considered to be historically, the «Crucified people».

3.4.2 The «Crucified People» and the Reign of God

We have seen that a direct relationship exists between the poor and the Reign of God. The poor are the face of the Kingdom of God. Yet, the “Cross on which Jesus was crucified remains the preeminent place for meditating on the Christian mystery of salvation, for living with the resurrection faith in the face of the mystery, and for producing a theology that illuminates and filters the Christian faith”.³¹² It is perhaps with this same idea that Fr. Arturo Sosa, the current Superior General of the Society of Jesus, in a homily reminded the Jesuits that “the Lord has given himself completely, even death on the cross, and remains with us daily until the end of the world, because he has given us his Spirit [...] Christ on the cross was present in our labors, to bring the discernment beyond our reasoning, our liking or disliking, in order to arrive at the consolation of being in harmony with the will of the Father.”³¹³ We are therefore

³¹⁰ Cf. Jon Sobrino, 85-86.

³¹¹ Cf. Jon Sobrino, *Jesucristo liberador*, 314.

³¹² Kevin Burke, 175.

³¹³ Homily of Fr. Arturo Sosa, on the closure of the General Congregation 36 at the Church of *Sant' Ignazio*, 12 November 2016: Rome.

invited to meditate the cross more and more in light of the reality that surrounds us, especially the reality of the poor and marginalized.

According to Burke, Ellacuría presented two difficulties that might arise from what we may call a «Spirituality of the Cross». The first is that the Cross may be separated from the crucified in such a way that it appears abstract, idealized, or a de-historicized symbol for negativity in general. The second difficulty would occur when the Cross is separated from the act of crucifixion and the fact that specific persons did the crucifying. This can be encountered in history today where many people are crucified at the hands of crucifiers. Burke sums this up by affirming that if theology wants to discover the Crucified Christ, it must first uncover the crucified people.³¹⁴ In this second difficulty, the structures of sin and injustices seem to be swept under the carpet in a cloud of ignorance.

This brings us to a consideration that the death of Jesus has a theological-historical perspective, as well as a soteriological meaning. This is because Jesus' death was a result of the actions of others, in such a way that Jesus was victim killed by historical forces operating with a particular historical logic. Ellacuría points out that the "Why did Jesus die?" cannot be explained without raising the question "Why did they kill him?". Subsequently, the historical priority must be sought in the question "Why did they kill him?". Ellacuría's response is that they killed Jesus because of the life he lived and the mission that he carried out. From a theological point of view, it can be upheld that Jesus died for our sins and for human salvation. From a historical-theological dimension it then must be maintained that they killed him from the way he lived.³¹⁵ Burke therefore concludes that the soteriological meaning of Jesus death flows from the historical reality of his death whereas his death and resurrection point back to the reality of his life. Hence, in the words of Ignacio Ellacuría, "the crucified one is resurrected and he is resurrected because he was crucified".³¹⁶ This ascertains the unity between the historical reality of the crucifixion and the saving reality of the Cross.

³¹⁴ Cf. Kevin Burke, 175.

³¹⁵ Cf. Ignacio Ellacuría, "¿Por qué muere Jesús y por qué le matan?" in *Misión Abierta*, 2 (1977), 17-26. Cited in Burke, 176.

³¹⁶ Cf. Ignacio Ellacuría, "El pueblo crucificado. Ensayo de soteriología histórica", in I. Ellacuría, et al., *Cruz y resurrección. Anuncio de una Iglesia nueva*, CTR, Mexico City 1978, 196.

On the necessity of Jesus death (“Why did he die?”), Ellacuría sums it up as follows:

The necessity of Jesus death is historical not because it had been announced by the prophets, but because the prophets prefigured the event in what had befallen them [...] the proclamation of the Kingdom and verifiable presence of sin in history produced a resistance to oppressive powers and the struggle for historical liberation that brought them persecution and death. Thus, if the Reign of God and the reign of sin are two opposing realities and if both have human beings as their protagonists, then those who wield the power of oppressive domination cannot but exercise it against those who have the only power of their word and life offered for the salvation of many.³¹⁷

In this context Ellacuría points to the fact that historical necessity attempts to explain the death of Jesus from a theological point of view by making reference to the narrations of in Scriptures which underline that the passage from death to glory is necessary because of sin. The mention that Jesus died for our sins refers also to our individual and ethical sins. This theological and collective sin destroys history and hinders the future which God would desire for history, thus a need to be freed from our collective work of death in order to form a new people of God.³¹⁸ This takes back to the earlier mentioned need for personal conversion.

Another theological reason for the death of Jesus is that Jesus was killed because his prophetic teaching and actions rubbed the religious and political leaders of his day the wrong way. He threatened the systems and the status quo, so to speak. Jesus’ teaching and actions were not meant to get him killed, but rather they were what his mission of proclaiming the Reign of God demanded, for he began his mission saying, “The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me to bring glad tidings to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim liberty to captives and recovery of sight to the blind, to let the oppressed go free, and to proclaim a year acceptable to the Lord” (Lk. 4:18-19). These were the signs associated with the Reign of God. Jesus’ actions, according to Ellacuría “leads to the affirmation that the struggle on behalf of the Reign of God necessarily presupposes a struggle in favour of the human unjustly oppressed. This struggle leads one into confrontation with those responsible for his oppression. Because of this Jesus died and conquered death”.³¹⁹ For the Jesuit it means

³¹⁷ Cf. *Ibid.*, 197.

³¹⁸ Cf. *Ibid.*, 197-198.

³¹⁹ Cf. Ignacio Ellacuría, “¿Por qué muere Jesús...?”, 74. Cited in Burke, 197-180.

taking part in the proclamation of the Reign of God, inspired by the life and death of Jesus, to fight of injustices:

We see our mission today as this: with renewed vigor to bear witness to the Gospel and, by the ministry of the Word, made operative in Christian charity, to help bring about in our world the reign of Christ in justice, love, and peace. For just as Christ by his words and deeds, by his death and resurrection, made God's justice the world's salvation, and by so doing gave all men hope of becoming truly and wholly free, so we, his followers, are called upon to bear the witness of word and life to God's salvific love of the world in which we live (Luke 4: 18-19, 6: 20-21; Matt. 11: 5, 12. 18-21; Gal. 2. 10; James 2: 1-18).³²⁰ "With Christ, we are called to closeness with all of crucified humanity".³²¹

We can therefore uphold, as with Ellacuría, that "the death of Jesus represents a historical rupture. The rupture of his death confirms the irruption, in and through his life, of the Reign of God". It is thus the death of Jesus which gives meaning to how he lived because his death ultimately reveals the historical and theological meaning of his life, but at the same time it is also "his life that gives ultimate meaning to his death, and only as a consequence is his death, which received its initial meaning from his life, the meaning of his life".³²²

3.4.3 Crucifying Events

Anne Murphy speaks of «crucifying events of our time» that she argues have yielded differing theologies of our times. The first is what she calls a cross born of the struggle against political and social injustice, characterized by a holy impatience, a sense of urgency and a need for courage and vision. The second is what she refers to as a cross born out of the struggle to see the essential or in other words, to see and understand things as they are. This one is characterized by patience and a conviction that in all important matters delay is necessary for maturation. The third is a cross that, according to her, is born of the realization that one's personal, cultural or ecclesial assumptions or prejudices have inflicted suffering on others.³²³

³²⁰ GC 32 D11: 3

³²¹ GC 36 D1: 31.

³²² Cf. Ignacio Ellacuría, "El pueblo crucificado", 200.

³²³ Cf. Anne Murphy, "Contemporary Theologies of the Cross II", in *The Way* 28 (2008), 268-269.

A moment of *metanoia*, she claims, leads to asking for forgiveness from those whom our anti-Semitism, racism, sexism or economic dominance have injured. In other words, it implies reconciliation. The fourth and most pronounced is the cross of the victim in a moment of total rupture such as Auschwitz or Hiroshima, in which he or she has no hope of survival and little hope of a posthumous hearing. These two last examples form a memory of the passion in the past, while the events in Central and Latin America, and perhaps of many third world countries, became the memory of the passion in the present with the deaths new martyrs for justice. She finally talks of the cross of unbelief which has swept across Europe. She postulates that there may be crucifying events of the future.³²⁴

This idea of «crucifying events» is in my opinion an acceptable break from an overemphasis on a theology of liberation that seemingly divides the world in a sharp contrast between the developed countries, on the one hand, and third world or developing countries, on the other. To talk of crucifying events leads people at a personal level to reflect on how their actions may be, figuratively speaking, «crucifying others».

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has brought together the two major themes of the preferential option for the poor, and that of standing against injustices to the poor and the oppressed who we have considered finally as the «Crucified poor of Christ», and the face and symbol of the Reign of God. The Society of Jesus, on its part, through concerted efforts has confronted this issue in terms of the promotion of justice, social apostolate and a theology of liberation.

We have seen the evolution and development of the concept of social justice and justice for the poor and the discriminated and marginalized in Church documents and publications by Popes, but also in the documents of the Society of Jesus. The Society of Jesus in the period after Vatican II held various general congregations which produced profound action documents that were also accompanied by letters and

³²⁴ Ibid.

speeches of its General Superiors, especially those of Pedro Arrupe. We also saw the important role played by Gustavo Gutiérrez and Jesuits such as Jean-Yves Calvez, Jon Sobrino, and Ignacio Ellacuría. Solidarity with poor draws its inspiration from the very experience of St. Ignatius of Loyola and his first companions.

The Cross of Christ and an experience of the Crucified Christ therefore invites us to become the «Crucified people(s) of Christ» so that we can partake in his passion and glory. The Reign of God is manifest in the poor and most needy and that is where the call lies, to be in solidarity with the «Crucified poor of Christ». Such solidarity in its most radical form, participating in the crucifixion of Christ, has led to a number of Jesuit martyrs in the period after Vatican II. The next chapter, therefore, explores the Cross and Jesuit martyrdom.

Chapter 4

“Placed with Christ on the Cross” - The Cross and Jesuit Martyrdom

A Prayer to Seek the Consolation of the Cross

*Jesus, love of my soul, center of my heart!
Why am I not more eager
to endure pains and tribulations for the love of you,
when you, my God has suffered so many for me?*

*Come, then, every sort of trial in the world,
for this is my delight, to suffer for Jesus.
This is my joy, to follow my Savior,
and to find my consolation
with my consoler on the cross.*

*This is my happiness, this is my pleasure-
to live with Jesus, to walk with Jesus,
to converse with Jesus;
to suffer with him and for him,
this is my treasure.*

St. Alphonsus Rodríguez SJ³²⁵

³²⁵ Cited in Michael Harter (ed.), *Hearts on Fire: Praying with Jesuits*, The Institute of Jesuit Sources, St. Louis 1993, 67. This prayer is attributed to St. Alphonsus Rodríguez, who was born in Zamora, Spain, on March 10, 1598. He entered the Society of Jesus on March 25, 1614, and after completing his formation sent to the missions in the reductions in Paraguay along the River Plate where he was martyred alongside St. Roch González. The two are considered as the River Plate Martyrs and were canonized by Pope John Paul II on May 16, 1988. Their feast is celebrated on November 16th. See Joseph N. Tylenda, *Jesuit Saints and Martyrs: Short Biographies of the Saints, Blessed, Venerables, and Servants of God of the Society of Jesus*, Loyola Press, Chicago 1998, 390-391.

4.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter we established a relationship between the poor and the Cross, where we adopted the title «the Crucified Poor of Christ» from the same concept as promoted by Ignacio Ellacuría, who coined the phrase «the Crucified People(s)». For the Jesuits, that meant embracing a «preferential option for the poor», through a faith that does justice. Some Jesuits embraced this option for the poor in its most radical form, which is an identification with the Crucified Christ and his crucified people.

Reference can be made to the *Spiritual Exercises*, where a Jesuit seeks indifference to a long life rather than a short one [Ex. 23]; or by seeking to labor with the Lord in pain, one also follows him in glory [Ex. 95]; or still, desire to bear reproaches and injuries in order to imitate him more [Ex. 98 & 147]; more so to embrace the third degree of humility that consists in imitating Christ our Lord and to be more like him here and now, to the extent that one desires to be regarded as useless fool for Christ [Ex. 167].

Such humility entails total freedom and may have the implication of following him to the Cross. The vision of La Storta and the grace and petition to be placed with Christ carrying his Cross [Au 96], moves a notch higher for one embracing martyrdom. For such a Jesuit it means to be placed with Christ carrying his cross on the way to Calvary and up to and inclusive the Cross, in order to be crucified with Christ (Gal 2:20). This form of identification with Christ resulted in a markedly increased number of Jesuits who were killed for standing against injustices and for defending the rights of the oppressed. This chapter therefore explores the question of Jesuit martyrdom in the period after Vatican II, its theology of the Cross and impact on the Society of Jesus and on the Church in general.

The 36th Jesuit General Congregation wrote a letter to the Jesuits working in difficult situations, where in fact their lives are a risk. This letter also paid homage to all the Jesuits who have lost their lives while fighting for justice.³²⁶ GC 36 also

³²⁶ "Witnesses of Friendship and Reconciliation: A Message and Prayer for Jesuits living in zones of war and conflict, in 36th General Congregation Documents, General Curia, Rome 2017, 38.

resounded that “Any effort to promote justice will cost us something. Our cheerful readiness to pay the price will make our preaching of the Gospel more meaningful and its acceptance easier.”³²⁷ This was a reminder that even though many Jesuits had lost their lives in the struggle for justice, the threats are still real in actuality.

There exists varied literature that recount the death of the various Jesuits killed violently.³²⁸ However, there is still little written on a theology or spirituality of martyrdom. Karl Rahner is of the opinion that “in religious magazines the martyrs of the present day are praised, but in doctrinal studies they are mentioned only in a small corner of fundamental theology or apologetics.”³²⁹ Rahner further states that “Whenever martyrdom is celebrated in blood, God’s grace is truly victorious in the depth of reality”³³⁰ This Jesuit theologian may not have anticipated the events of the coming decades after the Second Vatican Council, yet his theology of death and inclusion of martyrdom, perhaps prefigured what was to come.

This chapter will also examine how some of these Jesuits embraced the Cross of martyrdom by shedding their blood for what they firmly believed in. John W. O’Malley points out that between 1975 and 2006, forty-six Jesuits died violent deaths, most of which occurred because of their efforts in trying to improve the situation brought them into conflict with vested interests.³³¹ Out of these, 18 Jesuits were violently killed in the third world countries between 1973 and 1983.³³² The actual figures as of 2015, as quoted in *Promotio Iustitia* puts the figures at 55 Jesuits killed violently between 1973 and 2015.³³³

GC 34 asserts that “the Society of Jesus has felt both the strength of the Crucified and Risen Christ and its own weaknesses: this has been a time of testing for us, but also a time of great grace [...] deeply affected by the deaths of our Jesuit martyrs in this period [...] we have been purified by faith [...] our faith has become more paschal,

³²⁷ GC 32, D 4, no. 46

³²⁸ See: Jon Sobrino, “La herencia de los mártires del El Salvador”, *Sal Terrae* 78 (1990), 867-880; V.V., *AHSI* 60 (1991), 400-402; Joaquín María Domínguez, “Victimas de la Violencia en El Salvador (16 noviembre 1989)”, *DHCJ* IV, 3940-3942.

³²⁹ Karl Rahner, *On the Theology of Death*, Herder and Herder, New York 1961, 81.

³³⁰ *Ibid.*, 103.

³³¹ John W. O’Malley, *The Jesuits: A History from Ignatius to the Present*, Rowman & Littlefield, Lanham 2014, 108.

³³² Roberto Martialay, *Comunidad en sangre. Entre 1973 y 1983 diecisiete jesuitas encontraron muerte violenta en el Tercer Mundo*, Mensajero, Bilbao 1983, 1.

³³³ “List of Jesuits killed violently”, in *Promotio Iustitiae* 117 (2015), 30-34. This edition of the journal has the title “Martyrs for Justice”.

more tender, more evangelical in its simplicity.”³³⁴ The Society of Jesus thus experienced a moment of passion and glory for the preferential option of standing with the «Crucified poor of Christ».

4.1 Martyrdom

Karl Rahner, once remarked that in this century the tradition of martyrs who die as witnesses to the faith is now supplemented by witnesses for justice.³³⁵ True to this statement, most of the Jesuits we will see lost their lives in the pursuit of justice. Rahner, in his book “On Theology of Death”, concludes with a chapter on martyrdom, which he describes martyrdom as death for the sake of Christian faith or Christian morals. He underlines that when speaking of death, martyrdom must also be discussed. He further defines martyrdom as a kind of death, as complete powerlessness, the pure grace of the Crucified. He abhors the dreadful fact that a man thrusts another into his irrevocable end through criminal arrogance and from a hatred of faith.³³⁶

Martyrdom is thus concerned with death, whereas a martyr is one who in freely accepting his or her death in faith, is killed by powers inimical to Christ, and bears a noble testimony as a witness to faith in Jesus Christ.³³⁷ Martyrdom is the death of a man or a woman who dies for his faith in the Crucified and Risen Lord.³³⁸ Christian martyrdom can also be defined as the voluntary and believing acceptance of the consequences of a struggle.³³⁹ In this sense we can say that these Jesuit martyrs died professing the faith of the Christ, under whose standard of the Cross they elected to serve in the Society of Jesus.

³³⁴ GC 34 D2, 1.

³³⁵ Cited in John R. Donahue, “A New Age of Martyrs”, in *America Magazine*, June 17, 2002, 1.

<https://www.americamagazine.org/content/the-word/new-age-martyrs>

³³⁶ Cf. K. Rahner, “On the Theology of Death”, 81-82.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*

³³⁸ *Ibid.*, 92.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*, 106.

4.2 Martyrdom in the Struggle for faith and struggle for Justice³⁴⁰

The Society of Jesus, gathered together in its 32nd General Congregation, despite a lot of heated debate, made an option in favor of fighting against injustices. The option was audacious because the context was spewed with authoritarian and Marxist ideologies, while some third world countries, especially in Africa were still clamoring for their independence from colonization or plunged in a series of civil wars and insurgencies. This would have its consequences.

GC 32, considering the end for which the Society of Jesus was founded, namely, the greater glory of God and the service of men, “acknowledging with repentance its own failures in keeping faith and upholding justice, and asking itself before Christ crucified what it has done for him, what it is doing for him, and what it is going to do for him, chooses participation in this struggle as the focus that identities in our time what Jesuits are and do”.³⁴¹ GC 35 “remembers with gratitude our martyrs and the poor who have nourished us evangelically in our identity as followers of Jesus,”³⁴² while GC 36 affirms that “With Christ, we are all called to closeness with all of «Crucified humanity».”³⁴³

With regard to an invitation to engage in the struggle for justice we can make reference to the words of Paul VI in *Octogesima Adveniens*:

So as to make a good Judgment, let each one, therefore, ask himself what he has done up to now and what he still ought to do. Indeed, it is not enough just to recall to men’s minds certain precepts or to speak eloquently of premises or to condemn grave injustices or to utter threats with prophetic boldness: all these things are of no use unless in each man they are joined to more lively consciousness of one’s duty and to a specific and definite action. Undoubtedly it is easier to blame others for the present adverse condition of things, without thereby considering to what extent one is free of this same guilt and especially to what extent correction may be called for on the part of each individual.³⁴⁴

It can perhaps be argued that these challenging words of Pope Paul VI was part of the domino effect that would fill the Church, and in particular the Society of Jesus, with vigor, zeal and audacity to take a firm stand against the injustices in the world.

³⁴⁰ GC 32 D2, 2.

³⁴¹ Ibid., 3.

³⁴² GC 35 D2, 15.

³⁴³ GC 36 D1, 31.

³⁴⁴ Pope Paul VI, *Octogesima Adveniens*, Vatican (May 14, 1971).

John Paul II, for his part, made a link between an option for the poor and a readiness to follow Christ up to the Cross when he said to the Jesuits: "You have to be a society of contemplatives in action who strive in every way to see, to know and to experience Christ, to love Him and to make Him loved, to serve Him in every way and in all things to follow Him even up to the Cross"³⁴⁵. He would follow up this theme on Jesuit martyrs in his allocution to the Jesuits of GC 34 by pointing out that "The Society of Jesus [...] has offered in every moment of its existence a significant contribution, including the blood of its martyrs, to the realization of the Church's missionary task throughout many parts of the world."³⁴⁶

The Jesuits added their voice to the struggle for justice and option for the poor. Notably was Jon Sobrino, who accentuated that "the option for the poor is not in itself conciliatory, although it is expected to lead to true reconciliation; It is not peaceful, although it is expected to lead to true peace as well. It is rather a true option that leads the person who makes it to incarnate itself in the conflict of history and demands of it availability to remain in it and strength to assume the consequences."³⁴⁷ True to these words, the consequences of this option were felt and swathed in conflict and bloodshed, not only of many Jesuits, but also of the many «crucified poor» whom they were serving.

4.3 Pedro Arrupe's Prophetic Prediction

The fourth decree of GC 32, can be said to have changed the trajectory of the Society of Jesus in terms of social justice and social apostolate. It was perhaps the most discussed and disputed decree, that would later on also be the most misunderstood and controversial. It is this context that Pedro Arrupe made a speech to the congregated members of GC 32 as they were about to commence the discussion of this decree that would spell out that "the mission of the Society of Jesus today is the service of faith, of which the promotion of justice is an absolute requirement. For

³⁴⁵ Homily of the Holy Father to the members of the 33rd General Congregation in the Chapel of the General Curia. September 2, 1983. This homily can be found in *Jesuit Life and Mission Today*, 465-470.

³⁴⁶ Allocution of Pope John Paul II, 5 January 1995, in *Jesuit Life and Mission Today*, 668.

³⁴⁷ See: Sobrino, Jon, "Opción por los pobres" en Floristán Tamayo, *Conceptos fundamentales del cristianismo*, Trotta, Madrid, 1993. See also: Jon Sobrino, *Opción por los pobres*.
Online <http://servicioskoinonia.org/relat/251.htm>

reconciliation with God demands the reconciliation of people with one another.”³⁴⁸ Pedro Arrupe’s speech was to become a prophesy of the kind of baptism by blood and fire that the Society of Jesus would experience. He said:

It is necessary that our Congregation be truly conscious that the justice of the Gospel should be preached through the cross and from the cross. If we intend seriously to work for justice even to its ultimate consequences [...] the cross will immediately appear, frequently accompanied by bitter pain. For, although we be faithful to our priestly and religious charism and work prudently, we shall see those who rise against us who perpetuate injustice in today’s industrial society, who otherwise are sometimes considered very fine Christians and often are our benefactors or friends or even relatives, who argue for Marxism and subversion, eventually cease to be our friends, and consequently take away their former backing and financial assistance. Are we ready not so much to write beautiful declarations as to work at the truth of the matter and to accomplish concrete results? Is our General Congregation ready to take up this responsibility and to carry it out to its ultimate consequences? Is it ready to enter on a way of the Cross that will us misunderstanding from civil and ecclesiastical authorities and from our best friends?³⁴⁹

Years later, Fr. Peter-Hans Kolvenbach, after his election as General superior gave the picture of the challenges that the Society of Jesus would continue to encounter, and indeed challenges that had begun during the time of Ignatius of Loyola: “There should always be present among us the Jesuit who is willing to lose his life so that Christ might live in his brothers and sisters [...] Underneath all forms of wretchedness and injustices we always find the blood-stained face of Christ crucified, but - mystery of faith - his embodiment of the Beatitudes also enables us unfailingly to find the seeds of reconciliation. «When I am lifted up from earth, I shall draw all to myself» (John 12:32)”³⁵⁰

GC 33 would acknowledge how the Cross had become a fundamental part of the definition of the Jesuit, as per GC 32, as one called to “engage, under the standard of the Cross, in the crucial struggle of our time: the struggle for faith and that struggle for justice”.³⁵¹ GC 33 recognized that so many Jesuits were bearing witness to this

³⁴⁸ GC 32 D 4, 2.

³⁴⁹ Jerome Aixala (ed.), “When Decree 4—Justice with Faith—Was on the Anvil, Rome, December 20, 1974,” in *Justice with Faith Today: Selected Letters and Addresses*, Vol. II, St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources 1980, 317–320. For more of Arrupe’s speeches translated in English see the Jesuit portal of Boston College’s Institute of advanced Jesuit Studies:

<https://jesuitportal.bc.edu/research/documents/the-arrupe-collection/>

See “Discurso del 20 de diciembre de 1974 de Pedro Arrupe, in *Compañía de Jesús siguiendo el camino de la Congregación General XXXII*. Papeles inéditos de la Congregación: artículos, experiencias y bibliografía, Roma. Also cited in Ignacio Echaniz, *Passion and Glory: A Flesh and Blood History of the Society of Jesus*, Vol. IV, Gujarat Sahitya Prakash, Anand 200, 371–372.

³⁵⁰ Homily of Father General in St. Peter’s Basilica, October 15, 1983, in *Jesuit Life and Mission Today*, 482–484.

³⁵¹ GC 32 D 2, 2.

fidelity in all parts of the world. They were fulfilling with constancy the missions entrusted to them, and some indeed were suffering persecution, even in prisons or internment camps.³⁵² Furthermore, this service of faith and promotion of justice made the Society confront the mystery of the Cross with the result that some Jesuits were exiled, imprisoned, or put to death in their work of evangelization.³⁵³ What follows are some of the individual accounts of martyrdom and the situations that led to their occurrence. Some of these Jesuits are yet to be officially recognized as martyrs because of the complexity of the process. But the poor people they served, as well as many authors consider them as martyrs.

4.4 The Jesuit Martyrs in Latin America

The situation in Latin America in the period after Vatican II was characterized by oppressive Marxist regimes, in most cases dividing the society into a few extremely wealthy oligarchs and a majority population that was poor and oppressed. The Church on the hand earned its title as the «Church of the poor». A church that made as its primary mission, configuration with the poor³⁵⁴. Many Jesuits who opposed the systems of injustice suffered the fate of being silenced by the bullet.³⁵⁵

4.4.1 Rutilio Grande, Luis Espinal and João Bosco Burnier

Vatican II, the Medellín Assembly (1968) and *Puebla*, as well as the orientations of GC 31 (1965) and GC 32 (1974-1975), propelled the Jesuits towards a wider social engagement and pastoral teachings in parishes. One Such Jesuit was Rutilio Grande (1928 - 1977)³⁵⁶, a Salvadoran Jesuit believed that the Church cannot be built without

³⁵² GC 33 D1, 8.

³⁵³ Cf., GC 33 D1, 1.

³⁵⁴ Jon Sobrino, *Compañeros de Jesús. El asesinato-martirio de los Jesuitas salvadoreños*, Sal Terrae, Santander 1989, 35-39.

³⁵⁵ For more see Roberto Matialay, *Comunidad en sangre*, 109-281.

³⁵⁶ Manuel Ignacio Pérez Alonso, Joaquín M^o Domínguez, "Grande García Rutilio", in *DCHJ* II, 1800-1802; Joaquín María Domínguez, "Victimas de la violencia en el Salvador", in *DHCJ* IV, 3940-3941. See also: Roberto Matialay, *Comunidad en Sangre*, Mensajero, Bilbao 1983, 137-180.

giving an active part to the faithful and without taking into account the Latin-American situation, which in his case was the situation in El Salvador. He identified himself with the local clergy and together with them denounced the connivance of the ecclesiastical hierarchy with the oligarchic minority that oppressed the majority peasant workers. In choosing to identify with the most deprived, he became a target of many threats and personal insecurity. With time he became the most visible sign of the new religious movement that inspired social justice. He was convinced that the Church could not keep quiet in the face of injustice.

Perhaps Rutilio had an intuition of the martyrdom that awaited him when in one famous speech in which he pointed out that the country was going through its hour of martyrdom. He famously proclaimed that “should Jesus of Nazareth happen to come to Chalatenango to San Salvador as he once upon did from Galilea to Apopa [...] he would be accused as a rebel, a trouble-maker, with ideas contrary to democracy, that is to the minority”.³⁵⁷ For Rutilio, there was no greater injustice than a country where 8% of the people get one half of the national income as compared to the other 92% who share the other half. The peasants were “working land that they could never own and producing food their children could never eat.”³⁵⁸

One month after this speech, he was killed, gunned down by 12 bullets on 11th March 1977. His death is said to have brought about the conversion of Monsignor Oscar Romero, who would also be killed in the same way that Rutilio Grande had. Ignacio Ellacuría on his part, while granting a posthumous doctorate in theology to Oscar Romero said, “He had to be converted; he had to change profoundly, but grace proved stronger than his past. As he used to say, it was the blood of Father Rutilio Grande mixed with the blood of the people that had definitely awakened his conscience”. Ellacuría who was paying homage to two martyrs, would embrace the Cross as these two had, being Crucified with Christ and dying alongside their beloved peasants – the «Crucified poor of Christ» their blood had been mixed with them.³⁵⁹ Rutilio Grande's process of canonization is on course.³⁶⁰

³⁵⁷ Cf. Ignacio Echaniz, *Passion and Glory*, 350-353.

³⁵⁸ Cf. William J. O'Malley, *The Voice of Blood: Five Christian Martyrs of our Time* [Orbis Books: New York 1980], 18.

³⁵⁹ Cf. Ignacio Echaniz, 355.

³⁶⁰ José M. Tojeira, *La Civiltà Cattolica*, 166 (2015), 393-406.

Luis Espinal (1932 - 1980), a Jesuit from Manresa, arrived in Bolivia in 1968 as a missionary in a what was then a military government. Echaniz describes it as a period of repression, imprisonments, executions, disappearances, violation of human rights, military dominance and censorship. The Bolivian Church with time rose up to become the only voice that rose in defense of human rights. Luis would be hence known as the voice of the voiceless using his professional media skills – a voice that tells what others dare not say. His time to embrace the Cross came when on 21 March, 1980 he was tortured in a slaughter house before being shot 17 times. The inscription on his tomb read “Assassinated for helping the poor”.³⁶¹

João Bosco Burnier (1917-1976)³⁶², a Brazilian Jesuit, was shot and killed on 11 October, 1976 at a police station when he had gone to secure the release of two Indian women who were being tortured. The people who went to bury him erected a big cross on his grave with the inscription “...assassinated by the police as he was defending freedom”. These crucified people(s), who identified with the cross, mourned this martyr saying “they may pull down this cross, but we shall not give in; we shall raise another one [...] the cross represents our liberation”.³⁶³ They demonstrated that they were ready to embrace the cross just as Fr. João had embraced martyrdom for them.

4.4.2 Ignacio Ellacuría and the University of Central American Martyrs

The killing of the Jesuits referred to as the Martyrs of the University of Central America (UCA) is perhaps the most known and written about in the history of the Society of Jesus.³⁶⁴ Maybe this has to do with the prophetic and theological writings of Ignacio Ellacuría, who himself paid tribute to Rutilio Grande and Oscar Romero. It might also have to do with the survival of Jon Sobrino who was away giving a conference on Christology in Bangkok, Thailand while all his community members

³⁶¹ Cf. Ignacio Echaniz, 361-366. See also: Victor Codina, “Luis Espinal «Gastar la vida por los demás», *Cristianismo* 64 (1995).

³⁶² For more on his life, fight for justice and a narration of events leading to his death, see: William J. O'Malley, *The Voice of Blood*, 126-189; Roberto Matialay, *Comunidad en Sangre*, 227-264.

³⁶³ Cf. Ignacio Echaniz, *Ibid.*, 366-370.

³⁶⁴ See: Salvador Carranza (ed.), *Mártires de la UCA. 16 de noviembre de 1989*, UCA editores, San Salvador 1990.

were gunned down, turning him into the most renowned scholar of liberation theology after Ignacio Ellacuría.³⁶⁵ Paul Lakeland highlights that Ellacuría's politicized gospel led him to ask not so much why Jesus died, but why he was killed. In Ellacuría's case, he died for his insistence that the Gospel calls Christians to build the reign of God in history, and for his efforts to make that happen. That should lead us to pay close attention.³⁶⁶

Ignacio Ellacuría, who was himself a philosopher by training, saw his role as the rector of the University of Central America as bringing to bear all of the intellectual resources of that institution to aid the situation of poverty and oppression in El Salvador. This is a man who, precisely because he was so seized by the image of Christ poor and marginalized among the people of El Salvador, because of the purity of his heart, could work for them and struggle for them with his whole being. Ellacuría can be said therefore to have been a man courageous enough to be a martyr, and passionate enough to know that the image of Christ which transfixed him, the image of what he called a "crucified people" was something both worth living and worth dying for.³⁶⁷

On 11 November, 1989, 6 Jesuits, their cook and her daughter, were killed. Ignacio Ellacuría (1930 - 1989), Amando López (1936 - 1989), Joaquín Lopez (1918 - 1989), Ignacio Martín Baró (1942 - 1989), Segundo Montes (1939 - 1989), Juan Ramón Moreno (1939 - 1989)³⁶⁸, and Julia Elba and Celina. Jon Sobrino approximates that between 70, 000-75, 000 persons were killed in El Salvador at that cruel period of history.³⁶⁹ These Jesuits had died with the almost hundreds of thousands of their poor, the «Crucified People(s)».

The Jesuits of the UCA were killed for their work of justice, especially at the university which had become a centre for reflection on the tragic reality of El Salvador. It had become a university totally geared to social change. As Ignacio Echaniz puts it,

³⁶⁵ Jon Sobrino recounts what happened, how they were killed and why they were killed. See: Jon Sobrino, "Compañeros de Jesús. El Asesinato-mártirio de los Jesuitas salvadoreños", in *Aquí y Ahora* 4, Saltarrea, Santander, 1989.

³⁶⁶ Paul Lakeland, "A Martyrs Perspective", in *America Magazine*, March 12, 2014, 1.

<https://www.americamagazine.org/arts-culture/2014/03/12/martyrs-perspective>

³⁶⁷ Michael J. Rogers, "Blessed are the Pure in Heart: The Ellacuría Tapes", in *America Magazine*, December 2, 2014, 1-2.

<https://www.americamagazine.org/faith/2014/12/02/blessed-are-pure-heart-ellacuria-tapes>

³⁶⁸ For a detailed account of the lives and vocations of these individual Jesuits, including their letters and writings, see: Roberto Martialay, *Sangre en la universidad. Los Jesuitas asesinados en Salvador*, Mensajero, Bilbao 1999.

³⁶⁹ Jon Sobrino, *Compañeros de Jesús. El asesinato-martirio de los Jesuitas salvadoreños*, Sal Terrae, Santander 1989, 5.

“rather than training students, rather than doing research, though it does both things, it must try to solve the unacceptable situation of injustice in this country and in the whole Central American area”. They were accused of being the intellectual leaders of the guerrillas, of inciting them with their ideas and inspiring them. Ellacuría had argued that the university and the Society of Jesus were entities capable of playing an important and original role in the process of change; but the capability was dependent on their autonomy. Taking up arms was totally incompatible with a life of a Jesuit priest.³⁷⁰

The killing of these Jesuits had an unintended effect towards a peaceful El Salvador and respect of human rights. The deaths captured the attention of the international community and put a spotlight on the country’s situation as the trial that followed lasted almost 2 years.³⁷¹ The blood of these martyrs had played a key role in reducing the magnitude of the many senseless killings of the poor in El Salvador with the signing of a peace accord signed on 16th January 1992 in Mexico City.³⁷² Their blood had transformed the «Crucified poor of Christ» to a glorified victory of the Cross.

4.5 The Jesuit Martyrs in Africa³⁷³

Africa in the post Vatican II years was going through a trying moment of its history. Many countries had just obtained their independence, some were still colonized, while a considerable number were engaged in civil war with the upsurge of many guerrilla movements and insurgencies. Many Jesuits opted to preach peace, to try reconciliation, and above all stood on the side of the poor and oppressed.

The Jesuit missionaries were offered the opportunity to return to their countries and flee from these volatile situations. Most of them replied that they could not abandon the poor when they needed them most. They chose to stay with them, suffer with them, and consequently died with them and for them. Some of these include Alfredo Pérez Lobato (1937-1973), a Spanish Jesuit brother, who was shot dead in the

³⁷⁰ Cf. Ignacio Echaniz, 359 - 360. See also Jon Sobrino, “¿Por qué los mataron? in *Compañeros de Jesús*, 19-25.

³⁷¹ Pedro Armanda y Martha Doggett, *Una muerte anunciada en El Salvador. El asesinato de los Jesuitas*, PPC, Madrid 1993, 21-23.

³⁷² *Ibid.*, 361.

³⁷³ See: Neno Contran, *They are a Target. 200 African Priests Killed*, Paulines Publications Africa-New People, Nairobi-Limuru 1996

war in Chad; Desmond Donovan, killed in Makumbi, Zimbabwe on 15 January, 1978; Bernhard Lisson, Gregor Richet and Gerhard Pieper, killed in 1978 in Zimbabwe.³⁷⁴

4.5.1 John Conway, Martin Thomas & Christopher Shepherd-Smith

On 6 February, 1977 three Jesuits, John Conway (1920), Martin Thomas (1943, and Christopher Shepherd-Smith (1943), alongside 4 Dominican nuns,³⁷⁵ working in the missions in Zimbabwe were killed by rebel forces for supposedly being a stumbling block for the cause for independence and also for standing for the rights of native Africans who did not want to join the liberation movement. These same priests had also been very critical of the oppressive colonial regime for its land policy and racial segregation.³⁷⁶ They were later referred to as the martyrs of charity.

Another Jesuit, Dunstan Myerscough, who had survived the ordeal was asked if he wanted to return to England. His response was heroic and captures the true spirit of martyrdom and solidarity with the oppressed poor. He said: “We Jesuits were brought up to be ready for it. We were never promised an easy passage. One day an end will come to this. I just hope and pray it will come soon”. What followed the killing of the seven martyrs of charity was a massacre of those who were deemed to be against the resistance movement, including another Jesuit priest and brother, 3 families of protestant missionaries and countless native Africans.³⁷⁷ Here, too, the Jesuits had shared martyrdom with their beloved «Crucified poor of Christ».

³⁷⁴ Cf. Roberto Martialay, *Comunidad en Sangre*, 11-108.

³⁷⁵ The Dominican Sisters included three Germans (Sr Magdala Lewandowski, Sr Epiphany Schneider and Sr Ceslaus Stiegler), and Sr Joseph Wilkinson (55) who was from England. See: Ted Rogers, “Remembering the Musami Martyrs, 40 years on”, in *Jesuits in Britain*, 06 February, 2017. Online Journal. <https://www.jesuit.org.uk/remembering-musami-martyrs-40-years>

³⁷⁶ See: David Harold-Barry, “The Seven Jesuit Martyrs of Zimbabwe”, *Promotio Iustitiae*, 117 (2015), 14-17.

³⁷⁷ Cf. William J. O'Malley, *The Voice of Blood*, 65 - 124. See also Jesuits in Britain, “Remembering the Musami Martyrs, 40 years on” published on their website on 6 February, 2017 <https://www.jesuit.org.uk/remembering-musami-martyrs-40-years>, 18 may, 2018.

4.5.2 João de Deus Gonçalves Kamtedaza and Sílvio Alves Moreira

João de Deus Gonçalves Kamtedaza (1930 – 1985) and Sílvio Alves Moreira (1941 – 1985), two Jesuits working in the Chapotera and Lifidzi missions of Mozambique, did not turn up to celebrate Mass on November 1, 1985, the feast of the All saints. Their bodies, riddled with bullet wounds were discovered 3 days later. They were caught up in a civil war that claimed the lives of many innocent poor. The missionaries were opposed to the senseless killings and spoke out against the excesses. In Ignacio Echaniz's narration of the events, he writes, "they knew the risk they were running and their religious superior had advised them to get away for some time. They decided to stay and be by the side of the people through their hour of trial".³⁷⁸

4.5.3 Christophe Munzihirwa

Christophe Munzihirwa (1926-1996) was the archbishop of Bukavu, in Congo in the post Rwandan Genocide period. Many had fled to Bukavu, where a different kind of fighting was brewing, between the Zairean army and Zairean Tutsi militia groups. Munzihirwa was firm in defending the rights of the Hutu refugee camps from attacks. He wrote what was to be his last pastoral letter urging for peace and tolerance: "It is a folly to attack peaceful people for the simple reason that they belong to a different ethnic group. Let us have a welcoming attitude with all; we shall be richer by the multiplicity of values contributed by the various groups and races."³⁷⁹ He was subsequently shot dead by armed forces as he tried to plead with them to halt their planned attack.³⁸⁰ The humble Jesuit peasant and scholar embraced martyrdom defending the persecuted.

³⁷⁸ Ignacio Echaniz, 375.

³⁷⁹ Six Speeches of Munzihirwa, titled "*Le temps de l'inquiétude, janvier-octobre 1995*", were published in: Philippe de Dorlodot, *Les réfugiés rwandais à Bukavu au Zaïre. De nouveaux Palestiniens, Groupe Jérémie-L'Harmattan*, Paris 1996.

³⁸⁰ Ignacio Echaniz, 376-380.

4.5.4 The Rwandan Jesuit martyrs

Three Rwandan Jesuits, Chrysologue Mahame (1927-1994), Patrick Gahizi (1946-1994) and Innocent Rutayambwa(1948-1994), found themselves in the middle of a serious conflict situation of genocide. They had hosted Hutus in the Jesuit retreat house, «Centre Christus» in Kigali when they were attacked and killed alongside the other Hutus on April 13, 1994. Jean Baptiste Ganza points out that “These Jesuits who had offered themselves for the service of the Gospel within the Society of Jesus had served the cause of faith and justice in a conflict situation.”³⁸¹

4.6 The Jesuit Martyrs in Asia

Anchanikal T. Thomas (1951 - 1997) identified himself with India’s oppressed. He had developed a network of schools so as to combat illiteracy, which according to him was one of the causes for injustice. The illiterate, since they could not read, were easily cheated, their lands grabbed and their just wages denied. Thomas not only educated them, but also accompanied them to court to fight for their unjustly grabbed land by the higher caste. He was killed as he was trying to defend a villager who was being beaten up by the police. He had been tortured, beheaded and his body dumped in a river bed.³⁸² He was known to have a heart and love for the poor, for whom he embraced the Cross.

Richard Fernando (1970-1996), a 26 year old in regency, found his place among Cambodia’s war cripples. Many years of civil war had left many refugees fleeing Vietnam in boats, leading to the foundations of the Jesuit Refugee Services by Pedro Arrupe. Fr. Arrupe, when addressing working with refugees in Thailand asked them to pray much because problems of such dimensions could never be solved using human effort. Civil war in Cambodia left a trail of suffering and innumerable cripples.

³⁸¹ Jean Baptiste Ganza, “Three Grains Planted in the Rwandan Soil”, in *Promotio Iustitiae*, 117 (2015), 18-20. See also: Neno Contran, “The Massacre at the Christus Centre”, in Neno Contran, *They are a Target. 200 African Priests Killed*, Paulines Publications Africa-New People, Nairobi-Limuru 1996, 67-68.

³⁸² Cf. Ignacio Echaniz, 380-382.

It is among these that Richard found himself, especially to students of whom he wrote to one of his Jesuit companions eight months after arrival at the school: "I hope I could offer my life to them to the fullest". He was killed by a crippled boy who was a soldier. Richard gave his life in order to save the lives of many of the other boys from a grenade attack by this boy.³⁸³

Tacisius Dewanto (1965 – 1999) and Karl Albrecht were caught up in the violent situation of East Timor in 1999. Militia men were going around killing people, and upon coming to a Church where the priests were housing hundreds of distressed people fleeing the violence. Fr. Tacisius and other priests came out to meet the militia men, perhaps with the intention of negotiating a truce and safeguarding the lives of the people. They were shot and killed, after which the hundreds huddled in the Church were shot and killed as well. Fr. Karl Albrecht was shot and killed at the Jesuit residence in Dili. He was known as a tireless friend, servant, and defender of so many victims of violence, as is said to have exercised his authority in many ways for the sake of humanity. He had written in a letter previously that with the refugee emergency over he had hoped to move to a place with greater need, saying that he "came to live among the poor".³⁸⁴ He, too, died among the «crucified poor» whom he was serving and defending.

4.7 Theologies of Death, Martyrdom and the Cross³⁸⁵

Anne Murphy, in her article "Contemporary theologies of the Cross" argues that theology has to take very seriously what the document Puebla said about the evangelizing potential of the poor.³⁸⁶ Jon Sobrino captures that well in affirming that the poor do not do theology in the technical sense of the word, nor does attention to

³⁸³ His story is related in the online page of the Jesuit Asia Pacific Province which has initiated his beatification process. See: Jesuits Asia Pacific Province, "Beginning the Beatification Cause of Richie Fernando SJ" <http://www.sjapc.net/2017/08/beginning-beatification-cause-richie-fernando-sj/>

³⁸⁴ Cf. Ignacio Echaniz, 382-390. See also: Juzito Rebelo, "For Freedom and two Jesuits in Setembro", in *Promotio Iustitiae*, 117 (2015), 27-29.

³⁸⁵ See: Martin Maier, "Teología del martirio en Latinoamérica", *Sal Terrae* 92 (2004) 753-764; "El mártirio hoy", *Revista Internacional Concilium* 183 (1983); "Fe cristiana. Repensar el mártirio, *Revista Internacional Concilium* 294 (2003).

³⁸⁶ Anne Murphy, "Contemporary Theologies of the Cross II", *The Way* 28 (2008), 263.

the word of the poor obviate the need for the work of the professional theologian.³⁸⁷ On the contrary, the poor offer a radicality and authenticity hardly attainable anywhere. Their lives can be said to be theological occurrences in the present, which reveal the little, humble comings of the Kingdom among us.³⁸⁸

4.7.1 Theology of Death and Martyrdom in Karl Rahner

Karl Rahner's theology of death also centers on the theological meaning of martyrdom. He proposes a deeper reflection on the terms «testimony» or «witness» and «death». He postulates that faithful witness implies that a disciple who follows Jesus Christ must be also ready to follow in his bloody footsteps as well as to be ready to share the fate of the Word Incarnate even unto death. Martyrdom, therefore has everything to do with death. Death is a mystery and therefore martyrdom also becomes a mystery. Rahner sees death as more than a separation of the body and the soul, but it is rather the fruit of a final, free and absolute decision growing out of time itself, precisely as much as it has been seen as human time.³⁸⁹

From this it follows that man is invited to die their death in freedom for this will determine how a person will understand their death. By freely accepting this human life oriented towards its end, man freely accepts the movement towards the end. Christian death, of which martyrdom is part of, is thus "freely exercised in liberty of faith, which in reality and truth disposes of the whole life, by accepting the incalculability of this mortal existence as meaningful and a loving disposition to God."³⁹⁰ We can argue that perhaps these Jesuits had arrived at such a freedom that the *Spiritual Exercises* call «indifference» [Ex. 23].

For Anne Murphy, Karl Rahner's theology of overcame the negativity of death and the hopelessness of the human condition. She argues that K. Rahner's most original contribution has been the insistence that a theology of death was needed in order to explicate God's saving work. Death, in this sense, can be said to be nothing

³⁸⁷ This can be found in a foreword written by Jon Sobrino, in Pablo Galdámez, *Faith of a People*, Orbis, New York 1987, xvi.

³⁸⁸ Cf. Anne Murphy, "Contemporary Theologies of the Cross II", 263.

³⁸⁹ Karl Rahner, 84.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 96.

more than life's basic option. Anne further contends that Rahner sees the process of dying as the time during which a person either surrenders to the unknown, the mystery, which has brought him or her to this stage of life. Paradoxically, we can say that it is by letting go of control that an individual is able to say «yes» to something greater than themselves.³⁹¹ As was the case with most of these martyrs.

This ability to let go results in a passivity in the act of dying that can be actively assented to in freedom. As such an affirmation of Rahner's view that the story of the Cross is the narrative of one of man's acceptance of himself or herself as a person, that is, the death of Jesus which gave focus to the meaning of his whole life. The theologically significant point becomes Jesus free acceptance of his death. He died in solidarity with all human death. Death therefore, can be said to be no longer the end of history but the event which transcends itself into the unlimited freedom of God.³⁹² We can therefore suppose that the Jesuit martyrs must have deeply understood this concept of unlimited freedom of God, and likewise, in choosing to follow Jesus, they were set free to the point of accepting death.

Rahner concludes his discourse on martyrdom by pointing out that throughout the history of the Church there have always been Christians longing for martyrdom and praying to God for this greatest of all graces. This explains why the Church in the canonization process of martyrs does not seek for miracles (CIC 2116 #2). Their deaths are in themselves a testimony. When we depict the martyr on the model of Christ, the martyr of our times resembles the Lord no more less than the martyr of the past. Rahner makes reference to the millions who are suffering for the name of Jesus. They suffer, believing and enduring, unknown and without fame, atoning also for our guilt and cowardly indifference, weakness of faith, and pleasure-seeking mediocrity. They are the true followers of the Lord, in whom he himself suffers and dies.³⁹³ Perhaps, K. Rahner, in a different way was already formulating the idea of a «Crucified people(s)».

³⁹¹ Anne Murphy, "Contemporary Theologies of the Cross I", 154.

³⁹² *Ibid.*, 155.

³⁹³ Karl Rahner, 116-119.

4.7.2 Jon Sobrino's Theology in a Suffering World³⁹⁴

Jon Sobrino argues that theology is conscious of its need to show its relevance in the world, and as a consequence to try to determine what is the reality of the world and what can theology do for the world.³⁹⁵ He admits that the relationship between liberation and martyrdom is a complex one. The two clarify each other and complement mutually. Therefore, liberation and martyrdom, the Reign and the Cross, clarify each other.³⁹⁶ According to Anne Murphy, Sobrino's theology has articulated the crucial problem for today: how can theology learn from the experience of the poor, if, as is so often true, the poor have a passive, uncritical, fatalistic understanding of the Cross? She points out that martyrdom, for Jon Sobrino, attests to the fact that a martyr's witness in offering one's life that others may live constitutes the deepest root of the Church's activity in Latin America.³⁹⁷

Sobrino refers to the crosses of the martyrs saying, "from their crosses, the martyrs, paradoxically enrich our hope. From their crosses the martyrs unify the Salvadorans as a people and as Christians. From their crosses, the martyrs send a message to the whole world that it is possible to be human, to belong to university communities, to be Jesuits and to be Christians. The martyrs teach us that it is possible to live from love and put out all our human capacities at the service of love."³⁹⁸

4.7.3 Leonardo Boff - "Death doesn't have the last word"

Leonardo Boff argues that the language of speaking about death and the cross is shrouded in ambiguities and that we have to learn how to preach about the Cross to a «crucified society».³⁹⁹ He is of the opinion that death is not something that suddenly

³⁹⁴ See Jon Sobrino, "Teología en un mundo sufriente. La teología de liberación como «intellectus amoris»", in *Revista Latinoamericana de Teología* 15 (1988), 243-266.

³⁹⁵ Jon Sobrino, *El Principio-misericordia. Bajar de la Cruz a los Pueblos Crucificados*, Sal Terrae, Santander 1992, 48.

³⁹⁶ Jon Sobrino, "De una teología sólo de la liberación a una teología de mártirio" in *Revista Latino Americana de teología* X, 28 (1993), 27-28.

³⁹⁷ Anne Murphy, "Contemporary Theologies of the Cross I", in *The Way*, 28 (1988), 159-162.

³⁹⁸ Jon Sobrino, "El principio-misericordia", 262-263.

³⁹⁹ Leonardo Boff, just like Ignacio Ellacuría, makes a distinction between «cross» and «Cross», the former with small cap «c» represents the different types of crosses that we human beings carry and can even imply the cross of oppression, while the latter with an uppercase «C» refers solely to the Cross of Jesus Christ.

comes at the end of life, but is instead a continuous process of mortality, of the human condition. Our natural mortality, therefore, is transformed into an existential cross because we perceive the disparity between an infinite desire and its finite realization, between a limited *eros* and the principle of death.⁴⁰⁰

Preaching the Cross therefore, for the Christian, presupposes faith and appeals to the reality of our own personal sinful condition, that is, the sin of the world and our own sinfulness. Boff emphasizes that we ought not to preach the cross and death as if they have the final word and as if only sin dwells within us. We ought to be men and women free from the fear of death.⁴⁰¹

The cross and death, insofar as they lead to injustice must be condemned and denounced. There are many crucified persons, each of whom hangs from a cross. It is this painful and unjust cross that should be condemned. In this context, preaching the Cross implies the prophetic duty of announcing and denouncing. Announcing the Reign of God and denouncing injustice, poverty and accumulation of wealth on account of the majority poor. The exaltation of the Cross and death can also be viewed as sources of new life and light, for without blood there is no redemption (cf. Heb 9:22).⁴⁰²

Boff's concept of martyrdom, even though he does not explicitly say it, can be said to be a kind of Cross and death that is acceptable as a price paid for the fight against cross and death. When a prophet rises to announce and denounce the unjust crosses and violent deaths produced by the agents of sin, he has to be ready for persecution, slander, prison, torture and even death. Boff contends that many prophets, whether yesterday or today have died a natural death.⁴⁰³ We can therefore qualify persons like Rutilio Grande, Oscar Romero, Ignacio Ellacuría, just to point out a few, as prophets of our contemporary age because they were martyred for their prophetic message.

The reality is that the Reign of God produces a counter effect, a reign against the Reign – a cross and death. To preach the Cross awakens in persons the capacity that we all have to love and to accept greater sacrifices.⁴⁰⁴ The true meaning of the

⁴⁰⁰ Cf. Leonardo Boff, *Teología desde lugar del pobre*, Jesús García-Abril (Trad.), Sal Terrae, Santander 1986, 117-120.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid., 121-123.

⁴⁰² Ibid., 123-126.

⁴⁰³ Ibid., 127.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid., 128-132.

Cross therefore implies love and solidarity with the «crucified peoples of our history». Even when we are not persecuted ourselves or threatened by death, our destiny is united to that of the persecuted and thus arises the risk of death. We can in turn see many Christians who take up their crosses of all kinds. The «preferential option for the poor» subsequently means a solidarity with those who are not poor yet make themselves poor in order to identify with the poor, and together with them strive to overcome poverty in the direction of poverty and fraternity.⁴⁰⁵ It is this kind of solidarity with the poor and oppressed that marked the lives of the martyrs whose lives we have seen. They chose to share the crosses of the poor and even chose to share in their deaths.

Finally, Boff sees the Cross and death as the place and moment of resurrection, as a victory over the cross and death. Theologically speaking, the resurrection should not be seen as an eruption of a life that follows death on a Cross. In reality, the option of assuming with joy mortality of life, of sharing with those who suffer, of accepting the consequences of the fight against those who torture and kill, including even the ability to forgive, is what possesses in itself an intensity of life which cannot be devoured by death but survives within the glorious triumph. All these we receive through the resurrection of Jesus Christ.⁴⁰⁶

In the Joanic sense, the moment of crucifixion is at the same time the moment of resurrection when on the Cross, Jesus bows his head and breathes the Holy Spirit, giving a new foundation to His Church. The resurrection is the moment of inauguration of the Reign of God, with all its authentic integrity, in the person of Jesus. The cross and death remain therefore freed from all drama and are transformed into a source of redemption and of a new person. According to Revelations, “...there shall be no more death or mourning, wailing or pain” (Rev 21:4), there will be no more «cross».⁴⁰⁷ Thus, we conclude Boff’s theology of death and cross by affirming with him that death will no more have the last word. We can argue that the martyrs, convinced of this, knew that they had won the greatest prize, the Cross of Christ along with its glory. They were convinced that they had gained the Reign of God.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid., 135.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid., 136.

4.8 In God's Hands

Pedro Arrupe, on handing over his resignation as Superior General of the Society of Jesus, gave himself in complete freedom to God. He said, "More than ever, I now find myself in the hands of God. That is what I have always wanted since my youth. And this is still the one thing that I want. But now there is a difference: the initiative is entirely with God. It is indeed a profound spiritual experience to know and feel myself so totally in his hands."⁴⁰⁸ This is perhaps the kind of prayer that one facing martyrdom makes in his heart, desiring to be entirely in God's hands. Pedro Arrupe, according to Ignacio Echaniz, suffered a different kind of martyrdom, a martyrdom not of blood but rather a silent martyrdom that came from painful misunderstandings with fellow Jesuits and with the highest ecclesiastical authorities, added to his frail health. Echaniz calls this period Pedro Arrupe's way of the Cross.⁴⁰⁹ It was after all, Pedro Arrupe who had to defend the fourth decree in the face of such sacrifice.

The Jesuits martyrs can be considered heroes for their selflessness and indifference, for being men of the Principle and Foundation [*Ex. 23*], but as John W. O'Malley points out, to opt for the Cross in its most radical and cruel form has little to do with seeking heroism. "The word «hero» itself is misleading when one speaks of martyrs. Martyrdom has nothing to do with heroic status or heroic struggle or heroic image. It is a remarkably sober and undramatic way to die, unlike the heroism which is really a misnomer for foolhardiness."⁴¹⁰ Those who embrace martyrdom don't go searching for heroism, they act out of a profound sense of interior freedom, for "Martyrdom cannot be improvised. Either a whole lifetime prepares one for it, or it will never occur".⁴¹¹ Just like Pedro Arrupe most of these Jesuit martyrs found themselves more and more in God's hands, to an extent that they may have silently prayed "Take, Lord, and receive all my liberty, my memory, my understanding, and all my will - all I have and possess. You, Lord, have given all that to me. I now give it back to you, O Lord. All of it is yours. Dispose of it according to your will. Give me love of yourself along with your grace, for that is enough for me" [*Ex. 234*]. With this

⁴⁰⁸ Message of Fr. Pedro Arrupe to the Society, September 3, 1983, in *Jesuit Life and Mission*, 477.

⁴⁰⁹ Cf. Ignacio Echaniz, *Passion and Glory*, 335-349.

⁴¹⁰ John W. O'Malley, *The Voice of Blood*, ix.

⁴¹¹ *Ibid.*

prayer, the Jesuit martyr would give their all, including their very life, back to their Lord and Creator.

The Congregated members of the recent 36th General Congregation reflected on the difficulties faced by Jesuits living in areas of conflict, Jesuits who stare the possibility of martyrdom in the face daily, Jesuits who have made a radical witness across all continents. The Congregation expressed this solidarity, not only with our Jesuit martyrs who have gone ahead, but also with Jesuits currently living in trying situations with this prayer:

*Lord our God,
We come before you to pray for our brothers who serve you at the
frontiers of violence and war.
We place under your protection our companions present in Syria and
South Sudan, Colombia and the Great Lakes region of Africa, the
Central African Republic, Afghanistan, Ukraine, Iraq and so many
other places. Together with so many partners in their mission, they
share the consequences of war and violence with millions of women,
men and children. Grant them your consolation. Be their strength.
You who are the Father of Peace, bring your peace to our world. Let
it grow in the hearts of world leaders. Let it spread to the people of all
parts of the world and of all beliefs. Let your love lead our world.
Finally, we recall those injured or killed while serving your mission
in war zones. They show in their bodies the passion that animates the
Society. May the living find comfort in the bread broken in the
Eucharist, and the departed enjoy the light of your face in the
Kingdom of your peace.
We ask you this through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.
Mary, Queen of Peace and Mother of the Society of Jesus, pray for
us.⁴¹²*

4.9 Conclusion

John R. Donahue, uses the image of the Church today as a community of martyrs (witnesses) no less than when Christians were thrown to the lions. Today's lions are powerful figures and institutions who are unmasked by people who imitate the prophets and Jesus. Though most of us are not called literally to give our lives, the

⁴¹² This is taken from a letter drafted by the Society of Jesus during the 36th General Congregation, titled: "Witnesses of Friendship and Reconciliation: A Message and Prayer for Jesuits living in zones of war and conflict, in 36th General Congregation Documents, General Curia, Rome 2017, 38.

modern martyrs' love of the least of Jesus' brothers and sisters, and their concern for truth and justice, is a mandate for all of us.⁴¹³ K. Rahner on his part affirms that Church and martyrdom bears witness to one another, such that in the verbal testimony of the Church to eschatological victorious grace, we obtain the innermost interpretation of martyrdom. Consequently, martyrdom testifies on behalf of the Church.⁴¹⁴ Martyrdom also had the same effect of testifying the commitment of the Society of Jesus in standing with the poor against injustices.

This chapter has explored the important theme of the Cross and Jesuit martyrdom. We have demonstrated how the Society of Jesus lived the consequences of its election in GC 32 to engage in the struggle of faith and struggle for justice through a «preferential option for the poor» and solidarity with the poor and oppressed. We have seen how the prophetic words of Paul VI and Pedro Arrupe would come true for the renewed Society of Jesus. These consequences were quick in coming. Jesuits all over the world, especially in third world countries (Latin America, Africa and Asia) found themselves at the crossroads of political and Marxist ideologies, oppression, segregation, discrimination, civil wars and rebel insurgencies. Many paid with their blood and are considered martyrs for taking up the Cross of Christ, but also for embracing the crosses of the «crucified people(s)», the «crucified poor» and a «crucified humanity».

We finally tried to answer the questions of why they gave of themselves to such an extent, knowing well what awaited them or what might befall them. The chapter has done this by attempting to give a theological understanding of why these martyrdoms happened in such enormous proportions by examining the works of Karl Rahner, Jon Sobrino, Leonardo Boff and Anne Murphy. Just as death is a mystery, martyrdom too remains a mystery, yet these are martyrs who chose death in complete freedom and love because of their strong conviction of discipleship and their following of Christ (imitation and conformity with Him) on Calvary and up to and inclusive of the Cross. They must have had a spiritual and mystical understanding that all does not end in Calvary, rather beyond there is a Resurrection that gives hope and meaning to all that sacrifice done out of love.

⁴¹³ John R. Donahue, "A New Age of Martyrs", 2.

⁴¹⁴ Karl Rahner, "On the Theology of Death", 104.

General Conclusion

“What ought we to do for Christ on the Cross?”

Colloquy

*Imagine Christ our Lord suspended on the cross before you,
And converse with him in a colloquy:
How is it that he, although he is Creator,
Has come to make himself a human being?
How is it that he has passed from eternal life to death here in time,
and to die for my sins?*

*In a similar way, reflect on yourself and ask:
What have I done for Christ?
What am I doing for Christ?
What ought I to do for Christ?*

*In this way, too,
gazing on him in so pitiful a state as he hangs on the cross,
speak out whatever comes to your mind.*

(Spiritual Exercises, 53)

General Conclusion

This thesis with the title, *“Moved by the Lord on the Cross”- A Jesuit Spirituality of the Cross in the post conciliar period (GCs 31-36)*, set out to examine what can be termed as a Jesuit spirituality of the Cross in the better half of the 20th century to date, a period that coincided with the reverberations of Vatican II. Chapter One analyzed the topic, justifying a spirituality of the Cross and how it influenced the Society of Jesus. We defined «Jesuit and Ignatian Spirituality», as well as a «theology and Spirituality» of the Cross and pointed out to how the Cross has been very present and key from the foundations of the Society of Jesus, through its history and charism and in all its subsequent documents.

We have seen how the *Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius of Loyola*, the *Constitutions*, *Autobiography of St. Ignatius*, are pivotal and indispensable for the Society of Jesus. We argued that the Jesuit and Ignatian spirituality is Christocentric and Christological, of which the Cross has a central part. The Cross therefore appears implicitly and explicitly in the documents of the Society of Jesus, founded to serve «under the banner of the Cross» and «Placed with Christ carrying his Cross», and sent out to the world on mission inspired by the Cross. The Christocentric and Christological position, does not however, in my opinion negate the that the Jesuit Spirituality is very Trinitarian in the sense that God the Father is always made present in the most important documents, and that both St. Ignatius and the Jesuits had a deep devotion for the Holy Spirit. The colloquial nature of Ignatian Spirituality points to this as well.

We have also highlighted how the Second Vatican Council changed the shape of history, not only of the Church, but also the Society of Jesus with its push for reforms by urging religious institutions to seek a renewal by going back to the original charism of their founders. We have seen that the Society of Jesus is a constant pilgrim, always journeying with Christ carrying his Cross and engaging in the incarnate realities of our present times. The Jesuit Congregations as we have seen are always remind us to be discerning men, always ready to read the signs of the times and respond adequately. My critique would be that the Jesuits seem to have published too many documents, yet there seems to be a big divide in living the high demands of

these documents in our day to day life. A case in point would be our poverty, which seems in many cases too idealized with just a small number of us embracing poverty or living in a way that identifies us with the poor. It is not uncommon to hear the poor say that our lifestyle is billions apart from the reality. A spirituality of the Cross implies a more discerned way of living our poverty so as to conform to Christ through a simple lifestyle and detachment.

Chapter Two has argued that Jesuit identity is intrinsically linked to the Cross. Jesuits, indeed know who they are by looking at Christ crucified.⁴¹⁵ Our mission and identity come from a following of Christ and a desire of conformity and imitation of him. The service of faith and the promotion of justice cannot be delinked from Jesuit identity and mission. GC 33 on its part linked Jesuit identity to mission and community, a sense of corporal identity, that we belong to the universal Society of Jesus. GC 34, inspired by the vision of La Storta, where we are called to labor with Christ carrying His Cross, we are able to view mission as a service to the Crucified and Risen Lord, is always an entry into the saving work of the Cross in a world still marked by brutality and evil.⁴¹⁶

A Jesuit who is inspired by the spirituality of the Cross, must be one who lives up to the characteristics of '*Our Way of Proceeding*', that is one who: has a deep personal love for Jesus Christ; is a contemplative in action; is a part and member of an apostolic body in the Church; is in solidarity with those most in need; works in partnership with others; is called to learned ministry for the sake of the mission; and finally one who is ever searching for the *Magis*.

GC 35 affirmed further that Jesuit identity and Jesuit mission are linked by community and are also inseparable. The Jesuit who has an experience and encounter with Christ carrying his Cross, is in turn, placed with Christ at the heart of the world. Moved by a deep love of God and a passion for his world, the Jesuit should be set on fire – a fire that starts other fires.⁴¹⁷ GC 35 linked the experience of La Storta with a mission of reconciliation. Perhaps we can say that Christ who reconciled the world through his Cross, now invites us to continue the work of reconciliation. GC 36 made a link between the Cross and the work of reconciliation by emphasizing that, "The

⁴¹⁵ Cf. GC 35 D 2, 2.

⁴¹⁶ GC 34 D2, 4.

⁴¹⁷ Cf. GC 35 D2, 10.

Cross of Christ and our sharing in it are also at the center of God's work of reconciliation."⁴¹⁸ The Jesuits are described as «Companions in a Mission of Reconciliation and justice». Thus, the Jesuits were invited to a reconciliation with God, with others and with creation. A Spirituality of the Cross takes the work of reconciliation as a priority.

Chapter Three attempted to link the Cross with service and solidarity to the poor. The Society of Jesus in its documents made a repeated call for a «solidarity with the poor». For the Jesuit, a solidarity with the poor implies a choice, a solidarity in living in poverty. The option for the poor took on the dimension of faith and justice, through various papal encyclicals and documents produced in episcopal conferences, especially in Latin America with the publication of two key documents referred to as, *Puebla* and *Medellin*, which gave rise to a theology of liberation. The clamor for justice gained ground, especially in the third world and developing countries. The Society of Jesus on its part made a firm decision to work for the promotion of justice, with a preferential option for the poor. The option for the poor implied a commitment on the part of the Christian that is fundamentally based on faith in the God of Jesus Christ. It is a theocentric and prophetic option that has its roots in the gratuity of God's love.

This was followed by developing the concept of the «crucified people(s) of God». Ignacio Ellacuría defined “ «the crucified people» as that collective body, which as a majority of humankind owes its situation of crucifixion to the way society is organized and maintained by a minority that exercises its dominion through a series of factors, which taken together and given their concrete impact within Society must be regarded as sin.”⁴¹⁹ It can be argued that the poor are the face of the Kingdom of God. The Cross of Christ and an experience of the Crucified Christ therefore invites us to become the «Crucified people(s) of Christ» so that we can partake in his passion and glory. The Reign of God is manifest in the poor and most needy and that is where the call lies, to be in solidarity with the «Crucified poor of Christ».

The critique to this position based on liberation theology is that it seems to imply that God has favourites, indeed, Sobrino is known for his stance that «outside the poor

⁴¹⁸ GC 36 D1, 21.

⁴¹⁹ I. Ellacuría, “El pueblo crucificado”, 201. Cited in Burke, *Ground Beneath*, 181. See also J. Sols Lucia, *La teología histórica de Ignacio Ellacuría*, Trotta, Madrid 1999, 253-255; J. Sobrino, *El principio-misericordia*, 83-86; J. Sobrino, *Jesucristo liberador*, 313-314.

there is no salvation», that drew a lot of controversy. This runs the risk of dividing the Society into the oppressed and oppressors. What happens to the rich who want to be devotes Christians? Who would be left to care for their souls? In this line I make a case in favour of *teología del pueblo*, a theology of the poor.

Chapter 4 focused on the Cross and Jesuit martyrdom. The previously mentioned preferential option for the poor and solidarity with the «crucified people(s)» led to the deaths of many Jesuits, linked to their option to work for the promotion of faith in the struggle for justice. The chapter narrated how some of these Jesuits met their fate and the circumstances that led to them. We saw that the Cross and Jesuit martyrdom is the highest form of self-giving by these Jesuits.

We explored the meaning of martyrdom and death through a theology of martyrdom and death in the works of theologians such as Karl Rahner, Leonardo Boff and John Sobrino. Boff asserted that the Cross and death as the place and moment of resurrection, as a victory over the cross and death. Theologically speaking, the resurrection should not be seen as an eruption of a life that follows death on a Cross. In reality, the option of assuming with joy mortality of life, of sharing with those who suffer, of accepting the consequences of the fight against those who torture and kill, including even the ability to forgive, is what possesses in itself an intensity of life which cannot be devoured by death but survives within the glorious triumph. All these we receive through the resurrection of Jesus Christ. The conclusion is that death by martyrdom an identification with Christ crucified, embracing the same death as he did, but with the conviction that death doesn't have the last laugh. It also implies embracing the «crucified poor» to the point of opting to die with them and for them

After having an overview of the thesis, we move to highlight what we consider important for a Jesuit spirituality of the Cross today. What follows is a summation of the main ideas of what a spirituality of the Cross entails, followed by questioning whether we can speak of a spirituality without the Cross and the Cross without a spirituality, Finally, we affirm that the contemplating the Cross is a place of spiritual growth and that we are called to a renewal. The prevailing question is however, what is a Jesuit Spirituality of the Cross, as alluded to in the title of this thesis?

A Spirituality of the Cross

According to Federico Ruiz, the most important aspects of a spirituality of the Cross are its intimate union with Christ, its instrumental cooperation in God's salvific work, and the pain and suffering that Jesus on the Cross.⁴²⁰ However, a working definition of Spirituality that comes close is that of Matías Auge who talks of "a specific spirituality that is determined by a set of traits, attitudes, doctrinal elements, and experiences that imply a special way of being configured with Christ and, therefore, a special way of being and acting within the common Christian spirituality."⁴²¹ Here we find the use of experiences that lead one to a configuration with Christ. It is worth noting that such a configuration with Christ leads to a conversion and an election to follow Christ in liberty. At the core of spirituality as we have seen is a configuration with Christ.

Ignatius desired an intense union with God within the soul that was combined in a powerful orientation towards apostolic activity. It's ideal of apostolic spirituality was to seek and find God in all things [Co 288]. Thus, Auge affirms that Ignatius developed a fresh concept of spirituality oriented towards apostolic service.⁴²² Union with God comes from a union with the crucified Christ.

A spirituality of the Cross is one that draws us to a deep contemplation of the person of Jesus Christ; one that moves us to a communion with him and invites us to follow him - following him up to a point of embracing his death on the Cross followed by the glorious resurrection. However, such contemplation has to be transformed into action and a quest for social justice or as the 32nd Jesuit Congregation put it, "a faith that does justice". A spirituality of the Cross is one that turns men and women into contemplatives in action.⁴²³

What can we say therefore in summary form that a spirituality of the Cross in Ignatius of Loyola is? A spirituality of the Cross is one inspired by the experience of the *Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius of Loyola*. In this manner it is a spirituality that is

⁴²⁰ Federico Ruiz, "Cruz", in *Diccionario de espiritualidad* I, 509.

⁴²¹ Matías Auge, "Espiritualidad litúrgica", in *Liturgia. Historia, celebración, teología, espiritualidad*, Centro de Pastoral litúrgica, Barcelona 1995, 252.

⁴²² Cf., *The Constitutions*, George Ganns, 22-23.

⁴²³ The phrase 'contemplative in action' is attributed to Jerome Nadal. See Nadal, MHSI, vol.47, *Epistolae P. Hieronimi Nadal*, 1546-1577, bk. 4, 651.

centered on the person of Christ as a way to union with God. It is a spirituality that puts into perspective Christ on the Cross who came to die for our sins. Secondly, for a Jesuit it is a spirituality that draws its inspiration from the Jesuit charism as expressed in the *Formula of the Institute and Constitutions* which lead a Jesuit to service of God and the Church beneath the banner of the Cross. In the final sense it is a spirituality that is inspired by the mystical experiences of Ignatius of Loyola through the vision of Manresa, and a close union with the persons of the Trinity, especially through the Holy Eucharist.

Does a spirituality of the Cross offer anything new to the field of Ignatian and Jesuit Spirituality? The phrase ‘spirituality of the Cross’ has been rarely used in the past and doesn’t feature in many writings. What we find is a focus on the theology of the Cross. A spirituality of the Cross goes a step further because it invites one to a commitment, to implicate oneself, to act habitually and offer a space for communion with God. A spirituality of the Cross would be an experience in practice by drinking from the well of experience of the Cross in Ignatius of Loyola.

There is no Spirituality without the Cross and no Cross without Spirituality⁴²⁴

We can make reference to these opportune words by Agustín Rivola that there is «no spirituality without the Cross and no Cross without spirituality». As a matter of fact, the issue of *Manresa* published concurrently with the piecing together of this thesis takes up a title in the form of a question “A Spirituality without the Cross? (¿Espiritualidad sin Cruz?)”⁴²⁵ Rivola underlines that the Cross without a spirituality leads to an overemphasis on sin, death, the last judgement, and hell. This leads many to a conception that only the Cross and nothing else can save us from the above mentioned tragic destiny. As such the only remedy out of this would be suffering, while the Cross absorbs all kind of imaginable evil in the world, including violence,

⁴²⁴ Agustín Rivarola, “«Quiero que tú nos sirvas» ... en el pueblo crucificado. Espiritualidad, cruz y opción por los pobres”, en *Manresa* 90 (2018), 155-164.

⁴²⁵ See Grupo de Comunicación Loyola (ed.), *Manresa. Revista de la Espiritualidad Ignaciana*, Vol. 90 N° 355, de abril-junio 2018.

natural catastrophes, illnesses and moral humiliation. But for the Cross to have meaning and touch lives it needs a spirituality, a way of life. On the other hand, a spirituality without the Cross has resulted in a search for meaning and a way to connect with the transcendental using means such as meditation that leaves little room for a link with the Absolute⁴²⁶, with the result of emptiness that is detached from the context of the world.

According to Rivola, this leaves no room for Jesus Christ nor for the «crucified neighbor», poor, sick, migrant. Rivola's response and proposal is to learn from the Ignatian tradition and the *Spiritual Exercises* in particular with an invitation to understand the logic of the Cross in Ignatian spirituality.⁴²⁷ In line with the topic for this chapter, "«Moved by the Lord on the Cross»: A Jesuit Spirituality of the Cross in the Post conciliar period (GCs 31-36)", we can draw inspiration for the call of the Second Vatican Council's calls for a renewal of religious institutes to rediscover their founding charism.

For the Society of Jesus, this inspiration springs forth from an experience of the *Spiritual Exercises*. For as GC 31 states: "For this history has its beginnings in the *Spiritual Exercises* which our holy Father Ignatius and his companions went through. Led by this spiritual experience, they formed an apostolic group rooted in charity, and in which, after they had taken vows of chastity and poverty and had been raised to priesthood, they would offer themselves as a holocaust to God for whose praise and honor they had given up all that they had."⁴²⁸

We can therefore affirm with Agustín Rivola, that there is no spirituality without the Cross and that the Cross will not make sense without spirituality - a spirituality that flows outwards in love, a love for the «Crucified Christ» and his «crucified people(s)». For a Jesuit, this means that we have to let ourselves be moved by the one whom we follow, the Crucified Christ, the one whose standard of the cross we carry and whose name our Institute bears.⁴²⁹ Jesuits are witnesses of a Gospel

⁴²⁶ Gabino Uríbarri talks of the impersonal Absolute (un Absoluto a-personal) while pointing out that oriental mysticism, which emphasizes a personal do-it-yourself kind of spirituality, has found its way in western Christian religious practices. The effect is the same, people go out searching for a mysticism in oriental practices. See Gabino Uríbarri Bilbao, *La mística de Jesús. Desafío y propuesta*, Sal Terrae, Santander 2017, 37-55 (The chapter titled "El reto del «misticismo oriental», that is, the challenge of oriental mysticism).

⁴²⁷ Agustín Rivola, 164.

⁴²⁸ GC 31 D1, 3.

⁴²⁹ Cf. GC 31 D1, 16.

which links the love of God to the service of man, and that inseparably.⁴³⁰ This forms the basis of a Jesuit Spirituality of the Cross.

The Cross as a place of Growth

Pope John Paul II in his message of Good Friday of 1994, urged Christians “not to let the Cross of Christ be emptied of its meaning” (Cf. 1 Cor 1:17). His prayer was that the cross of Christ not be distorted, because, if the cross of Christ is distorted, man loses his roots and perspectives: he is destroyed.⁴³¹ We find this an argument for living a spirituality of the Cross that gives meaning to the Crucified Christ. Pope Francis while addressing the members of the Society of Jesus of GC 36⁴³² emphasized that the Jesuits have to allow themselves to contemplate the Cross and in order to be moved by the it:

The Lord, who looks upon us with mercy and chooses us, sends us forth with the same powerful mercy to the poor, the sinners, the abandoned, the crucified and anyone who suffers from injustice and violence in today’s world. Only when we experience this healing force in our own lives and in our own wounds [*wounds with first and last names*] - as individuals and as a body - will we be able to lose our fear of allowing ourselves to be moved by the immense suffering of our brothers and sisters so as to go out and walk patiently with our peoples, learning from them the best way to help and serve them.⁴³³

Contemplating Christ on the Cross allows the Jesuit to compassionately look at the world, but at the same time invites him to growth and conversion. Contemplating the Cross leads, us to place ourselves at the center of the work of reconciliation since it is an expression of reconciliation inspired by a loving and merciful God who forgives without condemning. The Cross heals a wounded and resentful humanity, dissipates fear and builds up solidarity.

Contemplating the Cross in an evil world allows an internal knowledge of the worlds evil, its brutality and irrationality. The Cross allows us to unmask this evil, to

⁴³⁰ GC 32 D 4, 31.

⁴³¹ Cf. John Paul II, Discurso después del Vía crucis del Viernes Santo (1 de Abril de 1994), *L’Osservatore Romano*, edición en lengua Española, 8 de Abril de 1994, 3.

⁴³² Address of His Holiness Pope Francis to the 36th General Congregation of the Society of Jesus, General Curia of the Society of Jesus, Monday 24 October 2016, in *36th General Congregation Documents*, General Curia, Rome 2017, 49-54..

⁴³³ *Ibid.*, 53. Cf. GC 32 D 4, 50

denounce and fight it instead of participating in it, conniving and being silent in the face of evil. Contemplating the Cross calls upon us to decide our attitude towards victims and victimizers.

Contemplating the Cross implies observing the concrete situations within which our brothers and sisters live. Enables us to be close to them and learn to accompany them when we would rather turn our backs on them and look the other way. It enables us to love the «crucified» as well to love those considered as outcasts.

In the face of personal suffering, contemplating the Cross implies examining our passive attitudes in order to forge our maturity as human persons. At the same time, it allows us to get in touch with our passive dimension of suffering as a solidarity with the suffering with the rest of the suffering world. In the case of martyrs, for example, contemplating the Cross lead to getting in touch with the active dimension of suffering, because when we suffer through our own option to embrace it we end up suffering as well, but for a greater cause. To contemplate the Cross means being ready to accept conflict for the cause of the Reign of God. It is to live our pain with the pain of Christ.

In the absence of meaning, contemplating the Cross means a readiness to face the dimension of meaninglessness of our life. Life has a meaning beyond apparent failure. The Cross allows us to integrate failure into God's salvation plan. We may lose a sense of meaning in looking at evil, and the suffering of others as well as our own personal suffering. Contemplating the Cross enables us to accept its dimension of mystery, of things beyond our comprehension in the absence of meaning.

Called to a Spiritual Renewal

The latest General Congregation (GC 36) "deeply convinced that God is calling the Society to a profound spiritual renewal [...] Filled with the fire of Christ's mercy, we can enflame those we meet [...] The Cross of Christ and our sharing in it are also the center of God's working for reconciliation – Reconciliation with God;

Reconciliation with humanity; and reconciliation with creation.”⁴³⁴ We affirm that “With Christ we are called to closeness with all crucified humanity”⁴³⁵ Pope Francis reminds the Jesuits that this “«service of joy and spiritual consolation» is rooted in prayer. It consists in encouraging ourselves and others «to ask insistently for God’s consolation».”⁴³⁶ Perhaps we can refer to the words of Pedro Arrupe: “My call to you today is that you be available to the Lord. Let us put God at the center, ever attentive to his voice, ever asking what we can do for his more effective service, and doing it to the best of our ability, with love and perfect detachment. Let us cultivate a very personal awareness of the reality of God.”⁴³⁷

José de Castro suggests a renewal of the Society of Jesus through concerted efforts to deepen our Ignatian experience and knowledge of the by study of the Ignatian sources and the history of the Society of Jesus, renewing methodologies of giving the *Spiritual Exercises*. It is interesting that he points out that we should make Jesus Christ always our «Principal and Foundation».⁴³⁸

Final Reflections

The Spirituality of the Cross is thus for me a kind of mystical experience. To allow oneself to be touched and moved by the Lord on the Cross. It is a dynamic spirituality that enables one to follow Christ carrying his Cross yet fix one’s gaze also on the needs of the world and the Church. The dynamism of the colloquy of the crucified Christ and La Storta are the two privileged places that turn a Jesuit into a contemplative in action. The spirituality of the Cross, implies for me, looking at others with loving gaze of the Trinity, sending the Son through the incarnation to share in our humanity. An incarnation that is a way of the Cross to Calvary and a glorious resurrection. A spirituality of the Cross reminds us that we need to look at others through the merciful eyes of Christ, in other words, being a man entirely for others. A spirituality of the Cross means standing for justice and rebuking injustice.

⁴³⁴ GC 36 D1, 18-29.

⁴³⁵ GC 36 D1, 31.

⁴³⁶ Adress of His Holiness Pope Francis to the 36th General Congregation of the Society of Jesus, Monday, 24 October 2016, General Curia, Rome 2017. Private edition.

⁴³⁷ Message of Fr. Pedro Arrupe to the Society of Jesus, September 3, 1983, cited in *Jesuit Life and Mission Today*, 477.

⁴³⁸ José García de Castro, “Companionship in Spirit. A History of the Spirituality of the Society of Jesus”, *Estudios Eclesiásticos* 91 (2016), 137-138.

The final connection that I make is to view the 2nd, 3rd and 4th Chapters in terms of the weeks of the *Spiritual Exercises*. The second chapter on Jesuit identity and the Cross corresponds to the first week. The Jesuit seeks the grace of seeing himself as a loved sinner. The Jesuit has to know himself in front of God and accept that he is a forgiven sinner. Only then can he have the freedom to stand before Christ crucified and offer himself to follow him up to the Cross in the third degree of humility and truly indifferent. The 3rd Chapter on the option for the poor is an imitation and identification with Christ. It is a desire to live the way he lived. It is discipleship that allows the Jesuit to follow Christ in the service of faith and the promotion of justice. Here the Jesuit seeks the grace of following Christ, poor, chaste and obedient, and also desires an interior and intimate knowledge of Christ. The 4th Chapter on martyrdom is both the third and fourth week. It is the third week for the Jesuits who embraced martyrdom and share in the passion of our Lord. It is the fourth week, because through the resurrection the Jesuit who dies with Christ also rises with him.

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