JESUIT CORPORATE IDENTITY
Promoting Unity & Cohesion in the Society of Jesus

Précis: The author looks at Part VIII of Constitutions from three perspectives: members, superiors, and their relationship. His insights are valid for every ignatian congregation. Of members: They can be united only if "well mortified" in matured affection. Their union rises in fidelity to a commission under obedience, but not without communal discernment. Of superiors: Personal credibility and care create the indispensable relational basis for obedience and for corporate identity. From business, we learn that managers' EQ (emotional quality) is necessary to any credible corporate culture. Of the relationship: Love coming down from God flows equally into the apostolate and into the community, without opposition. Love is always communicating—difficult because of constant separation in mission. Interior and exterior uniformity are hardly congenial today yet resonate in business's wish for corporate culture and identity. Ignatius's wish for letter writing can be shifted to the electronic media, which may magnify cultural differences. Jesuits may find new ways of communicating in their communion with God who communicates.

There is one central word of Ignatian spirituality that is nevertheless found only once in the Constitutions: the word consolación. We find it at the end of the final constitution on the union of hearts in the Society of Jesus, where correspondence is being recommended [673]. There we are told that these letters should promote 'mutual consolation and edification'.

For Ignatius, consolation means the central inner experience in which one can feel a living relationship to God, the Creator and Lord. A person consoled has come into contact with God in a lived and felt way, and finds in this experience of God a spiritual orientation, together with growth in faith, hope and love.

Ignatius was convinced that the members of the Society of Jesus could help each other have such experiences of consolation. This does not mean touchy-feely togetherness, nor the use of the group as an emotional defence, nor a triumphalist, macho team spirit. Rather, when Ignatius speaks of 'consolation' he means the experience of being able to 'love no created thing on the face of the earth in itself, but only in the creator of them all' (Exx 316). In their relationships with each other, members of the Society of Jesus...
in their relationships with each other, members of the Society of Jesus find their relationship to the Lord. This is the deepest message of Part VIII of the Constitutions.

This contribution to our colloquium deals with the question of what means can be used today to bring about this kind of union within the Society of Jesus, to preserve it when it is obtained, and to foster its growth. Since GC 31 the Society of Jesus has made great efforts to come to a new understanding and a new practice of this unión de los ánimos. These new initiatives, especially in the formulations found in Decree 11 of GC 32, are well known to everyone here, and do not need any new commentary. However, at GC 34 there was great uneasiness regarding deficiencies in the Society’s cohesion. Commission 9 made several efforts to produce a decree with new suggestions, but they all failed. Fr General took up the question again in his request for the 1997 ex officio letters. Here I make a modest attempt to share some of my own ideas and to offer some suggestions for discussion.

This paper follows the structure of the first chapter of Part VIII of the Constitutions. Ignatius divides this chapter into three parts: 1. What helps from the side of the subject; 2. What helps from the side of the General Superior; 3. What helps from both sides together for the union of the members with themselves and with the head. My intention here is not to comment on, or express in an up-to-date fashion, all Ignatius’s insights, but only those which seem to me particularly helpful for our discussion today.

‘On the side of the subjects’

Accept only selected persons. Ignatius’s first recommendation regarding the subjects is that only ‘selected persons’ are to be allowed into the Society. He remarks that ‘a crowd of persons whose vices are not well mortified’ is very prejudicial to the Society’s unity [657]. Here—as in 664, where the dismissal of the unsuitable is recommended—the concern is about the selection of the Society’s members. If it is the unity of the Society that we have in mind, who then appears as suitable or unsuitable for dismissal? How can this criterion be formulated to deal with applicants today?

The word ‘mortification’ has almost vanished from our spiritual vocabulary since the 1960s. For many, the word suggests moralistic repression of human feeling, and masochistic asceticism. But in fact what Ignatius wants to say here touches on what is very much a live issue for us today. We all know examples from charismatic groups that exert a powerful attraction on people who are emotionally unbalanced. No group can cope with too many people of this kind, since undisciplined affectivity—especially if it has become habitual, which is what Ignatius meant by ‘vices’—is an enormous strain on any community. Instead of ‘mortification’, I would prefer, for our time, to use the term ‘affective maturity’. Affective maturity is an adult capacity, that of being at once in touch with inner impulses and free to take a distance from them. Moreover, a mature
person can give measured and controlled expression to these impulses when they judge this appropriate.

‘Mortification’ suggests all too easily the illusion that one can completely repress disturbing affections, desires and passions, or even remove them completely from one’s mental life. Some of the ascetical practices from the first half of our century seem to have been based on this mistaken account of human nature. Not infrequently, such practices produced tense, inhibited, somehow lifeless religious, whose unión de los ánimos arose not through healthy, mature affectivity, but rather through a compulsive vita regulata.

Uncontrolled affectivity can destroy a community; at the same time, completely repressed affectivity hinders the process whereby a community grows together emotionally. If we understand mortification in terms of affective maturity, then part of what it refers to is the ability, while being engaged in building up a community, to deal with one’s feelings in an honest, measured and moderated fashion. It also includes the ability to bear frustrations. Any community, like any marriage, inevitably entails a whole range of renunciations and of disappointments. The Society’s ‘selected persons’ should be mortified—in other words, affectively mature and with a high frustration threshold.

A further idea that comes up in connection with the selection of the Society’s members deserves brief commentary here: the idea of ‘division’ [664], or of what psychologists call ‘splitting’. I see it as quite normal that a community should have its differences of opinion, and perhaps vehement arguments. Such events turn into ‘divisions’ or ‘splits’ when the cases for and against can no longer be rationally weighed, but when, rather, conflicting programmes and parties build up, excluding each other and tending to devalue the opposite side.

Whenever a person has a polarizing or divisive effect on a community, we can assume that a particular psychological structure lies at the root of this behaviour—a very immature personality structure, not infrequently also a pathological one. It is unable to integrate positive and negative characteristics of the self, and can only maintain its self-image through primitive defence mechanisms: denial and the splitting of the self-image, with ‘totally good’ and ‘totally bad’ aspects having to be kept apart. Thus the members of a community are often left no choice except to be completely for or completely against such a person. This is splitting, or division. There are two especially vivid and destructive versions of this personality structure: pathological narcissism, and the paranoid personality. Both are driven by fantasies of omnipotence and superiority, and their long-term effect on a community is very destructive. Clinical experience has shown that there is little hope for people with such disturbances to grow in maturity, even with therapeutic help—rather confirming Ignatius’s view that such people should be removed from the community, because they are like ‘a pestilence which can affect it seriously’ [664].
Persons practised in obedience

In Constitutions 659 Ignatius remarks that the Society’s union ‘is produced in great part by the bond of obedience’, and insists that ‘those who are sent out from the houses to labour in the Lord’s field should as far as possible be persons practised in this virtue’. GC 32 has already ex-tensively redeveloped the point, but it may be worth reflecting further on the context within which Ignatius sees obedience here: that of mission. The image of the Jesuit we find here is of a man from whom, on the one hand, a very high degree of self-responsibility and independence is required—he is ‘sent out’. At the same time he identifies himself fully with a missioning given by the superior and by the Society. Only a person who has internalized the mission of the Society in general, and the specific missioning given him by the superior, can be trusted to act on his own initiative. I would like to make three comments on the phrase ‘persons practised in obedience’.

1. At GC 34 there was a remarkable contrast. On the vows of poverty and chastity there was a whole range of postulata from the provinces; by contrast, there was not a single postulatum concerned exclusively with the vow of obedience. However, in the report on the state of the Society, produced by the Congregation itself, there were clear complaints about an inordinate individualism in many provinces, significantly reducing Jesuit disponibility and, as a consequence, corporate apostolic effectiveness. The Society, collectively, acknowledges the presence of a dangerous individualism, but does not, at least in the first instance, identify this as an obedience issue. What is this saying? Has the freedom and autonomy of the individual Jesuit become so important a value for us that we can no longer see, at all, how this value endangers obedience? Has the modern pressure towards freedom become so strong in the Society of Jesus as to make religious obedience become a taboo?

2. Since GC 31, the principle of subsidiarity and the responsibility of the companions at large for their work and their lifestyle have taken on an importance probably unprecedented in the history of the Society of Jesus. Personally, I interpret the absence of the obedience issue from GC 34 as a sign that what Ignatius actually meant by mission and obedience has been appropriated by the Society of Jesus only partially. For the formed apostolic Jesuit, Ignatius conceived the object of obedience not, ultimately, as a command [Befehl] but as a commission [Auftrag]. This requires the Jesuit being sent to have entered into a spiritual discernment process with his superior. Further, it always demands a high ability to organize one’s own life, clear obedience of the understanding, and the capacity to undertake an apostolic discernment on the spot. Most superiors are hesitant today about giving their subjects a lot of detailed commands about how things are to be done. This is certainly sensible and in keeping with the age. However, among those who have never understood obedience in terms of fidelity to a commission, this reticence regarding specific rules, norms and commands leads to
individualism. Responsibility and organizing one’s own life become, for such people, welcome pretexts under which to pursue their own preferences and interests, and they become detached from the shared mission of the Society of Jesus. The Society of Jesus can allow itself a reticence about specific orders only if there is a balancing effort to keep permanently alive a sense of shared general purpose—a shared effort and purpose out of which genuine unión de los ánimos can arise.

3. In today’s Society of Jesus we can speak of persons practised in obedience only if these persons are practised in discernment together, together with their superiors and together in community. The last general congregations have repeatedly stressed this. Seeking the will of God together, being obedient to that will together—this brings about unión de los ánimos. It is not a new insight that obedience involves, rather than excludes, discernment; but it is one that has been discovered in a quite new way over the last thirty years. In my experience, however, many Jesuits have made only modest progress in learning the skills that this version of obedience demands. Either they have never learnt the art at all, or else they are unwilling to bring their own insights, intentions and plans into a spiritual deliberation process with others—their superiors, their companions, and indeed laity—and through such exchange to seek what is better. The greatest threat to religious obedience today is not open disobedience to the superior, but rather individualism, expressed in a refusal to enter processes of discernment in common. It is therefore enormously important for teamwork in our works and for unity in our communal life that Jesuits—from the beginning of formation onwards—learn through practice the art of discerning together.

The further helps ‘on the side of the subjects’ need only a brief mention. The role and function of the collateral [659-661], even if the Society has not firmly institutionalised the office itself, have many equivalents today—supervisors, facilitators, technical advisors. Questions of subordination in the Society’s hierarchy [662-663] are very much alive at present, and Fr General, following a recommendation of GC 34, is in the process of working on them.

‘On the side of the superior general’

It is obvious that social systems and organizations have to be held together by people in leadership positions, and there is no need to comment further. What, however, is interesting is how—in Ignatius’s vision—the superior general and the other superiors in the Society of Jesus should bring about this cohesion. In connection with the superior general, Ignatius stresses firstly [666, 667] the ‘qualities of his person’, notably his crédito y auctoridad—credibility, trustworthiness, and prestige. Election campaigns in modern democracies show us clearly enough that these qualities are...
it seems that emotional defensiveness is a malady affecting many a Jesuit...
Against this background Ignatius’s recommendations in Constitutions 666 and 667 take on added significance. Ignatius sees in the superior’s personality an offer of emotional relationship with the subjects, a relationship which grounds cohesion. The Society of Jesus requires superiors with the ability to do this. The second part of 667 is very clear on the point, and leads one to forget almost everything that one has ever heard or read elsewhere regarding obedience in the Society of Jesus:

> It will further help if his commanding is well thought out and ordered; he should endeavour to keep up obedience among the subjects in such wise that the superior on his part employs all possible love, modesty and charity in our Lord so that the subjects may be disposed always to have greater love than fear for their superiors, though at times both are useful.

Here one gets the sense that the whole dynamic of obedience has been inverted. No longer is it a matter of orders being given on one side and being obeyed on the other. Rather, the superior should exercise leadership in such a way as to maintain the subjects’ obedience. In other words, the superior is meant to create the relational basis which is the indispensable enabling condition for obedience to exist at all. Ignatius is speaking here precisely of the emotional resonance named above—a resonance necessary for the functioning of leadership in the Society and thus for the maintenance of unity. The superior should exercise his office in ‘all possible love, modesty and charity’ so that the subjects have love rather than fear for him.

Authority can be exercised in another way too:

> He should also leave some matters up to them when it appears likely that they will be helped by this; and at other times he should go along with them in part and sympathize (condoliendo) with them when this might seem best.

Though the precise sense of condoliendo may be disputable, the image of Jesuit government being put forward here hardly conforms to the stereotypes.

Though many Jesuits place a higher value on intellectual than on emotional reasoning, they nevertheless get a feeling soon enough of whether their superior can maintain the community’s emotional cohesion. This is the case if the superior can hold the tensions in his community, if he can graciously cope with feelings of attraction and rejection, admiration and contempt, affection and aggression. One of the more recent schools of psychoanalysis calls this holding of tension the leader’s ‘containing function’. Disruptive negative emotions can be tamed if they are recognised, owned, lived with and understood. Thus people become affectively more mature and their relationships thereby mature also. A superior can do a lot to help in this process.

All this makes one point very clear: a mutual resonance of trust, respect and love between superiors and subjects is the emotional bond enabling the Society of Jesus to hold together. The Society of Jesus needs superiors who are able to integrate IQ and
‘On both sides’

We turn now to look at the apostolic body of the Society of Jesus as a whole. What can help its unity to be established and to increase?

The love of God our Lord. There is no need here for long discussions of God’s love: plenty has been written on the subject. I confine myself, rather, to making a few short remarks on the central place given to God’s love in *Constitutions* 671.

1. It is a central point of Ignatian mysticism that the human capacity for love comes down from above, from the divine goodness. In *Constitutions* 671 it is worth noticing that this love will ‘spread to all other persons, and particularly to the body of the Society’. Over and over again in the Society, one hears this argument put forward: ‘I am so overstretched in my apostolate that I have no time left for my companions, for the community, for questions facing the Society’. However, the love coming down from God extends both to the apostolate and to the body of the Society, equally. In other words, it goes against a central principle of Jesuit spirituality to play off apostolate and community against each other.

2. At the beginning of the Contemplation to Gain Love we find a sentence pregnant with meaning: *el amor consiste en comunicación*—‘love consists in interchange’ (*SpEx*. 231). It is a mysticism of love that is the heart and source of genuine communication between the members of the Society of Jesus. A flow of communication is the indispensable condition for the cohesion of any community. These days, whenever a business is seeking a qualified employee, the ability to communicate is a central criterion for choice among the applicants. Most Jesuits are good at talking. But are they good at communicating? Have they any feeling for how they should listen and for what they should share of themselves if mutual understanding is to come about? Have they realised that more than half of significant interpersonal communication is non-verbal in form? In *SpEx*. 233 we pray for the ability to love. Perhaps we should broaden this desire, and pray for the ability to communicate well.

3. What has just been said about the superior’s containing function applies similarly to the whole community. It will grow and hold together to the extent that the companions allow each other emotional space. EQ, not IQ, determines the quality of a community: sensitivity to each other rather than prudent reasoning, honest emotional communication rather than irony, mutuality of feeling (sympathy and empathy, in the full etymological senses) rather than talking about each other. We live in a civilization where the growth and preservation of human ties is strongly threatened, and we Jesuits...
must take great care to nourish a sense of belonging. This is the most basic form of 'containing'.

4. We Jesuits have in this context a specific problem, arising from the high expectations placed on our members regarding disposability and mobility. I believe that for many people it constitutes an excessive emotional strain again and again to have to embark on new living and working relationships and then after some years to let go of them. The renunciation is painful, and there is a risk among Jesuits of two kinds of déformation professionelle. Firstly, there is emotional over-attachment: a person comes to feel so much at home in a place where they live and work that they struggle at all costs against any prospect of a change. Secondly, there is an emotional superficiality, increasing with each move. A person who cannot endure the pain of departure becomes increasingly unable to entrust themselves to new relationships. The end result is the jet-set Jesuit running the risk of a heart attack, or the manager-Jesuit unable to make any further human contact. The divine love that came down from above in Jesus was ready to endure the pain of separation over and over again. Participation in this love will strengthen a continual emotional readiness to separate oneself from groups, communities or teams, and to embark on similar new relationships.¹⁹

Uniformity. Ignatius’s talk of uniformity both interior and exterior [671.5] is not congenial to us today, for various reasons: a reaction against the long-established excessive uniformity among Jesuits of the past; a strong cultural trend leading everyone to want to be unique and special; the increased pluralism of attitudes towards life. Nevertheless it is worth trying to translate Ignatius’s ideas into a more modern idiom.

Ignatius understands interior uniformity as a uniformidad of doctrine (dottrina), judgments (juyçios) and wills (voluntades). We can hardly understand what this can mean, but in fact modern business sees precisely this as the key to success. A business requires a common 'philosophy', common goals and methods. Specific rules and norms lead, simultaneously, to the business’s 'culture', to its corporate identity. This is precisely what Ignatius was wanting. We need an SJ corporate identity. For me personally, the three months of GC 34 served as a crash course in Jesuit corporate identity; similarly a preached retreat given afterwards on texts from the congregation served as a very personal and very intensive exercise in corporate identity consolidation.²⁰

All this is a necessary basis for good teamwork. For teamwork one needs a certain agreement on basic assumptions (dottrina); one struggles towards common opinions and judgments (juyçios); and these lead to concerted action (voluntades). While any business today looks for employees who can work well in teams, many Jesuits have remained, in their hearts, lone rangers, solitary battlers. In the Society of Jesus we need...
an explicit formation in teamwork;\textsuperscript{21} without it we have no chance. Even now the lay people with whom we work are often irritated at how unable some Jesuits are to work in teams. The form of teamwork to which we Jesuits specifically are called is that of apostolic discernment, discussed above.

Exterior uniformity was for a long time ensured by the various rules and customs of the Society. Since Vatican II the Church has ceased to be a monolith and has grown in sensitivity to different cultures. The result has been that the Common Rules have been gradually abolished,\textsuperscript{22} and the consensus regarding exterior uniformity has become a matter for regions, and indeed for each individual community.\textsuperscript{23} This new strategy for uniformity, however, depends on Jesuits who are ready and willing to arrive at consensus through a community process on shared, obligatory rules. This cannot come about just through the abolition of the old Common Rules and through communities being told that they should agree on their own rules. The change requires people with very good social skills. There are some communities that have found almost no common lifestyle because they are incapable of a community process leading to good decisions in common. In the old days, the Common Rules remained for such cases; now there is nothing—or rather, there is individualism.

\textit{Communication through Written Correspondence.} The system of regular written correspondence within the Society is a brilliant invention of St Ignatius\textsuperscript{24} as a means of enabling leadership of the Society from the centre and of promoting, through mutual information, a sense of corporate identity in the whole body. This institution of regular \textit{ex officio} letters has led to a unique historical resource in the archive of our Curia: there are detailed reports from all over the world not only about events in the Society but also about ecclesiastical and political developments.

One can conjecture that Ignatius had got to know a system of regular worldwide correspondence through his work at the court of the Spanish king, at a time when Spain was striving to become a world power. One of the ways in which he tried to motivate his companions towards reproducing such a system in the Society\textsuperscript{25} was by pointing to merchants and others involved in the business of this world, who kept their books so carefully and wrote so many letters. Even then the systems of state and economic institutions were influencing and inspiring the Society’s modes of organization.\textsuperscript{26}

We are facing a similar task with the new, principally electronic, modes of communication, which have the potential to become a valuable instrument for the Society’s unity. They represent enormous improvements in the means, the precision and the speed of transmission. Jesuits in the most remote corners of the world can be reached in seconds, and networks can be established that enable direct collaboration between Jesuits from all parts of the earth. Academic resources can quickly be made

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available to anyone; important events can be made known, indeed seen, in all parts of the world at lightning speed. As a consequence, rapid concerted action has also become a possibility; we can mount, for example, immediate e-mail protest campaigns against unjust acts in any country.

However, we should not regard these new possibilities for communication with too much optimism or enthusiasm. The range of printed and electronic news media has already led to information overload, and to enormous problems regarding the selection of what might be relevant. Networking too—the magic word for modern management—has for many Jesuits long since grown beyond the boundaries of the feasible. A person engaged, beyond their normal job, in three or four networks is probably communicating as much as they possibly can. Yet there are some who are invited to join ten or twenty workgroups or networks.

GC 34 brought it home to me that these new modes of communication have their limitations. At great expense people set up computers, fax machines, an e-mail network etc., and these enabled quick communication with the whole Society. However, when it came to the actual process of communication among the delegates to the congregation, it became repeatedly apparent how difficult it is for us to understand each other in our cultural differences. Sometimes we used the same word for weeks on end, and realised only shortly before the end of the congregation that companions from different cultures heard it with quite different connotations. Cross-cultural communication is an extremely wearisome process. It requires very great attentiveness and patience to acquire a feel for another culture’s unwritten laws and customs, and for the quite different significance that a word or a gesture or an action can have. No quick e-mail message can short-circuit this process. Large businesses now offer to their management staff courses in cross-cultural management. These involve training in patterns of elementary human relationships, and in how to promote cultures of trust. Networks transmit information in clinical form. What we need is understanding for each other and trust in each other. These latter demand their own kind of communication.

‘Edification’. One reason why regular written correspondence was required among Jesuits was to do with information, so that decisions could be taken on the basis of a good knowledge of situations. But the interior, spiritual values enshrined in such a system of communication were, for Ignatius, still more important. He was convinced that letters strengthen mutual love, and that through them the companions could do such things as encourage each other, spur each other on in virtues and in the apostolate, strengthen each other’s trust in God, build up each other’s sense of humility, and give each other consolation and joy.
For Ignatius, communication is at the service of mutual consolation and edification. This implies communication of a quite distinctive kind. The Exercises provide a space of freedom so that ‘the Creator and Lord himself should communicate himself (se comunique) to his devout soul’ (SpEx. 15). This consoles the soul, builds it up and directs it along God’s way. Perhaps in the Society of Jesus we still need quite new exercises in communication with each other, so that we can give each other this spiritual fruit. We might learn from the ways in which God communicates with us.

NOTES

1 In the verbal form consolar it is found in three further places. A person dismissed from the Society should be dismissed in consolation [31, 225], and a person giving an account of conscience should choose a form in which his consolation is greater [93].
2 By contrast, Alonso Rodríguez, in his Practice and Perfection of Christian Virtues, dedicates some eighty pages to the theme of ‘mortification’.
3 GC 34 dealt at considerable length with the question of affective maturity in its Decree on Chastity (d 8 nn 31-34).
4 Ignatius also deals with the mortification of passions when discussing the characteristics of the Superior General, but he adds the word ‘to tame’ (domar), which is closer to the ‘affective maturity’ invoked here.
6 GC 32 d 11 nn 27-34.
7 Only Postulatum 200 from the Argentinian province requested new guidelines for the understanding of all three vows, seeing problems with how obedience relates to personal freedom. It suggested the idea of ‘responsible freedom’.
8 See GC 31 d 17 n 7.
9 In commercial concerns, too, there has been a shift from purely hierarchical models of management. Individual departments and teams are given a high level of responsibility for their own affairs. To a large extent, they are expected to organize themselves, and to have high competence in teamwork and in the creation of networks.
10 One can stretch the principle to the point where a person acts counter to a specific order in order better to do justice to the goal which they recognise in the task given them. A well known example is given us by Fr Olivier Manare: ‘One day it happened that I did something against an order that I had received by letter from Ignatius. I answered him that I had acted in such a way that I could imagine Ignatius present to me in the spirit, and that it had seemed to me that I had heard him say the following: “Just do what you yourself intend, for I too, had I been there, would have ordered you to act in this way”’. As it turned out, Ignatius interpreted the matter in just the same way, and wrote back to me that I had acted completely in accordance with his wishes. He said, “Human beings give offices, but God gives discernment. So that in further matters you can act without scruple, my will is that
you judge things in terms of the specific circumstances, even when the rules and directives go against this’. (MHSJ FN III, 434) See further on this Hugo Rahner, ‘Über den theologischen Sinn des Gehorsams in der Gesellschaft Jesu’, in Documenta selecta Congregationis Generalis XXXI (Rome, 1970).

11 See the articles collected under the title ‘Discerning Together’ in The Way Supplement, 85 (Spring 1996).

12 So Ignatius: ‘If obedience requires something to be done, this does not suppress your prudence or your discernment’ (MHSJ FN III, 540).

13 GC 34 d 24.


16 Compare SpEx. 184, 237, 238.

17 I have seen some discussions about bad relations within a community end with a decision to set up a new recreation room. This is of no help unless and until the companions are ready to give each other emotional space.


19 ‘This readiness to suffer inner pain is part of the containing function: “to increase the capacity to bear mental pain until meaning develops’ (W.R. Bion, cited in R.A. Lazar, ‘“Container-Contained” und die helfende Beziehung’, 81).

20 See Review of Ignatian Spirituality 84 (Spring 1997), 22.


22 GC 31 d 19; GC 32 d 11 n 54.

23 GC 32 d 11 n 47.

24 See the two long Instructions on writing letters dated 27 July 1547: MHSJ EI I.536-541, and 542-549.

25 In the first of the Instructions mentioned above Ignatius has several pages listing twenty reasons why it is advantageous to write letters regularly.

26 Conversely, there are some who see the Society’s modes of organization as a model for state and economic organizations, e.g. H. Geiselhart, Das Management-Modell der Jesuiten. Ein Erfolgskonzept für das 21. Jahrhundert (Wiesbaden, 1997).