

conviction that the Council in adopting the rhetorical style of discourse of the Fathers of the Church unwittingly adopted the great themes and issues present in the Humanistic tradition from its inception, themes and issues that were baptized by the Humanists of the Renaissance--social commitment, human dignity, freedom of conscience, respectful dialogue. Like some other scholars, I have gone so far as to describe Vatican II "an Erasmian council," for it was Erasmus who gave particularly powerful voice to these ideals in the Renaissance.²⁹

Second, what the Council helped the Jesuits to do was to discover and affirm in their own spiritual tradition fundamental themes along the same line that had lain dormant or that had for a long time lacked clear articulation. Fortunately, scholarship on Jesuit sources like the *Spiritual Exercises* and the *Constitutions* was already at the time of the Council producing results consonant with what the Council expounded. I refer to such things as the discovery of the centrality of discernment in the process of the *Exercises* and of spiritual freedom as the goal toward which discernment is geared, and I refer to the vision, in the final exercise in the book, of the world as suffused with grace and charged with the grandeur of God. I refer in the *Constitutions* to the basic harmony between nature and grace that runs as a leitmotif through them, a far cry from Augustinian or Jansenist views that the world is corrupt and human nature depraved--and all human actions little more than disguised plays for power.

Conclusion

In sum, what I have been trying to say is that in answering our question about how humanistic the Jesuit tradition in education is, we, while making use of normative documents like the *Ratio*, must move back from them to try to see what the actual practice was. We must move back even from that point to examine the specific context in which that tradition was located, whether in university or secondary school. We must examine, as well, the national context. And we must move still further back to locate the tradition in the even broader traditions of the Jesuit order and, of course, in the mood and ethos of Catholicism at any given period of history.



You are all acutely aware of another context that is profoundly affecting our subject today. I refer to postmodernism, postcolonialism, multiculturalism, and the revolution in education being affected by the electronic media, all of which challenge premises upon which the traditional *studia humanitatis* rested. These contemporary realities are pervasively and aggressively present in higher education, affecting every aspect of our enterprise. The cultural wars are no less vicious for being fought on such small turf.³⁰

"How humanistic is the Jesuit tradition--from 1599 to now?" That is the question before us. I think we can answer it by saying the tradition has been deeply and consistently humanistic on two levels. First, on the level of belief in both the practical and the more broadly humanizing potential of the humanities, and, secondly, on the level of concern for the yearnings of the human heart arising from Ignatian spirituality--the two levels that Professor Fumaroli designated as *rhetorica humana* and *rhetorica divina* in the Jesuit tradition.³¹ In an ideal world these two "rhetorics" should have impact on every aspect and every discipline of the educational enterprise.

The Jesuit Humanistic tradition has been filled, I believe, with much light but also with many shadows. It has always for better or worse been much affected by larger contexts in which it has found expression, and thus it is not a uniform or easily defined tradition. It was Humanistic, but it also had a deep concern for science. Despite these problems and complications, I venture that it still provides us with a helpful legacy with which to address the new and radical issues that face the humanities today in Jesuit colleges and universities. The tradition will not make our decisions for us, but it provides, I think, a privileged vantage point from which we can do so.

Notes

- 1.[back] See especially Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and Its Sources*, ed. Michael Mooney (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979).
- 2.[back] The basic study remains H.-I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, trans. George Lamb (New York: New American Library, 1944). See also his *Saint Augustin et la fin*



de la culture antique, 4th ed. (Paris: Editions E. de Boccard, 1958); as well as Werner Jaeger, *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture*, trans. Gilbert Highet, 2nd ed., 3 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963); and Helen North, *Sophrosyne: Self-Knowledge and Self-Restraint in Greek Literature* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1966), especially 121-96.

3.[back] The basic sources can be found in William Harrison Woodward, *Vittorino da Feltre and Other Humanist Educators* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963), first published in 1897, and his *Desiderius Erasmus concerning the Aim and Method of Education* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964), first published in 1904. For the historical background, see Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300-1600* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989).

4.[back] On this concept in Erasmus, see John W. O'Malley, "Introduction," in *Collected Works of Erasmus*, ed. John W. O'Malley (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), 66: ix-li.

5.[back] An international consensus on the nature of Renaissance Humanism has developed over the past thirty years; see, e.g., Albert Rabil, Jr., ed., *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998). See also, however, Kenneth Gouwens, "Perceiving the Past: Renaissance Humanism after the 'Cognitive Turn'" *American Historical Review* 103 (1998): 55-82.

6.[back] The classic study remains Charles Trinkaus, *"In Our Image and Likeness": Humanity and Divinity in Italian Renaissance Thought*, 2 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970). See also O'Malley, *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome: Rhetoric, Doctrine, and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court, c.1450-1521* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1979).

7.[back] See, e.g., Jerry H. Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ: New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983).

8.[back] See Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities:*



Education and the Liberal Arts in Fifteenth and Sixteenth-Century Europe (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), especially 161-200.

9.[back] *Ibid.*, especially 58-98.

10.[back] On these foundational years, see Grendler, *Schooling*, 363-81; Allan P. Farrell, *The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education: Development and Scope of the Ratio Studiorum* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1938), 3-216; Gabriel Codina Mir, *Aux sources de la pedagogie des jésuites: Le "Modus parisiensis"* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1968); and O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 200-42, 253-64.

11.[back] See O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 210, 256.

12.[back] Technically speaking the school at Messina was a university, but at the beginning the Jesuits were frustrated in their hopes of teaching subjects beyond the studia humanitatis; see Daniela Novarese, *Istituzioni politiche e studi di diritto fra Cinque e Seicento: Il Messanense Studium Generale tra politica gesuitica e istanze egemoniche cittadine* (Milan: Giuffrè Editore, 1994).

13. [back] See O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 212.

14.[back] *Ibid.*, 212-13.

15.[back] See Aldo Scaglione, *The Liberal Arts and the Jesuit College System* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1986), 95.

16.[back] On the *Ratio*, see Farrell, *Jesuit Code*, 219-362; John W. Donohue, *Jesuit Education: An Essay on the Foundations of Its Idea* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1963), 32-62; Gian-Mario Anselmi, "Per un'archeologia della Ratio: dalla 'pedagogia' al 'governo'" in *La "Ratio studiorum": Modelli culturali e pratiche educative dei Gesuiti in Italia tra Cinque e Seicento*, ed. Gian Paolo Brizzi (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1981), 11-42. For the text in English, see *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum of 1599*, trans. Allan P. Farrell (Washington D.C.: Conference of Major Superiors of Jesuits, 1970). The new critical edition of the Latin text is to be found in *Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Iesu*, ed. Ladislaus Lukiics (Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, vol. 129) (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1986), 5:357-454, with an excellent "Introductio Generalis" by Lukacs, 1 *-34*.



- 17.[back] See *Jesuit Ratio*, 3,6-7.
- 18.[back] *Ibid.*,62-63.
- 19.[back] See, e.g., Donahue, *Jesuit Education*, 159-85.
- 20.[back] See, e.g., Scaglione, *Liberal Arts*; Brizzi, ed., "*Ratio studiorum*"; Brizzi, *La formazione delle classe dirigenti nel Sei-Settecento: I seminaria nobilium nell'Italia centro-settentrionale* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1976); Francois de Dainville, *L'education des jesuites (XVIe--XVIIIe siecles)* (Paris: Les Editions de Minuit, 1978); John W. Padberg, *Colleges in Controversy: The Jesuit Schools in France from Revival to Suppression, 1815-1880* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969).
- 21.[back] See Judith Rock, *Terpsichore at Louis-Le-Grand: Baroque Dance on the Jesuit Stage in Paris* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996).
- 22.[back] The literature on the subject is abundant. Of special importance are the works by Jean-Marie Valentin, e.g., *Le theatre des jesuites dans les pays de langue allemande* (1554-1680),3 vols. (Bern: Peter Lang, 1978); *Le theatre des jesuites dans les pays de langue allemande: Rtpertoire chronologique des pieces re presentees et des documents conserves* (1555-1773) 2 vols. (Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1983-84); "Gegenreformation und Literatur: Das Jesuitendrama im Dienste der religiosen und moralischen Erziehung," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 100 (1980): 240-56. See also now on the broader program of "ex:tracurriculars," Joseph M. O'Keefe, "The Pedagogy of Persuasion: The Culture of the University of Pont-a-Mousson," *Paedagogica Historica* 34 (1998): 421-42.
- 23.[back] O'Malley, et al., eds., *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), and Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999).
- 24.[back] See Marc Fumaroli, e.g., *L'age de l'eloquence: Rhetorique et "res literaria" au seuil de l'epoque classique* (Geneva: Droz, 1980); "Definition et description: Scholastique et rhetorique chez les jesuites des XVIe et XVI le siecle" *Travaux de Linguistique et de Litterature* 18 (1980): 37-48; "Baroque et classicisme: L'Imago Primi Saeculi Societatis Jesu



(1640) et ses adversaires:' in his *L'ecole du silence: Le sentiment des images au XVI le siecle* (Paris: Flammarion, 1994), 343-65; "The Fertility and Shortcomings of Renaissance Rhetoric: The Jesuit Case," in *Jesuits: Cultures*, ed. O'Malley, 90-106. See also, e.g., Debora K. Shuger, *Sacred Rhetoric: The Christian Grand Style in the English Renaissance* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988).

25.[back] See Scaglione, *Liberal Arts*, 131-32.

26.[back] Robert Schwickerath, *Jesuit Education: Its History and Principles Viewed in the Light of Modern Educational Problems* (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1904), 297-331. See also Francis P. Donnelly, *Principles of Jesuit Education in Practice* (New York: P. J. Kennedy & Sons, 1934).

27.[back] I believe the last effort to revise and impose it was the edition published in 1941, which dealt only with the program of theological studies for Jesuits themselves, *Ratio Studiorum Superiorum Societatis Iesu, Mandato Congregationis Generalis XXVIII Exarata* (Rome: Curia Praepositi Generalis, 1941).

28.[back] J. Barry McGannon, et al., eds., *Christian Wisdom and Christian Formation: Theology, Philosophy, and the Catholic College Student* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1964); Michael J. Buckley, *The Catholic University as Promise and Project: Reflections in a Jesuit Idiom* (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 1998); and Martin R. Tripole, ed., *Promise Renewed: Jesuit Higher Education for a New Millennium* (Chicago: Loyola Press, 1999). See also, e.g., Rolando E. Bonachea, *Jesuit Higher Education: Essays on an American Tradition of Excellence* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1989).

29.[back] See O'Malley, "Erasmus and Vatican II: Interpreting the Council," in *Cristianesimo nella storia: Saggi in onore di Giuseppe Alberigo*, ed. A. Melloni, et al. (Bologna: II Mulino, 1998), 195-211.

30.[back] See, e.g., Thomas Bender, et al., "The Transformation of Humanistic Studies in the Twenty-first Century: Opportunities and Perils," ACLS Occasional Paper, No.40 (New York: American Council of Learned Societies, 1997); Eugene Goodheart, "Reflections on the Cultural Wars:" *Daedalus* 126/4 (Fall 1997): 153-75; Charles Bernstein, "A Blow Is Like an



Instrument" *ibid.*, 177-200. See, more broadly, the recent number of *Daedalus* entitled *Distinctively American: The Residential Liberal Arts College*, 128/1 (Winter, 1999).

31.[\[back\]](#) Fumaroli, "Fertility and Shortcomings." See also Mabel Lundberg, *Jesuitische Anthropologie und Erziehungslehre in der Fruhzeit des Ordens* (ca.1540-ca.1650) (Uppsala: University of Uppsala, 1966).

