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John O'Malley and Jesuit Education: A Journey into Humanism

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Abstract

This article reflects upon the impact of the work of John W. O'Malley, S.J. (1927–2022), on the field of the history of Jesuit education. In *The First Jesuits* (1993), O'Malley provided an innovative approach to the subject that refuted some long-standing preconceptions about the way Jesuit schools and universities had originally developed. The approach that he took to the topic throughout the 1990s and 2000s allowed him to identify two intertwined educational traditions at the heart of the Jesuit pedagogical model: the humanistic tradition of the Renaissance period, based on the Isocratic concept of *pietas*, and the scholastic tradition inherited from the medieval universities. This article focuses on the consequences of these findings: 1) at the historiographical level, O'Malley came to elaborate a philosophy of history around the traditional concept of humanism as it emerged in *Four Cultures of the West* (2004) and in his tetralogy (2008–2019) on modern ecumenical councils; 2) at the pedagogical level, O'Malley came to outline 5 “humanistic” hooks (2015), which are still essential tools for those actively working in Jesuit educational institutions.

Introduction

The task of writing on John O'Malley's impact on Jesuit education is not easy, for it runs the risk of neglecting aspects that are probably as equally fundamental as those that one chooses to describe. Undoubtedly, O'Malley is one of the greatest scholars of our time. He has contributed to the advancement of knowledge on the Renaissance, Church history, and the philosophy of cultures with books that are still cornerstones and indispensable references for the scholarly community. O'Malley has also contributed to the knowledge of the history of his own religious order, the Society of Jesus, but his contribution is not limited to simple aspects of its history. O'Malley's contributions developed a field, which was later explicitly called “Jesuit Studies” thanks to the epistemic framework and perspectives he provided through his own research.

This article builds upon this last trajectory in O'Malley's work to define the major lines of

impact it has had on the specific field of Jesuit education.

First, O'Malley contributed to Jesuit education as a scholar, a mentor, a teacher, a public historian, and as a Jesuit. As a scholar, he paved the way for the emergence of the field of Jesuit Studies, and his fundamental works remain as key references for researchers who want to study the history and pedagogy of the Society of Jesus. He also helped to frame the history of the Jesuits in the context of the humanistic tradition on one side, and of the broader Church history on the other. As a teacher and a mentor, he educated, advised, and guided generations of students, Jesuit scholastics, and scholars, always projecting a sense of personal availability that Benet Perera (1535–1610), the great philosopher and theologian at the Roman College, recommended as the distinctive mark for any Jesuit teacher:

the teacher should be the sort of person whom the student trusts because of his

learning and practice, understands because of his skillful fluency in teaching, loves for his enthusiasm and diligence, respects for the integrity of his life, and, when the occasion arises, feels he can approach freely for advice because of his humanity and personal warmth.¹

As a Jesuit and a public historian, O'Malley contributed to the Jesuit network of schools and universities—their faculty, staff, and students, as well as to the Jesuits in formation and to the Society in general. He offered a clear, convincing perspective and understanding of how to look into the identity of the Jesuit educational environment in which all of those mentioned above learn, work, teach, or are formed.

O'Malley's definition of this identity developed over time, but its core principle remained based on the tight connection that he saw between Jesuit pedagogy and humanistic culture. Understanding O'Malley's interpretation of what Jesuit education means then requires inquiring into how and why his understanding of "humanism" developed and extended over time. Starting with his studies on Renaissance intellectuals and then focusing on the historical origins of the Society of Jesus, O'Malley eventually offered an understanding of the very nature of Jesuit pedagogy as belonging to the humanistic tradition, which he conceived as broader than the Renaissance one. Rather, O'Malley came to consider the humanistic tradition as a major phenomenon of the Western tradition of understanding, perhaps sometimes even alluding to it in an ontological way, as a human mode of relating to reality overall.

1. *The First Jesuits*

O'Malley's writings on Jesuit education—an interest of his scholarship that began with the publication of *The First Jesuits*—is an appropriate place to begin.

In the sixth chapter of *The First Jesuits*, O'Malley made some important clarifications that were necessary in the scholarly debate about how the history of the Jesuits connects to the goals of their schools.² First, he demonstrated that the Jesuits were not born to fight the Reformation, but to "help souls," a charism that involved the

performance of ministries of charity and—in the broader framework of the expansion of European imperialisms—the pursuit of evangelization in missionary contexts.³ Although Ignatius and his first companions had met as students at the University of Paris and thus knew the importance of being educated, they initially did not recruit new members who were not already fully formed in their studies.⁴ "*No estudios ni lecciones en la Compañía*,"⁵ was the wish of Ignatius himself. He intended the Society to be a congregation of itinerant preachers of the Gospel, based on almsgiving and what Luce Giard called "essential mobility."⁶ Therefore, he desired to recruit only those who could be ready to "help souls," that is, men who were already educated. This initial core of the Jesuit charism changed very quickly, as dissatisfaction with the readiness of new members and the difficulty of refusing admission to young men who had yet to complete their studies, prompted Ignatius to adapt to the new circumstances and allow the establishment of Jesuit colleges as early as 1541. These colleges were residences located in major European cities where young scholars could complete their studies by attending classes at the local university.⁷ The story changed again when Ignatius was urged by local citizens and rulers to open schools for lay or clerical students (who were external to the order) in their communities. After initial cautious perplexity, Ignatius accepted the idea of appointing Jesuits with this mission. Only five years after the start of the proto-college in Messina (1548), he was able to convey that he was in favor of expanding the establishment of schools.⁸

O'Malley's work highlighted two other crucial moments of change. One is Ignatius's choice to favor the establishment of colleges rather than professed houses, a decision that can be determined by a letter that Juan Alfonso de Polanco, his secretary, wrote to Francisco de Borja.⁹ This decision had a great impact on the mission of the Society in Ignatius's eyes. Unlike the professed houses, which were temporary residences and did not rely on any income other than alms, the colleges could be sustained and endowed, which meant that a more stable administration was needed.¹⁰ The second moment, perhaps even more radical, occurred after Ignatius's death.¹¹ The rapid expansion of the

schools put a strain on the Society because only fully trained Jesuits could serve as teachers in the schools. Staff shortages resulted in frustration and crisis and many schools experienced times of failure.¹² O'Malley was the first to emphasize the importance of a letter sent by Polanco on behalf of Diego Laínez, the superior general who followed Ignatius. In this letter, the founder's secretary wrote that, from then on, every Jesuit should carry "his share of the burden in the schools."¹³ At this moment, O'Malley observed, education became the order's most important ministry and the Society became the first teaching order in the Catholic Church.

What O'Malley did, however, was both demonstrate the development that led the Society to change the vision that had animated the founders in 1540 and highlight the fact that, despite the radical nature of such a change, no one within the Society opposed it.¹⁴ The entry into the teaching ministry occurred as a surprisingly smooth transition. There are many reasons and sources for this, according to O'Malley, but we will probably never have a definitive answer. Clearly, two concomitant factors shaped the mindset of the Society and paved the way for the emergence of youth education as the order's primary ministry.

The first of these factors was that the Jesuits interpreted education as an important way to help souls. As O'Malley pointed out, the Constitutions described the schools as a "work of charity," a kind of extension of the mission to "instruct the ignorant," that had already been stated in the *Formula instituti*.¹⁵ In addition, the fundamental work for the common good, intrinsic to Ignatius's spirituality and already resonant in the culture of the early Jesuits, made them think of the education of young people as the "leaven" of the Christian faith. It was viewed as an effective way to help the greatest number of people through a specific activity.

The second factor is the influence of humanistic culture on the early Jesuits. In *The First Jesuits*, O'Malley described this influence in terms of convergence between the Jesuits' emphasis on the common good of society and the common belief of their times that humanistic studies formed upright character, *pietas*.

Although different in many ways from the *Christianitas* that the Jesuits wanted to instill by their teaching of catechism, *pietas* correlated with it in that the truths learned were expected to have an impact on the pupil's behavior and outlook.¹⁶

There is also a third factor that is represented by the method adopted by humanists, which is founded on classic rhetoric and literature. These disciplines are considered not only as a school of style, but also as moral examples by which to be inspired.

In the sixth chapter of *The First Jesuits*, O'Malley does not yet develop the object of study related to how Ignatian spirituality and his *forma mentis* corresponded and shared the same pool of values as *studia humanitatis*, as he would do in the future. But already in the text of 1993, we can spot how O'Malley sees an affinity between Jesuit culture—as a religious order—and the fundamentals of humanistic philosophy.

Among the main principles of this kind of an affinity, *The First Jesuits* included the following:

1) The Jesuits believed in education, though they did not explicitly develop a "philosophy of education," for they believed that the humanists provided a reliable one. They emphasized the importance of being a good teacher, rather than being merely a learned man, in order to become an excellent educator;¹⁷

2) Jesuits' adaptation to local circumstances was a value stated in both the Constitutions and the *Ratio studiorum*. The latter was the famous plan of studies viewed as a manifesto of Jesuit education and a monument in the history of education. According to the *Ratio*, some aspects of education could be implemented differently across the worldwide network of Jesuit schools;¹⁸

3) The Jesuits developed a pedagogy that creatively blended humanistic education with teaching practices at universities. In doing so, they transcended the *modus parisiensis*, that is, methods and systems they had experienced as students at the University of Paris.¹⁹ O'Malley's argument was important for historiography. It re-addressed an emphasis on the inherited model of university

pedagogy that some important historians before O'Malley had noted;

4) Contrary to the image of the steady success of Jesuit schools throughout the early modern period, the history of Jesuit education was anything but a triumphal march. New foundations did not result automatically in benefits, and numerous crises and failures occurred in the administration of its schools and universities. Some institutions, such as the Roman Seminary, were incredibly challenging from the point of view of the Jesuit teachers.²⁰

O'Malley made deepening the understanding of the affinity between Jesuit pedagogy and humanism a *leitmotif* in his later studies. The scope of this affinity would significantly expand, but the main assumptions that he had developed in *The First Jesuits* remained as a milestone in his research path and were rarely challenged by the later scholarship.²¹

2. Inquiring into Jesuit Involvement with Education and the Role of the *Ratio studiorum*

The impact of *The First Jesuits* went beyond the success of attracting the interest of scholars on the topic.²² Thanks to the work of John O'Malley, a broader public was drawn to discover the original charism of the Society of Jesus.²³ In particular, members of Jesuit schools, colleges, and universities²⁴ who were exploring and integrating recent official documents on Jesuit education and pedagogy benefited from learning about the identity and tradition of their institutions.²⁵

In this context, it is not surprising that O'Malley was asked to contribute to our understanding of the structure and mission of the Jesuit educational model at its origins. He was aware that providing a deeper understanding of the tradition required challenging long-held opinions to help Jesuits themselves and their lay companions recognize elements that were proper to their own environments. In a crucial essay that O'Malley entitled "How the First Jesuits Became Involved with Education" (2000), he explicitly referred to such a goal:

Here I want to deal more directly with how the Jesuit involvement in formal schooling originated, not about its impact. I do so because I believe there is something stabilizing, even invigorating, about being part of a long-standing tradition, if of course one understands both its achievements and its limitations and is therefore free to take from it what is life-giving and helpful and leave the rest.²⁶

Historiographical research on the origins of Jesuit education had to first confront some distorted and preconceived ideas.²⁷ Some of these had been cultivated by the Society of Jesus itself, such as the role of the *Ratio studiorum* in the history of Jesuits' schools. According to O'Malley, the *Ratio studiorum* adopted in 1599 could be understood as "a deceptive document,"²⁸ because, from a historiographical point of view, its importance could be overestimated in the economy of Jesuit pedagogy. Scholarship often overemphasized its impact on the reality of Jesuit schools, because of the official nature of such a document and because the Jesuits themselves revered it as one of their major achievements. O'Malley demonstrated that the *Ratio* was rarely implemented in its entirety. The majority of Jesuit schools offered only humanistic courses. The *Ratio* was mostly meant for the education of the Jesuits themselves, as the majority of subjects who could move through the entirety of the *Ratio* to its final theological studies were, in fact, Jesuits in formation.²⁹

In this contribution, O'Malley located the Jesuit model of schooling in a historical context dominated by two main traditions. The first tradition was the medieval university, where the main goal was to professionalize students in disciplines such as theology, medicine, and law. This professionalization was pursued through a curriculum that drew its framework from the Middle Ages and through a method that was based on scholasticism. The second tradition was that of the humanistic schools that emerged during the Renaissance in Italy during the 14th century.³⁰ These schools desired to form students to *pietas* and were based on the *studia humanitatis*.³¹ Ignatius and the first Jesuits were exposed to both models. Some characteristics of Ignatian

spirituality provided them with a mentality and a culture that were instrumental in re-orienting their initial missionary impulse toward an educational one. O'Malley found the roots of this crucial moment in Ignatius's "reconciliation with the world" and a spiritual attitude toward interiority.³²

"Reconciliation with the world," according to O'Malley, was a paradigm shift in terms of how Ignatius conceived his own spirituality. This turning point occurred at Manresa when through his intense spiritual enlightenment, Ignatius developed "what might be called a world-friendly spirituality."³³ This world-affirming spirituality, combined with Ignatius's growing belief that Christian life requires us to help others, paved the way to embrace the basic assumption of humanistic education—that is, that the primary quality which had to be pursued through the *studia humanitatis* and the classic *paideia* is a form of *pietas*. Thus, the Jesuits entered into the educational endeavor with a mindset rooted in the basic values of humanism. In their schools, they blended the two models without seeing any conflict, but this was because of a philosophy of education they inherited from the humanists. The university model was consonant with this philosophy insofar as its methods and curricula could be framed within a humanistic point of view. Its main goal was to educate, which formed character and prepared students for active citizenship and social life. In this way, a good Christian could be educated in a manner that was not in conflict with the pursuit of truth.³⁴ O'Malley established the methodology to understand this topic. The core element of the Jesuit vision for the purpose and goal of education could not be fully grasped by relying upon the *Ratio studiorum*, which for O'Malley was no more than a codified set of rules which did not embody the larger philosophy that was involved in Jesuit pedagogy.³⁵

O'Malley pointed out two major elements of this pedagogy that are important for understanding the humanistic approach of their educational mission and how this related to the Arts and to the communication between institutions.³⁶ This was an important step in how O'Malley came to see humanism as the background for Jesuit education and the mission of the Society in general. From this moment on, the essays that he wrote on the history and nature of Jesuit education seemed to

consider Jesuit culture as a crucial part of a cultural tradition in the Western world, the Isocratic-humanist one. Yet, it seems to us that in O'Malley's later works, this Isocratic-humanist tradition would progressively lose its historically determined traits—related, i.e. with Antiquity, the Renaissance, or Western tradition in general—to become almost a particular, anthropological form of universal, human understanding.

3. Humanistic Tradition: Toward a Philosophy of History (of Education)

O'Malley addressed the issue of Jesuit "humanism" when he investigated the origins of the involvement of the Society in education and schools. In answer to the question "How humanistic is the Jesuit tradition?" O'Malley tried first to address misconceptions about Jesuit education derived from an excessive emphasis by scholars on the Parisian experience of the first Jesuits and the impact of the *Ratio studiorum* on the reality of Jesuit schools and pedagogy.³⁷ His argument was that the Jesuit tradition belonged more to the humanistic educational mentality than to a medieval codification of knowledge and methods. An emphasis on the medieval roots of Jesuit education was made possible by interpreting the *Ratio studiorum* as a document that was fully and consistently implemented wherever a Jesuit school was established. This failed to consider the true nature of the document and the limited implementation it enjoyed in Jesuit educational institutions.

In *The First Jesuits* (1993), O'Malley criticized the idea that Jesuits had simply translated the *modus parisiensis*, and later, in "How the First Jesuits Became Involved with Education" (2000), he criticized the idea that the *Ratio studiorum* was a sufficient source to understand the reality of Jesuit pedagogy. Eventually, he had to address the issue of what kind of humanism they belonged to and what the characteristics were that proved that Jesuit culture was part of such a tradition.

In "How Humanistic Is the Jesuit Tradition?" (2000), O'Malley reconstructed the concept of the humanistic tradition by sourcing it back to two conflicting models of knowledge and education in ancient Greece. On one side were the Platonic and Aristotelian models, with the pursuit of dianoetic

truth, theoretical contemplation, and abstract speculation as the highest form of human learning. On the other side was the isocratic tradition which pursued *pietas* and prioritized the ethical inspiration of the person. It formed human beings to engage society as active citizens through good literature and rhetoric.³⁸

According to O'Malley, the Isocratic tradition was present in Cicero and Quintilian as well as the Fathers of the Church. Those Fathers had adopted it to understand scripture, preach, and announce the contents of Christian faith to the society of their times. Renaissance humanism was a Christian phenomenon that recovered the primacy of *pietas* over an abstract conception of *veritas*. This occurred through the establishment of the so-called *studia humanitatis*, a plan of studies that put grammar, literature, and rhetoric from the ancient classics as the preferred method to educate youth in character formation and eloquence. This was meant to form young Christians as leaders of society, in part, through their moral and civic example. This also resulted in the emergence of new disciplines crucial to theological debates of the sixteenth century, such as philology. Not surprisingly, O'Malley mentioned Erasmus as "the prince of humanists" who encompassed all these values, including the application of philology to the interpretation and translation of scripture.³⁹

With this historical background, O'Malley corrected the idea that the Jesuits transferred a medieval mentality in their schools by adopting university-culture and scholasticism.⁴⁰ In fact, the spirituality of their founder as well as the original impulses of the Society toward the help of souls, the missionary endeavor, and the engagement with the world made them much more culturally connected to the main tenets of the humanistic tradition. This primacy of *pietas* was a core value the Jesuits shared with humanists, and it formed the main framework of their pedagogy.⁴¹ O'Malley illustrates this in the following:

The Jesuit 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. In an ideal world these two "rhetorics" should have impact on every aspect and every discipline of the educational enterprise.⁴²

At this point, it is clear that humanism was more than a momentary movement, originally located in Italy and then spreading across some European countries such as the Low Countries, France, Germany, and Spain. For O'Malley, that movement was rooted in ancient Greece but developed beyond the fourteenth century. The pursuit of *pietas*, the service to others in a civic engagement, and the primacy of the word were elements that might come to mark events of history that were temporally far apart. This is the consideration one might draw from dealing with the limitation of the *Ratio studiorum* of 1599.⁴³

Another sign of the historical expansion in the meaning of "humanism" that O'Malley progressively adopted in this article, was that he described the Second Vatican Council as the "Erasmian Council."⁴⁴ O'Malley recalled the roots of Vatican II as the humanistic element of the Isocratic tradition for a variety of reasons that remodeled his historical perception of the history of the Church and are beyond the scope of this paper. Marks of such an Isocratic-humanistic framework, though, included the panegyric style of the official documents that the Council released, the raised authority of the Fathers of the Church, and the same style of authority used by the early Church as pastoral rather than legal or judicial. O'Malley explored these elements in the second chapter of *Four Cultures of the West* (2004) and would later build on this thesis in greater detail in *What Happened at Vatican II* (2008).⁴⁵

In *Four Cultures of the West*, the fundamental elements of the humanistic tradition from Isocrates to the Renaissance humanists and the Jesuits became pillars of a structure and elements of a human attitude, which took the shape of a much more natural approach rather than a historically-confined phenomenon.⁴⁶ O'Malley knew the risk of ontologizing this approach. He warned his readers not to move into a metaphysics of knowledge that substitutes the word "history"

with human, universal nature.⁴⁷ Still, he would agree that through *Four Cultures of the West* he had a solid philosophy of history, similar to Wilhelm Dilthey with his work on the *Weltanschauungen*,⁴⁸ Arnold J. Toynbee with civilizations,⁴⁹ Max Weber with the ideal-types,⁵⁰ Marc Bloch with generations,⁵¹ or Henri I. Marrou's *tríptyque*.⁵²

In summary, O'Malley's work interpreted Jesuit culture as part of the long-standing humanist tradition and its way of learning. O'Malley also seemed to think that this way of learning was more than a historically-determined tradition; instead, he thought that it was an overall category of human understanding and anthropology which incarnated itself in various forms throughout history. The tradition of Jesuit education was one of these historical incarnations, perhaps among the most important ones.

4. Five Essential Hooks for Jesuit Humanism in Education

We believe that O'Malley's understanding of humanism as the deepest root in Jesuit culture never faded. Rather, he expanded his concept of humanism beyond merely historical movements, making it an essential trait of the category of human nature that has displayed itself over time.

Such an expansion of the concept of humanism seemed to coincide with a renovated endeavor by the broader Society of Jesus to affirm humanistic values in a globalized age. Superior General Adolfo Nicolás epitomized this endeavor through the quest for a globalized social humanism, in the same years as O'Malley was in fact delineating the essential profile of Jesuit humanism. On May 24, 2014, Fr. Nicolás addressed his fellow Jesuits with an invitation to adapt to current cultural circumstances, which require an *aggiornamento* of the concept of humanism: "We must recognize that our societies face radical challenges: 'what does it mean today to be human?'"⁵³

The demands of a social humanism that could be adapted to the times pushed the Society in the early 2010s to reflect upon its mission, including the educational one. In this context, O'Malley's ideas on humanism were rediscovered to provide a clearer comprehension of the theoretical foundations on which to shape an educational

model. O'Malley's ideas were also to be considered to outline a prototype of a "well-educated" human being consistent with the values proposed by Jesuits, and more generally by the Catholic Church, to be addressed also to non-Catholic institutions and students.⁵⁴

The work "Jesuit Schools and the Humanities," published in 2015, tries to answer this call, building upon previous research on Jesuit education.⁵⁵ And it extends this research to reveal five essential characteristics of the "ideal graduate" of a Jesuit school. This corresponds to one of the four basic models of understanding of the Western civilization, and offers a scheme of fundamental, rather than historical, marks of a successful humane education that Jesuit schools should be pursuing to meet the contemporary challenges of globalization.⁵⁶

O'Malley called these characteristics the five "hooks," which he created to reflect the basic goals of Jesuit education: 1) the Fly in the Bottle, 2) Heritage and Perspectives, 3) Not Born for Ourselves Alone, 4) *Eloquentia Perfecta*, or the Art of the Word, and 5) The Spirit of Finesse.⁵⁷ Re-reading them is useful to understand how previous research was digested and repurposed in order to become a practical text, ready to be used for everyone who is involved in Jesuit education.

The Fly in the Bottle was a metaphor O'Malley took from Ludwig Wittgenstein to signify that the humanistic tradition of education helps students "fly out of the bottle," that is, to escape from the "confines of their experience up to the present."⁵⁸ These include the prejudices and assumptions of their "comfort zone." Release from this expands their awareness and consciousness to meet what O'Malley called "the other." In order to attain this encounter, skills such as inventiveness, innovation, intelligence, and imagination are required. He believed the humanities to be the most proper disciplines for such a purpose, since "training in the humanities is a training, if all goes well, in exploring 'the other,' and seeing how it relates to the known—an exercise of imagination."⁵⁹

For O'Malley, this image is closely connected to the second hook, "Heritage and Perspective." This hook emphasizes the importance of historical knowledge as a way to understand and interpret

the present and its cultural trajectory. Historical knowledge involves an attitude toward literature that values the high quality of expression that some literature has reached, so interpreting and incarnating the thought of their own times. Like the Renaissance humanists and the early Jesuits, O'Malley believes that it is proper not to overwhelm students' minds with all that could be read, but to select literature based on the criteria of meeting "the other" and to do that through the "classics."

Referring to classics, and in general to humanistic values, O'Malley is looking at a historically broader category than what a Renaissance humanist would have agreed upon. An example of this is provided by the third hook, "We Are Not Born for Ourselves Alone." This hook derives from Isocrates himself, but O'Malley interprets it in light of Pedro Arrupe's famous speech "Men and Women for Others," in which the Superior General of the Society of Jesus put this idea forward in a form that was perceived as criticism of the past tradition.⁶⁰ On the contrary, in Arrupe's goal of educating men and women for others, he simply proposes an emphasis on the common good of the humanists and the civic engagement of the classics. O'Malley traced some aspects of Jesuit spirituality back to what he called "the broader humanistic tradition": "The moral imperative has been at the heart of the humanistic tradition from the very beginning. It correlates well with the mission of the Society of Jesus."⁶¹

The whole person of each student was meant to be formed by a predominantly humanistic philosophy of education, so that Jesuit pedagogy could help bring individuals of civic engagement, of moral maturity, and of distinctive Christian spirituality into the public sphere. This was made possible by the improvement of *eloquentia perfecta*, the fourth hook, which is a specific habit of cultivating language and its expression.

O'Malley argued that human learning cannot be severed from the acquisition of eloquence, that is, "the skill to say precisely what one means with grace, clarity, and conviction."⁶² In sum, precise thinking and effective communication are essential for the art of expressing language. Such art does not involve the rules of the discourse alone, but extends to bodily expressions, material aspects of

the sounds and gestures, as well as extra-linguistic aspects that pertain to character, morality, social reputation, and spirituality. Perfect eloquence also involves aesthetic qualities and habits, and this is the core of the fifth hook, what O'Malley calls the *esprit de finesse*,⁶³ which corresponds to one of the most important values of the formation of the *gentleman* in the early modern period.

When considered together, these hooks compose the figure of a whole person that Jesuit schools and universities should pursue through education precisely because of their belonging to the broader humanistic tradition. The characteristics O'Malley put forward through these hooks have become modes of an anthropology and fundamental attitudes of how human beings relate to themselves, others, and the world. For O'Malley, educating *humanistically* and teaching the humanities by providing students with a sense of history, moral and political philosophy, drama, poetry, novels, and foreign languages widens students' perspectives; it excites their imaginations, and makes them sensitive in the weighing of options and in assessing the relative merits of competing values that they would encounter throughout life.⁶⁴

The Jesuits participate in the humanist tradition through the tradition of the Exercises of St. Ignatius in "discernment." This is a non-secularized version of the virtue of *prudence* that humanists of all times have tried to inculcate in their students. Humanist educators have always tried to form their students

into adults who made humane decisions for themselves, their families, and for any group for which they might be a part, decisions as appropriate as possible to all aspects of a given situation—a wise person, somebody, that is, whose judgment you respected and to whom you would go for personal advice, the polar opposite of the nerd, the technocrat, the bureaucrat, and the zealot. They tried to instill a secular version of what we in the tradition of the Exercises of St. Ignatius call discernment.⁶⁵


The five books culminated a complex research path started in 1968 with the in-depth study on Giles of Viterbo (1472–1532) and the humanistic environment of Catholic Reform in the wake of Trent that emerges also from O'Malley's beloved study *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome* (1979).⁶⁶ The five books appear as an attempt by O'Malley to practically express that rediscovery of an authentic past through the lens of historical research, which he recognized as a major task for pursuing a reform of the Church. An authenticity, that "For Giles ... was univocal and recoverable, and he lacked our awareness of how ambiguous and elusive it can be."⁶⁷

Conclusions

John O'Malley's work has had a deep international impact on academia thanks to the historical approach that led him to focus on the dynamics and ideas of significant events in the history of the Church and the Society of Jesus. He pioneered the field of Jesuit studies in a multi-disciplinary way. He connected the great ecumenical councils of the Church through the thread of humanistic ideas, contributing not only to a further understanding of the history of the Church during and after the so-called "Tridentine era," but of the Society of the *Ancien Régime* as well.

As for Jesuit education, he paved the way for a multitude of historians of education to enter the complexity of Jesuit educational institutions (schools, colleges, and universities) without methodological biases which relied upon historical caricatures of the Society of Jesus itself. He created a historical scheme to help scholars understand how Jesuit pedagogy was placed in the

broader context of the sixteenth century, where humanistic schools and universities appeared as competing models of education. Within such a framework, O'Malley urged scholars to go beyond seeing the Society as a product of late scholasticism and to expand research on sources beyond the *Ratio studiorum*. While this was foundational, it was not exhaustive of Jesuit institutions. The cultivation of disciplines, for example, appeared in a limited way in the *Ratio* but was extremely important for Jesuit schools. O'Malley saw in piety and prudence a form of secularized discernment, a key value of Ignatian spirituality. Therefore, the Jesuit model proved to be part of a long-standing mode of understanding, rather than a mere echo of current practices.

O'Malley's legacy is challenging and uplifting at the same time. But it helps one who is deeply connected to the Jesuit educational tradition understand how they also participate in one of the noblest cultures of the West, that of humanism. This is a culture that sees education as one of the main goals of life, that invites one to discover the "other" and engage with others in the building up of society; it is a culture that forms habits of dialogue and respect, that forms in one a sense of beauty, and that, instead of merely professionalizing or instructing the person, seeks to shape one's own personality and does that in order to promote a communal, shared sense of humanity for the good of all. 

Notes

¹ Benet Perera, "Best Practices in Humanistic Studies (1564)," in *Jesuit Pedagogy (1540–1616): A Reader*, ed. Cristiano Casalini and Claude Pavur, S.J. (Chestnut Hill, MA: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2016), 191–205 (quote on 191–92).

² John W. O'Malley, S.J., *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 200–42.

³ By reconsidering Church historiography on the relationship between Jesuits and the Reformation from Hubert Jedin up to the early 1990s, this idea was the

core of John W. O'Malley, S.J., "Was Ignatius a Church Reformer? How to Look at Early Modern Catholicism," *The Catholic Historical Review* 77, no. 2 (April 1991): 177–93, later reprinted in John W. O'Malley, S.J., *Saints or Devils Incarnate? Studies in Jesuit History* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013), 71–87, especially 74–82 (77 for the quote, but as O'Malley noticed "the help of souls is the leitmotif of his correspondence and of the Constitutions," cf. John W. O'Malley, S.J., "Saint Ignatius and the Cultural Mission of the Society of Jesus," in *The Jesuits and the Arts, 1540–1773*, ed. John W. O'Malley, S.J. et al. (Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press, 2005), 3–26, reprinted in O'Malley, *Saints or Devils*, 225–55, quote on 230–31). This concern

emerges also in O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 213; and in John W. O'Malley, S.J., "How the First Jesuits Became Involved in Education," in *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum: 400th Anniversary Perspectives*, ed. Vincent J. Duminuco, S.J. (New York: Fordham University Press, 2000), 56–74, reprinted in O'Malley, *Saints or Devils*, 199–216, in particular 207–08.

⁴ O'Malley, *Saint Ignatius*, 218–34. For a general introduction to the historical framework of the University of Paris in those years, Philippe Lécirvain, S.J., *Paris au temps d'Ignace de Loyola (1528–1535)* (Paris: Editions Facultes jésuites de Paris, 2006), later in Philippe Lécirvain, S.J., *Paris in the Time of Ignatius of Loyola (1528–1535)*, trans. Ralph C. Ranner (Saint Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2011), 55–71, 137–62.

⁵ The well-known quote is drafted from the Constitutions of 1541 by Ignatius of Loyola, *Monumenta Ignatiana Ex Autographis Vel Ex Antiquioribus Exemplis Collecta. Vol. I Monumenta Constitutionum Praevia, Monumenta Ignatiana Series Tertiae* (Roma: Typis Pontificae Universitatis Gregorianae, 1934), 47, l. 80, (= MHSI 3, 1:47, 80).

⁶ Luce Giard, "Le devoir d'intelligence, ou l'insertion des Jésuites dans le monde du Savoir," in *Les Jésuits à La Renaissance. Système Éducatif et Production du Savoir* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1995), IX–LXXIX.

⁷ O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 202.

⁸ O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 201–02.

⁹ O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 201.

¹⁰ O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 203. This aspect was already stressed in John W. O'Malley, S.J., "Renaissance Humanism and the Religious Culture of the First Jesuits," *The Heythrop Journal* 31, no. 4 (October 1990): 471–87, then reprinted in O'Malley, *Saints or Devils*, 181–98, in particular 196–97.

¹¹ O'Malley, "Renaissance Humanism," 193–94.

¹² O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 227–32.

¹³ Polanco's epistle is in Lázló Lukács, S.J., ed., *Monumenta paedagogica Societatis Iesu. Nova editio penitus retractata III (1557–1572)* (Romae: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1974), 305, ll. 31–32 (= MHSI 108:305, 31–32), and quoted by O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 200.

¹⁴ The results of this line of enquiry are clearly visible in Paul F. Grendler, "The Culture of the Jesuit Teacher

1548–1773," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 3, no. 1 (January 2016): 17–41, especially 22–23.

¹⁵ O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 208–11. A translation of the passage of O'Malley's reference in *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and Their Complementary Norms. A Complete English Translation of the Official Latin Texts*, ed. John W. Padberg, S.J. (Saint Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996), 177.

¹⁶ O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 212.

¹⁷ O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 215.

¹⁸ O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 239.

¹⁹ O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 215–25.

²⁰ O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 232–39.

²¹ From a historiographical point of view, it is symptomatic of the capital importance assumed by *The First Jesuits* that, although only chapter six deals explicitly with education and a great number of studies were already conducted on this topic, the whole volume is cited in the *Cambridge Encyclopedia of the Jesuits* among the suggested texts to understand the attributes of Jesuit higher education, cf. José A. Mesa, S.J., "Education, Higher/Tertiary," in *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the Jesuits*, ed. Thomas Worcester et al. (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 271–73, here 273. It is also the fundamental text used to introduce the description of what a Jesuit college usually was in the past by Luce Giard, "The Jesuit College: A Center for Knowledge, Art, and Faith, 1548–1773," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 40, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 1–2n1. To summarize how the impact of *The First Jesuits* is still alive today after 30 years in the field of history of Jesuit education, see Paul F. Grendler, *Jesuit Schools and Universities in Europe, 1548–1773: Brill's Research Perspectives in Jesuit Studies* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2019), especially 10n11 and 20n37; or the judgment by the same author in Paul F. Grendler, *The Jesuits and Italian Universities, 1548–1773* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2017), 38n8.

²² For an example of the impact of O'Malley's investigations on the interweaving between two educational traditions in Jesuit schools, see the recent volume by Paul F. Grendler, *Humanism, Universities and Jesuit Education in Late Renaissance Italy* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2022), especially chapters 14–18, 343–449. *The First Jesuits* marks a caesura from the previous state of the art in history of Jesuit education, whose most significant texts are Thomas Hughes, S.J., *Loyola and the Educational System of the Jesuits* (London: William

Heinemann, 1892); Allan Farrell, S.J., *The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education: Development and Scope of the Ratio Studiorum* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1938), especially 3–216; John W. Donohue, S.J., *Jesuit Education: An Essay on the Foundation of Its Idea* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1963); Mabel Lundberg, *Jesuitischen Anthropologie und Erziehungslehre in der Frühzeit des Ordens (ca. 1540–ca. 1650)* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1966); Gabriel Codina Mir, S.J., *Aux sources de la pédagogie des Jésuites: Le “Modus parisiensis”* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1968); Gian Paolo Brizzi, ed., *La “Ratio studiorum”: Modelli culturali e pratiche educative dei Gesuiti in Italia tra Cinque e Seicento* (Roma: Bulzoni, 1981), in particular the essay by Gian Mario Anselmi, “Per un’archeologia della Ratio: dalla ‘pedagogia’ al ‘governo,’” 11–42; Karl Hengst, *Jesuiten an Universitäten und Jesuitenuniversitäten* (Paderborn; München; Wien; Zürich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1981), 55–79 (especially the synthesis in 55–56); Aldo Scaglione, *The Liberal Arts and the Jesuit College System* (Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1986); and, obviously, László Lukács, S.J., “Introductio generalis,” in *Monumenta Paedagogica Societatis Iesu. Nova editio penitus retractata. V. Ratio atque institutio studiorum Societatis Iesu (1586 1591 1599)* (Romae: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1986), 1*–34*.

²³ Thomas G. Plante, “A Review of Spiritual Development and Transformation among College Students from Jesuit Higher Education” *Religions* 11, no. 7 (2020), 333, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel11070333>.

²⁴ Just to quote a few, José A. Mesa, S.J., “The International Apostolate of Jesuit Education: Recent Developments and Contemporary Challenges,” *International Studies in Catholic Education* 5, no. 2 (2013): 176–89; Barton T. Geger, S.J., “Cura Personalis: Some Ignatian Inspirations,” *Jesuit Higher Education: A Journal* 3, no. 2 (2014): 6–20, especially 19n51; or more recently Julia Bninski and Jennifer Wozniak Boyle, “Cura Personalis as Institutional Practice,” *Jesuit Higher Education: A Journal* 9, no. 1 (2020): 122–32, especially 123–124; Monica E. Harendita et al., “The Implementation of Ignatian Pedagogy in a Jesuit University in Indonesia: Students’ Perspectives,” *Jesuit Higher Education: A Journal* 8, no. 2 (2019): 59–67, especially 60; and Allen Brizee, “Reimagining the Humanistic Tradition: Using Isocratic Philosophy, Ignatian Pedagogy, and Civic Engagement to Journey with Youth and Walk with the Excluded,” *Jesuit Higher Education: A Journal* 11, no. 1 (2022): 2–25.

²⁵ For a general overview, see the fifth part of José A. Mesa, S.J., ed., *Ignatian Pedagogy. Classic and Contemporary Texts on Jesuit Education from St. Ignatius to Today*

(Chicago: Loyola Press, 2017), 427–585, to be completed with ICAJE, *A Living Tradition in the 21st Century—An Ongoing Exercise of Discernment* (Rome: Society of Jesus, 2019), available at: <https://www.educatemagis.org/wp-content/uploads/documents/2019/11/Document-Living-Tradition-Lo-Res-200501.pdf> (version 2, March 2020).

²⁶ O’Malley, “How the First Jesuits,” 200. For a record of the impact of this text also in university classes, see Susan C. Méndez, “Reflections on Running a First-Year Seminar about Feminism and Jesuit Education,” *Jesuit Higher Education: A Journal* 3, no. 2 (2014): 85–95, especially 91.

²⁷ From a methodological point of view, the choice made in the *Introduction* by O’Malley, *First Jesuits*, 1–22, to reconsider the early moments of the Society’s history without falling into the trap of attempting a hagiographic narrative still represents an essential starting point for anyone who join—as a novice, as well as a veteran—Jesuit Studies, as recently testified also by Paul F. Grendler, *Jesuit Schools and Universities in Europe, 1548–1773* (Leiden: Brill, 2019) (= *Brill’s Research Perspectives in Jesuit Studies* 1, no. 1 (2019): 1–118).

²⁸ O’Malley, “How the First Jesuits,” 212; and John W. O’Malley, “Jesuit Schools and the Humanities Yesterday and Today,” *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 47, no. 1 (Spring 2015): 23–26 (25 for the quote).

²⁹ O’Malley, “How the First Jesuits,” 212–13. Still in 1999, an in-depth analysis of the *Ratio*’s role in Jesuit higher education was outlined in John W. O’Malley, “How Humanistic Is the Jesuit Tradition?: From the 1599 Ratio Studiorum to Now,” in *Jesuit Education 21: Conference Proceedings on the Future of Jesuit Higher Education*, ed. Martin R. Tripole, S.J. (Philadelphia: St. Joseph’s University Press, 2000), 189–201, especially 195.

³⁰ As early as 1990, O’Malley set out to reconcile the relationship between medieval *traditio* and humanism, considered separate and at odds with one another by previous Jesuit historiography, in John W. O’Malley, “Renaissance Humanism,” 181–98.

³¹ On the cultural inheritance of the two educational systems, O’Malley, “How the First Jesuits,” 201–02. On O’Malley’s definition of *pietas* in Jesuit education’s attitude, in addition to O’Malley, “How the First Jesuits,” 206, see also O’Malley, “Was Ignatius,” 76–78; O’Malley, *First Jesuits*, 212–13; and, even more, O’Malley, “Saint Ignatius,” 237.

³² O'Malley, "How the First Jesuits," 203–07, here 204.

³³ O'Malley, "How the First Jesuits," 204.

³⁴ O'Malley, "How the First Jesuits," 210–11.

³⁵ O'Malley, "How the First Jesuits," 211–12.

³⁶ O'Malley, "How the First Jesuits," 212–13. This idea was already in O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 216–25. O'Malley's analysis on figurative and performative arts in Jesuit schools received immediate attention by the scientific community. Just to give an idea of the breadth of studies and research institutes that dedicated their efforts to this topic, at least two volumes must be mentioned: John W. O'Malley, S.J. et al., eds., *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); and John W. O'Malley et al., eds., *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773* (Toronto; Buffalo; London: University of Toronto Press, 2006). In the field of educational history, the reflections on today's universities of O'Malley's research on the fusion between Aristotelism and Isocratic tradition have recently been highlighted by José M. Guibert, S.J., "Jesuit Universities: Tradition, Renewal and New Goals," *Lumen. A Journal of Catholic Studies* 6, no. 2 (July 2018): 24–36.

³⁷ See, i.e., Codina Mir, *Aux sources de la pédagogie*, 191–348.

³⁸ O'Malley, "How Humanistic," 189–90. The thesis provided by O'Malley continues, in a "Jesuit" direction, the interpretation given in 1948 by Henri I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, trans. George Lamb (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), 87–90.

³⁹ O'Malley, "How Humanistic," 191–93, here 191. It must be underlined that O'Malley already dedicated a great attention to the influence in Jesuit pedagogy from the "Prince of Humanists" in O'Malley, "Renaissance Humanism," 181–89.

⁴⁰ Lundberg, *Jesuitische Anthropologie*, 72–76; Codina Mir, *Aux sources de la pédagogie*, 50–190.

⁴¹ O'Malley, "How Humanistic," 193–94.

⁴² O'Malley, "How Humanistic," 198–99.

⁴³ O'Malley, "How Humanistic," 194–97.

⁴⁴ O'Malley, "How Humanistic," 199 (198 for the quote). The relationship between "Erasmism" and Vatican II is also linked to O'Malley's own biographical

experience as a scholar, from its very beginning. In the *Preface* of John W. O'Malley, *What Happened at Vatican II* (Cambridge, MA; London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008), IV, the author recalls that he had the opportunity to participate as a spectator at the council sessions during his Roman fellowship (1963–1965), while he was completing his studies on the Augustinian humanist Giles da Viterbo, later published in John W. O'Malley, S.J., *Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform. A Study in Renaissance Thought* (Leiden: Brill, 1968). Reasoning on that, O'Malley says, "the council provided me with a good foil for understanding aspects of the sixteenth century, and the sixteenth century provided me with a foil for interpreting some things happening in Vatican II."

⁴⁵ John W. O'Malley, S.J., *Four Cultures of the West* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004), 103–15. The text, which is considered by O'Malley himself as a "vestibule leading into *What Happened at Vatican II*" (cf. O'Malley, *What Happened*, X) could be significantly considered as a movement from a philosophy to a "theology of history," by using Marrou's categories. This perspective will influence also the other volumes that compose the tetralogy on the Church councils, namely John W. O'Malley, S.J., *Trent: What Happened at the Council* (Cambridge, MA; London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2013); John W. O'Malley, S.J., *Vatican I: The Council and the Making of the Ultramontane Church* (Cambridge, MA; London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2018); John W. O'Malley, S.J., *When Bishops Meet: An Essay Comparing Trent, Vatican I, and Vatican II* (Cambridge, MA; London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2019).

⁴⁶ This is particularly evident in "Culture Three: Poetry, Rhetoric, and the Common Good," in O'Malley, *Four Cultures of the West*, 127–78.

⁴⁷ O'Malley, *Four Cultures of the West*, 1–5.

⁴⁸ Among the many moments of reflection on the topic by the author, we are thinking in particular of Wilhelm Dilthey, "The Types of World-View and Their Development in Metaphysical Systems (1911)," *Wilhelm Dilthey: Selected Works, Volume VI: Ethical and World-View Philosophy*, trans. James McMahon and Rydolf A. Makkreel (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019), 249–94.

⁴⁹ See the 12 volumes of Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934–61) by keeping in mind the development of author's phenomenological reading of history as a "Human affair" between the volume 1, *Introduction* (1934) and volume 12, *Reconsiderations* (1961).

⁵⁰ On the concept of ideal-types see Max Weber, "Science as Vocation," in *The Vocation Lectures*, trans. Rodney Livingstone, ed. David Owen and Tracy Strong (Illinois: Hackett Books, 2004).

⁵¹ Due to his biographical vicissitudes, this concept of capital importance was just mentioned, but not developed, by Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft*, intr. Joseph R. Strayer, trans. Peter Putnam (New York; Alfred A. Knopf, 1953), 40-41.

⁵² See chapter 6 in Henri I. Marrou, *Théologie de l'histoire* (Éditions du Seuil: Paris, 1968), in particular 31-35.

⁵³ See the letter from Rome, May 24, 2014 by Adolfo Nicolás, S.J., "Sobre los jesuitas destinados al apostolado intelectual", available at: <https://iaju.org/sites/default/files/pdf/2018/SP.Nicolas.%20Sept.2014.%20Spanish.pdf> (original in Italian). The quest for a humanistic renovation of the globalized world was a mark of Nicolás's generalate and a frequent topic in his speeches. Cf., for example, Adolfo Nicolás, "Jesuit Alumni and Their Social Responsibility: The Quest for a Better Future for Humanity. What Does It Mean to Be a Believer Today?," in Mesa, *Ignatian Pedagogy*, 555-69.

⁵⁴ Anticipating what will be said shortly, O'Malley's "goals and vision are in accord with the traditions of the Society," but at the same time, "they are also goals to which non-Catholic faculty and students can easily subscribe." cf. O'Malley, "Jesuit Schools," 31.

⁵⁵ Even if O'Malley never explicitly mentions Nicolás's letter, the reference to it is clear in the conclusions of the essay, when he states: "I did not promise to enter into just how these goals might be feasible in today's culture ... I will further comment, however, that for goals I have described to have the slightest chance of success, the institution in question must at least officially profess them and then provide means for their accomplishment." And, underlying the practical dimension of this last essay, he continues: "I want to go further. Inside the classroom as well as outside, I want to help students have satisfying lives. I want to help them fly out of the bottle, have a sense of their heritage and cultural location, see their lives as meant for something more than self-promotion, be able to express themselves properly and thus to think straight, and in their thinking develop a spirit of finesse." cf. O'Malley, "Jesuit Schools," 32-33. This connection was firstly underlined by Guibert, "Jesuit Universities," 32-33. But it must be remarked that, in a broader sense, O'Malley already echoed these developments by publishing John W. O'Malley, "Five Missions of the Jesuit Charism. Content and Method," *Studies in the*

Spirituality of Jesuits 38, no. 4 (Winter 2006): 1-33, especially 1-8, 24-33.

⁵⁶ O'Malley, "Jesuit Schools," 1-4.

⁵⁷ O'Malley, "Jesuit Schools," 28-31.

⁵⁸ O'Malley, "Jesuit Schools," 28.

⁵⁹ O'Malley, "Jesuit Schools," 29. These are also the points that the Santa Clara University students had to deal with in research by Laura Norris, "Cura Personalis and the Entrepreneurs' Law Clinic: Radically Student-Centered," *Explore Journal* 21 (Fall 2020): 30-35, especially 33-34; but see also Stanton Wortham et al., "Educating for Comprehensive Well-Being," *ECNU Review of Education* 3, no. 3 (June 2020), 406-36. Related to Covid-19 emergencies: Kim Deoksoon et al., "Formative Education Online: Teaching the Whole Person During the Global COVID-19 Pandemic," *AERA Open* 7 (2021), available at: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/epub/10.1177/23328584211015229>.

⁶⁰ For the text of the speech to which O'Malley refers, see Pedro Arrupe, S.J., "Men and Women for Others," in *Pedro Arrupe: Essential Writings*, selected by Kevin F. Burke, S.J. (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2004), 171-87. For a first introduction to the tensions affecting the Society in those years of Arrupe's generalate and to the cultural atmosphere inevitably experienced by O'Malley—as he remembered in his conversation with Emanuele Colombo, "So What?: A Conversation with John W. O'Malley," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 7, no. 1 (January 2020): 117-33, especially 128-30—see Pedro M. Lamet, S.J., *Pedro Arrupe. Witness of the Twentieth Century, Prophet of the Twenty-First* (Chestnut Hill: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2020), 293-342, and also other speeches addressed to the former students of the Society of Jesus by Pedro Arrupe, S.J., *Hombres para los demás* (Barcelona: Diáfora, 1983).

⁶¹ O'Malley, "Jesuit Schools," 29.

⁶² O'Malley, "Jesuit Schools," 30.

⁶³ The expression is explicitly chosen by O'Malley from Marrou, *History of Education*, 90-91, as something opposite to the "Geometric Spirit."

⁶⁴ O'Malley, "Jesuit Schools," 31.

⁶⁵ O'Malley, "Jesuit Schools," 31.

⁶⁶ We refer to John W. O'Malley, S.J., *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome: Rhetoric, Doctrine, and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court, c. 1450–1512* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1979). It is the author himself

declared his particular attachment to this work in “So What?” 123–24.

⁶⁷ O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo*, 191.