ST IGNATIUS AND LIBERATION

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FASCINATING TOPICS not infrequently contain traps. Any hermeneutical leap demands caution. To talk about St Ignatius and liberation is fascinating, but postulates a soaring hermeneutical flight, since nearly five centuries separate the movement initiated by Ignatius and the current of liberation theology.

Artificial harmonization, aberrant anachronism, uncritical fundamentalism, semantic salads, empty nominalism: these are only some of the perils which beset the topic of this discussion. On the other hand, there runs within the Church a miraculous spiritual current, guided by the Spirit, which succeeds in bringing together metahistorically vessels on distant historical longitudes and thus justifies our tackling such a topic.[1]

This comparison of Ignatius and liberation theology is all the more attractive since one of the main proponents of this theology recognizes that its fundamental intuitions derive from Ignatian spirituality.[2] Nonetheless such a testimony, important as it may be, remains extrinsic to the subject. The coherence between the two sets of ideas derives in fact from their internal structure and a degree of analogy between their periods.

Jon Sobrino saw this parallel well when he detected in both Ignatius and in liberation theology the same direction in the process of conversion. Both desire passionately to find in truth, by going beyond old ideas transmitted in the traditional historical current, a will of God which is greater and different.[3] Both represent a *kairos* in their historical moment, break with a certain ecclesiastical conformism and awaken a new spiritual vigour, even at the cost of conflict and misunderstanding.

Every theology starts from a founding experience of God. It engages with a sort of spirituality. The purpose of this article is to compare the idea of liberation, as seen by liberation theology, and the fundamental Ignatian experience, especially as articulated in

the *Spiritual Exercises* of St Ignatius. Conscious of the cultural distance which separates the two experiences, we shall carry out our discussion in terms of the polarity-proximity distance. Proximity pays attention to distance; distance points to proximity.

Within both experiences we can see a whole number of points of intersection and divergence. We shall seek to investigate just three which seem to be fundamental both for Ignatian spirituality and for liberation theology.

1. The centrality of poverty and the poor

Modern historians are revealing to us with greater rigour and precision the scale of the poverty and degradation which formed the backdrop to medieval and Renaissance Europe.[4] Ignatius, who was a regular visitor to the sixteenth-century Spanish court from adolescence, would certainly have experienced the terrible contrast between the luxury of the court and the huge range of the poor, who were, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, 'more diverse, more numerous, always last, but always present'.[5] For Ignatius, unlike liberation theology, this was not the decisive encounter for his spiritual experience.

Ignatius underwent the opposite process to liberation theology. From the experience of the poor Christ he came to the poor. Liberation theology moves from the experience of the poor to the experience of the poor Christ. It is the reverse journey but the same experience. In both cases Christ illuminates the experience on the level of faith.

The injured Ignatius convalescing in Loyola castle confronts his court life, with its vanities, its forgetfulness of poverty and the poor, with the *vita Christi* and the examples of the saints. Instead of feeding his imagination on the romances of chivalry he had wanted, he experiences the impact of the lives of Christ and the saints. It is a moment of grace and conversion.

When he comes to translate this experience into the book of the *Exercises*, he presents it in the form of the meditations on the Kingdom and the Two Standards, and the consideration on the Three Degrees of Humility. If we look for the theme which unifies these three conceptions of Ignatius, there can be no doubt that it is the experience of following the poor Christ. In contemplating the Kingdom the retreatant is invited to hear the appeal of Christ to follow him in his labour, making a more worthy sacrifice by bearing insults, shame and both material and spiritual poverty. In

the Two Standards the Ignatian intuition is more clearly revealed, namely that the antithesis poverty–wealth is at the origin of the two standards, those of Christ and Lucifer.[6] In the Third Degree of Humility the retreatant is invited to make himself or herself like Christ our Lord by choosing poverty with the poor Christ rather than wealth.[7]

Ignatius gives striking emphasis to the experience of becoming like Christ through the practice of poverty. The point is not to practise poverty as a mere form of ascetic or monastic self-denial, but to follow the poor Christ.

Ignatius states clearly the main aim of the Spiritual Exercises: to seek and find the divine will by putting aside disordered affections.[8] To this end he leads the retreatant to create the fundamental condition for such a quest and finding, the desire to follow the poor Christ. The kenotic key of the following of the poor Christ unlocks the whole structure of this little book and of the experience it represents.[9] Ignatius's *magis* does not mean any human greatness, any great enterprise, any search for greater power, any ambition in action, but greater identification with Christ poor and humiliated. This identification must be the basis for understanding history, individual and social life, projects, ideals and achievements.

Ignatius had a great fear that wealth and honours would one day corrupt and destroy the Society of Jesus. He was to take precautions against such dangers by recommending that 'poverty, as a solid rampart protecting religious life, should be loved and preserved in its purity, as far as possible by God's grace . . . '. Therefore, 'all those who make their profession in the Society must promise to alter nothing in the Constitutions relating to poverty, unless to make it stricter'.[10] And with regard to honours, he also adds a vow for the professed never to aspire to or seek honours or prelacies outside or inside the Society.[11] As a worldly-wise, experienced and wise person, he knew how much damage had been done to the Church in that Renaissance period by the wealth and distinctions of ecclesiastical dignitaries, and therefore wished to protect the Jesuits from such dangers for the salvation of their souls and to preserve the Society as a whole for its mission. He believed that to accept such honours would be the best way to destroy the Society of Jesus.[12]

But Ignatius saw that the following of the poor Christ is linked to an option, not just for poverty, but also for the poor. As a

recent convert, he carried out both symbolically, stripping off his noble's clothes and giving them to a beggar and putting on the beggar's rags. In a most beautiful letter on poverty, after stating the basic intuition of the option for the poor—love for the poor Christ—he calls the poor Christ's best friends, and adds that: 'The poor are so great in God's presence that it was mainly for them that Jesus Christ was sent to earth', that 'Jesus Christ so much preferred them to the rich that he chose the whole sacred college from among the poor, and chose to live and keep company with them' and that 'friendship with the poor makes us friends of the eternal King'. The poor, he continues, not only are kings, but 'make others sharers in the Kingdom'.[13]

This centrality of the poor in the Kingdom is one of the central themes of liberation theology. And it is precisely because they are the privileged citizens of the Kingdom, our guides, teachers and judges,[14] that thinking about the faith from the position of the poor is the most relevant, most correct and most evangelical *locus* of theology. We may say that the foundation experience of liberation theology is the experience of God in the poor.[15] This is extremely close to Ignatius's experience.

This closeness is all the more important in that for Ignatius this experience does not end in the contemplation of the poor Christ. The Exercises aim at seeking and finding the will of God in order to carry it out. The question which follows the meditation on sin is paradigmatic for the whole experience of the Exercises: what have I done for Christ, what am I doing for Christ, and what should I do for Christ?[16]

Liberation theology starts from an option for the poor, with its ultimate motivation and inspiration in the gospel, aware that in the last resort it is grace, but it is also dialectical and political. The political and dialectical dimension is what makes it different from Ignatius's experience. It is dialectical in the sense of recognizing that the poor we meet in the Third World have been made poor. 'There are poor people *because* there are rich people.'[17] It sees and asserts a causal connection between the existence of poor people and the accumulation of wealth by the rich. The awareness of this causal connection does not necessarily derive from a Marxist analysis; it may be prior to it or it may dispense with it. Marxist analysis attempts to offer a rational explanation in terms of the expropriation of surplus value. For liberation theology, however, it is the causal link between the two which is fundamental. In the

beginning liberation theology relied on dependency theory for its explanation,[18] but nonetheless it can develop the intuition without recourse to such a theory. Pope John Paul II and the Puebla document also make this practical causal connection between the enrichment of a few and the impoverishment of the many.[19]

Ignatius certainly saw relations with the poor as including a practical element. In the early days of the Society there were various projects seeking directly to improve the material and spiritual condition of the poor.[20] In the terms of the time they had a political dimension, but this dimension takes on a new shape in the context of liberation theology. The political dimension of liberation theology's option for the poor is revealed in the importance it attaches to the poor person as the initiator of their own process of liberation from the situation of poverty and dehumanization. M. Mollat concluded in his study of the poor in the Middle Ages down to the beginning of the modern period—thus abutting on to Ignatius's time—that the poor were aware that 'all, however, shared the same impotence to overcome this misfortune without the help of their neighbour, but that this entailed a moral and material dependence'.[21] Liberation theology's premise is exactly the opposite. Only the poor are capable of overcoming this misfortune, once they have given 'a muted cry . . . pleading with their pastors for a liberation that is nowhere to be found in their case'.[22] This political aspect also appears in John Paul's speeches in Brazil, when he encouraged the oppressed not to 'ignore their own capacities' and to do 'everything to overcome evil poverty and its retinue of afflictions, not in order to aspire to the mammon of iniquity, but to achieve the dignity of children of God'.[23]

Ignatius's retreatant is called to emerge from the Exercises eager to devote his or her life to the Kingdom of Christ, embracing, not an ascetic poverty, but the poverty of the companions of the poor Christ, present in our poor brothers and sisters. Christians, inspired today by the ideal of liberation, are called to

> an affective and effective identification with the situation of the poor, and therefore to the option of committing themselves to the establishment of social justice and the liberation of the oppressed. This, in our time, is the new apostolic and social demand of Ignatian poverty as 'poverty with the poor Christ' and therefore in the last resort the demand of the poverty lived and taught by Christ.[24]

Consequently, the closeness between Ignatius's personal experience, the experience provoked by the Spiritual Exercises and the fundamental intuition of liberation theology, despite their distance in time and the different contexts, is very striking.

2. The question of historical mediations

The term 'mediation' comes from our modern philosophizing. However, the intuition that the experience of following the poor Christ needs to take practical form, to be translated, to become flesh in history, belongs both to Ignatius and to today. Once again there is a deep connection between Ignatius's experience and liberation theology which transcends historical distance.

At a moment when the Church was being seduced by the appeal of quietism, Ignatius, with his profound spiritual and mystical experiences, effortlessly transcended it, precisely because of his keen perception of the importance of action, of the use of creatures. If, on the one hand, he gives dogma its due, attributing to God all the initiative in the process of salvation, on the other he organizes the whole pedagogy of the Exercises so that the retreatant discovers the will of God here and now, in order to do it.

The well-known formula attributed to St Ignatius reveals this sense of human mediation:

> Place all your trust in God, as though the whole success of the business depended not on you, but on God alone; apply yourself wholly to your work as though God were to do nothing, but you were to do everything alone.[25]

This positive attitude to created things and its anthropocentric orientation can already be seen in the Principle and Foundation, and reaches its highest point in the Contemplation to Attain Love, in which Ignatius sees the luminosity of created things as 'blessings and gifts which descend from on high'.[26] In contrast to theologies with a more negative attitude to created things, Ignatius sees them as 'created for human beings and to help them in the attainment of the end for which they were created'.[27] From this follows their use or renunciation to the extent that they help human beings to attain their end. Ignatius continues the reflection arguing for the necessity for the attitude of indifference, which, in Karl Rahner's modern interpretation, is a sharp spiritual sense of the redundancy of everything, except God, the one absolute. God cannot be identified with any particular way: he is always greater.[28]

This Ignatian intuition, lived out at the level of historical mediations, is a cornerstone of liberation theology. On the one hand, it means an enormous freedom in relation to historical processes. None is absolute. From that premise liberation theology unleashes a violent attack on the idols which threaten a certain form of traditional Catholicism.

> The central problem today in Latin America is not the problem of atheism, the ontological problem of whether God exists or not . . .. The central problem is idolatry, in the sense of worship of the false gods of the system of oppression.[29]

On this there is agreement among the theologians of the continent. This attitude of Ignatian indifference, lived within the world of the poor, enables us to see the evil of the idols in the present situation. They are idols who feed on thousands of victims, the poor. This religious attitude is all the more important inasmuch as these idols of the system wear a religious cloak.

The other aspect of the Ignatian intuition is the use of human mediations. An attitude of freedom and a positive view of human realities bring liberation theologians into contact with instruments of social analysis, and makes them appreciate political mediations in the process of liberation. They are not afraid to interpret them in relation to the Kingdom, seeing a theological significance in episodes of social and historical liberation, real anticipations and rehearsals of the Kingdom.[30] The two fundamental and most original stages of liberation theology consist precisely in analysing the social situation with a sociologist's eyes in order to discover in this human text the traces of God's handwriting, and then translating the reflection into action. The means bringing Christians to re-examine, modify and purify, or consolidate and confirm their previous activity. In all cases reflection grows out of action and ends in action. This movement is only possible with faith in the value of human action in history and the possibility that it can build the Kingdom. It is thus different from spiritualities which keep their distance from the world—*fuga mundi*—and are suspicious of social processes and action involving conflict. Ignatius may not have seen the positive value of this area, but he nevertheless left us the criterion of the *tantum quantum*, 'indifference' and of the *magis*, which correspond, in another context, to this inspiration underlying liberation theology.

The main shift in relation to Ignatius, one which does not distort liberation theology, is a transposition into the social and political key of ideas which Ignatius developed in an individual key. But the tune remains the same. For Ignatius our existence on earth was precisely not a time of contemplation but of active service. We discover contemplation in this activity. Ignatius's prayer is directed towards life, action, activity: *in actione contemplativus*.[31] This fascinating synthesis between contemplation and action, this ability to find God in all things, represents liberation theology's most crucial quest. And the privileged sphere of God's presence is the liberation social movements, which means that in its Latin American version Ignatius's maxim would run: *in liberatione contemplativus*.[32] This also reflects very much the new interpretation of and meditation on the bible cultivated in the base communities. It is carried out within the triangle text, context and pre-text. The text is the word of the bible, the context is given by the living out of faith in the community, and the pre-text is insertion in the detail of the people's lives, their struggles, their daily lot of suffering and hope.[33]

It is fair to say that this universal character of apostolic activity and concern with effectiveness was one of the novelties introduced by Ignatius. While it is true that 'usefulness' is not a new slogan in the Church, it nevertheless acquires a new urgency at the beginning of the modern age. Ignatius was to be the man who, in his life-work—the Society of Jesus—was to stress method and organization and put them at the service of the apostolate.[34]

J. Nadal believes that having a form of prayer linked to action and the ability to discover God in all things, even in 'external ministries',[35] is a special grace of Ignatius, one which God imparts to the Society and through it to others. The Spiritual Exercises are a

> triumphant method which sought to make believers indifferent to all that is not God and one which was to prove itself eminently capable of helping elite souls still hesitating to consecrate themselves to the apostolate.[36]

3. The problem of liberation

The young Ignatius's existential universe was court life. In this he experienced sin, 'the standard of Lucifer, the mortal enemy of our human nature'.[37] Liberation theology's antithesis of oppression and liberation can be translated into Ignatius's language by his

three antitheses, wealth and poverty, honour and dishonour and pride and humility. The trajectory of oppression goes from wealth to pride, and that of liberation starts with poverty and goes to humility.

Clearly, this structure depicts Ignatius's experience of the emptiness, vanity and lavish exhibitionism of sixteenth-century courts. He saw very clearly the power of this evil life of wealth, empty honours and complacent pride to rot and destroy the core of the Christian life. To break its hold, his main prescription is the meditation on sin. Here he reveals his spiritual genius. Sin is seen as part of an historical process which affects humanity in general—Adam and Eve, the person beside me, this particular person and finally me. Escape is not through any self-analysis, but by placing oneself in front of the dead body of Christ on the cross. The corpse of the Son of God has the power to break this vicious circle, which Ignatius later glosses as wealth, honour and pride. Ignatius does not let the retreatant linger in the past, in a morbid consideration of their sins. He drives them forward, towards the future, to rebuild, from within their world of sin, a new world for Christ. The meditations on the Kingdom and the Two Standards are the reply to the meditation on sin. It is because the retreatant trusts in the mercy of the God who pardons but pushes further that they confront the sin of the world and their sin within it.

Liberation theology starts from this same intuition. It is only before the crucified of history—the poor and oppressed of this world—who continue today the history of the crucified Jesus of Jerusalem, that we can become aware of the vicious circle of oppression: accumulated wealth, offensive consumerism and oppressive power. It is the accumulation of wealth at the expense of the poor which gives rise to the modern expression of social status—lavish consumption—and ends in the pride of the oppressive power which destroys any ability of the poor to organize for their liberation. The meditation on this sin, too, does not stop with mere confession, but becomes a search for an alternative in action, in order to rebuild those parts of God's project which sin has undone.[38]

The meditations on sin and on the Two Standards end with a question and a request. The question is about what we have done, are doing and will do for the poor Christ in Latin American terms, for Christ in the poor. To answer this triple question—past, present and future—is the task which constitutes the basic structure of liberation theology. With regard to the past, to analyse how the

social system came to be what it is; for the present, discerning the interplay of forces in the present which oppress and kill Christ in the poor; in the future, devising liberating forms of action, undertakings which can be owned by, carried forward by, and benefit, the poor. The meditation on the Two Standards places the Latin American Christian face to face with the inevitability of the option either for Christ in the poor—the gospel expression of the option for the poor—or against Christ, leaving the poor in the kingdom of oppression and death.

Obviously the different situation of capitalism in Ignatius's time and in Latin America today accounts for the different urgency, weight and nature of the conception of liberation. In Ignatius's time the poor were numerous: they sprang up everywhere like mushrooms after rain. But it was difficult to get a view of an economic system at its birth. In our context of unrestrained capitalism, dependent and sluggish, the poor appear in multitudes, crowded around our big cities as a cheap and exploited labour force. Exploitation hits you in the face, in intimate connection with the system. Because of this, liberation cannot be thought of in terms of works of charity, as in Ignatius's time, but as requiring a profound transformation of the system itself. In this sense, liberation theology positions its reflection by the same Ignatian experience, but develops it in a different direction.

Ignatius foresaw that an option for Christ, renouncing wealth and honours, would bring humiliations. He prepares the retreatant for this with the consideration of the Three Degrees of Humility for a whole day. Imitating the humiliated Christ, the retreatant is ready to make their choice. For many Christians who chose liberation the Third Degree of Humility has meant, not just humiliations, but martyrdom itself. A serious reflection on this subject cannot ignore this reality, which is increasingly present in the lives of Christians and non-Christians who have chosen to be on the side of the poor in their just struggles.

The geography of martyrdom has not spared any Latin American country, any sector of society, and group of people; from Mexico to Argentina, from indigenous people and illiterate peasants to lawyers and teachers dedicated to the interests of the people, from lay people from the base communities to bishops. Archbishop Oscar Romero continues to be the great symbol of the martyr bishop. The litany has lengthened. Most recently we were shocked by the horrific murder of a group of Jesuits in El Salvador, most of whom

worked in a university, but in close harmony with the lives, suffering and interests of the poor. One of their brethren, who escaped death by being away from the house, has written this marvellous testimony with fraternal passion:

> They wanted to give a voice to the reality of the lives of the vast majority of ordinary people—the true national reality . . .. They murdered these Jesuit academics because they made the university an effective instrument in defence of the mass of the people, because they had become the critical conscience in a society of sin and the creative awareness of a future society that would be different, the utopia of God's kingdom for the poor. They were killed for trying to create a truly Christian university. They were killed because they believed in the God of the poor and tried to produce this faith through the university.[39]

Conclusion

This journey has tried to draw parallels between Ignatius's experience and the current of liberation, of which liberation theology is one expression. But richer than liberation theology is the very experience of a whole Church committed to liberation. This Church is thirsty for spirituality. Ignatian spirituality appears to respond to that thirst, all the more in that its foundation experience is the most important theological concern of these communities. Their fundamental spiritual problem is to look for and find God in creatures, in all things, to use Ignatius's language. In practical terms, the question is how to connect the process of liberation—the analytic phase and the phase of action—with the contemplation, the experience of God, with the truth, inspiration and motivation of the gospel.

NOTES

[1] Hugo Rahner, *Inácio de Loiola, homen da Igreja* (Livraria Tavares Martins, Porto, 1956), p 22.

[2] Speaking of the relation between prayer and action, the reconciliation of presence in the world and the presence of God, two pillars of liberation theology, Gustavo Gutiérrez mentions Ignatian spirituality as 'one of the most notable and fruitful of the successful efforts at a synthesis' (*We drink from our own wells: the spiritual journey of a people*, New York and Melbourne, 1984), p 143, n 21.

[3] Jon Sobrino, 'Ejercicios espirituales en América Latina', in *Diakonía* 4 (1980), n 16, p 19.

[4] M. Mollat, *Les pauvres au moyen âge. Étude sociale* (Hachette, Paris, 1978). The author describes the situation of the poor between the fifth and fifteenth centuries. Ignatius's Spain was certainly no different from this appalling vision of poverty.

[5] Mollat, *Les pauvres*, p 353.
[6] Exx 142, 146.
[7] Exx 98, 116, 146, 147, 167.
[8] Santo Inácio de Loiola, *Exercícios Espirituais*, trade. e anotações do P. G. Köveceses (Porto Alegre, 1966), n 1.
[9] V. Codina, 'Claves para una hermenéutica de los Ejercicios', *Diakonía* 4 (1980), n 16, pp 12ff.
[10] St Ignatius of Loyola, *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, trans by George E. Ganss, 553.
[11] St Ignatius, *Constitutions*, 817.
[12] St Ignatius wrote, 'I judge, in the light of my conscience, that if I accepted it [any honour], I would destroy the Society; so much so that, if I were to imagine or suggest any methods for pulling down or destroying the Society, this method of accepting a diocese would be one of the best, if not the best of all', letter to Don Fernando of Austria, King of Rome, in *Obras completas de San Ignacio de Loyola* (BAC, Madrid, 1963), p 675.
[13] *Obras completas de San Ignacio*, letter to the fathers and brothers of Padua (Rome, 7 August 1547).
[14] J. B. Libânio, 'Os pobres nossos mestres e juízes', in *Grande Sinal* 36 (1982), pp 547–64.
[15] V. Araya, 'Experiencia de Dios. Su lugar en la teología desde el reverso de la historia', in E. Bonin, *Espiritualidad y liberación en América Latina* (DEI, Costa Rica, 1982), pp 105–14; Jon Sobrino, 'The experience of God in the Church of the poor', in *The true Church and the poor* (New York and London, 1985), pp 125–59; J. Espeja, 'Liberación y espiritualidad en América Latina', in *Páginas* supplement No 61 (July 1984), pp 1–16.
[16] Exx 53.
[17] Ignacio Ellacuría S. J., 'Los pobres, lugar teológico en América Latina', in *Diakonía* 6 (1982), n 21, p 43.
[18] Gustavo Gutiérrez, *A theology of liberation*, 2nd ed (New York and London, 1988), pp 51–57.
[19] On his first journey to Latin America, on the occasion of the Puebla conference, John Paul referred to 'the mechanisms that are imbued with materialism rather than authentic humanism, and that therefore lead on the international level to the ever increasing wealth of the rich at the expense of the ever increasing poverty of the poor' ('Opening address at the Puebla Conference', *Puebla* (Washington, Slough and London, 1980), p 11. The Puebla document adopts such a statement even more clearly and strongly: 'Small groups in our nations . . . have taken advantage of the opportunities provided . . . to profit for themselves while the interests of the vast majority of the people suffer' (No 47).
[20] Even after becoming General, Ignatius continued his apostolic work in Rome, giving assistance with the problems of most relevance to the reform of the Church, which included 'aid to the poor of the city', the grave problem of 'vagrant women' and girls in danger, spiritual assistance to the sick, etc. A. Ravier, *Santo Inácio funda a Compania de Jesús* (Loyola, São Paulo, 1982), p 459.
[21] M. Mollat, *Les pauvres au moyen âge*, p 353.
[22] Medellín Document, 'Poverty of the Church', 2; Puebla 88.
[23] John Paul II, greeting at the airport of Teresina, *Mensagens de João Paulo II para a América Latina*, (Loyola, São Paulo, 1979), p 209.
[24] J. Alfaro, 'Teología de los misterios de la vida de Cristo', in *Ejercicios-Constituciones. Unidad vital* (Bilbao, 1975), p 196, quoted by V. Codina, 'Claves para una hermenéutica de los Ejercicios', p 15.
[25] The Hungarian Jesuit G. Hevenesi accepts as Ignatian a maxim which at first sight seems contradictory: 'This is the first rule of action: place all your trust in God as though all success depended on you and not on God; and get on with everything as though God were doing everything and you nothing'. Because of this it was often corrected subsequently and given the familiar form: 'Place all your trust in God, as though the whole success of the business depended not on you, but on God alone; apply yourself wholly to your work as though God were to do nothing, but you were to do everything alone'. Whatever the truth,

according to the interpretation of Hugo Rahner and G. Fessard, even though the first formula appears more authentic, the meaning appears clear. 'In any activity we need to be aware that God does everything and that in the full flush of trust in God we should not forget our own cooperation . . .. What is typically Ignatian is the fact that we have to give ourselves totally, while remaining inwardly free to place everything in the hands of God' (Hugo Rahner, *Ignatius von Loyola als Mensch und Theologe* (Herder, Freiburg, 1963), pp 150-51, quoted by J. Stierlie, *Buscar a Deus em todas as coisas. Vida no convívo do mundo e oração Inaciana* (Loyola, São Paulo, 1990), pp 152ff.

[26] Exx 237.

[27] Exx 23.

[28] Karl Rahner, *Mission and grace*, vol III (Sheed and Ward, London and New York), pp 180ff.

[29] *La lucha de los dioses. Los ídolos de la opresión y la búsqueda del Dios liberador* (DEI/CAV San José and Managua, 1980), p 7; see also 'V. Congreso de teología. Dios de vida, ídolos de muerte', in *Misión abierta*, nn 5/6 (1985), pp 523-733.

[30] Leonardo Boff and Clodovis Boff, *Salvation and liberation* (New York, 1984).

[31] J. Nadal observes that St Ignatius had a great privilege: 'And this too: that in all things, actions and words he felt and contemplated the presence of God and delight in spiritual things, . . . contemplative in action (which he used to explain by saying that we must find God in all things) . . . MHSJ 90, *JN* V, 162.

[32] J. B. Libânio, 'Action and contemplation in our conflictive situation', in CIAS 8 (1977), n 25, pp 57-70; 'A articulaçao de fé e compromisso social: discernimento da prática pastoral', in *Fé e Política. Autonomias específicas e articulações mútuas* (Loyola, São Paulo, 1985), pp 71-116; *Spiritual discernment and politics* (Orbis, New York, 1982).

[33] Carlos Mesters has developed the theory of this methodology in detail in various writings. Most accessible in English is *Defenseless flower* (Orbis, New York and CIIR, London, 1989), esp. pp 109-120; see also *Círculos bíblicos* (Vozes, Petrópolis, 1973), *Por trás das palavras* Vozes, Petrópolis, 4th ed 1980). More recently this approach was used as the basis for the study material prepared for the Palavra y Vida (Word and Life) project commissioned by CLAR (Latin American Confederation of Religious), and criticisms were made of the method. Mesters answered them by demonstrating the 'traditional' character of the method: 'O Projeto "Palavra y Vida" e a leitura fiel da Bíblia de acordo com a Tradição e o Magistério da Igreja', in *Revista Eclesiástica Brasileira* 49 (1989), pp 661-673.

[34] J. Delumeau, 'Le catholicisme entre Luther et Voltaire', *Nouvelle Clio* 30 (PUF, Paris, 1971), pp 103ff.

[35] 'In these ministries (preaching, reading the Scriptures, hearing confessions, etc.) God must be found with peace, quietness and application of the inner man, with light, joy and contemplation, with ardent love for God, and likewise we must search for the same in all other ministries, even external ones' (EN IV 681).

[36] J. Delumeau, 'Le catholicisme entre Luther et Voltaire', p 104.

[37] Exx 136.

[38] Jon Sobrino, 'Ejercicios espirituales', p 19.

[39] Jon Sobrino, *Companions of Jesus* (CAFOD, CIIR, SCIAF and Trócaire, London, Glasgow and Dublin, 1990), pp 28-29.