Jesuit Leadership as Companionship in the Lord

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JESUIT LEADERSHIP
AS COMPANIONSHIP IN THE LORD

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the S.T.L. Degree
from Boston College School of Theology and Ministry (Weston Jesuit)

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Abbreviations

CN: The Complementary Norms

Const: The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus

GC: General Congregation of the Society of Jesus

MHIS: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu

SpEx: The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola
Introduction

1. The context of this research

Today we live in a world confronted by escalating global issues: globalization, consumerism, social injustice, world poverty and illiteracy, global debt crisis, migration, terrorism, depletion of natural resources, environmental deterioration, climate change, and natural calamities. These challenges call for effective leadership to analyze their causes and to confront them with approaches if not remedies. However, we are often frustrated by political corruption and massive scandals, such as in the corporate world and the Roman Catholic Church. Societies in the world are crying for good leadership in business, government, education, and other spheres of public life. In the past decades, leadership literature has become enormous. For example, if consulting Google and Amazon search engines for “leadership,” we can easily get around 281 million links and 67,000 books. Moreover, the academic world has realized the urgency and necessity of rigorous research and scholarship and serious education on leadership to develop good leaders in various professionals for the well-being of the society and the world.¹

Concomitantly, the Society of Jesus has been reassessing its own exercise of apostolic leadership and planning, and has tried to learn from the secular world about leadership to best respond to the needs of the world today. During the GC 34 (1995), a commission was formed to study Jesuit leadership and planning.² While the commission never issued a final document, its research and reflections contributed to the eventual decree on collaboration with the laity


(Decree 13) and to subsequent studies on Jesuit leadership. Ten years later, on the occasion of celebrating the jubilee year of Ignatius, Xavier and Faber, the *Review of Ignatius Spirituality* continued these reflections on Jesuit leadership with a special issue dedicated to leadership and Ignatian spirituality. The GC 35 (2008) finally produced a decree specifically on leadership and governance (Decree 5), which stressed apostolic restructuring and leadership formation. Since the GC 35, apostolic discernment, planning and restructuring have been taking place at various levels of the Society (General, Conference, and Provincial). The United States Assistancy has produced a document on Jesuit leadership formation and begun to implement it. Nevertheless, compared to the extensive literature about business, civic and educational leadership, the literature concerning Jesuit leadership is rather scarce. Google and Amazon search engines give us less than 2 million results and around 20 books on “Jesuit leadership.” There are a few doctoral dissertations written on Jesuit leadership. But the only book published explicitly on

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5 GC 35, d.5, nn.1, 30-32. NB: in this paper, the references of the GCs 31-35 documents are taken from Padberg, *Jesuit Life & Mission Today*.


Jesuit leadership is Chris Lowney’s *Heroic Leadership.*\(^9\) Hence, continuous research and studies on Jesuit leadership are necessary. This is the context that has prompted my study on Jesuit leadership.

2. The purpose of this thesis

Several questions about Jesuit leadership emerge: Where were the original aims of Jesuit leadership within the order and its works? How was this leadership exercised in the ministries of the early Jesuits? What were the reactions to this style of leadership? What emerged from this early style of leadership to constitute a way of proceeding that was to inform the history of the Society?\(^10\) Questions like these presume a prior understanding of Jesuit leadership. However, because the topic involves so many complexities\(^11\) that fundamental question, what Jesuit leadership is, is never directly addressed. Such an omission, however, distracts our focus from Jesuit leadership itself. Unless that fundamental question is clear to us, we will have trouble in deepening our understanding of the reality or phenomenon of Jesuit leadership. Thus, this thesis attempts, first of all, to explore and reflect upon the question of “What is Jesuit leadership?” through some developmental landmarks (the founding experiences, the *Formula of the Institute*, the Constitutions, and the GCs 31-35 documents) within the history of the Society of Jesus. Second, it strives to argue that Jesuit leadership is essentially companionship in the Lord Jesus Christ for his universal mission, which has its depth in “Christ,” its breadth in “companionship,” and its length in “his universal mission.” I hope that this thesis may contribute to a deeper understanding of Jesuit leadership and practice and to the continuous dialogue with the secular

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\(^11\) Ibid., 3.
world on the theme of leadership. I believe that Jesuit leadership, which is rooted in a tradition of spiritually centered leadership that has endured almost five centuries, does have something significant and unique to contribute to the secular world today about leadership.

3. The definition of leadership

What is leadership? Leadership is a universal human phenomenon. Throughout history, it has been the theme of great literature. We can find it from the ancient time in religious texts, such as the Hindu *Upanishads* and the Bible, in the Chinese classics of Confucius and Lao-tzu, and in the Greek and Roman classics of Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, and Plutarch, to the modern times in Mahatma Gandhi’s “The Essential Law of Satyagraha,” Martin Luther King’s “Letter from Birmingham Jail” and Nelson Mandela’s “The Power of the Powerless.”  

In the contemporary world, leadership is also a popular topic; we can find enormous popular literature on leadership written by journalists, consultants, CEOs, and business school academics.

Since the beginning of the 20th century, leadership has also become a multi-disciplinary study of modern science research. Despite its complexity, according to scholars, there is a certain historical trajectory of dominant leadership theories in social sciences, especially in the domain of organizational behavior. The first phase is “Great Man” or trait theories (1900- late 1940s). This first phase focuses on distinguishing traits of leaders. The second phase is behavioral theories, which shift the focus to leadership styles (late 1940s- late 1960s). The third one is contingency theories (late 1960s- early 1980s). The focus is leadership style in an immediate

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work situation (the leader, the followers, the task, the environment). The present phase is complicated (since early 1980s). It includes theories of change, influence and charisma. The key components are leader-follower relationship, organizational culture and dynamics, interiority and morality. These phases have shown the development or paradigm shift of leadership research and theories. Although there are many possible ways to define leadership, we have known at least those key elements in leadership studies. Those elements make my definition for the sake of my research possible. What are the key elements of leadership?

Leadership involves the basal elements and the value elements. The basal part contains the leader (life history, leader traits, leadership styles), the followers (life histories, maturity, expertise), and the situation (immediate work context: leader-follower relationship, task, environment, and macro context: organizational history, process of interaction and network of relationships). The value part includes the first level (rules, norms, beliefs, values, goals), and the second level (culture, underlying worldview or principle of life, ultimate purpose or vision or direction). These key elements indicate, first of all, that leadership is different from management, even though the same person can be a good leader and manager. While

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15 “…the definition of leadership should depend on the purposes to be served. Leadership has been conceived as the focus of group processes, as a personality attribute, as the art of inducing compliance, as an exercise of influence, as a particular kind of activity, as a form of persuasion, as a power relation, as an instrument in the attainment of goals, as an effect of interaction, as a differentiated role, and as the initiation of structure. Definitions can be broad, including many of these aspects; or they can be narrow.” (Bass and Bass, The Bass Handbook of Leadership, 25-26). See also, Glynn and DeJordy, “Leadership through an Organization Behavior Lens: a Look at the Last Half-Century of Research,”121.

management focuses on planning, budgeting, structuring, controlling, to get things done smoothly, leadership is about envisioning, directing, adaptive change, culture, meaning, purpose and empowering, to move people towards a noble goal.\textsuperscript{17} Second, these key elements form three dimensions of organizational leadership: depth, breadth and length. Depth is the noble vision of the organization that is primarily reflected in its organizational culture, underlying worldview, and ultimate purpose of life, as well as in its rules, norms, beliefs, values, and goals. Breadth is the leadership distribution in the organization, which involves the interactions of all the members and a network of relationships. And length is the leadership development, formation and succession in the organization. Hence, leadership is, in its broad sense, directing people towards a noble goal to achieve it.\textsuperscript{18}

4. The method of this research

First, I will use this three-dimensional framework (depth, breadth, length) of organizational leadership to reflect upon what Jesuit leadership is, because the Society of Jesus as a religious organization, despite its radical differences from secular (business, civil, government, educational) organizations in terms of its transcendent aspect, original charism, pursued goals, value priorities, way of proceedings, motivations of the members, selection of leaders, does have similar conceptual structures, dynamics and development stages and thus have these three dimensions of organizational leadership.\textsuperscript{19}


Second, while emphasizing some historical landmarks of the Society of Jesus, I will focus on their development relationship. In this approach, I will be aware of the distinction between founding documents and the living tradition. While founding documents of the Society, such as the Formula and the Constitutions, are normative expressions of Jesuit charism, it is the living Jesuit tradition in the background that establishes the foundation for interpreting those documents and the Jesuit charism throughout history. For instance, the founding experiences of the first companions are part of the Jesuit tradition. The GCs 31-35 documents are the contemporary interpretation of the Jesuit charism based on the Jesuit living tradition and the signs of the times.

Third, I will employ a specific hermeneutical method in interpreting the primary and secondary texts of this research: (1) I need to be aware of my horizon of understanding, namely, my context and tradition that includes preunderstandings, worldview, situation and language. I read these texts as a Chinese Jesuit being formed to be a priest and, especially, I read the texts concerning the founding experiences, the Formula, the Constitutions, and the GC documents from a three-dimensional framework of organizational leadership. (2) I need to pay attention to the horizon of the text and its author, that is, the context and tradition behind the text, including the context and the intentions of the author, the audience in the author’s mind, and the language and structure of the text. (3) In reading these texts, I engage a dialogue with the text. This process will create new meaning not only for me but also for the text. The text attains its new meaning from my lens.

This method originates from Truth and Method of Hans-Georg Gadamer and has recently been used by Philip Sheldrake, Luis Alonso Schokel, David Tracy, Karel San Juan, SJ and J. Carlos Coupeau, SJ. See San Juan, The Spiritual Formation of Leaders Based on the Ignatian Tradition, 21-35; Carlos J. Coupeau, SJ, From Inspiration to Invention: Rhetoric in the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus, (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Resources, 2010), 75-82.
Any method has its limitations. The main limitations of this research are: (1) the use of the three-dimensional framework for my interpretation necessarily ignores other perspectives about Jesuit leadership, (2) the choice to focus on the early and the contemporary periods of Jesuit history will exclude reflection on the historical period between these two eras, (3) the emphasis on the charism and ideals about Jesuit leadership will neglect the practice of Jesuit leadership.

5. The overview of the thesis

Chapter 1 explores and reflects upon “What is leadership?” through the founding experiences of the first companions from 1528 to 1539. It shows that for the first companions, leadership is companionship in the Lord Jesus Christ for his universal mission.

Chapter 2 reflects upon “What is Jesuit leadership?” through the study of the *Formula of the Institute*, the fundamental document of the Society of Jesus. The defining document of the Society of Jesus as a religious organization indicates that Jesuit leadership emerged as companionship in the Lord for his universal mission, which has its depth in “Christ,” its breadth in “companionship,” and its length in “his universal mission.”

Chapter 3 continues the reflection of what Jesuit leadership is through the Constitutions of the Society and their Complementary Norms. They fully express the Jesuit understanding and exercise of its leadership as a religious organization. This chapter argues that Jesuit leadership is truly companionship in the Lord for his universal mission, having its depth in “Christ,” its breadth in “companionship,” and its length in “his universal mission.”

Chapter 4 explores the contemporary expression of Jesuit leadership through the GCs 31-35 documents. It argues that despite different formulations, Jesuit leadership remains essentially companionship in the Lord for his universal mission, which has its depth in “Christ,” its breadth in “companionship,” and its length in “his universal mission.”
Chapter 1: The Founding Experiences of the First Companions (1528-1539)

What is Jesuit leadership? Edgar H. Schein, an expert in organizational culture and leadership, argues that the leadership of an organization is rooted in the early group experiences.\(^{21}\) I think this is a valid theory. Especially to understand the leadership of a religious order, we have to return to the original inspiration of its early group experiences, wherein lies its original vision, mission and identity. Thus, to explore the ramifications of the question “What is Jesuit leadership?,” I propose to begin with the origin of the Society of Jesus. Consequently, I will begin this inquiry with accounts provided by some of the first companions who formed the nucleus of the Society of Jesus. These accounts relate the founding experiences from the time of Ignatius’s arrival in Paris in 1528\(^{22}\) to the Deliberation of 1539. From these founding experiences we will concentrate on their emerging understanding of leadership as a group of companions in the Lord. In this part of the study, I rely mainly on Rodrigues’s account of the origin and progress of the Society of Jesus,\(^{23}\) supplementing Rodrigues’s information with Ignatius’s autobiography and letters, Laínez’s June 16, 1547 letter to Polanco, Polanco’s *Sumario*, Faber’s *Memoriale* and letters, and Xavier’s letters.

This chapter has three sections. The first examines a founding document of the Society of Jesus, the famous 1539 Deliberation. The second illustrates the companionship of the first companions. This section contains four subsections: companionship in Christ, companionship in

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\(^{21}\) Schein, *Organizational Culture and Leadership*, 54.

\(^{22}\) In his letter to Agnès Pascual from Paris on March 3, 1528, we know that Ignatius arrived at Paris on Feb. 2, 1528; see St. Ignatius of Loyola, *Ignatius of Loyola: Letters and Instructions*, ed. Martin E. Palmer, SJ, John W. Padberg, SJ, and John L. McCarthy, SJ, (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2006), 3.

\(^{23}\) In response to a request of the fourth General Superior of the Society of Jesus, Everard Mercurian, Rodrigues wrote a trustworthy account of the origin of the Society from the perspective of the entire founding group and not just from that of Ignatius alone. This perspective illuminated aspects of the founding experiences that lay behind the *Formula of the Institute* and the Constitutions; see Joseph F. Conwell, SJ, ed., *A Brief and Exact Account: The Recollections of Simão Rodrigues on the Origin and Progress of the Society of Jesus*, (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Resources, 2004), [59], [105], ix, 94-96.
their deliberations, companionship in their daily lives, and companionship in Christ’s mission.

The third is the conclusion that summarizes what leadership meant to the first companions.

1. The 1539 Deliberation

When going to the Holy Land was no longer feasible, the first ten companions (Ignatius of Loyola, Peter Faber, Francis Xavier, Diego Laynez, Alfonso Salmerón, Simão Rodrigues, Nicolás Bodadilla, Jean Codure, Claude Jay, and Paschase Broët) offered themselves to Pope Paul III for the universal mission of Christ. Near the end of Lent of 1539, seeing that the Pope was going to send them separately rather than as a group, the ten companions, along with Diego Cáceres, gathered together daily and began a series of deliberations on the future of their group.

There were two interwoven aspects of the Deliberation: first, the content of the Deliberation; and second, the methodology they used in the Deliberation. From the very beginning, they were united in their hearts and minds to seek God’s will according to their vocation. But owing to their diverse nationalities, cultures, temperaments and perspectives, they were very much divided in their opinions concerning the form of common life they would adopt. So they unanimously decided to dedicate themselves to prayer and Masses and to entrust their


25 Cáceres was a friend of Ignatius and decided to join the group. He came to Rome in 1539 and he attended the 1539 Deliberation. But he did not truly belong to the group, because he was not a priest yet and had not taken vows of poverty and chastity. See André Ravier, SJ, Ignatius of Loyola and the Founding of the Society of Jesus, trans. Maura Daly, Joan Daly and Carson Daly, (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1987), 88-89, 92; Javier Osuna, SJ, Friends in the Lord, trans. Nicolas King, SJ, The Way, no. 3 (1974): 117-18; Francis Xavier, SJ, The Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier, trans., M. Joseph Costelloe, SJ, (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1992), 6-7n2.
concerns to the Lord. In this procedure, each of them first tried his best to raise some questions worthy of careful consideration. After praying over these questions during the day, each shared his judgment at night in the group. The hope was that the opinion, truly examined through reasons and confirmed by the votes of the majority, would be unanimously accepted.26

The first question proposed was “would it be better for us to be so joined and bound together in one body that no physical dispersal, however great, could separate us? Or perhaps would this be inexpedient?”27 After their discussion, bearing in mind only God’s will, they affirmatively decided:

[S]ince the most kind and loving Lord had deigned to unite us to one another and to bring us together—weak men and from such different places and cultures—we should not sever God’s union and bringing together, but rather everyday we should strengthen and more solidly ground it, forming ourselves into one body. Everyone should have concern for and comprehension of the others for greater apostolic efficacy, since united strength would have more power and courage in confronting whatever challenging goals were to be sought than if this strength were divided into many parts.28

The second question considered was more difficult; it was about a third vow of obedience to one of them for the better carrying out of the will of God and of the command of the pope. After several days, the question could not be resolved with any satisfactory resolution. So they began to discern if they should withdraw altogether to pray, fast and do penances for thirty or forty days, or if three or four of them should act in this way on the behalf of the whole group, or if they all should remain in the city but devote more time to prayer and reflection. Finally, they chose the last alternative to avoid rumors or scandals and to continuously serve the great


27 The 1539 Deliberation, Deliberatio Primorum Patrum, [3].

28 Ibid. Cf. Polanco’s Sumario, #88.
apostolic needs. But they added three spiritual preparations. The first was to make every effort to find the peace of the Spirit in obedience and to be more disposed to obedience than to command if the effect was equal in the glory of God. The second was to avoid talking to each other on the matter of obedience so that what was expedient, obeying or not, only resulted from prayer. The third one was to look at the vow of obedience as an outsider. In this way, the following day all of them brought forth all the disadvantages of obedience. There were quite a few disadvantages. On the next day, they all brought to the group the advantages. There were numerous advantages too. Then, for many days, they weighed the pros and cons and examined serious arguments. Finally, they unanimously agreed upon the vow of obedience for the better fulfillment of God’s will, for the surer preservation of their unity, and for the good care of all their individual needs.  

They continued to use the same procedure for the remaining questions until June 24, the Feast of St. John the Baptist. They concluded their deliberation with joy and union of hearts. The whole deliberation took approximately three months. Unfortunately, the 1539 Deliberation, *Deliberatio Primorum Patrum*, does not give any detail concerning the matters discussed and decided after the initial two fundamental questions. Despite the lack of detail, it is worth taking a brief look at these matters in order to see more clearly the direction they were taking.

These matters were recorded in a document called *Conclusiones Septem Sociorum* in MHSI. There were three stages in this period of work: the first ended May 4, the second May 23, and the third June 11. At least by the end of the second stage, Broët and Rodrigues had

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departed for a mission in Siena, and Xavier was no longer able to participate perhaps because of serious illness. Seventeen determinations were produced. Determinations 1 and 2 treat of a special vow of obedience to the Pope. Determinations 7 and 11 deal with mission. Determinations 3-6 and 8 relate to teaching catechism, especially to children. In Determination 12, we find that a formal vow should be made regarding the time of teaching catechism to children. The 9th, 10th, 16th, and 17th Determinations are concerned about experiments and the admission of novices. And the rest (13-15) of the Determinations treat of decision making, the superior general and poverty. All the Determinations, except the 12th which was rejected by Bobadilla, were unanimously agreed upon by the companions present. Though unanimity remained the ideal, the decision making required only the votes of a majority. It is not clear what happened after June 11. Probably during this period, Laínez raised the question of establishing colleges for the recruits of the Society. The questions of choir, music and penances were also discussed.

From the description of the 1539 Deliberation, Deliberatio Primorum Patrum, some congruence of the first companions stands out and draws our attention. First of all, their methodology emerged from their experiences of the Spiritual Exercises. Despite their enormous


33 Ravier did a close translation of these determinations, so I use his translations as reference. See ibid., 90n17, 90-93.

34 Ignatius recalled, “Laínez was the first to raise this subject. We were encountering many difficulties because of poverty, and so some found one solution, others found another.” See Remembering Iñigo: Glimpses of the Life of Saint Ignatius of Loyola, The Memorials of Luís Gonçalves da Câmara, trans., Alexander Eaglestone and Joseph A. Munitiz, SJ, (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2004), [138], 84n63, 12n12; George E. Ganss, SJ, ed. The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus, (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1970), 176-177n1; Life of Laínez, in Antonio Alburquerque, Diego Laínez, SJ: First Biographer of Saint Ignatius of Loyola, trans. John F. Montag, SJ, (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Resources, 2010), 11; Laínez’s Letter to Polanco (June 16, 1547), #49; Polanco’s Sumario, #89.

35 Ravier, Ignatius of Loyola and the Founding of the Society of Jesus, 94-95.
differences in nationalities, cultures, family backgrounds, personal temperaments, and viewpoints, they were united in hearts and minds to seek and accomplish God’s divine will for His greater glory according to their vocation. God’s will and His greater service was the only criterion for their discernment; for this they could put aside not only their own desires and judgments but also their years of deep companionship.\(^{36}\) Here we can recall the Principle and Foundation and the Contemplation to Attain Divine Love, the central thread of the *Spiritual Exercises*.\(^{37}\) The preparations for both the individual and the communal discernment, especially the three spiritual preparations added for the sake of discerning the second question, and the discernment process, were also deeply grounded in the *Exercises*. They echo detachment, immediacy of God and the third method of election in the *Exercises*.\(^{38}\)

Second, as a result of their discernment, the first companions realized that despite their weaknesses and differences, it was the most loving Lord Jesus Christ who brought them together and united them, so that they should not separate from each other but rather strengthen their union every day and form one body in the Church for the greater service of Christ’s mission.

Third, after a very careful process of discernment, they finally saw altogether the necessity of the vow of obedience to one of their companions to form a religious order for the sake of their unity and for the greater glory of God. Each of them signed the Declaration of the First Jesuits on the Vow of Obedience on April 15, 1539.\(^{39}\)

\(^{36}\) See The 1539 Deliberation, *Deliberatio Primorum Patrum*, [1], [3]-[6], [8].


\(^{38}\) See SpEx 15-16, 157, 177-188; see also Toner, “The Deliberation that Started the Jesuits,” 199-201.

Fourth, based on this document, we can say that the whole group, and each of its members, including Ignatius, was searching for God’s will in the process. There was no hint that Ignatius had formed any prejudiced opinion beforehand, though he may have had more influence on the deliberations than the others. Any true decision, embraced unanimously, should be based on stronger reasons and the votes of the majority. Thus it was truly a communal deliberation about their future. Now having considered these characteristics, looking back, we may ask about the kind of companionship they experienced from 1528 when they gradually came to know one another in Paris.

2. The companionship of the first companions

2.1 Companionship in Christ

At the age of sixty-seven in 1577, two years before his death, Rodrigues wrote his account of the origin of the Society of Jesus up to its confirmation. From the very beginning of the account, he pointed out that the story of the origin of the Society of Jesus was indeed a story of God, who out of His goodness and mercy chose and gathered the first ten companions, (Spaniards, Navarrese, Portuguese, Savoyards and Frenchmen, Masters of Arts, graduates of the University of Paris) to be the foundation of the Society. Then he introduced vividly each companion into the scene. To understand how God called ten unique individuals to their collective life of following Christ, I will recapitulate Rodrigues’s account of each of the companions.

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40 See Toner, “The Deliberation that Started the Jesuits,” 180-84, 209-10n5-6. Take note also that although in the deliberations of 1539, with the exception of Bobadilla’s opposition to the 12th determination, all companions present unanimously voted for the decision. The unanimous votes, though ideal, were not necessary for a communal discernment; see Ravier, Ignatius of Loyola and the Founding of the Society of Jesus, 91-92; Osuna, Friends in the Lord, 118-19.

41 Conwell, A Brief and Exact Account, [1], [3]; ix, xii.

42 Ibid., [3]-[11].
The first was Master Ignatius, a Spaniard from Guipúzcoa. After his conversion, he burned with incessant zeal for the salvation of the human race. He was considered the father and leader of the group. The first companions unanimously elected him as the first General of the Society of Jesus. The second was Master Faber, a Savoyard. Moved by Ignatius and the example of his life, he changed his way of life and consecrated himself to God. He was inflamed with the desire to go to the Holy Land and to spend the rest of his life for the salvation of humankind. Faber was a virtuous man and was especially gifted with the charming grace of winning people over to the love of God. The third was Master Xavier, a Navarrese. Influenced by Ignatius and Faber, he renounced his old way of life and gave himself totally for the salvation of others and for a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He dedicated himself to teaching. Then he made the Spiritual Exercises under the direction of Ignatius. During that time because of imprudent fervor, he engaged in some excessive corporal penances. The other companions kept praying for him. Rodrigues, a Portuguese, was the fourth. He made the Exercises under Ignatius and experienced strong sexual temptations. Nevertheless, he decided to go to Jerusalem and give his life to the salvation of the others. The fifth and sixth were the Spaniards Laínez and Salmerón. They came to Paris together for studies. Both made the Exercises under Ignatius at the same time. Both independently decided to give themselves completely to God and to go to Jerusalem. The next was Bobadilla, a Spaniard. He also made the Exercises under Ignatius’s direction and decided to embrace the same life as the other companions. Here Rodrigues indicated that Laínez, Salmerón, Bobadilla and he, freely and independently, decided to follow Christ and consecrate themselves.

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43 Ignatius arrived at Paris on Feb. 2, 1528. When he entered the College Sainte-Barbe in 1529, he stayed with Faber and Xavier in the same house for about four years. At first, Faber was Ignatius’ tutor. Then they became close friends. Ignatius helped him grow in spiritual matters and eventually dedicate himself to God. See, the Memoriale of Faber, nos. 7-13 in Pierre Favre, The Spiritual Writings of Pierre Favre, trans., Edmond C. Murphy, SJ and Martin E. Palmer, SJ, with introduction by Edmond C. Murphy, SJ and John W. Padberg, SJ, (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996), 64-67.
to God in the *Spiritual Exercises*. Once they learned of each other’s decision, it was a great joy for all of them. The last three companions were Jay, Broët and Codure, a Savoyard and two Frenchmen. Jay and Broët were already priests before joining the group. Broët and Codure came to Paris after Ignatius had left for Spain. All three men made the Exercises under the direction of Faber. In the end of this chapter, Rodrigues wrote, “This is the manner and the order that divine province observed in gathering the first Fathers at the Society’s beginning.” In other words, it was through their experiences in Paris that God gradually gathered them and transformed them through the *Spiritual Exercises* into followers of Christ, their true leader for His mission.

Another high point in the experience of their companionship in Christ was their consecration at Montmartre in Paris on Aug. 15, 1534. According to Faber’s account, seven companions (Ignatius, Xavier, Faber, Bobadilla, Laínez, Salmerón and Rodrigues) participated in the event. In the following two years they renewed their consecration in the same place on the same day. Jay joined in them in 1535 and 1536, while Broët and Codure were present in 1536, for the consecration. Rodrigues gave more details regarding the first consecration.

Montmartre (the Mount of Martyrs) was about one kilometer from the city. The Feast of the Assumption was chosen because all the first companions took the Blessed Virgin Mary as
their protector and special intercessor before Jesus Christ. The chapel of St. Denis was chosen for the intercession of the blessed martyr Denis. To prepare themselves for taking the vows of poverty, chastity and going to Jerusalem, they fasted, meditated and did penance. When the time came, without any outsider’s presence, Faber celebrated Mass for the consecration. Before giving communion to the six companions, he held it in his hands and each of them knelt and professed his vows in a clear and audible voice. Then they received Communion together. Afterwards, turning to the altar, Faber pronounced his vows clearly and consumed Communion. It was a deeply moving moment. Rodrigues described that all offered themselves to God “with their whole heart,” “with such eagerness,” “with such abnegation of will” and “with such hope in the divine mercy.” When he thought about it afterwards, oftentimes, his heart was set afire and he gave endless thanks and praise to God for his wonderful gifts of their companionship in Christ. After the Mass, they spent the rest of day there, talking together about their great zeal for the divine service. “At last, when the sun was already setting, they made their way home praising and glorifying God.”

The experience of Montmartre was deeply imprinted in the heart of Rodrigues. In his letter to Bobadilla on Aug. 20, 1566, he expressed his deep remembrance of that event and expressed his great joy at a letter he received from Bobadilla on the eve of Aug. 15, 1566. He expressed his deep affection towards Bobadilla and Salmerón. Bobadilla was deeply affected by the experience of Montmartre as well. He remembered it both in his letter to Fr. General Francis Borgia on Aug. 31, 1569 and in his letter to Fr. General Claude Aquaviva on Aug. 11, 1589. one

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48 They were not bound by the vow of poverty while studying in Paris. The vow of going to Jerusalem was taken with certain condition. See Conwell, *A Brief and Exact Account*, [13]-[14], 14-15n3; Ignatius’s Autobiography [85].

49 Conwell, *A Brief and Exact Account*, [17].

50 Ibid., [18].
year before his death.\textsuperscript{51} It is not an exaggeration to say that the first companions experienced their profound companionship in Christ at Montmartre.

Their experiences of companionship in Christ continued in their vows of poverty and chastity taken before a pontifical legate to Venice, in their ordination to the priesthood\textsuperscript{52} in Venice on the feast of John the Baptist in 1537, and in their subsequent preparations for first Masses by groups of twos or threes and in seclusion and prayer.\textsuperscript{53}

For the first companions, it was God working in and through Jesus Christ who had been leading them to establish the Society of Jesus, a process the companions attributed to Divine Providence and grace.\textsuperscript{54} Even though Ignatius was highly respected as their spiritual father,\textsuperscript{55} their companionship was deeply rooted in Christ, their true leader. In the absence of Ignatius (e.g. renewal of vows in Montmartre, journey to Venice, first trip to Rome, and separation in mission), their zeal in following Christ did not grow cold. Following Christ was an independent and free decision that each of them made before God in the Exercises. Each placed his hope in God alone and determined to be faithful to the end in following Christ.\textsuperscript{56}

\textbf{2.2 Companionship in their deliberations}

\textsuperscript{51} See the commentaries by Conwell in \textit{A Brief and Exact Account}, 18-21.

\textsuperscript{52} Except Faber, Jay and Broët, who were already priests, the rest seven were ordained priests altogether.

\textsuperscript{53} Conwell, \textit{A Brief and Exact Account}, [60]-[62], 61-63; Laínez’s Letter to Polanco (June 16, 1547), #41; Polanco’s \textit{Sumario}, #70-71.

\textsuperscript{54} Conwell, \textit{A Brief and Exact Account}, [11], [37], ([40], [49], [56], [65], [72]), [87], [101], [105]. See also Faber’s \textit{Memoriale}, no. 16, in Pierre, \textit{The Spiritual Writings of Pierre Favre}, 71; Laínez’s Letter to Polanco (June 16, 1547), #33, 38, 40; Polanco’s \textit{Sumario}, #1, 55, 63, 66-67, 84-85.

\textsuperscript{55} Conwell, \textit{A Brief and Exact Account}, [3], [15], [21], [63]. Xavier in his letters to Ignatius (e.g. Goa, Sept. 20, 1542; Tuticorn, Oct. 28, 1542; Cochin, Jan. 27, 1545; Cochin, Jan. 20, 1548; Cochin, Jan. 12, Jan. 14, 1549) usually called Ignatius “Father” and himself “your son in Christ,” “your least son,” “your least and useless son,” or “your least and most useless son,” in Xavier, \textit{The Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier}, 56, 59, 63, 115, 118, 223, 227-28.

\textsuperscript{56} Cf. Conwell, \textit{A Brief and Exact Account}, [21].
Even before the Deliberation of 1539, God was working both individually and collectively in their lives to be companions in Christ. This could be seen in the major events of their lives. Along their way in following Christ, their true leader, the first companions made several significant deliberations and communal discernments.

The first one was the 1534 deliberation, which took place shortly after they, except for Xavier, had gone through the Exercises and resolved to dedicate their lives to the Lord for the salvation of all and to go to Jerusalem.\(^{57}\) They first decided to study theology for three more years and to maintain their external manner of living up to that time. They also decided to practice great virtues so as to prepare themselves for any potential obstacles and hardships lying ahead. Then they decided to solidify their determination to follow Christ through vows of poverty, of chastity and of going to Jerusalem. They voluntarily chose never to accept a stipend for any liturgical ceremony, even though it was legitimate at that time. But they would not be bound by the vow of poverty during their studies at Paris, and they could freely use traveling money needed for the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. However, they were divided in their opinions regarding their way of life after the pilgrimage. Some were inclined to stay in the Holy Land; others preferred to return to Europe.\(^{58}\) They unanimously agreed, however, that they would entrust this matter to God and decide it at Jerusalem by the votes of the majority.\(^{59}\) They also

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\(^{57}\) Ibid., [13]-[15].

\(^{58}\) Ibid., 14-15n3.

\(^{59}\) Ignatius understood the consensus differently: “And already at this time they were all resolved on what they were to do, namely, to go to Venice and Jerusalem and to spend their lives in what was beneficial to souls. And if permission was not given them to remain in Jerusalem, they were to return to Rome and present themselves to Christ’s vicar…” (Ignatius’ Autobiography [85]). It seemed to Ignatius that all his companions were determined to stay at the Holy Land unless not permitted. Laínez held the same opinion as Ignatius; see his Letter to Polanco (June 16, 1547), #36. Polanco was in accord with the Rodrigues’ account in his three different writings, but in his fourth writing, his account was similar to the Ignatius’ abovementioned; Conwell, A Brief and Exact Account, 14-15n3. Likewise, Polanco was with Laínez in this matter in the Sumario #56, 64.
added a condition\textsuperscript{60} to their vow of sailing to Jerusalem. If they could not get to the Holy Land after one year waiting in Venice and despite their best efforts, they would free themselves from the vow and turn themselves to the Pope for the universal mission of Christ for the salvation of all humanity. If the Pope approved, they would ask for unrestricted faculties of preaching, hearing confession and celebrating the Eucharist everywhere in the world. Rodrigues called these decisions “the first lineaments of our Society.”\textsuperscript{61} They also decided the place (Montmartre) and the date (Aug. 15, 1534) for taking these vows.

The second deliberation took place at Meaux, where the nine companions reunited, shortly after their departure in two groups from Paris on Nov. 15, 1536.\textsuperscript{62} They were on their way to Venice in the midst of a fierce war between France and Spain. Given the situation, they prayed to the Lord. After confessing their sins and receiving Communion, they decided: (1) rather than begging alms, they should keep as much money as necessary for their travel; and (2) they would travel together rather than in two groups or two by two.

They made their third deliberation in Venice, immediately after their joyful reunion with Ignatius on Jan. 8, 1537, who had waited for them there for some time.\textsuperscript{63} They discussed what they should do during the time of waiting to sail to Jerusalem. They decided that they would serve the poor in the hospital for some time and then travel to Rome for the Pope’s blessing on their pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Soon they split into two groups, doing various humble works in two hospitals for the poor. After they returned from Rome with the Pope’s blessing, his

\textsuperscript{60} Ignatius also mentioned it in his Autobiography [85].

\textsuperscript{61} Conwell, \textit{A Brief and Exact Account}, [14].

\textsuperscript{62} Ibid., 27n1, [25]-[30].

\textsuperscript{63} Ibid., [42]-[47]; Láinez’s Letter to Polanco (June 16, 1547), #35; Polanco’s \textit{Sumario}, #64. Take note that Diego Hozes who had done the Spiritual Exercise under Ignatius in Venice began to become a companion of the group. See Ignatius’ Autobiography [92]; Conwell, \textit{A Brief and Exact Account}, 45n1.
financial support for their trip to Jerusalem, and his permission for ordination to the priesthood of the remaining seven of them, a war against the Turks was impending. So after their ordination, they undertook the fourth deliberation.\textsuperscript{64} They first decided to wait for another year. In the meantime, they retreated by twos or threes into solitude for some time to prepare for their first Masses. Then they gathered again at Vicenza to determine what to do during the rest of the time. It was their fifth deliberation.\textsuperscript{65}

First, they decided to disperse to the various universities of Italy and recruit their companions, although they had not had any intention to form a religious order.\textsuperscript{66} Second, they divided themselves into five groups and went to Rome, Siena, Bologna, Ferrara and Padua to preach, lecture, teach catechism, give the \textit{Spiritual Exercises}, administer sacraments and serve the poor.\textsuperscript{67} Third, after praying over the question of how their group wished to be named, they decided to name their group after Jesus Christ because they did not have any other head but him.\textsuperscript{68}

When the year of waiting came to close, they all joined Ignatius, Faber and Laynez in Rome after Easter of 1538 and immediately began their ministries of preaching, teaching,

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{64} Conwell, \textit{A Brief and Exact Account}, [61]-[62].
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\textsuperscript{65} Ibid., [64]-[65].
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\textsuperscript{66} Lainez’s Letter to Polanco (June 16, 1547), #42, 156n82; Polanco’s \textit{Sumario}, #73. Take note that when Ignatius went back to Spain in 1535 he intended to bring back those companions who had left him in Spain or had returned to Spain from Paris, though his efforts were in vain. See, Polanco’s \textit{Sumario}, #59.
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\textsuperscript{67} Lainez’s Letter to Polanco (June 16, 1547), #43-46; Polanco’s \textit{Sumario}, #73-78.
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\textsuperscript{68} John O’Malley, \textit{The First Jesuits}, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 33-34; Conwell, \textit{A Brief and Exact Account}, 65n19; Lainez’s Letter to Polanco (June 16, 1547), 156n82. Polanco wrote in his \textit{Sumario} #86, “The name is the Society of Jesus, and they took this name before they arrived in Rome. Talking among themselves about how they would want to be called by anyone who asked them what this congregation of nine or ten people was, they gave themselves to prayer and thought about the most suitable name. Seeing that they had no head among themselves, nor anyone in charge other than Jesus Christ, whom they wished alone to serve, it seemed to them they should take the name of the one they regarded as their head, calling themselves the Society of Jesus.”
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hearing confession, serving the homeless and caring for the orphans and prostitutes in Rome.\textsuperscript{69}

The following year, the first companions made their famous deliberation of 1539, which I discussed in the first part.

From the accounts we can sense that no one dominated these deliberations, even if Ignatius’s words had more weight. In fact, the other early companions undertook one deliberation without Ignatius’s presence. Rather, it was companionship that they had experienced in their communal discernments and in the significant decisions of their group.

2.3 Companionship in their daily lives

God was also working in ordinary ways as the companions lived together and rubbed shoulders. Their companionship in Christ and in deliberations was lived out in their daily lives. They did care about each other. While they were still in Paris, they frequently gathered together, shared table fellowship and enjoyed spiritual conversation. They helped each other in both material and spiritual matters.\textsuperscript{70} By the grace of the Lord, they grew in their affection and love for one another. Once Xavier overdid some penances, the other companions kept praying for him.\textsuperscript{71} When Ignatius was so much troubled by stomach aches, the others strongly advised him to go back to his native land to recover. Ignatius accepted their advice. But an agreement was made. Once he felt well, he would help settle some of his companions’ family business in Spain and wait for them in Venice. The time of the companions’ departure for Venice was also set. Before his departure, for the sake of his companions, Ignatius disproved an accusation against him from the Inquisition. In the end, they bought him a pony and sent him off, though they felt the sorrow

\textsuperscript{69} Conwell, A Brief and Exact Account, [78]-[80]; Laínez’s Letter to Polanco (June 16, 1547), #47-48; Polanco’s Sumario, #79-83.

\textsuperscript{70} Laínez’s Letter to Polanco (June 16, 1547), #30; Polanco’s Sumario, #54.

\textsuperscript{71} Conwell, A Brief and Exact Account, [5].
of the separation. In fact, after his recovery, Ignatius did visit those Spaniards’ families.\footnote{Ibid., [21]; Ignatius’ Autobiography [85]-[87]. Ignatius visited the families of Xavier, Laínez, and Salmerón. Polanco’s Sumario #59; Laínez’s Letter to Polanco (June 16, 1547), 148n68.} He also kept communicating with his companions through letters.\footnote{Conwell, A Brief and Exact Account, [22].} Waiting in Venice and seeing the difficult journey of his companions to Venice, Ignatius wrote two letters to his friends in Paris, asking them to help his companions as if they were to help himself.\footnote{See Ignatius’ letters to Gabriel Guzmán, O.P. and to Doña María both from Venice on Nov. 1, 1536 in St. Ignatius of Loyola, Ignatius of Loyola: Letters and Instructions, 24-26.}

On the journey to Venice, facing threats to their lives from the fierce war, the companions traveled together and helped disguise each other’s nationalities. They shared their suffering in the severe climate, the unknown language, loss of direction, and other hardships.\footnote{Conwell, A Brief and Exact Account, [29], [34], [36]-[41].} Later, on their first trip to Rome, they once had hardly any food for two or three days. They all became very weak. But each was affected more by the others’ difficulties and afflictions than his own.\footnote{Ibid., [49].} This kind of affection for one another was further demonstrated in two other touching stories. In the first story, Rodrigues was once so sick in Bassano that the doctors completely gave up hope for his life. As soon as Ignatius heard of Rodrigues’s illness in Vicenza, he interrupted his own convalescence to walk sixteen and a half miles to console him, even providing a new bed for him. On the way, Ignatius was cured and learned that Rodrigues would not die.\footnote{Ibid., [62]; Ignatius’ Autobiography [95]; Laínez’s Letter to Polanco (June 16, 1547), #57.} The second one took place in Vicenza. Two companions fell sick and were admitted to a hospital. But they were given one narrow bed for both of them. Rodrigues wrote, “It frequently happened that one of them would be burning with fever and want to throw off the covers while the other was
suffering from chill and wanted to keep them. But each bore his suffering cheerfully and tried to make it easier for the other rather than for himself.”

Perhaps the most moving example of their profound affection and love for each other took place at Padua. While other companions were working fruitfully in other cities, Codure and Hozes bore much fruit at Padua. However, Hozes fell sick and died almost immediately. Ignatius saw his soul going up to heaven in glory. But Codure was deeply troubled with the loss of his companion and burdened with apostolic work. Rodrigues here added, “What kind of love, then, was it which existed among the companions? How on fire was their love? To console Codure and to help him carry his burden, one of the two companions who were at Ferrara, a neighboring town, came to him immediately.” The arrival of this companion greatly consoled Codure; he stayed with him and they later went to Rome together.

Reading to the narratives of the first companions on their journey from Paris to Rome, we can say that they shared their love of Christ in their daily lives. Companionship in their daily lives was indeed what they had experienced.

2.4 Companionship in Christ’s mission

In their deliberations and in their daily life, their companionship was for Christ’s mission. Like the gospel disciples, Christ became their model of life to preach the Word of God to the ends of the world. Wherever they might be, all that they might do in service of others was set for the continuation of Christ’s mission in poverty, humility and mobility. As such, studying theology, serving the poor, teaching catechism, preaching in public, giving the Exercises,

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78 Conwell, A Brief and Exact Account, [65].
79 Ibid., [68]-[69].
80 Ibid., [69].
administering sacraments and defending the Catholic faith were all means to share missionary intentionality of Christ and its mode of implementation. In their mission for Christ, they also experienced their companionship.

They usually lived and worked not alone but together as one big group, or in two groups, or by groups of twos or threes with different nationalities, because they were companions in Christ’s mission.\textsuperscript{81} Both the spiritual bond among them and their physical presence to one another helped them to resist the temptations of persuasion by their family and friends, of the hermetical life, of sexual attraction, etc.,\textsuperscript{82} so that they could live and serve in poverty, humility and mobility.

For example, one day “one of the companions, picking up an alms, saw another companion in the market-place, barefoot, his clothes pulled up to his knees, begging among the women who were selling their wares, picking up a radish from one, an apple…accepting them with the greatest humility.”\textsuperscript{83} Thinking of this man’s humility and outstanding talents and gifts, another companion was deeply moved and touched in his heart. Having experienced many similar situations, he profoundly felt his unworthiness of such holy companionship.\textsuperscript{84}

In another story, one pair of companions suffered significantly at Ferrara, not only from the freezing cold of the winter or from stormy days but also from the poor material conditions of the hospice where they stayed. Even more, they experienced great humility.\textsuperscript{85} The old woman

\textsuperscript{81} I mentioned the grouping in the part of their companionship in deliberations. See also Ignatius’ Autobiography [93]; Conwell, \textit{A Brief and Exact Account}, 65n20.

\textsuperscript{82} Conwell, \textit{A Brief and Exact Account}, [31], [35], [82].

\textsuperscript{83} Ibid., [54].

\textsuperscript{84} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{85} Ibid., [74], 69n28.
who took care of the hospice asked each of the poor people standing before her to undress in order to check if there were any contagious wounds on one’s body and to avoid the bed sheets and blankets from being contaminated by lice. Under these circumstances, even these two companions who were given only one bed “had to take off their clothes and go to sleep nude in the woman’s presence,” although they did their best to cover their private parts decently.

Moreover, on their journey from Paris to Rome, they disputed with heretics and defended the Catholic faith with zeal together, though they were still inexperienced in this matter. They experienced grief at the loss of their beloved companion in their ministries and the energy of their companionship in mission. And they endured together the disturbance of devils in their residence and the severe 1538 persecution in Rome. They even started to practice voluntary obedience among themselves in Venice. Whether in a group of two or three, they took turns and each was in charge of the others for a week. Later in Rome, they extended the term to one month, and continued this practice until Ignatius was elected the Superior General. In this practice, everyone, including Ignatius, was very submissive to the one in command. Hence, it is not an exaggeration to say that they experienced their companionship in Christ’s mission.

In summary, we can say that the first companions experienced a dual companionship: first, with Christ, who was the dynamic force that guided them and the affectionate center around whom they placed their loyalty and their futures; second, among themselves in their communal discernments, in their daily lives and in their service of others. In his letter to Juan de Verdolay

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86 Ibid., [74].
87 Ibid., [32], [38], [40], 39n27.
88 Ibid., [68]-[71].
89 Ibid., [81]-[82], [84]-[89].
90 Ibid., [63].
from Venice on July 24, 1537, Ignatius called his companions “friends in the Lord.” He used this expression to describe who they were and what they did from Paris to Venice, in Rome and in Venice. In the meantime, the first companions began to name their group after Jesus, calling it “Society of Jesus.” After having many signs of confirmation and especially Ignatius’ vision at La Storta, when they finally decided to form a religious order in Rome, they chose to be named the “Society of Jesus.” For them, the “Society” was not simply a group but companions with Jesus and among themselves, because that was what they had truly experienced.

3. Conclusion

Having explored the founding experiences of the first companions from Paris to the 1539 Deliberation, we begin to see that the 1539 Deliberation was both a kind of summary of their prior experiences in and a climactic experience of their companionship. We begin to understand that the companionship or spiritual union among themselves as a group was profoundly rooted in the Lord Jesus Christ as its source and origin. Such a spiritual bond embraced and overflowed

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Polanco’s *Sumario* #86; Osuna, *Friends in the Lord*, 79. Ignatius had been praying to Our Lady to place him with her Son Jesus for some time; his prayers were granted at the chapel of La Storta where he saw clearly without any doubt that “God the Father was putting him with Christ, his Son.” Ignatius said that Laynez remembered more details. See Ignatius’ Autobiography [96] and the marginal note by Luis Gonçalves da Câmara in Munitiz and Endean, *Saint Ignatius of Loyola: Personal Writings*, 60-61, 376n153. For more details of the vision and its significance for Ignatius and his companions, see Lainez’s Letter to Polanco (June 16, 1547), #43, 158n83; Osuna, *Friends in the Lord*, 79, 83-85 and Hugo Rahner, *The Vision of St. Ignatius in the Chapel of La Storta*, (Rome: Centrum Ignatianum Spiritualitatis Recherches, 1979).


into their communal discernments, their daily activities and especially their mission in serving others. Such a deep bond was engraved in each companion’s heart. In his letters from the Far East, Xavier entrusted his mission to the whole Society and firmly believed in the efficacy of their prayers. He believed that the distance could not lessen their love and care for each other in Christ. He prayed for their reunion in heaven. Faber also had a similar prayer: “I beseech the divine Majesty to give us abundant grace so that the farther we are scattered physically the deeper we may strike spiritual roots by which we may be united forever and ever.” Thus, we may say that the founding experiences of the first companions are their companionship and spiritual union of hearts and minds in Christ for his universal mission.

What did leadership mean to the first companions then? They never explicitly discussed leadership. But according to their profound experiences of companionship in Christ, it was clear to them that the Lord Jesus Christ was their head and true leader, who called them, united them and sent them out with him for his universal mission to the end of time. In response, they should continue the project of the Lord God and strengthen their unity into a religious body with a vow of obedience for His greater glory. So for the first companions, leadership meant companionship in the Lord for his universal mission. Using the three-dimensional framework (depth, breadth, length) of organizational leadership, the depth of such a leadership was reflected not only in their

95 See the letter to Ignatius (Cochin, Jan. 27, 1545) in Xavier, The Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier, 114; Futrell, Making an Apostolic Community of Love, 42.

96 See the letter to his companions in Rome (Cochin, Jan. 27, 1545) in Xavier, The Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier, 116-17; Futrell, Making an Apostolic Community of Love, 42.

97 See the letter to his companions in Rome (Cochin, Jan. 20, 1548) in Xavier, The Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier, 180; Futrell, Making an Apostolic Community of Love, 42. In fact, Xavier had the great longing to see Ignatius again in this life; see his letter (Cochin, Jan. 20, 1548) in Xavier, The Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier, 181.

Christian beliefs and values and their various forms of apostolic works, but also in their lives of poverty and chastity and practice of the Spiritual Exercises. The depth ultimately was anchored in the Lord Christ and through him in the Triune God, who is Love. The breadth of their leadership was their spiritual union; each shared the responsibility of the group in decision making, daily activities and various ministries. Despite their voluntary practice of obedience, they exercised leadership together as a group. The length of their leadership was reflected in their concern for the recruitment and training of future companions for Christ’s universal mission to the end of time. In brief, leadership, for the first companions, was companionship in the Lord Jesus Christ for his universal mission, which had its depth in Christ, its breadth in companionship, and its length in Christ’s universal mission.

Having reflected on what leadership meant to the first companions as a group, I would like to move to the fundamental document of the Society of Jesus, the Formula of the Institute. The next chapter will study this document and begin the reflection on Jesuit leadership, the leadership of the Society of Jesus as a religious organization.
Chapter 2: The Emergence of Jesuit Leadership in the *Formula of the Institute*

During the 1539 Deliberation, the first companions decided to form a religious order named after Jesus. Soon after, they wrote the *Formula of the Institute* to communicate the self-reflection of their founding experiences and the self-understanding of their original inspiration and charism to the Church, as a new order, and to the men who would join them as companions in the Lord. Thus, the style of leadership characteristic of the Society of Jesus began to emerge. How did the first companions articulate their leadership? In this part of the study I propose to focus on the fundamental founding document of the Society, the *Formula of the Institute*, and to explore the emerging meaning of Jesuit leadership.

This chapter has three sections. The first provides the background of the *Formula of the Institute*. The second considers the content of the *Formula of the Institute* in detail. The third reflects on the emerging meaning of Jesuit leadership according to the *Formula of the Institute*.

1. **The background of the *Formula of the Institute***

   To understand the almost five century-old *Formula of the Institute* from the perspective of organizational leadership is to engage in a dialogue with its author and with the text. Such a dialogue requires, first of all, the background of the document, and second, the content of the document, before a genuine dialogue and interpretation can take place. Hence, in this section I will start with the background of the *Formula of the Institute* to understand mainly the context and the intentions of the author and the audience in the author’s mind.

   As mentioned in the first chapter, during the three months of deliberations in 1539 seventeen determinations were written. These determinations covered various aspects of the religious life that the first companions decided to live, including obedience to the Pope, mission,
election of the superior, decision-making, teaching catechism to children, admission and trials of novices and poverty. In addition, schools and other topics were also discussed.

We do not know when the first draft of the Formula was compiled or who authored it. But by August those companions who remained in Rome had finished the first draft, calling the “Prima Summa” or “The Five Chapters.” The purpose of this draft was to communicate to the Church and to the future members of the Society the self-understanding of the first companions’ original inspiration. The draft consisted of five chapters and a conclusion. It presents the apostolic aim of the Society of Jesus and its institutionalization in the first chapter; the vows of obedience to the Pope and to the superior general and poverty in the second to the fourth chapters; exclusion of choir of the divine office and solemn worship in the fifth chapter; abolition of obligatory physical penances and criteria for admission to profession in the conclusion. This draft was presented to Paul III by Cardinal Gaspar Contarini at Tivoli. He orally approved it with high praise on Sept. 3, 1539. Attested through Cardinal Contarini’s writing, the first draft (1539) was approved with full juridical validity.

Nevertheless, the written approval of the first draft encountered strong objections from the papal curia. These objections were concerned with matters such as abolition of choir and solemn liturgy, suppression of imposed austerities, and the precise meaning of a special vow of obedience to the Pope regarding missions. There was also strong objection to the first draft based on the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) that had forbidden new religious orders. However, Ignatius

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99 Laínez’s Letter to Polanco (June 16, 1547), #49; Polanco’s Sumario, #89.

100 The full title is “Prima Societatis Jesu Instituti Summa,” which was coined by the editors of the Monumenta; see Ravier, Ignatius of Loyola and the Founding of the Society of Jesus, 101n7.

101 Aldama, The Formula of the Institute: Notes for a Commentary, 28-30; O’Malley, The First Jesuits, 35. Ravier, Ignatius of Loyola and the Founding of the Society of Jesus, 101; Osuna, Friends in the Lord, 119; A Brief and Exact Account, [92]; Polanco’s Sumario, #89.
and his first companions resorted to prayers, including three thousand Masses and numerous testimonials of very influential people. Finally, the draft, although with some changes, was confirmed by Paul III in the bull *Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae* on Sept. 27, 1540. The number of Jesuits was restricted to sixty. The bull took almost the entirety of the first draft. The text contained in the bull was the second draft (1540).\(^ {102}\)

The third draft, the definitive draft, was approved by Julius III in his bull *Exposcit debitum* of July 21, 1550. The abolition of the limit of numbers and the acceptance of coadjutors were also confirmed. The final draft maintained the basic structure and content of the 1539 version: five chapters and a conclusion. But there was a good number of changes as well. Some dealt with a more accurate expression of the Institute; others pertained to the developments of the Society. To understand these changes, however, a brief consideration of the developments within the Society between October, 1540 and July, 1550 is necessary.\(^ {103}\)

There were numerous developments during that period of time. First, Ignatius was elected superior general by the first companions in the early 1541. Six companions\(^ {104}\) in Rome professed their solemn vows in the Basilica of St. Paul on April 22. During that time, the companions entrusted to Ignatius and Codure the work of drafting the Constitutions. But Codure died Aug. 29, 1541. Ignatius was left alone with the task of composing the Constitutions. With


\(^{104}\) Faber, Bobadilla, Rodrigues and Xavier were absent because of missions.
the help of Polanco, however, by the time of the approval of the 1550 draft, at least a primitive text ("Text a") of the Constitutions composed by Polanco was available.\(^{105}\)

Second, immediately after the approval of the Society in 1540, its missions rapidly expanded from those of ministering the word to those of preparing ministers of the word, and from the context of Europe to the other parts of the world. In the pastoral-spiritual mission, the first Jesuits continued to preach the word of God by all the means available to them and in every place accessible to them: in public preaching, sacred lectures, spiritual conversation and the Exercises, teaching catechism, hearing confession, celebrating the Eucharist, etc., wherever they were sent.\(^{106}\) Meanwhile, they extended their works of mercy in the social mission for both evangelical purposes and the common good. They took care of the sick in hospitals, served prisoners in jail and ministered to the dying, including criminals condemned to death. They brought reconciliation to the estranged and established social institutions for prostitutes and their orphans and children. They paid attention not only to the spiritual needs but also to the material or physical needs of the poor they served.\(^{107}\)

The first Jesuits also became deeply involved in the ecclesiastical mission. Although the Society of Jesus was not founded to counter Protestantism, Jesuits soon had to undertake the cause and respond quickly to the needs of the Church in Europe, especially in Germany and England, in defense of the Catholic faith. For example, between 1540 and 1546, Faber spent


most of his time in Germany on two pastoral missions for Paul III. Laínez, Salmerón and Jay attended the first session of the Council of Trent (1545-1547, 1551-1552, 1562-1563). As papal theologians, Laínez and Salmerón also took part in the 2nd and 3rd sessions.\(^{108}\)

While the missions were expanding, many young men chose to follow the way of life of the Society. So from 1540 to 1544 the first Jesuits established seven houses called “colleges” for Jesuit scholastics attending public universities at Paris, Coimbra, Padua, Louvain, Cologne, Valencia and Alcalá. Then lectures were introduced in some of these houses. Such a college was open to lay students at Gandía in 1546. Subsequently, the first college built primarily for lay students was established at Messina in 1548. With its great success and growing influence, the first Jesuits expanded their pastoral mission beyond their horizon to the cultural-civic mission. Jesuit schools began to develop in a massive way.\(^{109}\)

Moreover, the missionaries of the Society had reached India, Brazil and other regions by 1550. Being aware of the power of music with the indigenous peoples in the mission areas, the Society removed the prohibition against solemn liturgy and started to adapt it in a prudent way for effective pastoral care.\(^{110}\)

Third, the Jesuit way of life attracted many young men. Even before the publication of the bull *Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae*, the first Jesuits already numbered more than twenty members.\(^{111}\) Such a way of religious life also attracted many priests, who lacked the academic training, and lay persons, who were not qualified for priestly ordination. They desired to join the

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\(^{111}\) Ibid., 36.
Society to help in its mission. So Pope Paul III lifted the restriction on numbers in the bull *Iniunctum Nobis* of March 14, 1544. And then in the bull *Exponi Nobis* of June 5, 1546, he approved the request of Ignatius to admit spiritual and temporal coadjutors into the Society with “simple vows.” And finally, in 1546 Paul III granted permission to the superior general of the Society for the appointment of subordinate superiors (provincial, local).  

Above all, the *Formula of the Institute*, especially the 1550 draft, was considered by the first companions as the whole essence of their way of life, the fundamental Rule of the Society. In the beginning of the third chapter of the Formula it was referred to as the Rule of the Society. The General Congregations: V (1593-94), XXVII (1923) and XXXI (1965-66) officially endorsed this interpretation. Paul III, Julius III, Pius VII in their bulls *Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae*, *Exposcit debitum* and *Sollicitudo omnium ecclesiarum*, respectively approved and affirmed it. There is no doubt that the Formula portrayed the principal image or identity of the Society.

Having examined the background of the *Formula of the Institute*, we can proceed to its content in order to grasp the emerging meaning of Jesuit leadership.

2. The *Formula of the Institute*  

In this section, I will recapitulate the structure and the content of the *Formula of the Institute* to prepare for a dialogue with this document in the next section. To explore the details

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115 I used the English texts of the Formula (1539 draft, 1550 draft) in Adama, *The Formula of the Institute*, 2-23. The English text of the Formula (1540 draft) in Padberg, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and Their Complementary Norms*, 3-14, has some omissions in its printing; so I compared it with the commentary in Aldama’s *The Formula of the Institute*.
of this document, I will go through each of the five chapters and the conclusion according to the three drafts, especially the 1550 draft.

2.1 First chapter

The first chapter presents the apostolic aim of the Society and its institutionalization.

First of all, the Jesuit way of life is a personal vocation to follow Christ under the banner of the cross as his companion in the Society, and to serve him and his spouse the Church under the leadership of the Roman pontiff, his vicar on earth. Such a life is a religious vocation bound by the love of Jesus Christ. As a body the Society aims to achieve the salvation and perfection of others in Christ. The members seek to achieve this aim through preaching the Word of God, as the Apostles and St. Paul did, and in ministering to the Gospel by all other means of words and deeds. These words and deeds include, but are not limited to: public preaching, lecturing on the Scriptures, giving the *Spiritual Exercises*, teaching catechism, hearing confession, giving Communion, and various works of charity—all to be offered without expecting recompense. Each Jesuit should focus on God, the ultimate goal, and the apostolic aim of the Society throughout his life. As a member of the body, he should strive to attain this end using the specific graces he receives from the Holy Spirit.

Second, for the purpose of governance of the Society, the superior general is elected and subordinate superiors are appointed to maintain the union of the Society and to determine the particular grace of each Jesuit. The general, with the advice of his associates gathered in the general congregation and with a majority of votes, has the authority to write the Constitutions. He also has the authority to interpret the *Formula of the Institute*. In major matters such as establishment or change of the Constitutions, and dissolution or alienation of houses or colleges, he must convocate a general congregation made up of the professed. But in matters of lesser
importance, the superior general, with the consultation of the curia of the Society in Rome, has full authority to govern the Society according to the Constitutions.116

2.2 Second chapter

The second chapter discusses the vow of obedience to the pope.

The entire Society is to live its religious commitment under a special vow of obedience to the Roman Pontiff,117 not just because he is the head of the Church, the vicar of Christ on earth, as the Gospel teaches us, but because the Society desires to be bound closely to the vicar of Christ and thus to Christ himself in mission for the sake of greater abnegation of its own wills and surer direction of the Holy Spirit. As the Apostles were sent on mission by Jesus, in the same way the members of the Society are sent by the Pope, the Vicar of Christ on earth, to go anywhere in the world for the salvation and perfection of the faithful and the infidel. Such a vow is a gift of the Holy Spirit. The vow requires total mobility and availability for apostolic mission without any negotiation with the Pope, leaving everything to the care of Christ, his Vicar, and the superior general. Even the general should not approach the Pope concerning the general’s own mission without the advice of the Society.118

116 This is my summary and interpretation according to the first chapter of the Formula (1539, 1540, and 1550 drafts) and the following commentaries: Aldama, The Formula of the Institute, 37-54; Conwell, Impelling Spirit, 384-87; Osuna, Friends in the Lord, 120-23; Ravier, Ignatius of Loyola and the Founding of the Society of Jesus, 102-103; O’Malley, The First Jesuits, 16-20, 84-86, 134-35.

117 The first companions made a vow at Montmartre in 1534 regarding handing themselves over the pope for mission after one year waiting as an alternative to the vow of going to Jerusalem. Once they turned to the pope, he began to send them individually for various missions in different places. Then in the early May of 1539 Deliberation, the very first two determinations were about the special vow of obedience to the pope and the seventh determinations were about total availability for apostolic mission. The content of chapter 2 of the Formula was quite similar to these determinations. Hence, for Ignatius, this vow is “our beginning and the principal foundation of the Society.” It was “our beginning” because the vow of the first companions at Montmartre in 1534. It was the “principal foundation” because the central calling of the Society was apostolic mission and ministry. See O’Malley, The First Jesuits, 298-301.

118 This is my summary and interpretation according to the second chapter of the Formula (1539, 1540, and 1550 drafts) and the following commentaries: Aldama, The Formula of the Institute, 55-65; Conwell, Impelling
2.3 Third chapter

The third chapter describes the vow of obedience to the general superior:

Jesuits should obey their superior general in all matters concerning the Formula of the Institute. The superior general is the best qualified and elected by a majority of votes according to the Constitutions. He has full authority over the governance of the Society, including both personnel and business matters. In the exercise of authority, the superior general should command out of love, with the humility of Christ, for the service of Christ and the preservation and growth of the entire Society. In their exercise of obedience, the subjects should obey the general as the representative of Christ, and hence Christ himself, for the sake of the good order of the Society and for the continuous practice of humility.

2.4 Fourth chapter

The fourth chapter deals with the vow of poverty.

Jesuits pronounce the vow of poverty for two reasons: one is to avoid avarice for material possessions and to follow the evangelical poverty of Jesus and his Apostles for the edification of others; the other is to trust in God’s providence in the service of the Kingdom. The vow of poverty declares that the Society of Jesus, individually or in common and in any of their houses

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119 We recall here that the vow of obedience to one of the group was a unanimous decision of the first companions in the 1539 Deliberation. It was a decision to form a religious order among them. The purpose of this vow was tripartite: for the better fulfillment of God’s will, for the sure preservation of their unity, and for the good care of their individual needs. Determinations14, 16-17 had already considered the life term of the superior general and the authority of the general to accept or reject novices.

120 This is my summary and interpretation according to the third chapter of the Formula (1539, 1540, and 1550 drafts) and the following commentaries: Aldama, The Formula of the Institute, 67-73; Conwell, Impelling Spirit, 389-90; Osuna, Friends in the Lord, 124; Ravier, Ignatius of Loyola and the Founding of the Society of Jesus, 104-105.
or churches, cannot have the civil right to any produce, possessions, fixed income or ownership of any stable goods except for the retention of what is necessary for its own use and habitation for those who have made final vows.  

Jesuits should be content with what they are given for the necessities of life. Nevertheless, an exception is made for the colleges of scholastics. These colleges can own revenues and properties for the use of scholastics. The colleges can be established by the Holy See, but the superior general should be in full charge of the governance of these colleges, including rectors, scholastics and administrations, in such a way that no scholastics will abuse the goods of the colleges, nor will the professed use them for their own benefit. The scholastics should be intellectually and morally capable of the mission of the Society and give solid hope for admission to the Society after sufficient testing.

2.5 Fifth chapter

The fifth chapter treats of choir and austerity of life.

Jesuit priests are bound to pray the divine office privately according the rite of the Church. But for the sake of their prophetic mission and apostolic mobility, they are not bound to pray the liturgy of the hours in common.  

As regards food, clothing and similar matters, Jesuits

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121 Determination 15 in the 1539 Deliberation was about the vow of poverty. In the 1541 meeting of six companions, they permitted houses and churches to have fixed income for the sake of mission. But Ignatius was not convinced. While writing the Constitutions, after a long period of prayer and discernment, Ignatius decided to go back the early poverty of the 1539 Deliberation and relinquish any fixed income for their houses and churches. Aldama, The Formula of the Institute, 78-83.

122 This is my summary and interpretation according to the fourth chapter of the Formula (1539, 1540, and 1550 drafts) and the following commentaries: Aldama, The Formula of the Institute, 75-89; Conwell, Impelling Spirit, 390-91; Osuna, Friends in the Lord, 124-25; Ravier, Ignatius of Loyola and the Founding of the Society of Jesus, 105-106.

123 The lines concerning avoidance of solemn liturgy in the 1539 draft were dropped in the 1540 and 1550 drafts.
should follow the style of exemplary secular priests without any obligatory penances and austerity.\textsuperscript{124}

\subsection*{2.6 Conclusion}

The conclusion gives final remarks on the Formula.

The Formula presents an authentic image of the Society, its way of life and its manner of following Jesus Christ proper to its vocation. The purpose of this Formula is to articulate the identity and mission for those who ask about this way of life and those who will follow such a path according to their vocations. However, as learned from the experience of the first companions, such a way of life is very challenging.\textsuperscript{125} Therefore, only those who, after long and demanding testing as explained in the Constitutions, prove to be thoroughly humble and prudent in Christ for his service, and who have credible Christian life and sufficient learning for preaching the Word of God, can profess the four solemn vows in the Society. There shall also be coadjutors,\textsuperscript{126} both spiritual and temporal, and scholastics admitted in the Society. After sufficient tests, some people should take three simple vows, except that some will take three solemn vows, to be spiritual or temporal coadjutors in the Society, so that they will remain in the Society as long as the superior general thinks it appropriate according to the Constitutions.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{124} And this summary and interpretation is according to the fifth chapter of the Formula (1539, 1540, and 1550 drafts) and the following commentaries: Aldama, \textit{The Formula of the Institute}, 91-94; Conwell, \textit{Impelling Spirit}, 392-93; Osuna, \textit{Friends in the Lord}, 125-26; Ravier, \textit{Ignatius of Loyola and the Founding of the Society of Jesus}, 106; O’Malley, \textit{The First Jesuits}, 6.
\item\textsuperscript{125} The paragraph on physical penances in the 1539 draft was suppressed in the 1540 and 1550 drafts.
\item\textsuperscript{126} The acceptance of coadjutors started after the bull \textit{Exponi Nobis} of June 5, 1546, so coadjutors only appeared in the 1550 draft.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Finally, Jesuits pray that Christ grants his grace for this enterprise, the Society of Jesus, for the glory of God the Father forever and ever.\textsuperscript{127}

In summary, the \textit{Formula of the Institute} consists of five chapters and a conclusion. The first chapter captures the apostolic aim of the Society and its institutionalization. The second, third and fourth chapters discuss the vows of obedience to the Pope and to the superior general, and the vow of poverty. The fifth chapter deals with the exclusion of choir and the criterion of austerity of life. The conclusion gives final remarks on the purpose of the Formula, the criteria for admission to profession and coadjutors, and the nature of the vows of the coadjutors.

Having studied the content of the Formula, we can now examine the Formula through the lens of organizational leadership to see more clearly the emerging meaning of Jesuit leadership according to the Formula.

\textbf{3. The emergence of Jesuit leadership}

Edgar H. Schein in his \textit{Organizational Culture and Leadership} argues that even in mature organizations, many of their cultural assumptions and leadership can be traced back to the beliefs and values of the early founders, who developed theories about how the group should work, internally and externally, and about their common identity and goals.\textsuperscript{128} The basis for Jesuit leadership is well articulated in the \textit{Formula of the Institute}, the fundamental founding document of the Society of Jesus. The Formula articulated how Jesuit leadership starts from the spiritual leadership of God who calls and directs the Society in and through Jesus Christ to lead others to

\begin{footnotes}
\item[127] This summary and interpretation is based on the conclusion of the Formula (1539, 1540, and 1550 drafts) and the following commentaries: Aldama, \textit{The Formula of the Institute}, 95-102; Conwell, \textit{Impelling Spirit}, 393; Osuna, \textit{Friends in the Lord}, 126-27; Ravier, \textit{Ignatius of Loyola and the Founding of the Society of Jesus}, 107.
\item[128] Schein, \textit{Organizational Culture and Leadership}, 218, 232.
\end{footnotes}
Him for His glory. Applying the three-dimensional framework (depth, breath, length) of organizational leadership, the depth of Jesuit leadership is first a religious vocation to follow Christ under his standard as his companions, so as to preach the gospel to every corner of the world until the end of time; a vocation that is possible only because of the inflaming love of Christ. Second, the depth of Jesuit leadership is imitating the life style and activities of the Apostles and St. Paul, preaching the Word of God in evangelical poverty, free of charge and by all means of words and deeds, for the salvation and perfection of other persons in Christ. More concretely, it is to serve Christ in his spouse the Church under the leadership of the Roman Pontiff, the Vicar of Christ on earth, for missions and ministries all over the world. By a special vow of obedience, Jesuits are sent by the Pope, the Vicar of Christ, for mission as the Apostles were sent by Jesus. Furthermore, under the leadership of the superior general, who represents Christ, the entire Society serves Christ and his Church as one body in which each takes his part proper to his specific grace. By a vow of obedience, Jesuits are ready to go anywhere at anytime for any mission proper to their vocation.

In summary, the depth of Jesuit leadership consists of several layers. The ultimate depth is the Lord Jesus Christ and through him the Triune God who is Love. It is Jesus Christ who calls, unites and sends out his companions as a religious order for his universal mission with him and in the Church to give spiritual consolation to others for the salvation and perfection of humankind. Such a depth is so profound that despite the strong objections of the papal curia, the Society of Jesus, a new religious order, was able to be established in the Church at a time when certain religious practices seemed so essential for a religious life: religious garb, choir of divine

\[129\] In this regard, the famous phrase of the first companions is “to help souls,” meaning, to help other persons have immediate experience of God and establish better relationship with him through and in Christ. O’Malley, The First Jesuits, 18-20.
office, solemn liturgy and obligatory penances, and the taking of a special vow of obedience to the Pope for mission was beyond common religious imagination.\textsuperscript{130} In the early years of the Society, it was continuously led by its true leader, Christ, in the realities the Jesuits encountered to go beyond their horizon of prophetic mission and apostolic mobility\textsuperscript{131} and beyond a rigid interpretation of their Formula. For instance, the list of ministries in the Formula did not exhaust the ministries Jesuits were performing. It did not include, for example, social institutions for prostitutes and orphans, and the powerful emerging ministry of schools was absent from the list.\textsuperscript{132}

The Formula also brings forth the breadth of Jesuit leadership. First of all, the breadth of Jesuit leadership is the spiritual union of the Jesuits in Christ. Despite the fact that some are professed, others are spiritual coadjutors and still others temporal coadjutors, all Jesuits share one vocation and one mission in Christ. Each of them has a specific contribution proper to his vocation within the Society. More deeply, it is the love of Christ that unites them as one body for his mission. While the superior general should command out of the discerning love of Christ, the subjects should obey him as if obeying Christ himself. As such, they work together for Christ as his companions. Second, the general congregation that represents the entire Society elects the superior general and decides important matters, such as writing or establishing or changing the Constitutions, etc., by majority votes. In other words, the whole Society participates in its legislative and juridical matters. Even if, in the ordinary governance, the superior general has full

\textsuperscript{130} Cf. O’Malley, \textit{The First Jesuits}, 6, 135-36.

\textsuperscript{131} With the expansion of Jesuit mission in schools, apostolic mobility was no longer merely geographical or physical but more metaphorical in a sense of seeking to meet challenges for Christ’s mission as exemplified by Paul. See John O’Malley, SJ, “Missions and the Early Jesuits,” \textit{The Way Supplement: Ignatius Spirituality and Mission}, no. 79 (Spring, 1994): 6-7.

authority over the Society in both personnel and business matters, he still needs to consult his brethren for the sake of the service of Christ.

Thus, the breadth of Jesuit leadership is the companionship bound in Christ as a body not only in daily life and activity but also in governance and administration of the whole religious organization. In fact, as the number of Jesuits rapidly increased, the principle of subsidiarity and subordination of authority began to prevail in their governance. Before 1550, subordinate superiors (provincials and rectors) were already appointed to help ordinary governance of the Society. 133

The Formula does not leave out the length of Jesuit leadership either. The length of Jesuit leadership is found in the recruitment and formation of companions of Jesus in the Society for its preservation and growth for Christ’s mission. Since the Jesuit way of life is a religious vocation, the length of Jesuit leadership is, in the first place, about the call and grace of Christ, if he wishes, for his universal mission to the end of time through the Society of Jesus. In the early years of formation of the Society, Christ called many new members to its way of life. Even before the bull *Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae* was published in 1540, the Society already numbered more than twenty members. Many more new members soon joined the Society and numerous colleges of scholastics were established throughout Europe. Within four years the restriction on numbers in the Society had to be lifted. Two years later admission to the Society had to be opened to coadjutors who took simple vows, an innovation in the religious life at that time. 134 Nevertheless, human response is necessary. Recall from the last chapter that Ignatius and his first companions from the very beginning tried to recruit and train their future companions for Christ. When they


decided to form a religious order, recruitment and formation of future members received much more of their attention and imagination. First, one purpose of the Formula was especially directed to future members. After the general characteristics of the Society were stated, the criteria for admission and formation of different vocations (the professed, spiritual and temporal coadjutors) were given. Second, as exceptions to the vow of poverty, colleges of scholastics were established to train intellectually and morally capable men for the mission of the Society. Formation of young Jesuits was so important that the superior general was put in full charge of the governance of these colleges. In addition, a general congregation is required for dissolution or alienation of the colleges. To summarize, the length of Jesuit leadership is the universal mission of Christ that calls forth the Society of Jesus to establish its basic criteria, process, structure, and governance for recruiting and training its future members.

In conclusion, we can say that Jesuit leadership, according to the Formula of the Institute, emerged as companionship in the Lord Jesus Christ for his universal mission, with its depth anchored in Christ, its breadth bound in companionship of Christ and its length rooted in the universal mission of Christ. Christ is the core of the Jesuit leadership. However, the Formula only gives an incomplete picture of the Society of Jesus as a religious organization. To understand a fuller expression of Jesuit leadership according to the self-understanding of the Society, we need to further study the Constitutions and the Complementary Norms in the next chapter.
Chapter 3: The Formulation of Jesuit Leadership According to the Constitutions and their Complementary Norms

In the definitive 1550 draft of the *Formula of the Institute*, “the Constitutions” is mentioned eight times. In six of those eight references, the Formula explicitly directs the reader to the Constitutions for further explanation. On the other hand, the Constitutions constantly refer back to the Formula as the foundational document of the Society.\(^{135}\) Hence, the Constitutions were, from the very beginning, an expanded version of the Formula in which the Formula was fully expounded. The aim of the Constitutions was to present a full-fledged articulation of the self-understanding of the Society of Jesus as a religious order regarding its own charism to the Church and to its present and future members.\(^{136}\) Consequently, it is necessary to study the Constitutions in order to grasp the full expression of Jesuit leadership. That is the goal of this part of study.

This chapter has five sections. The first provides the background of the Constitutions and their Complementary Norms of the Society of Jesus. The second studies the fundamental conviction and the basic dynamic of the Constitutions. The third examines the union of hearts, persons and governance in the Society of Jesus. The fourth discusses the preservation and growth of the Society. And the last section reflects on the formulation of Jesuit leadership according to the Constitutions and their Complementary Norms.

1. The background of the Constitutions and their Complementary Norms

\(^{135}\) Ganss, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, 45.

\(^{136}\) GC 34, d.1, n.13.
To comprehend the Constitutions, a volume of four books\textsuperscript{137} written around four and a half centuries ago, and their Complementary Norms, a document published sixteen years ago, the first step is to get to know their background and then to understand their content before engaging in a dialogue with the authors and texts and reading of the documents through the lens of organizational leadership. Therefore, in this section I will study first the background of the Constitutions and then the context of the Complementary Norms to apprehend the formation, purpose and significance of the Constitutions and the Complementary Norms.

1.1 The Constitutions

From the very beginning, the purpose of the Constitutions was to aid the entire Society and its individual members to preserve and to grow in divine service.\textsuperscript{138} But the formation for this service underwent a long process.

When the six companions (Ignatius, Laínez, Salmerón, Codure, Jay and Broët) met in Rome in March, 1541 to elect a superior general, the first thing they decided was to delegate Ignatius and Codure to work on a number of constitutions in the spirit of the “Five Chapters,” which was based on the founding experiences of the first ten companions (1528-1539) and of the Papal bull \textit{Regimini}. While the other four were undertaking ministries, Ignatius and Codure prepared constitutions that they discussed and decided together. The result was forty nine articles in all. Most of them dealt with poverty, candidates, clothing, teaching catechism to children, founding colleges and the superior general. These articles were the “Constitutions of 1541,” an important source of the definitive Constitutions. Before their departure, they entrusted the work

\textsuperscript{137} By four books, I mean (1) the Examen, (2) the Declarations on the Examen, (3) the Constitutions properly called, and (4) the Declarations on the Constitutions. See Aldama, \textit{An Introductory Commentary on the Constitutions}, 1; Costa, “Historical Genesis of the Constitutions: Its Various Texts,” 25.

\textsuperscript{138} Const. #135, 136; Ganss, \textit{The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus}, 120n3.
of composing the Constitutions to those who would stay at Rome. With the death of Codure in August, Ignatius worked alone on the Constitutions for the next seven years (1541-1547).\(^{139}\)

Ignatius composed the Constitutions piece by piece. He first dealt with the questions of poverty and missions, and then teaching children catechism and the exclusion of ecclesiastical ambition, followed by admission of temporal and spiritual coadjutors and the Examen. He also wrote on several other points of the Institute in “Early Determinations” (Determinaciones ones antiguas), “Determinations in the Lord” (Determinaciones in Domino), and “Notes for Determinations” (Notas para determinar).\(^{140}\) All of these writings were later incorporated into the Constitutions. Ignatius’s method was to “say mass every day and present the point he was dealing with to God and make prayer over that.”\(^{141}\) The famous example was the progress discerning the question of poverty, as presented in the Spiritual Diary. In the forty days of divine enlightenment, Ignatius resolved to restore the original purity of poverty as regards whether a church should have any income that could be used by the Society.\(^{142}\)

When Spaniard Juan Alonso de Polanco became Ignatius’ secretary in 1547, however, the whole process of composing the Constitutions was speeded up. First, Polanco made a thorough investigation into the Institute of the Society and studied the rules of other religious orders, such as the Benedictines, Augustinians, Franciscans, Dominicans, etc. He submitted his reflections

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\(^{141}\) Ignatius’ Autobiography [101].

and questions regarding the Institute of the Society to Ignatius. Then he wrote two significant treatises entitled “Measures Which the Society Should Use the Better to Attain its End” (Industrias con que se ha de ayudar la Compania para que mejor proceda para su fin) and “Constitutions of the Colleges” (Constituciones de los colegios). Both became proximate sources for the Constitutions later on. In the next step, Polanco composed the primitive text of the Constitutions (“Text a”), excluding the Examen, in 1549-1550. The initial text (“Text A”) of the Constitutions came out in 1550. It was carefully corrected by Ignatius and submitted to the first companions for revision in 1551. The definitive text (“Text B”), with some changes and additions from the “Text A”, was completed in 1553. Nadal used a copy of this text for his promulgation of the Constitutions in the provinces of Spain and Portugal. The Examen was composed at a slightly different pace. Its first text (“Text Alpha”) was written in 1546-1547 and its second one (“Text A”) in 1549-1550. The third and final text (“Text B”) was finished in 1550. Text B was presented to the first companions for correction in the 1551 meeting.\footnote{143 Aldama, \textit{An Introductory Commentary on the Constitutions}, 6-8, 23; Costa, “Historical Genesis of the Constitutions: Its Various Texts,” 34-40.}

Ignatius continued to correct the texts of both the Constitutions and the Examen until his death in 1556. He never finalized the text of the Constitutions, because he left this to the general congregation to decide according to the \textit{Formula of the Institute}. The First General Congregation in 1558 approved the Spanish text (“Text B”) left by Ignatius and regarded it as the \textit{Autograph of Father Ignatius}, the original text. The GC 1 also approved “Text C,” with modifications from “Text B.” The Fifth General Congregation in 1594 made another copy with adaptations, called “Text D.” Since then, the only modifications have been in the form of notes, leaving the text of the Constitutions intact. The GC 1 also approved the Examen (“Text B”) and the Declarations. The Constitutions and the Examen were printed together in one volume in 1558 and the
Declarations were published separately the following year. But it was not until 1570 that in the 2nd Latin edition the Constitutions, the Examen and the Declarations were published together in one volume. Today, the Constitutions are made up of two major parts: the Examen including its Declarations and the Constitutions including its Declarations.

Above all, the Constitutions have been considered by the Society as the full elaboration of the Formula of the Institute, a privileged expression of the founding experiences of the first companions and a priceless heritage from St. Ignatius. The Jesuits have shown great respect to the Constitutions through the general congregations and throughout history. To maintain the original integrity and inspiration of the Constitutions, the GC 3 (1573), confirmed by the GC 27 (1923), decided that any modification of the Constitutions from then on would be made in the form of notes; the original text would remain untouched. Furthermore, the Constitutions were approved by five Popes, Paul III, Paul IV, Gregory XIII, Gregory XIV and Paul V, the last three of whom in fact approbated the Constitutions in the solemn formula. Hence, the Constitutions are a full-fledged articulation of the self-understanding of the Society of Jesus as a religious order in its way of proceeding.

1.2 The Complementary Norms

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145 In the formation of the text of the Constitutions, Ignatius and Polanco worked closely together in composing and editing the text. But the Constitutions express the thought of Ignatius. The actual text, words or phrases, were the means used by Polanco to express the mind of Ignatius, the founder of the Society. See Aldama, An Introductory Commentary on the Constitutions, 8-11; Costa, “Historical Genesis of the Constitutions: Its Various Texts,” 42-45; O’Malley, The First Jesuits, 7.

Ignatius never finalized the Constitutions, nor did the Society of Jesus seal the Constitutions as a final product. Throughout history, the Society continued to modify the Constitutions so as to adapt its apostolic life to the needs of the times. The Complementary Norms are a present-day expression of the Jesuit life and apostolate, and a necessary help to the entire Society and its individual members in living out Jesuit charism in the contemporary world.\textsuperscript{147}

The Complementary Norms to the Constitutions are composed of those articles decreed in the GCs 2-34 that contain the genuine spirit of the Constitutions and their relevance to the contemporary renewal of Jesuit life and apostolic work. They were reformulated and rearranged according to the normative structure of the Constitutions to become an ongoing commentary that maintains the relevance of the Constitutions in contemporary times. This project was traced back to the GC 33 (1983) mandate to update the Constitutions according to the new universal law of the Church concerning religious orders (1983 Code of Canon Law for the Latin Church and 1993 Code of Canon Law for the Eastern Churches). After a long period of assiduous work by Fr. General Peter-Hans Kolvenbach and his consultors, the congregation of the provincials and consultations with worldwide Jesuit experts, province congregations, special commissions and especially the GC 34 (1995), the Complementary Norms were eventually published side by side with the original Ignatian text of the Constitutions and their appended notes as one volume in 1995. As such, the living internal unity and ongoing spiritual identity of the full-fledged

\textsuperscript{147} CN #5.1.
articulation of the self-understanding of the Society of Jesus as a religious order in its way of proceeding might shine forth.\textsuperscript{148}

Having considered the background of the Constitutions and the context of their Complementary Norms, we can now move to the content of the Constitutions and their Complementary Norms so as to grasp the full expression of Jesuit leadership. Since the content of these two documents is enormous, for the sake of this part of the study, I will focus on the content relevant to the three-dimensional lens of organizational leadership. Thus, in the next three sections, I will respectively consider: (1) the fundamental conviction and the basic dynamic of the Constitutions, (2) the union of hearts, persons and governance of the Society, and (3) the preservation and growth of the Society, in order to reflect on the formulation of Jesuit leadership in its depth, breadth and length according to the Constitutions and their Complementary Norms.

2. The fundamental conviction and the basic dynamic of the Constitutions

To grasp the depth of Jesuit leadership based on the Constitutions and their Complementary Norms, I propose to study the fundamental conviction and the basic dynamic of the Constitutions to uncover the underlying principle of the Constitutions.

2.1 Fundamental conviction

The Constitutions are an expression of the fundamental conviction of Ignatius and his first companions that Christ began, sustains, and leads the Society of Jesus for his service and the help of souls. As such, while the Society of Jesus is primarily the enterprise of Divine Providence and grace, it nevertheless requires free human cooperation in charity and hope by both supernatural and natural means so that the Society will be a true instrument of the Lord for

\textsuperscript{148} CN (Introductory Decree) #1-2; John W. Padberg, SJ, “Foreword,” and Kolvenbach, “Preface of Very Reverend Peter-Hans Kolvenbach Superior General of the Society of Jesus,” in Padberg, \textit{The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and Their Complementary Norms}, vii, xi-xiv; GC 33, d.6, II. n.1.2.
his divine service. In the Preamble, the Constitutions begin with this conviction: “it must be the Supreme Wisdom and Goodness of God our Creator and Lord which will preserve, direct, and carry forward in His divine service this least Society of Jesus, just as He deigned to begin it…the gentle arrangement of Divine Providence requires cooperation from His creatures…”149 It is for the purpose of free human cooperation with Divine Providence and grace that the Constitutions are written to aid the entire Society and its members in spiritual discernment for their preservation and growth.150 Corresponding to the Preamble, the final part of the Constitutions, Part X, recapitulates this conviction of God’s initiation and human cooperation in the first place and puts an emphasis on “hope in the Lord alone” through all interior (supernatural) and exterior (natural) means, which are discussed in the preceding nine parts.151 According to Carlos Coupeau’s rhetorical analysis, this conviction of human collaboration with Divine Providence runs through the entire text of the Constitutions from the beginning of the Preamble to the end of the Part X. To contribute to free cooperation with Divine Providence, the author of the Constitutions uses persuasion by logical argumentation rather than coercion by intimidation; he resorts to the completeness, clarity and brevity of the text, and the three divisions: the beginning, the middle and the end, to invite readers towards a whole-hearted collaboration with Divine Providence in their lives.152

149 Const. #134, directly quoted from Ganss, The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus. In this thesis, the direction quotations of the Constitutions are taken from this book.


152 Coupeau, From Inspiration to Invention, 156-77.
Such a conviction that the Society of Jesus is a Divine enterprise, which requires free human cooperation, is not only a theological idea but a founding experience of Ignatius and his first companions in Paris, Venice and Rome. In the 1539 Deliberation, the first companions affirmed, in the first place, that Christ called them, united them and sent them out for his mission. In response, they had to reinforce their union and form a religious order for the service of Christ in his universal mission. According to Herbert Alphonso and André De Jaer, Part X gives an open-ended summary of the Constitutions to mirror these founding experiences of the first companions, as does the entire Constitutions.\(^\text{153}\)

**2.2 Basic dynamic**

The basic dynamic of the Constitutions reflects the fundamental conviction of the first companions. The Constitutions, taking the Examen as a special manual of Parts I to V, has a beginning (the Preamble), middle (the Body) and end (the Part X). The body of the text is divided into nine parts. Parts I and II discuss the admission and dismissal of candidates; Parts III and IV the spiritual and academic formation of the members in formation; and Part V the incorporation of scholastics into the body of the Society. Parts VI and VII deal with the religious and apostolic life of formed Jesuits; Part VIII and Part IX balance the religious and apostolic life of each member with deeper fraternal union in the Lord and the ordinary leadership of the superior general. Parts I-V discuss the “growth or increase” of the Society. Parts VI-IX deal with the “preservation” of the Society. The whole movement from Part I to Part IX reflects the

progressive dynamic of personal incorporation into the body of the Society. This dynamic takes
the order of execution rather than the order of intention.\textsuperscript{154}

Such an arrangement is based not on human speculation but on the founding experiences
of the first companions from Paris to Rome. The Constitutions communicate the founding
experiences of the first companions through this dynamic of the basic structure. Consequently,
the Constitutions become an instrument or criterion of spiritual discernment for the Society of
Jesus as a living body.\textsuperscript{155}

To take a step further, such a dynamic recalls the \textit{Spiritual Exercises} which are the spirit
of the Constitutions.\textsuperscript{156} Just as the individual retreatant is led by the Spirit of Christ through the
four weeks of the Exercises, from the Principle and Foundation to the Contemplation to Attain
the Divine Love, so the member of the Society is led by the same Spirit to progress through the
whole process of personal incorporation into the body of the Society, from the Preamble to Part
X of the Constitutions. According to Howard Gray, the Contemplation to Attain the Divine Love
summarizes the entire four week movements of the Exercises and offers a method of discernment
for “finding God in all things” for the individual retreatant. In a similar way the Constitutions,
whose dynamic parallels the movements of the Exercises, offer the corporate Society and its
members a way of living discernment.\textsuperscript{157} As a result, the Constitutions, which embody the

\textsuperscript{154} Coupeau, \textit{From Inspiration to Invention}, 165, 169; Const. #135, 137; Howard, J. Gray, SJ, “What Kind

\textsuperscript{155} Cf. Alphonso, “Jesuit Constitutions: aim and recapitulation (Part X),” 395-97; Jaer, \textit{Together for
Mission}, 75, 184, 191.

\textsuperscript{156} Herbert Alphonso, SJ, “The Jesuit/Ignatian Charism a Personal Synthesis and Tribute to Fr. P. Arrupe,”
373.

founding experiences of the first companions and the four week movements of the Exercises, become an effective means for the body of the Society of Jesus and its individual members to attain that end: constant collaboration with Divine Providence through spiritual discernment, the fundamental conviction of Ignatius and his first companions.

In summary, both the fundamental conviction and the basic dynamic of the Constitutions reflect the underlying principle of the Constitutions: the Society of Jesus is a Divine enterprise rooted in Christ, which requires close human collaboration. This section provides the foundation for discussing the depth of Jesuit leadership in a later section.

3. Union as inspiration and union as execution

For Ignatius and his first companions, it was very clear that their spiritual union in Jesus Christ was above all divine inspiration and grace. Without divine inspiration and grace, their union could not stand and last; it would collapse. Nevertheless, to respond to divine initiation and grace, the Society of Jesus had to execute and strengthen its union for greater divine service in Christ’s mission. In the Constitutions and the Complementary Norms, union as execution is expressed in the union of hearts that is both highlighted in the general congregation and experienced in ordinary governance. To comprehend the breadth of Jesuit leadership based on the Constitutions and the Complementary Norms, I propose to study the union of hearts, persons and governance of the Society in this section.

3.1 Union of hearts

The Constitutions dedicate the first chapter, “Aids towards union of heart,” of Part VIII to the union of hearts. From the very beginning, the union of the Society was very difficult. Its members were dispersed throughout the world on mission; they were usually learned men,
specialized in their fields and had the favor of influential people.\footnote{const. #655; CN #312.} Meanwhile, the Society did not have the means of the traditional religious orders to maintain union: the vow of stability, daily choir, religious garb, etc.\footnote{Aldama, An Introductory Commentary on the Constitutions, 265; the 1550 Formula in Aldama, The Formula of the Institute, 19.} As noted in the Constitutions, “The more difficult it is for the members . . . to be united with their head and among themselves, since they are so spread out . . . the more should means be sought for that union” so as to achieve the ends of the Society.\footnote{const. #655.} Thus, the Constitutions and their Complementary Norms place an emphasis on certain key elements to foster and strengthen the union of hearts in the Society: first, the love of God, and second, the exercise of authority and obedience. Both are embodied in the community life.

### 3.1.1 The love of God

The love of God in and through Jesus Christ is the chief bond of the union of hearts among the members themselves and with their head (superiors) in the Society, because such a love helps overcome self-love, the chief enemy of the union of hearts. The more closely the members and the superior unite themselves to the Lord Jesus Christ, the easier the union of hearts will be among the members and with the superior.\footnote{const. #671, 655, 821.} As a consequence, to attain the spiritual union of hearts, every Jesuit should dedicate himself to a solid spiritual life in Jesus Christ—especially to the Contemplation to Attain the Divine Love, placing greater importance to spiritual means than to learning and other human means.\footnote{const. #813.} There are two general ways to foster this love of God in Christ: mutual communication and uniformity.\footnote{Aldama, An Introductory Commentary on the Constitutions, 274.
First, the Constitutions stress mutual communication between the superior and the members and among the members, through exchange of letters, news and information, because “Love consists in a mutual communication.”

The superiors are especially required to take care of this mutual communication, not merely for the sake of governance but for the union of hearts in the love of the Lord Jesus Christ. Ignatius’s hundreds of letters are a good example. In a similar way, the superior general resides in Rome to facilitate communication with all regions; the provincials live in their own places to link with their subjects and the general. The Constitutions suggest that the general and provincials visit their subjects. One of the chief duties of the provincials is visiting their subjects.

Second, the Constitutions emphasize both interior uniformity in doctrine, judgment and will, and exterior uniformity in clothing, housing, food, liturgies, etc. Both of them are important. While interior uniformity fosters the union of minds inseparable from the union of hearts, exterior uniformity expresses and influences interior uniformity. Both forms of uniformity bear witness to the union of hearts in the love of Christ. However, both interior and exterior uniformity require discernment and adaptation; no absolute uniformity is required.

While each Jesuit enjoys equal dignity before God and in the Society, diversity remains for the sake of Christ’s mission.

3.1.2 The exercise of authority and obedience

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165 Const. #673-676, 668-670, 821; CN #391.3; see Jaer, *Together for Mission: A Spiritual Reading of the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, 159.

The exercise of authority and obedience are two special ways to strengthen the love of God in Jesus Christ for the union of hearts. They are two sides of the same coin; one affects the other. Every Jesuit exercises both authority and obedience in some manner in his life. Hence, the exercise of both authority and obedience is important for the union of hearts in the Society.

In the exercise of authority, the superior is to follow the original inspiration of the 1539 Deliberation, making an apostolic community of love for Christ’s mission. To attain this goal, the superior is expected to exercise his authority, first of all, through union with the Lord Jesus Christ and spiritual means: through prayers and sacrifices, through the example of a virtuous life, through charity and concern for his subjects, and through fostering obedience of those subjects. Second, he should maintain subordination of authority and apply the principle of subsidiarity in love and trust to foster union of hearts. The higher the rank of the superior the more universal the matters he should focus on. Third, the superior must exercise spiritual discernment with appropriate information and consultation. Thus, it is necessary to maintain communications between the superior and his subjects and among superiors by various means: the manifestation of conscience, examination of conscience, individual and communal discernment, suggestions and representations, meetings, and visits. According to the Constitutions, the superior general should exemplify the exercise of authority in the Society.

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167 Futrell, *Making an Apostolic Community of Love*, 37-38, 186. See also, CN #324.


170 Const. #668-670, 792, 618; CN #151, 313. See also, Thomas H. O’Gorman, *Jesuit Obedience from Life to Law*, (Manila: Loyola House of Studies, Ateneo de Manila University, 1971), 63; Calvez, “Union: Community for Mission,” 317.

171 See the fn. 1 of the title of the chapter 2, “The kind of person the superior general should be,” in Ganss, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, 309; Const. #810, 811.
In the exercise of obedience, the subjects are to follow the original inspiration of the 1539 Deliberation, obeying Christ and pursuing the will of his Father for Christ’s mission.¹⁷² To obtain this goal, the subjects are expected to exercise their obedience, first of all, out of love for Christ, who is represented in the superior, and in all matters, obligatory and non-obligatory.¹⁷³ Perfect obedience is the obedience in willing and understanding, the “agreement in willing and judging between him who commands and him who obeys.”¹⁷⁴ Second, the subjects should exercise their obedience through subordination. A Jesuit should obey his rector or local superior and the minor officials whom he appoints. A local superior or rector should obey the provincial; the provincial should obey the general; the general should obey the general congregation of the Society and the Pope.¹⁷⁵ Third, obedience is never arbitrary; it is an act of faith and freedom. The subjects must exercise spiritual discernment through the manifestation of conscience and representations, if necessary.¹⁷⁶

In brief, both the exercise of authority and the exercise of obedience are more than individual acts. They are a way of life for the corporate Society to foster the love of God in Jesus Christ for the union of hearts among the members and with their superiors in the body of the Society for Christ’s mission, as the first companions decided in their 1539 Deliberation.¹⁷⁷


¹⁷³ Const. #547, 550-552, 618; Aldama, An Introductory Commentary on the Constitutions, 219-24; See also the fn. 15 on [84] in Ganss, The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus, 102.

¹⁷⁴ Const. #550.

¹⁷⁵ Const. #662, 821; See also the fn. 15 on [84] in Ganss, The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus, 102.

¹⁷⁶ See the fn. 7, 9 on Const. #547, in ibid., 248; Const. # 549, 551, 543, 610, 627; CN #150; O’Gorman, Jesuit Obedience from Life to Law, 34; Nos. 1-7 in “Procedure for Dealing with Superiors of May 29, 1555,” in St. Ignatius of Loyola, Ignatius of Loyola: Letters and Instructions, 572-73.

¹⁷⁷ O’Gorman, Jesuit Obedience from Life to Law, 100-102, 108-109; See also CN #149; Const. #666; Futrell, Making an Apostolic Community of Love, 213.
3.1.3 The community life

According to the Complementary Norms to the Constitutions, the love of God and the exercise of authority and obedience are embodied in community life. Although “union” was the word used in the Constitutions, while “community” was not used until the GC 31, the 1539 formula makes clear that the entire Society is a community. The Complementary Norms in Part VIII devotes an entire chapter (chapter 2) to the “community life of the Society.” The Norms are clear that the universal body of the Society is the community; a particular local community to which a Jesuit belongs is the concrete expression of that fraternal union of the Lord in the Society.

The local community is founded in the love of God and centered on the Eucharist. While a common standard of living as regards food, clothing and furniture fosters the love of God for the union of hearts in the community, mutual communication also strengthens that spiritual bond in Christ. Such fraternal communication may take a variety of forms: a certain daily order, exchange of information, consultation, delegation, collaboration, and a feel for the whole Society. However, to reinforce the love of God, the exercise of authority and the exercise of obedience in the community are the more important. The superior is to build an apostolic community of discerning love through his authority; the members are to participate in all aspects of community life in love and obedience: the Eucharist, common prayer, the Exercises.

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179 Aldama, The Formula of the Institute, Notes for a Commentary, 2, 50.

180 CN #314.2, 311.

181 CN #311, 314.1, 315.

182 CN #321, 326.1, 319, 326.4.
apostolic discernment, domestic tasks and relaxation, etc. As such, a local community is united in itself and with the other local communities in the love of God as witness to the fraternal union of hearts in the Society.

In summary, union as execution is expressed in the union of hearts, which is rooted in the deep personal love for Jesus Christ and lived out in community life, not only through uniformity and mutual communication but also by means of the exercise of authority and obedience.

3.2 Union of persons

The union of hearts in the Society is highlighted in the general congregation. As the 1539 Deliberation was a climactic experience of their union of hearts for the first companions, so the general congregation is the highlight of the union of hearts in the Society. For this reason, immediately after the first chapter, which discusses the union of hearts, the Constitutions dedicate the remaining chapters of Part VIII to the union of persons in the general congregation as the highlight of the union of hearts. This is a striking sentiment because the general congregation is not convoked on a regular basis. Rather, it gathers mainly for the election of a new general or for matters of great importance to the Society. Part VIII of the Complementary Norms directs its third chapter to the same theme, although there are other levels of experience of this union of hearts, such as congregations of procurators and provinces, congregations to elect a temporary vicar general, and local community meetings. According to the Constitutions and the Complementary Norms, the general congregation as the highlight of the union of hearts in the Society is illustrated in two aspects.

183 CN #318, 324, 320, 325, 326.2, 326.3.

184 Const. #677-681.

185 Jaer, Together for Mission, 160-61; CN #331, 332.
First, the general congregation is convoked either by the superior general, who administers the Society on its behalf, or by other Jesuits entrusted by the Society on special occasions, such as election or removal of the general.\textsuperscript{186} The participants of the general congregation represent both their respective provinces or regions and the whole Society. Besides the provincials, the delegates from each province or region are elected in the provincial or regional congregations. All participants have the opportunity to propose matters for discussion in the general congregation. In fact, any Jesuit can contribute to the subject matter of a general congregation through the *postulata*.\textsuperscript{187} Hence, the general congregation is the most significant event of the Society in its expression of the union of hearts, because it represents the entire Society and has the supreme authority in legislation and governance in the Society.\textsuperscript{188}

Second, the general congregation takes place in a spiritual climate of prayers and Masses, not only in the place where the congregation is held but also throughout all the other regions of the whole Society. This becomes especially visible in the election of the general. The election requires four days of preparation by means of exhortation, prayer, information gathering and personal reflection. Any indication of personal ambition is strictly forbidden. No decision should be made before the participants enter the election place. On the day of the election, after celebrating the Mass of the Holy Spirit, hearing an exhortation, and singing the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*, the electors are locked in the place of congregation to reach each one’s decision.

\textsuperscript{186} Const. #687-689, 782; see fns 17, 18, on [688] in Padberg, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and Their Complementary Norms*, 335.

\textsuperscript{187} Const. #712; Padberg, *Jesuit Life & Mission Today*, xiii.

before God the Lord and vote to elect the superior general. Nevertheless, “If all by a common inspiration should choose someone without waiting for the methodical voting, let that one be the superior general. For the Holy Spirit, who has moved them to such an election, supplies for all methods and arrangements.”

From these two aspects, we can say that the general congregation involves every individual member of the entire Society. It is through prayer, the Eucharist, the exchange of information, personal reflection, discussion and spiritual discernment at various levels (personal, local, provincial, universal) of the Society and especially in the general congregation, that union of hearts is experienced and highlighted.

3.3 Union of governance

The union of hearts in the Society is experienced in the ordinary governance. In the 1539 Deliberation, the first companions decided to take a vow of obedience to one of their members to form a religious order and to strengthen their union of hearts in Christ for his mission. For them, the union of hearts should be expressed and experienced in the ordinary governance of the Society. For this reason, the Constitutions and their Complementary Norms respectively dedicate the whole of Part IX to the ordinary governance in the Society: the former in six chapters, and the latter in four sections with thirteen chapters. The Constitutions and their Complementary Norms demonstrate the ordinary governance as the daily expression and experience of the union of hearts in the Society in three aspects.

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189 Const. #692-693, 711, 694-709; Jaer, Together for Mission, 162-63.

190 Const. #700.
First, the superior general, who is elected for life, is given all the power to govern the Society as its head in its ordinary business to sustain the union of hearts in the Society. Ideally, the general superior should have six essential qualities: (1) a man united with God; (2) a virtuous man of charity and humility, tranquility and composedness, rectitude balanced with gentleness, and magnanimity and fortitude; (3) a man endowed with great understanding and judgment in both internal and external matters; (4) a man vigilant to undertake enterprises; (5) a man neither too old nor too young with his body (health, appearance and age), especially propriety, prestige and physical energy, taken into account; (6) a man with extrinsic gifts (reputation, esteem, etc.). At a minimum, the superior general should be a virtuous man, especially as regards charity for the Society of Jesus, and a learned man possessed with sound judgment. With the aid of the Society to his memory, understanding and execution, the superior general should exemplify the exercise of authority in the Society primarily through spiritual means, subordination of authority, and well-informed and well-consulted discernment. The ordinary governance of the Society as a universal body should always be his first priority.

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191 Const. #719-722. Since the GC 31, the honorable resignation has become possible in some cases; see fn. 1 on [719] in Ganss, The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus, 308 and in Padberg, The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and Their Complementary Norms, 356; CN #362, 366. In fact, because of health, the former general, Fr. Peter-Hans Kolvenbach convoked the GC 35 and resigned in it; see Padberg, Jesuit Life & Mission Today, 709, 717.

192 According to Aldama, Jesus Christ is the head of the Society in its charism; the general is the head of the Society in its juridical structure; see An Introductory Commentary on the Constitutions, 283.

193 See details in Const. #736-765; CN #334.1, 386.


196 Const. #789-811; CN# 380-385.
Second, the ordinary governance of the Society by the superior general is balanced by “the higher authority and provident care which the whole Society has over him and exercises ordinarily through the four general assistants,” 197 to maintain the union of hearts in the Society. The duty of the provincial superiors to take care of the universal good of the Society with regard to the superior general is also ordinarily done by the four assistants, who are elected by the general congregation. 198 On behalf of the whole Society, they take care of the soul, body, and external things of the general superior; the general superior should obey their care. 199 In the case of grave illness or aging, they have the responsibility to ask the general superior to resign. 200 If the superior general commits actual public mortal sins, they should call a general congregation. In this case, the Society can and should depose the superior general from his office and even, after a very prudent process, dismiss him from the Society, if necessary. 201 Moreover, the general superior may never accept the dignity without approval of the Society, unless compelled under sin by the Pope. 202

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197 See fn. 1 on [736] in Ganss, The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus, 312; Const. #766, 767, 779; CN# 333.1; see also the title of the chapter 4 of the Part IX, “The authority or provident care which the Society should exercise in regard to the superior general;” Jaer, Together for Mission, 175. But it seems that Aldama disagrees this interpretation; see Aldama, An Introductory Commentary on the Constitutions, 278; Aldama, The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus: Part IX the Superior General, 150-52.

198 Const. #778; fn. 14 on [778] in Padberg, The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and Their Complementary Norms, 370; CN #363.

199 Const. #779-781, 768-770; CN #364-366.1, 374-379.

200 Const. #786, 773; CN #366.2-4; fn. 13 on [773] and fn. 20 on [786] in Padberg, The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and Their Complementary Norms, 368, 372. Concerning various forms of a vicar general, see CN #367-373.

201 Const. #782-785, 774-777.

202 Const. #771, 772, 786, 788; Aldama, The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus: Part IX the Superior General, 154-55.
Third, all that has been said about the general (qualities, authority, function and aids) is applicable to the subordinate superiors, provincials, rectors and local superiors, in the Society. Part IX of the Complementary Norms gives details in this matter.\textsuperscript{203} In chapter 3 section 3, interprovincial and supra-provincial cooperation, such as the conferences of major superiors in the same region or similar cultures, is stressed to strengthen the union of hearts in the ordinary governance for Christ’s mission today.\textsuperscript{204}

From these three aspects, it is not an exaggeration to say that the union of hearts in the Society is expressed, exercised and experienced in the ordinary governance. The superior general is the head of the Society and the whole structure of governance descends from him, as the title of the Part IX indicates. But the ordinary governance of the general and of other superiors are always in the context of the union of hearts and the union of persons, and for the union of the entire Society as a religious order for Christ’s mission here and now.\textsuperscript{205} If the union of hearts is highly experienced and expressed in the union of persons in the general congregation, then the union of governance is, at least ideally, the ordinary experience and expression of that union of hearts on a daily basis.

In summary, according to the Constitutions and their Complementary Norms, union as execution is expressed, exercised and experienced in the union of hearts, a spiritual milieu in the entire body of the Society and in the veins of its individual members. Such a union of hearts is expressed, exercised and experienced in the highlight of the general congregation and in the

\textsuperscript{203} Const. #811; CN #338.2, 340-348, 349-358, 387-394, 401-409.

\textsuperscript{204} CN #395-400.

\textsuperscript{205} Const. #820, 821.
ordinary governance of the Society. This section sets the foundation for discussing the breadth of Jesuit leadership in a later section.

4. Preservation and growth of the Society

For Ignatius and his first companions, the preservation and growth of the Society was divine grace in the first place; God the Lord would provide workers for his vineyard, if he wished. Nonetheless, divine grace required close human collaboration. The Society of Jesus had to prepare for its future. In the Constitutions and their Complementary Norms, the preservation and growth of the Society as human execution has two senses: a narrow sense and a broad sense. To understand the length of Jesuit leadership according to the Constitutions and their Complementary Norms, I propose to study the preservation and growth of the Society in these two senses.

4.1 A narrow sense

In the narrow sense, the preservation and growth of the Society refer to recruitment of candidates and formation of non-formed Jesuits. The Examen (eight chapters) and the first half (Part I-V) of the Constitutions and their Complementary Norms are dedicated to this theme. Needless to say, recruitment of candidates and formation of non-formed Jesuits are critical for the future of the Society. There are two major questions regarding Jesuit formation: Does a candidate have a Jesuit vocation? How is a personal vocation integrated into the collective vocation of the Society of Jesus? Three characteristics of Jesuit formation engage our attention.

First, the process of discerning a Jesuit vocation takes place from the very beginning of the recruitment of a candidate. The Examen aims to discern whether a candidate has a Jesuit vocation by means of a genuine spiritual conversation between the candidate and the Society in an environment of trust and openness. Mutual understanding and the discernment of spiritual
desire are the two primary means of evaluation. In the General Examen, which is applied to all candidates, the Society both presents to the candidate its distinctive features (chapter 1) and requirements (chapter 4), and gets to know the candidate from his basic information (chapter 2) to his personal life (chapter 3). The Particular Examen (chapter 5 to 8), which is applied to specific candidates, maintains a similar dynamic of mutual understanding. Meanwhile, in the process of mutual understanding, the spiritual desire of the candidate, which reveals the work of the Holy Spirit, is also continuously explored and discerned. The six experiments in the novitiate are the concrete formative tests of a Jesuit vocation.

Second, discerning a Jesuit vocation in the Society is a very long process from admission to full incorporation into the body of the Society. Here we recall that in the Formula the first companions wished to incorporate a candidate fully into the Society only after a long period of testing. Such a long process before final vows was distinctive in religious life at that time.

More important, according to André de Jaer, this process of discernment designed in Parts I to V of the Constitutions and the Examen parallels the dynamic of the first and second weeks of the Spiritual Exercises, which leads to the Election. In other words, this long discernment process is one of sincerely and insistently seeking God’s divine will and generously responding to it.

Third, Jesuit formation takes a developmental approach to integrate a personal vocation into the collective vocation of the Society because of the founding experiences of Ignatius and

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207 Aldama, An Introductory Commentary on the Constitutions, 192.

208 Jaer, Together for Mission, 75-76.
his first companions. From admission to final vows a candidate first develops his spiritual and
community life in the novitiate, then integrates them with his intellectual and apostolic formation
after the novitiate, and finally is incorporated into the body of the Society for Christ’s mission.
Each of Parts I-V of the Constitutions is well designed for this developmental process, according
to the aim and need of each stage of formation; the principles and criteria are given and
structures and procedures are provided. Thus, each part is itself comprehensive, persuasive,
adaptable and practicable.

4.2 A broad sense

In a broad sense, the preservation and growth of the Society refers to the well-being of
the entire Society. The Constitutions and their Complementary Norms dedicate the last part, Part
X, to this concern. According to Herbert Alphonso,209 Part X of the Constitutions recapitulates
the preceding nine parts as a “Contemplation to Attain Hope.” While it emphasizes that “[i]n
Him [the Lord Jesus Christ] alone we place our hope” as the foundation of the future of the
Society, the rest of Part X provides a list of concrete means, both interior (supernatural) and
exterior (natural), in a hierarchical manner. These means involve all of the preceding parts and
include both the “growth” of the Society (Part I-V) and the “preservation” of the Society (Part
VI-IX). In other words, the future of the Society does not depend merely on the recruitment and
formation of candidates but also on the on-going formation of the formed Jesuits and the life of
the entire body of the Society. The preservation and growth of the Society, in a broad sense, is
the entire life of the Society of Jesus according to its way of proceeding designed and expressed
in the Constitutions and their Complementary Norms.210

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of the Society of Jesus, 331n1; Jaer, Together for Mission, 180-82.

210 Aldama, An Introductory Commentary on the Constitutions, 299.
In summary, according to the Constitutions and their Complementary Norms, the preservation and growth of the Society is not only the recruitment and formation of candidates but also the entire life of the Society of Jesus. This section sets the foundation for the discussion of the length of Jesuit leadership in the next section.

5. The formulation of Jesuit leadership

According to Edgar H. Schein, in the formative stage of an organization, its leadership as a positive force needs to be expounded, expanded and elaborated.\textsuperscript{211} In the case of the Society of Jesus, a religious organization, the Constitutions and their Complementary Norms fully formulate its leadership for the sake of the full-scale mission of the Society. According to the Constitutions and their Complementary Norms, Jesuit leadership is, first and foremost, spiritual leadership of God in Jesus Christ who has been leading the Society for His divine service of other human beings. From the three-dimensional lens of organizational leadership, Jesuit leadership has its depth, breadth and length.

The depth of Jesuit leadership is the Lord Jesus Christ; it is embedded in the underlying worldview of Ignatius and his first companions and in the corporate culture or spirit of the Society. The first companions believed in the Triune God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, who is Love and who out of gratuitous love creates, redeems and sanctifies the world. They believed that the Triune God not only freely gives all things, including Himself to humankind and dwells in all things for humanity, but also labors in all things for human salvation in Christ and leads all things to union with Him through Christ. In the whole history of salvation, they believed that in Divine Providence they were called and united by Christ to form a religious order bearing his name for his mission. Thus, Christ was their leader and continues to

\textsuperscript{211} Schein, \textit{Organizational Culture and Leadership}, 3, 195, 296.
be their leader until the end of time. The ultimate purpose of their life, and the life of the entire Society with each member, is to fix their eyes on Christ and to constantly seek free human cooperation with God’s divine will.\textsuperscript{212} This underlying worldview is not merely their beliefs or theology but also their founding experiences, personal and collective, from Paris to Rome. As discussed in an earlier section, the Constitutions in their content, structure, language and dynamic embody this underlying worldview. The corporate culture of the Society,\textsuperscript{213} the \textit{Spiritual Exercises}, embodied in the Constitutions also expresses this worldview. We can say that the depth of Jesuit leadership is the Triune God in Jesus Christ. A good illustration of this depth is the formation of the Constitutions. The formation of the Constitutions was a long process. It took seventeen years (1541-1558) before the official approval of the GC 1. But the Constitutions have never been a final product, sealed and completed. Ignatius never finished writing and correcting them. When he died, he had not completed Part IV regarding education, a rapidly developing ministry of the Society. Nor did the Society of Jesus stop modifying and adapting the Constitutions to the needs of the times throughout its history. The Complementary Norms to the Constitutions were published immediately after the GC 34.\textsuperscript{214} One can ask why the Constitutions have never been finalized. It is because the Society of Jesus is ultimately led by God in Jesus Christ. The primary concern of the Society has always been the primacy of God’s action in history, here and now, which requires that the Society constantly resort to prayer and the Eucharist to discern and respond readily with generosity.\textsuperscript{215} Ignatius’s method in writing the


\textsuperscript{213} Cf. Darmanin, “Ignatian Spirituality and Leadership in Organizations Today,” 16; CN #8.

\textsuperscript{214} \textit{Jaer, Together for Mission}, 191-93, 62-63.

Constitutions, which he recorded in the Spiritual Diary, exemplifies this primary exercise of Jesuit leadership. For the same reason, the Constitutions make clear that the first and best means to attain “hope in the Lord alone” is through prayer and Masses.²¹⁶

The breadth of Jesuit leadership stands out in the Constitutions and their Complementary Norms as the union of hearts in Christ. The image of the entire Society is an organic body,²¹⁷ a living body with its head and members deeply united in the love of God and in the Lord Jesus Christ. The whole movement of the Constitutions and their Complementary Norms from Part I to IX is the progressive dynamic of personal incorporation into the body of the Society. As Part X indicates, this dynamic of incorporation continues and never ends. Parts VIII and IX supply details how to unite the entire Society and its individual members into one body for Christ’s mission. Such a union is executed, first of all, in the union of hearts and as companions of Christ living in the community. The usual means to attain this union of hearts are uniformity, mutual communication and the exercise of authority and obedience. Second, the union of hearts is exercised in the ordinary governance of the Society. The primary duty of the superior general and all subordinate superiors is to maintain the entire Society as one universal body for Christ’s mission. Third, the exercise of the union of hearts is highlighted in the general congregation, which represents the universal Society. As the Complementary Norms indicate, the Society of Jesus has recently emphasized the community life and interprovincial and supra-provincial collaboration as new means of strengthening the union of hearts. In summary, we can say that the breadth of Jesuit leadership is the union of hearts as companions in Christ, exercised and

²¹⁶ Const. #812.

experienced in the community life, in the ordinary governance and in the general congregation of the Society. Such union is an essential characteristic of Jesuit leadership.

The length of Jesuit leadership is the preservation and growth of the Society of Jesus. Unlike most organizations, in which the formation of leadership is understudied and accidental, \textsuperscript{218} the Society has never underestimated the importance of formation of its members. It arranges in great detail the entire process, the criteria, the structure, the procedure and the governance of recruiting and training its future members in the Constitutions and updates them in the Complementary Norms. It embraces a holistic and developmental approach to formation: in a gradual and realistic way, it forms a Jesuit spiritually, intellectually and pastorally as a person and a member of the entire Society oriented towards its mission. Rather than mere knowledge and skills, a Jesuit is formed from within and in the Jesuit way of life, so that he may always be ready for Christ’s mission according to the needs of the times.\textsuperscript{219} Unlike some business who will take an untried and untested brand-new MBA graduate and put him in a position or significant responsibility for which he may not have talent, the Society, in general, only gradually gives a man increasing amounts of responsibility and executive power. Thus a man newly in final vows is not going to become the rector of a university community (whose rectors are appointed by Fr. General rather than the provincial). The Society of Jesus seems to allow its men to grow gradually into roles of increasing responsibility. Furthermore, the preservation and growth of the Society depend on the entire life of the Society and its on-going formation according to the


\textsuperscript{219} Ibarra, Snook, and Ramo, “Identity-Based Leader Development,” 657-59, 674; Robert Kegan and Lisa Lahey, “Adult Development and Organizational Leadership,” in ibid., 786-87; Lowney, \textit{Heroic Leadership}, 15.
Constitutions and their Complementary Norms. In sum, we can say that the length of Jesuit leadership is the preservation and growth of the Society of Jesus for the universal mission of Christ.

In conclusion, we may say that Jesuit leadership is formulated in the Constitutions and their Complementary Norms, as companionship in the Lord Jesus Christ for his universal mission, which has its depth in “Christ,” its breadth in “companionship,” and its length in “universal mission of Christ.” Compared to the Formula, the Constitutions and their Complementary Norms institutionalize this leadership formulation and integrate it into the entire life of the Society as a religious organization.

In the next chapter, to take a step further, we will explore the contemporary reformulation of Jesuit leadership in the GCs 31-35.
Chapter 4: The Contemporary Reformulation of Jesuit Leadership in the GCs 31-35

According to the Constitutions, the Society of Jesus is established, sustained, directed and advanced by the Lord Jesus Christ. Led by the Spirit of the Lord, the Society of Jesus has continued to reflect and reformulate its identity, life and mission in the context of its Constitutions, its history, the Church and the world. Throughout history, the general congregation, as the supreme legislative and ultimate governing body of the Society, has been “the highest instance of giving expression to the self-understanding of the universal body of the Society at a given moment.” The decrees of the last five general congregations (GCs 31-35) summarize the Jesuit life and work in the past four decades and provide a contemporary self-understanding of the Society of Jesus. Although the Complementary Norms to the Constitutions are mostly drawn up from the decrees of GCs 31-34 and considered a present-expression of the Jesuit life and work, the Complementary Norms are not a full-scale expression of the contemporary self-understanding of the Society. For example, the Norms do not include the decrees from GC 35. Quotations from the GCs 31-34 are taken out of their original context in the decrees to fit the framework of the Constitutions. We cannot see the whole picture of the contemporary self-understanding of the Society nor the development of this self-understanding in the Norms. Hence, to explore the contemporary reformulation of Jesuit leadership, I propose to study the decrees of GCs 31-35.

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221 Ibid.; GC 35, d.5, nn.4a1, a3.

222 GC 35, d.5, n.4a2.


224 CN (Introductory Decree) #1-2; CN #5.1.
This chapter has three sections. The first provides the background of the General Congregations 31-35. The second studies the decrees of the GCs 31-35. The third reflects on the contemporary reformulation of Jesuit leadership according to the GCs 31-35.

1. The background of the GCs 31-35

To grasp the contemporary understanding of Jesuit leadership based on the GCs 31-35 is to engage in a dialogue with the decrees of these five general congregations and to read them through the lens of organizational leadership. If it is genuine, such a dialogue needs to take seriously both the background of these general congregations and the content of their decrees. Thus, in this section I will begin with the background of the GCs 31-35 to understand better their origin, purpose, context and significance.

The general congregation originates from the founding experience of the first companions in the 1539 Deliberation. It has its design in the *Formula of the Institute* and details in the Constitutions and their Complementary Norms. As the highest authority, the ultimate governing and supreme legislative body in the Society of Jesus, the general congregation is convoked essentially for two purposes: for the election of a new superior general and for matters of greater importance in the life of the Society. For reason of apostolic effectiveness, the general congregation is held not on a regular basis but on the basis of necessity for adapting the life and mission of the Society to the needs of the times.\(^\text{225}\)

Up to the present, there have been thirty five general congregations. While the first thirty congregations took place in four hundred years (1558-1957), the recent five congregations came about in the last forty years (1965-2008). Compared to the first thirty congregations, the last five ones were distinctive in their decrees and effects. The majority of the decrees in the former group

of congregations were brief and dry texts with a juridical tone, imposing obligation or prohibition. The decrees of the latter group were rather lengthy and complicated texts with citations from the Scriptures and the *Spiritual Exercises*, evoking free and whole-hearted response from each member of the Society. The first thirty congregations seldom published their decrees with accompanying documents; the last five congregations included in their publication both their decrees and complementary documents, such as addresses of the Pope to participants of a congregation, addresses and homilies of the superior general, as well as the historical introduction to the decrees. While the decrees of the congregations up through the Thirtieth were published in Latin for the use of Jesuits only, the decrees from the Thirty-First congregation on were made available in translation for all those interested in this subject matter. Because the recent five congregations took place in the era of Vatican II, they wrote a new chapter for Jesuit life and mission today, different from the first thirty congregations.226

The GC 31 had two sessions. The first took place in the spring and summer of 1965, before the fourth session of Vatican II. The second occurred a year later in the fall of 1966. Fr. Pedro Arrupe, a Basque native, was elected the superior general. The congregation took seriously the recommendation of the Vatican II that religious congregations return to the sources of Christian life, to the spirit of the founder and to the original inspiration of the institute so as to renew their religious life and apostolic work to the needs of the times. A wide range of topics was discussed and fifty-six decrees were published. These decrees ranged from the mission of the Society today to the distinction of grades, from formation of Jesuits to religious life, from the

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challenge of atheism to various apostolic works, and from details of congregations to the office of the superior general.\footnote{Padberg, \textit{Jesuit Life \& Mission Today}, xiv-xv; v-vi; GC 31, d.1, n.1; d.2. Details are given in the historical preface to the GC 31, in ibid., 7-42.}

The GC 32 took place from Dec. 1, 1974 to March 7, 1975. It confirmed the direction taken by the previous congregation and sought a more radical renewal of the Jesuit charism. In response to the challenges of the times, the congregation declared that the Jesuit mission today is the service of faith that absolutely demanded the promotion of justice. This declaration had a far-reaching significance in the Society in the following years. The congregation generated sixteen decrees grouped in five categories: introductory decree, Jesuit response to the challenges of the times, development of the apostolic body of the Society, its witness of the Gospel to the world, and structures of governance and congregations. During the meeting, tension rose between the congregation and the Holy See regarding the matter of extending the fourth vow to all members of the Society. Because of the disapproval of Pope Paul VI, the congregation eventually dropped such an extension.\footnote{Ibid., xv; vi-vii; GC 32, d.1; d.4, n.2. See details in the historical preface to the GC 32, in ibid., 253-84. See also, Pope Paul VI, “Autograph Letter of His Holiness Paul VI to Father General,” in ibid., 392-93.}

The GC 33 was held in the fall of 1983. In 1980, Fr. Pedro Arrupe informed Pope John Paul II of his desire to resign because of advancing age. The Pope asked him to postpone the resignation. After Fr. Arrupe suffered a severe stroke on Aug. 7, 1981, the Pope named his personal delegate, Fr. Paolo Dezza, to govern the entire Society and to prepare for a congregation. The main purpose of the GC 33 was to deal with the resignation of Fr. Arrupe and to elect a new superior general. During the meeting, the congregation accepted Fr. Arrupe’s resignation and elected Fr. Peter-Hans Kolvenbach the new superior general. The congregation reaffirmed the
direction of the previous two congregations and emphasized the implementation of this direction. It did not see the need for producing many decrees. There were only six decrees published. The decree 1 was the major decree, composed of two parts: Jesuit life and the apostolate. The remaining short decrees briefly dealt with poverty, congregations and powers granted to the superior general.229

The GC 34 occurred in 1995. Its major work was to complete the revision of the Constitutions envisaged by the GC 33, to provide a set of Complementary Norms to the Constitutions, and to deepen and broaden the reflection of Jesuit mission for today. In continuity with the previous three congregations, the GC 34 expanded and deepened Jesuit mission from “the service of faith that does justice” to “the service of faith that does justice, dialogues with other religions and evangelizes cultures.” The congregation published twenty-six decrees grouped in five major categories, along with the introduction and the conclusion: “Our Mission,” “Aspects of Jesuit Life,” “In the Church,” “Dimensions and Particular Sectors of Our Mission,” and “Structures of Government.” The decrees began with “United with Christ on Mission” and ended with “Characteristic of Our Way of Proceeding.”230

The thirty-fifth general congregation was the most recent congregation. Requested by Fr. Kolvenbach for his resignation, the congregation was held in 2008. Fr. Adolfo Nicolás was elected the new superior general. The congregation generated six decrees. The first decree was the response to the deep affection and trust expressed by Pope Benedict XVI during the congregation. The remaining five decrees treated, respectively, identity, mission, obedience,
governance and collaboration. In short, the GCs 31-35 summarize the contemporary self-understanding of the Society in the past four decades and show the developmental process of this self-understanding.

Having examined the background of the GCs 31-35, we can now proceed to the content of their decrees in order to grasp the contemporary reformulation of Jesuit leadership.

2. Decrees of the GCs 31-35

The GCs 31-35 produced a total of one hundred ten decrees. For the sake of this study, I will concentrate on the content related to the three-dimensional lens of organizational leadership. Hence, in this section, I will study: (1) identity and mission, (2) community, congregations, governance and collaboration, (3) formation, so as to reflect on the contemporary reformulation of Jesuit leadership in its depth, breadth and length according to the decrees of the GCs 31-35.

2.1 Identity and mission

Jesuit identity and mission abide in and mirror the depth of the Society of Jesus. To comprehend the depth of Jesuit leadership according to the GCs 31-35, I propose to consider Jesuit identity and mission for today as formulated in the decrees of the GCs 31-35.

The GC 31 traced the origin of the Society back to the spiritual experience of Ignatius and his first companions in the *Spiritual Exercises*, in which they were called by the Lord Jesus Christ to preach the Gospel to the entire world. In this spirit, the first companions dedicated themselves by a special vow of obedience to the Roman Pontiff, the true Vicar of Christ on earth, for Christ’s mission. By the power of the Spirit of the Lord and through the *Spiritual Exercises*, the Society of Jesus throughout history continually renewed itself in the Church. Under the guidance of the Second Vatican Council, the congregation determined to renovate further the

The GC 32 deepened the reflection of Jesuit identity and mission for today. The congregation declared that although a Jesuit be a sinner, yet he is called by Jesus to be his companion for his mission. A Jesuit was essentially a man on mission. Sent by the Roman Pontiff and by his superior, he was ultimately sent by Jesus Christ himself. As such, the Jesuits were called by Christ as his companions to fulfill his mission in companionship. The mission of the Society for today was the service of faith and the promotion of justice, an inseparable and integrating principle of all Jesuit ministries and the Jesuit inner life. The goal of Jesuit mission, put in contemporary terms, was “the total and integral liberation of man, leading to participation in the life of God himself.” To fulfill the mission, Jesuits should unite themselves more closely with God.

The congregation generated two essential decrees for Jesuit identity and mission: “Jesuits Today” (decree 2), and “Our Mission Today: The Service of Faith and the Promotion of Justice” (decree 4).

The GC 33 affirmed the contemporary formulation of Jesuit identity and mission expressed by the previous two congregations. In its major decree, “Companions of Jesus Sent

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233 GC 31, d.1; d.2; d.3, nn.1, 11; d.4; d.24, nn.1-3.
234 GC 32, d.2, n.11.
235 GC 32, d.2, nn.1-3, 8-9, 11, 14-15, 24, 27, 31; d.4, nn.2-3, 12.
236 GC 33, d.1, nn.32-33, 41, 47.
into Today’s World” (decree 1), the congregation described Jesuits as “men totally committed to the glory of God and the service of others.” As a result, it emphasized that the Jesuit life was rooted in God who called, united, and sent forth Jesuits for mission. It was necessary for Jesuits to pray and discern so as to be united with God in all things. The congregation especially invited Jesuits to contemplate today’s world through the loving gaze of the Trinity. For the first time in a document of a general congregation, the Society of Jesus explicitly made the Church’s mission, the “preferential option for the poor,” its own mission. The congregation stressed that this option was the solidarity or communion with and for the poor and against all forms of human poverty, material and spiritual. Because this option was associated with the credibility and validity of Jesuit mission, it needed to be expressed concretely in Jesuit life and apostolate.

The GC 34 further deepened and broadened the reflection of Jesuit identity and mission for today. Although the congregation reaffirmed the direction taken by the GCs 31-33, it went back to the Constitutions as the privileged expression of Jesuit identity and placed an emphasis on the primacy of God’s action and the necessity of cooperation of the Society. Since the ministerial priesthood was central to Jesuit identity, the mission of the Society was formulated as the reconciliation of the world to God through the preaching of the Gospel. Based on the sources of the first companions and the pope, the congregation gave explicit arguments for the “preferential option for the poor.” Further, it broadened the contemporary mission of Jesus into a

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237 GC 33, d.1, n.10.
238 GC 33, d.1, nn.11-12, 34.
239 GC 33, d.1, nn.48-49.
240 GC 34, d.1, nn.13-14.
241 GC 34, d.6, nn.8, 14, 21-22.

The most recent general congregation, the GC 35 dedicated two decrees respectively on Jesuit identity and mission: “A Fire That Kindles Other Fires” (decree 2), and “Challenges to Our Mission Today” (decree 3). For Jesuit identity, the decree 2 in a poetic way made clear that the Society of Jesus was the divine enterprise of God’s love to participate in the mission of Christ who wished to bring all people and all of creation back to the Father. At the very heart of the Society of Jesus was Jesus Christ, who called and united Jesuits as his companions and companions to one another for his mission. “Jesuits know who they are by looking at him.”\textsuperscript{243} The mission of the Society was the mission with Christ at the very heart of the world and at the depths of reality, with his eyes, his heart and his compassion contemplating the presence and activity of God in all persons, places and situations in action. With deep love of God and passion

\textsuperscript{242} GC 34, d.2, nn.4, 7-11, 19-21.

\textsuperscript{243} GC 35, d.2, n.2.
for his world, Jesuits were to become a fire that kindles other fires for the universal mission of the Church.\footnote{GC 35, d.2, nn.1-6, 8-10, 15-16, 25-26; Adolfo Nicolás, SJ, Superior General, “Criteria for the Selection of Candidates,” (2011/04), A Letter to All Major Superiors, Rome, Feb. 6, 2011, Curia Generalizia Della Compagnia Di Gesù.} For Jesuit mission, Pope Benedict XVI encouraged the Society of Jesus to deepen its commitment to the service of faith that promotes justice and dialogues with culture and religion. He sent the Jesuits to the social, cultural and religious frontiers, to “those physical and spiritual places which others do not reach or have difficulty in reaching,” to build bridges of understanding and dialogue.\footnote{GC 35, d.1, nn.6, 13, 15; d.2, nn.12, 24; Pope Benedict XVI, “Address of Pope Benedict XVI to the 35th General Congregation of the Society of Jesus, February 21, 2008,” in Padberg, Jesuit Life & Mission Today, 822-25.} To deepen the understanding of this mission, the congregation reflected on Jesuit mission today from the perspective of reconciliation: reconciliation with God, with one another, and with creation. For the first time, the ecological dimension was explicitly integrated into Jesuit mission.\footnote{The GC 34 issued a short decree on ecology (decree 20) in which the congregation recommended to the superior general to study some related issues but did not develop this topic.} The congregation stressed that Jesuit mission today was not just the Jesuit apostolate; it included all important aspects of Jesuit lives: their relationship to God, to one another, to the poor and the marginalized and to creation. More concretely, the general congregation placed an emphasis on apostolic discernment, update, planning, implementation, and accountability for mission. It briefly reviewed the present five global priorities of the Society: Africa, China, intellectual apostolate, inter-provincial institutions in Rome and migration and refugees.\footnote{GC 35, d.3, nn.12, 15-16, 19-36, 37, 39-41.}

In summary, the reflection and formulation of Jesuit identity and mission have continually been deepened and broadened in the GCs 31-35. Using the images and language of the most recent congregation, the Society of Jesus is identified as “a fire that kindles other fires.”
Jesuit mission is the mission with Christ at the very heart of the world and at the social, cultural and religious frontiers for reconciliation with God, with one another and with creation. This subsection establishes the foundation for discussing the depth of Jesuit leadership in the next section.

2.2 Community, congregations, governance and collaboration

In chapter 3, we saw the importance of community, general congregation, and governance in understanding the breadth of Jesuit leadership according to the Constitutions and their Complementary Norms. Similarly, to apprehend the breadth of Jesuit leadership based on the GCs 31-35, I propose to study community, congregations, governance, and collaboration in the decrees of the GCs 31-35.

2.2.1 Community

The GCs 31-35 emphasized repeatedly that the Society of Jesus was one religious, priestly, and apostolic body of many members, each of whom, according to his specific grace, shared one vocation in the love of Christ and contributed to one mission in the service of the Church. Grades should not be a source of division but rather be a source of union in diversity. This union of minds and hearts of the Society was incarnated in the community life. According to the GCs 31-32, the entire body of the Society was a community of men called by Christ to live with him, to be conformed to him and to be sent out for his mission. This community was not merely a community of co-workers in apostolate but a community of true brothers and friends in the Lord, who shared their faith, goods and life in what each had and what each was, and in the love of Christ centered on the Eucharist. As such, this community was to witness to the presence of God among humanity and to God who is a community of Love. The local community

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248 GC 31, d.7, nn.1-2; GC 32, d.2, n.21; d.8, n.1; GC 33, d.1, nn.5, 15-17; GC 34, d.6, n.6; d.7, nn.2-5, 9, 11; GC 35, d.2, n.18.
expressed and embodied this worldwide fraternal union. To foster the union of minds and hearts, the local community should be centered on the Eucharist. There should be a standard of living regarding food, clothing and furniture common to all. Mutual communication among the members should be taken in numerous forms: exchange of information, frequent consultation, delegation and collaboration, a certain order of life and a feel for the whole Society. Both the exercise of authority and obedience were to strengthen fraternal union for the mission of the entire Society. Communal apostolic discernment was very much stressed.\textsuperscript{249} The GC 33 further placed an emphasis on communal apostolic discernment as central to the Jesuit way of proceeding;\textsuperscript{250} the GC 34 continued the direction of the GCs 31-33 and encouraged every member to share in all aspects of community life, such as faith, prayer, recreation, domestic tasks, apostolic discernment, the Eucharist, and the \textit{Spiritual Exercises}.\textsuperscript{251} The most recent congregation, GC 35, took a step further. It stressed that Jesuit identity, mission, and community were a kind of triptych. Because Jesuit life in community was the primary witness of the Society to its mission today for reconciliation with God, with one another and with creation, Jesuit community was not just a means to mission but itself mission. In this context, exercise of obedience and authority in community were reaffirmed as central to the union and mission of the Society of Jesus today. The community was again considered as a privileged place for apostolic discernment.\textsuperscript{252} The GCs 31 to 35 issued five decrees more related to community: “Community Life and Religious Discipline” (GC31, decree 19), “The Life of Obedience” (GC31, decree 17),

\textsuperscript{249} GC 31, d.19, nn.2-8; d.17; GC 32, d.2, nn.15-19; d.4, nn. 63, 65-68; d.11, nn.5, 12-24, 29-32, 46, 50-51.

\textsuperscript{250} GC 33, d.1, nn. 39-40.

\textsuperscript{251} GC 34, d.7, nn.9, 11.

\textsuperscript{252} GC 35, d.2, nn.16-17, 19; d.3, n.41; d.4, nn.1, 23; d.5, nn.33-34, 38-39. Cf. GC 34, d.1, n.11.

2.2.2 Congregations

The GC 31 took to heart the recommendation of the Holy See on the full consultation of all members as a means of directing the general congregation so as to discern better the will of God. It established a direction of more and more extended consultation for the work of future general congregations. Since then, wider consultation and better participation of the entire Society in the preparation and work of the general congregation have been continually practiced. At the beginning, province congregations and congregations of procurators and provincials were used as means of helping and directing the general congregation. Though the GC 34 changed the congregation of provincials to the meeting of major superiors, the consultation and participation of the entire Society were rather extended to the meetings of Presidents of Conferences, of electors of each Conference, and of various apostolic sectors. For the participants of province and general congregations, the number of ex officio members was restricted, the majority was elected, and the entire Society was more proportionately represented. A certain number of formed brothers and scholastics without final vows or ordination were to take part in the province congregation. At maximum, fifty percent of the participants of the province congregation could be formed coadjutors and twenty percent of the participants could be members without final vows. The door of electors in the general congregation was opened to all formed coadjutors. All formed coadjutors could become electors in the congregation.

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253 GC 31, d.2, n.4.
254 GC 31, d.38; d.39, GC 32, d.13, nn.1, 5; GC 34, d.23, C. nn.2-5; GC35, d.5, nn.5-6.
255 GC 31, d.40, nn.1, 4; GC 32, d.13, n.7; d.14, nn.7, 11; GC 33, d.3, n.1; GC 34, d.23, A. nn.1-2, B. n.2, D. nn. 4-6; GC 35, d.5, I.
Furthermore, from the GCs 31 to 34, the Formula of a General Congregation, the Formula of the Congregation of Procurators, and the Formula of the Province Congregation were continually modified. Under the three general principles of governance of the Society—greater universality, more flexibility and better articulation of Ignatian ways of proceeding—the GC 35 authorized the superior general to make a comprehensive revision of these three formulas before the GC 36. Each of the GCs 31-35 produced some decrees or part of a decree directly on congregations. The GC 31 had three (decrees 38-40, 50-52); the GC 32 two (decrees 13-14); the GC 33 three (decrees 3-5); the GC 34 one (decree 23); the GC 35 one (decree 5).

2.2.3 Governance

Since the GC 31, the Society of Jesus has continuously adapted its structure of ordinary governance to the signs of the times. Facing a fast-changing and more complex and globalized world, the GC 31 made provision for the general’s resignation from his office under certain circumstances. The Society gave to the general more and more aid to his governance through his general council, which was composed of four assistants, regional assistants, and other general counselors, and through expert consultors or professional help, if necessary. Mutual communication and cooperation between the general and provincials were strengthened; provincials participated more and more in the governance of the whole Society. Interprovincial and supraprovincial cooperation was established in a variety of forms and structures, such as common interprovincial houses and common works. Among them, the Conferences of Major Superiors became “structural means” to foster regional collaboration and universal governance.

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256 GC 31, d.50; d.51; d.52; GC 32, d.14, nn. 2-3, 8-10, 12-18; GC 33, d.3, nn.1-4; GC 34, d.23, A. nn.3-5, B. n.4, C. n.6; GC 35, d.5, nn.1-4.

257 GC 31, d.41.

258 GC 31, d.44; GC 32, d.15; GC 34, d.23, E. I-III.
of the Society. The role of the Conference of Major Superiors was more clearly defined.\textsuperscript{259} The Constitutions and their Complementary Norms were approved and taken into practice.\textsuperscript{260} The formation of superiors and the future leaders of the Society began to take place.\textsuperscript{261} The most recent general congregation in its decree 5, “Governance at the Service of Universal Mission,” moved a step further. It brought forth three general principles of governance of the Society of Jesus today, as mentioned in the previous subsection of congregations. Under these principles, the congregation entrusted to the general the responsibility to restructure the central and provincial governance of the Society to the needs of its universal mission today. The congregation requested that apostolic discernment, strategic planning, effective implementation and evaluation, especially in relation to the apostolic priorities of the Society, be undertaken at all levels of the government of the Society.\textsuperscript{262} From the GCs 31-35, there were totally nineteen decrees dedicated to the governance of the Society: the GC 31 (decrees 41-48, 31, 56), the GC 32 (decrees 15-16), the GC 33 (decree 6), the GC 34 (decrees, 21-25), the GC 35 (decree 5).

2.2.4 Collaboration

Following the inspiration of the Second Vatican Council, the GCs31-35 continuously placed an emphasis on apostolic collaboration not only among Jesuits but also with others: religious, priests, bishops, lay persons, Christians, people of other religious traditions, and all people of good will.\textsuperscript{263} Among various ways of collaboration with others, collaboration with the laity was primarily emphasized. The GC 31 issued decree 33, “The Relationship of the Society to

\textsuperscript{259} GC 31, d.48; d.31; d.22, n.6; GC 32, d.4, n.81; GC 34, d.21; d.22; GC 35, d.5, nn.17-23.

\textsuperscript{260} GC 33, d.6, II.; GC 34, d.25, nn.4-4.4.

\textsuperscript{261} GC 34, d.24; GC 35, d.4, n.50; d.5, nn.30-32, 36-37, 39.

\textsuperscript{262} GC 35, d.5; d.3, nn.37, 40.

\textsuperscript{263} GC 31, d.21, nn.7-11; GC 32, d.2, n.39; GC 34, d.3, n.23; GC 35, d.2, n.38.
the Laity and Their Apostolate,” to give some basic guidelines of collaboration with the laity, and decree 34, “Laymen Linked to the Society by a Closer Bond,” to urge the general to study such a bond in response to the desire of laymen in some regions of the world. The GC 34 published decree 13, “Cooperation with the Laity in Mission,” to develop Jesuits and the laity in collaboration in mission. The decree gave detailed guidelines in four categories: (a) service to the laity in their ministry; (b) formation of laity and Jesuits; (c) Jesuit cooperation with laity in works of the Society, or in non-Jesuit works, or in apostolic associations of Ignatian inspiration, such as Christians Life Communities, Jesuit Volunteer programs, Jesuit Alumni/ae Associations, and the Apostleship of Prayer; (d) opportunities for the future, such as empowering the laity, lay leadership in works of the Society, developing an Ignatian apostolic network, and joining to the Society by a juridical bonding. Above all, the GC 34 declared that cooperation with the laity was a constitutive element of Jesuit way of proceeding. In its final decree, “Characteristic of Our Way of Proceeding,” collaboration with others was regarded as one essential characteristic of the Society. In the spirit of the GC 34, the most recent general congregation renewed Jesuit commitment to apostolic collaboration with the laity and put collaboration with others at the heart of mission for the life of the Church and the transformation of the world. Its final decree, “Collaboration at the Heart of Mission” (decree 6), ended the experimental period of ten years regarding the juridical bond and decided no longer to promote such a special kind of bond described in the GC 34, decree 13. Nevertheless, the decree provided further clarifications and concrete recommendations on the collaboration with other non-Jesuits. An Ignatian work and a Jesuit work were defined and differentiated. The necessary elements for formation of non-Jesuit

264 GC 34, d.13.

265 GC 34, d.26, nn.15-17.
collaborators were articulated. A more effective Ignatian apostolic network, locally, regionally and internationally, was reinforced.  

In summary, through the reflection and formulation of Jesuit community, congregations, ordinary governance and apostolic collaboration in the GCs 31-35, we can see that the Society of Jesus has continually strengthened its universal body for its universal mission in the contemporary complex world, not only among Jesuits in all aspects of their life and apostolate but also with all people of good will. Apostolic collaboration, both in its narrow and broad senses, has become the heart of Jesuit mission. This subsection provides the foundation for discussing the breadth of Jesuit leadership in the next section.

2.3 Formation

As have seen in the chapter 3, Jesuit formation is directly related to the length of Jesuit leadership. Thus, to understand the length of Jesuit leadership in accord with the GCs 31-35, I propose to consider formation in the decrees of the GCs 31-35.

Since the GC 31, Jesuit formation has never stood in isolation. The renewal of Jesuit formation has kept pace with the continuing renewal of the Society of Jesus in the contemporary world. What kind of Jesuits the Society needs today has developed with continuous reflection on Jesuit identity and mission, and on Jesuit life and the apostolate for today in the GCs 31-35. The GCs 31 and 32 renewed the spiritual, intellectual, communal and apostolic life for Jesuits. Progressive integrating formation, both personal and collective, was emphasized. The program of tertianship, the final stage of formation, was reformed. The norms of the final vows, especially

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266 GC 35, d.6.
267 Cf. GC 35, d.6, n.30.
for profession of four vows, which used to depend on the *ad gradum*, were revised. More holistic criteria were provided. Continuing formation after the final vows was stressed. Vernacular languages began to be used in formation.\textsuperscript{269} The GC 33 continued the lines of the previous two congregations but brought vocation promotion to the careful attention of all Jesuits.\textsuperscript{270}

The next two congregations took further steps in Jesuit formation. The GC 34 made some changes in the Constitutions regarding brothers. Brothers were allowed to study and required to take tertianship. Jesuit formation in apostolic cooperation among themselves and with the laity was proposed. The promotion of vocations was further stressed in an independent decree. The congregation also brought forth the importance of formation of superiors.\textsuperscript{271} The GC 35 continued the direction taken in the GC 34. The GC 35 placed further emphasis on formation both for collaboration with other non-Jesuits and for superiors. Aside from the formation of superiors, the congregation explicitly brought up the necessity of leadership training for Jesuits.\textsuperscript{272}

From the GCs 31 to 35, each congregation issued some decrees or part of some decrees explicitly on Jesuit formation. The GC 31 had five: “The Spiritual Formation of Jesuits” (decree 8), “The Training of Scholastics Especially in Studies” (decree 9), “Tertianship” (decree 10), “Norms for Promotion to Final Vows” (decree 11), and “The Vow Ceremony” (decree 12). The GC 32 produced four: “The Formation of Jesuits” (decree 6), “Tertianship” (decree 7), “Time of Last Vows” (decree 10) and “The Union of Minds and Hearts” (decree 11). The GC 33 integrated Jesuit formation into “Companions of Jesus” (decree 1). The GC 34 generated four

\textsuperscript{269} GC 31, d.8-12; GC 32, d.6, d.7, d.10.
\textsuperscript{270} GC 33, d.1, nn.20-22.
\textsuperscript{271} GC 34, d.7, n.21; d.10; d.21, nn. 6-11; d.13, nn.8-9; d.24.
\textsuperscript{272} GC35, d.6, nn.15-21; d.4, n.50; d.5, nn.30-32, 36-37, 39.
decrees: “The Jesuit Brother” (decree 7), “The Promotion of Vocation” (decree 10), “Cooperation with the Laity in Mission” (decree 13) and “The Ongoing Formation of Superiors” (decree 24). The GC 34 discussed formation also in “Interprovincial and Supraprovincial Cooperation” (decree 21). The GC 35 made formation part of the last two decrees: “Governance at the Service of Universal Mission” (decree 5) and “Collaboration at the Heart of Mission” (decree 6).

In summary, we can see that the Society of Jesus continued to deepen and broaden its reflection and formulation of Jesuit formation in the GCs 31-35 and in response to the continuing reflection and renewal of Jesuit identity, mission, life and apostolate in the contemporary world. This subsection paves the way to discuss the length of Jesuit leadership in the next section.

3. The reformulation of Jesuit leadership: Jesuit way of proceeding

The danger of an organization, when it becomes mature, is its tendency to become complacent, static and rigid. It standardizes norms and regulations, stresses uniformity and conformity, and marginalizes creativity and animation. The Society of Jesus as a religious organization could also become inert and ossified. Nevertheless, since the GC 31, in the spirit of renewal of the Second Vatican Council and under the guidance of the Spirit of the Lord, the Society of Jesus has made a clear differentiation between fundamental elements of its original charism and contingent elements of its organization. While keeping faithful to the original charism, the Society has continually deepened its on-going reflection and contemporary formulation of its own identity and mission, and adapted its life, structure and apostolate to the needs of the times. In accord with the GCs 31-35, Jesuit leadership is clearly spiritual leadership

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274 GC 31, d.2.
of the Triune God in Jesus Christ who leads the Society for His greater service in the contemporary world and who requires a deepening commitment of the Society. From the three-dimensional perspective of organizational leadership, Jesuit leadership has its depth, breadth and length.

The depth of Jesuit leadership is the Lord Jesus Christ. Jesuits know who they are by looking at Jesus. Jesuit identity and mission formulated in the GCs 31-35 reflect this depth of Jesuit leadership. From the GCs 31 to 35, in this continuous reflection of Jesuit identity and mission for today, we can see that the Society of Jesus has come to a deep self-realization that Jesuits are sinners, yet called by Jesus to be his companions. This self-realization has continually deepened the commitment of the Society to enter the heart of the world with Jesus Christ and contemplate the will of God in the Spirit. This deepening commitment to Christ has opened up the depth of contemporary reality and an ever new horizon of mission. The whole world becomes the concern and interest of the Society of Jesus. Christ leads the Society today to proclaim the Gospel that promotes justice and dialogues with cultures and religions. Christ leads the Society to preach, exemplify and bridge reconciliation with God, with one another, especially with the poor, and with creation at the social, cultural and religious frontiers. The image at the heart of the Society is Jesus Christ the Lord. Jesuits stand with Christ at the very heart of the world and the depth of reality as a fire set by the love of Christ that kindles other fires.

The breadth of Jesuit leadership is the spiritual union in Christ. The entire Society of Jesus is not just a community of fellow workers in the apostolate but also a community of true brothers and companions in the Lord, who share their faith, life and mission with one another in Christ. Each local community embodies and witnesses to this worldwide fraternal union bound in the love of Christ. Since the GCs 31, the Society of Jesus has continuously strengthened this
union as a universal body for its universal mission in Christ. Wider consultation and more active participation of the entire Society have been implemented in the preparation and work of the general congregation. The whole structure of governance has been more closely unified, both vertically and horizontally, than ever before. The superior general, major superiors, and local superiors, with the aid of their councils of counsultors and the support of their communities, form a network of ordinary governance of the Society for greater universality, more flexibility and better expression of Ignatian ways of proceeding. This spiritual union among Jesuits has gone beyond their own boundaries and extended to apostolic collaboration with all people of good will, both Christians and non-Christians, to form an Ignatian apostolic network for Jesuit mission. Using the image of the GC 35, Jesuits stand with Christ as his body of companions and in collaboration with others for the life of the Church and the transformation of the world.

The length of Jesuit leadership is Jesuit formation. Since the GC 31, Jesuit formation has kept pace with the ongoing renewal of the Society of Jesus in its identity, mission, life, and ministries in the contemporary world. Jesuit formation has become more inclusive, holistic, and dynamic. Brothers have now intellectual formation and tertianship. Formed Jesuits and superiors have ongoing formation. Apostolic cooperation both among Jesuits and with others and leadership training have become necessary parts of overall Jesuit formation. Jesuit formation is further stretched out to the formation of non-Jesuit collaborators. The Society has also placed the promotion of vocation as an indispensable aspect of Jesuit life and formation. More than ever before, the Society has emphasized the quality and the depth of Jesuit formation for today.275

In conclusion, we can say that Jesuit leadership is reformulated in the GCs 31-35 as the Jesuit way of proceeding. This way of proceeding is the Jesuit style of leadership, which consists of certain Jesuit attitudes, values and patterns of behavior in leadership. The GC 34 captured very well Jesuit style of leadership for today in eight characteristics. But in the core of these characteristics, Jesuit leadership remains companionship in the Lord for his universal mission, having its depth in “Christ,” its breadth in “companionship,” and its length in “universal mission of Christ.” Compared to the Constitutions and their Complementary Norms, the GCs 31-35 reformulate Jesuit leadership in more contemporary languages, forms and images.
Conclusion

What is Jesuit leadership? This is not a comfortable question. On the one hand, we think that we know what Jesuit leadership is and that it consists in Jesuit documents and tradition. On the other hand, Jesuit leadership is so complex and complicated that we find it difficult to articulate such leadership in a thesis statement. This thesis explores and wrestles with this uneasy question through a gradual development of the early Society of Jesus in its self-understanding and formulation of its original inspiration and charism, and through the contemporary development of this self-understanding of the Society of Jesus in the past four decades. In the founding experiences of the first companions, what leadership meant to them as a group was their profound experiences of companionship in the Lord for his universal mission, with its depth rooted in Christ, its breadth bound in his companionship and its length anchored in the universal mission of Christ. The *Formula of the Institute* sketched Jesuit leadership as companionship in the Lord for his universal mission, having its depth in “Christ,” its breadth in “companionship,” and its length in “his universal mission.” The Constitutions and their Complementary Norms institutionalized this leadership formulation and integrated it into the entire life of the Society of Jesus as a full-fledged religious organization. Since the GC 31, the Society has continually tried to reformulate Jesuit leadership through its ongoing reflection of its identity, mission, community, congregations, governance, collaboration, and formation in the contemporary world. Jesuit leadership has been portrayed and summarized as the Jesuit way of proceeding. Nonetheless, Jesuit leadership in its core remains companionship in the Lord for his universal mission, which has its depth in “Christ,” its breadth in “companionship,” and its length in “universal mission of Christ.”

The depth, breadth and length of Jesuit leadership form three dimensions of one unity of the leadership of the Society of Jesus. These dimensions are interwoven and inseparable. No one
can stand alone without the other two. They reflect the spiritual, intellectual, apostolic and communal heritage and distinction of the Society of Jesus in the light of its leadership. This realization of the core of Jesuit leadership as companionship in the Lord for his universal mission is significant. On the one hand, it may urge Jesuits, in the spirit of the GC 35, to develop a well-established structure of formation for leadership and governance so as to exercise Jesuit leadership in a more effective and efficient way and to respond more readily to the challenges of a globalized world. On the other hand, it may prompt Jesuits to contribute a spirituality of leadership based on Jesuit leadership to the contemporary world, which cries for good leadership.

I am confident that Jesuit leadership as companionship in the Lord Jesus Christ for his universal mission, which has endured almost five hundred years, is sustainable. Led by the Spirit of the Lord and the Roman Pontiff, the Society of Jesus will continue to deepen and broaden its commitment to its invigorating renewal and creative fidelity at the very heart of the world and at the very depth of reality, becoming a fire that kindles other fires.

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277 San Juan wrote an excellent dissertation on a similar matter. See *The Spiritual Formation of Leaders Based on the Ignatian Tradition*.

278 Hargreaves presents seven principles of sustainability for an organization: morality and learning, succession, distribution, justice, diversity, resourcefulness and conservation. The Society of Jesus has these seven principles in its leadership tradition. See details in Andy Hargreaves and Dean Fink, *Sustainable Leadership*, (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2006).
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