The Society of Jesus and the Eradication of Hate

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INTRODUCTION

The reality of vendettas, and violent responses against real or supposed breaches of personal or familial honor, marked the landscape of Europe during the early modern period, from nautical expansion, which began in 1450, through the French Revolution in the 1790s. In particular, in cultures identified as Mediterranean, as described as a discrete cultural archetype by historian Fernand Braudel (1972), specific societies held codes of honor and "face," the term used to designate a personal appearance that reflected a status of inner dignity and exterior relations. Subsequently, violent outbreaks resulted from attempts to return honor, good face, and the respective social and familial relations. As important protagonists in early modern life, the Jesuits found themselves involved in the important the effort to "save face" and to eradicate the hatred that resulted in the accusations against personal or familial honor. This study examines how members of the Society of Jesus worked toward the eradication of hatred and why this effort may be identified as an extension of the Jesuit's fundamental identity. In order to understand why the Jesuits involved themselves in the eradication of hatred caused by retaliations, vendettas, and other violence related to saving face, this work will first explore the significance of honor in early modern Mediterranean society.

I. HONOR, SHAME, AND "FACE" IN THE MEDITERRANEAN REGION

Building on the work of Erving Goffman (1959; 1963; 1982), which is still considered the surest starting point for a study of the sociological concept of "face," those working in that field have identified face as the visual representation of the dignity or prestige one has achieved through personal merits or familial rank and the honor that society places on such a rank or merit. The nature of face is complex, involving both individual and societal identities. These identities reflected relationships that designated realties, either actual or perceived, two distinctions that had very blurred, if not non-existent, parameters in early modern society. Face represented the individual person, and for many Mediterranean cultures, a person's "face" was viewed as the equivalent of the totality of that person, not just an external manifestation of one's individuality. A contemporary application of this idea of face is Facebook, a digital extension of the perceivable construct

created and preserved by a person for social consumption and relationship. This particular aspect of social media has replaced the *piazza* as the setting for the expression of face and has become the environment for adulation and honor as well as their reverse: ridicule, hazing, and bullying.

The etymology of the word "person" reveals the social implications and connections of persons in a way that we today may not consider. A *persona* was a Greek theater mask used in the great tragedies such as those of Euripides, Aeschylus, and Sophocles, to identify character types. Those familiar with the television series *Gunsmoke* would know the stereotypes presented of the hero, the humorous sidekick, the wise old man, and the kind-hearted woman in the characters of Matt, Festus, Doc, and Miss Kitty. In the case of *Gunsmoke*, the audience understood each role by means of a character's persona reflected by clear externals such as white hats, black hats, gestures, and facial physiognomy (Stark, 1997). By means of this familiarity of persona, the plot could move forward without excessive explanation of how each character would act.

An analogous situation occurred in Mediterranean society when society itself depended on an individual's persona to enable the currency of social interaction and understanding. For this reason, the concepts of both face and honor preservation existed as important aspects of both Mediterranean and early modern society. One's persona, or face, provided the means of social currency; its devaluation, not surprisingly, was met with the dual response of hatred and violence. An example of this comes from autobiographical writings of one of the first recruits to the companions of Ignatius, which would become the Jesuit order. This incident, described in *The Confessions of Pedro Ribadeneria*, occurred sometime during the academic year 1539-1540:

> [O]ne night it happened that I was in the papal palace along with the pages of Cardinal Farnese. The Pope was giving a big party for all the members of the Farnese family. While I was in the same room with several cardinals and gentlemen, because of an insult given me by another gentleman's page, I gave the boy a hard slap, and then hit him with the candlestick I was holding. (1920/1923, p. 7)

The collective society, the community, existed as both actors and audience in a complex theater of life where, particularly for Catholic Mediterranean countries, one played out both societal expectations and eternal salvation before God and others.

The importance of acting, masks, and social performance was not lost on those who lived in the early modern period and who viewed human activity as analogous to acting out a performance on stage. Shakespeare's Antonio in *The Merchant of Venice* (Act I, Scene I) and Jacque in *As You*

Like It (Act II, Scene VII) both expressed the commonly held belief that the stage and acting provided the best allegory for human society. This analogy held importance in Mediterranean cultures with their emphases on honor, shame, vengeance, and vendetta (Burke 1987a; Burke 1987b; Blok, 1981; Bryson, 1935; Peristiany, 1965; Martinnes, 1972; Busquet, 1994). Persons viewed the world as a stage and created a specific urban setting, the piazza, as the platform for human performance. Some of these piazzas were actually designed to look like a stage set, as in the case of the urban setting in front of the church of St. Ignatius of Rome designed by Filippo Raguzzi in 1728. To further the performance's success, persons indulged in conspicuous consumption involving costumes and carriages as props to both appropriate and advance the theatrical nature of life (Lotz, 1973). Questioning honor or, even worse, doing something against honor was equivalent to assassination since such actions disabled or even terminated social interaction. That hatred would result, as illustrated in the case of Pedro Ribadeneria, should come as no surprise. Shakespeare sets the stage for such a conflict in the prologue of *Romeo and Juliet* where he notes the "continuance of [the] parents' rage" of the "pair of star-cross'd lovers" as evidence of the "ancient grudge" that existed between the two families (Prologue). In early modern Europe, evidence of hatred usually indicated a breach in relationships and absence of hatred indicated the possibility or even the reality of peace. Again, we may to turn to Shakespeare, noting how *The Tempest* concludes with the eradication of hatred and vengeance evidenced by the presence of peace and reconciliation between the major characters (Act V, Scene I).

Whereas Shakespeare employed the dramatic conventions of magic, illusion, and mistaken identity to advance the eradication of hate as well as to demonstrate the consequences of hatred, these literary works only provided *dramatic* catharsis as a means by which animosity could be eliminated within families and communities. That hatred needed to be eradicated was obvious, but the means to attain that goal were not often apparent. With a lack of viable juridical structures to resolve the more complex questions of honor, angered parties often chose vendetta and violence, which only created a trajectory for further violence and escalating hatred and civil strife. This article will demonstrate how it was that, amidst this cauldron of heaped-up hatreds within European societies, the Jesuits offered both personal advice and the implementation of structures to resolve such problems. It is to the Society of Jesus, the Jesuits, and to the structures that this religious order created to eradicate hatred that we now turn.

II.   THE SOCIETY OF JESUS AND THE WORK OF PEACEMAKING

Ignatius of Loyola founded the Society of Jesus, which received official approval by the Church in 1540 (Bangert, 1972; O'Malley, 1993; Ganss, 1991). Although many consider the efforts of the Society to be extensions of "Counter Reform"—that is, a direct rebuttal of Protestant thought—this in fact was not the case, as James D. Tracy argues in *Europe's Reformations: 1450-1650* (1999). The *Formula of the Institute*, the document that Ignatius composed, Pope Paul III approved, and which the Society of Jesus considered as its formative identity, states the following concerning the order's purpose:

> He is a member of a Society founded chiefly for this purpose: to strive especially for the defense and propagation of the faith and for the progress of souls in Christian life and doctrine, by means of public preaching, lectures, and any other ministration whatsoever of the word of God, and further by means of the Spiritual Exercises, the education of children and unlettered persons in Christianity, and the spiritual consolation of Christ's faithful through hearing confessions and administering the other sacraments. Moreover, this Society should show itself no less useful in reconciling the estranged, in holily assisting and serving those who are found in prisons or hospitals and indeed in performing any other works of charity, according to what will seem expedient for the glory of God and the common good. (Ganss, 1970, p. 66)

The *Formula of the Institute* laid out the fundamental goal for the Society of Jesus as the "propagation of the faith and for the progress of souls in Christian life and doctrine" and then established a litany of possible means to achieve this end. The *Formula of the Institute* also empowered the superior general and his advisors to compose constitutions that would clarify the best means to achieve this fundamental purpose of the Society (Ganss, 1970, p. 67). These *Constitutions* were written by Ignatius and officially approved after his death in 1558. The *Formula of the Institute* and *Constitutions* supplied the Jesuits with the fundamental goal of the order and suggested means to achieve that purpose. Both the *Formula of the Institute* and the *Constitutions* identified efforts toward establishing peace and the eradication of hatred as an important work of the Society. The *Formula* saw "reconciling the estranged" as one of the ways in which the Society of Jesus could promote its ultimate goal, and the *Constitutions* provided specific admonitions for settlements that should be avoided, such as lawsuits and acting as witnesses, that would engender dislike toward the Society (Ganss, 1970, p. 264). The *Constitutions* reiterated the advice found in the *Formula* with its recommendation to assist in the "reconcilia-

tion of the disaffected. . . both by their personal work and by getting others to do it" (Ganss, 1970, p. 283). The Eternal City provided more than ample opportunities for the eradication of hatred. The frequency of violence caused by hatreds was identified by the commission created by Pope Paul III in 1537 charged with the detecting the ills that affected the Church. Among the many issues cited by the Commission, one was the "hate and enmity between private citizens." As a solution, the Commission recommended that "native Romans should be appointed to settle all quarrels and reconcile the citizens with each other" (Gleason, 1981, p. 99).

III. INDIVIDUAL EFFORTS TOWARD PEACEMAKING: IGNATIUS AND OTHER JESUITS

Pope Paul III officially recognized the Society of Jesus in 1540, three years after the submission of the Commission's report. It seems that the Jesuits took the recommendation to heart with their efforts at reconciling the disaffected, a service that became a well-known personal work of the Jesuits and in particular of St. Ignatius. As described by Cándido de Dalmases, S.J., Ignatius established a residence for the *malmaritate* ("badly married") as a type of half-way house in hopes that there could be reconciliation between husband and wife (1985, p. 181). In one of his few departures from the city of Rome after being elected superior general in 1541, Ignatius went to Naples on March 2, 1552 in an attempt to reconcile Joan of Aragon and her husband Ascanius Colona. Likewise, he attempted to resolve a family misunderstanding with the Crescenzi family in 1544 (Young, 1959). All the families involved were either related to popes, kings, or both, and settling marital disputes and family squabbles would be similar today to diplomatic attempts to prevent outright war among nations.

Ignatius found the practice of dueling as a means of conflict resolution to end hatred to be particularly abhorrent. When Ignatius had heard that two Portuguese brothers in Rome had killed their challengers, he wrote to the Jesuit James Miron, a Jesuit working in Portugal at the time, and asked him to petition the King to strengthen the edicts against dueling. In his letter, Ignatius played on the important idea of honor by advising that the king should refute the effect of the duel by imputing dishonor and shame upon those who participated in such an action. In addition, Ignatius also advised that the king appoint four prominent men who could settle disputes that arise from dishonor (Young, 1959).

Ignatius' first companions also engaged in activities that encouraged the eradication of hatred. Juan Polanco, in his record of Jesuit activity of the first 30 years of the order's existence, recorded the experiences of a

Jesuit preacher, Fr. Landini, who was sent to the village of Corregio and recorded the extreme nature of the violence caused by hatred:

The vendettas in that place were so many that forty-five people, three of them priests, had been killed; armed men came right up to the altar. (Donnelly, 2006, p. 109) Thanks to his preaching, Fr. Landini created a peace or a *pace* between warring factions; both sides agreed to comply with his conditions for cementing a lasting peace. Other Jesuits were equally active in negotiating peaceful resolutions to conflicts in Faenza and Modena among factions within these cities (Donnelly, 2006, p. 189). Marital strife provided a field for reconciliation, as seen in the case of Antonio Araroz, a Jesuit who settled a domestic dispute between the duke and duchess of Calabria. Religious houses benefited from the Jesuit intervention as well, as illustrated in the work of Laínez, who negotiated a *pace* between the Benedictines and the diocesan clergy in Monreale. As difficult as it is to imagine, squabbles even actually occurred among professors; this previously unheard of event arose at the University of Ingolstadt in 1550. Jesuits living there were called to establish a *pace* between the opposing camps within the University (O'Malley, 1993). Unfortunately, the specific nature of many of these disputes is unknown. These records of peacemaking represent negotiations that required secrecy and confidentiality so as to assure success and their specific details were, alas, kept from the records. If they were recorded, these works were often destroyed. These records are similar to Jesuit reports that indicated the number of persons going to confession but with no specifics kept concerning the sin. Since reconciliation frequently involved behavior that could be considered sinful, confidentiality was expected and presumed.

IV.   THE USE OF GROUPS AS MEANS OF SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS REFORM

The preceding examples identified the implementation of the *Constitutions'* recommendation that Jesuits, "by their personal work," could reconcile the disaffected. Those same *Constitutions* identified how "getting others" to do this work was a viable option as well, a means that Ignatius advised in his recommendation to the king of Portugal. This advice of "getting others" to do an important work was followed by the Jesuit Giovanni Tellier when he created the *Carcerati* Confraternity (Black, 1989). Tellier established this confraternity in 1575 to help support the sacramental and temporal needs of those in prisons (Paglia, 1978; 1980). How the Jesuits "got others" to advance the work of eradicating hatred caused by assaults against honor recalls another group structure, that of the establishment and progress of the Marian Congregations.

In 1563, Jesuit Jean Leunis, a teacher of grammar of the lower classes

at the Roman College, gathered several students so as to further promote the fundamental goals of the Society of Jesus: the progress of souls in Christian life and doctrine. According to a contemporary house history of the Roman College, these young men, about the age of twelve, went to confession every week, received communion once a month, attended daily Mass, recited daily prayers, and served the poor (Polanco, 1916, p. 470). Although a Jesuit served as moderator, strong lay leadership occurred with the election of a prefect and twelve subsequent lesser officials. Since fervor often outruns discretion, especially among college students, it was not surprising that the Jesuit director limited the amount of time spent serving the poor in hospital visits. Contact with the sick was risky business, as evidenced in the case of Aloysius Gonzaga, a young Jesuit student at the Roman College who died while assisting the sick in 1591.

Just as other Jesuit schools were established and modeled on the Roman college (founded in 1551), so too did these schools create groups similar to the one established by Jean Leunis in 1563. The success of this organization encouraged its continuity and historians have identified these organizations as one of the primary means used by the Jesuits to advance reform (Châtellier, 1989; Lazar, 2005; Maher, 2002). As these young men matured and graduated, similar groups were founded for former students who now had positions of authority and responsibility within the city of Rome. On December 5, 1584, Pope Gregory XIII recognized the Jesuits of the Roman College as the directors of a system modeled on the first "gathering" or Congregation that had begun in 1563. This organization would serve as the model and a type of central office for all other groups established in imitation of the first Congregation. These became known as the Congregations of the Blessed Virgin, or the Marian Congregations, since the first group was dedicated to Mary's Annunciation, the dedicatory title of the school's chapel. Graduates of Jesuit schools, who first experienced congregation membership in a collegiate setting, desired to continue to participate in congregation life and so established congregations under Jesuit direction. Soon congregations were established of men from different classes who perhaps had no connection with a Jesuit school but still sought out membership as a means of spiritual advancement.

Cities in Europe and Asia counted several congregations comprised of nobility, merchants, and artisans, in addition to those of students. Members of these post-collegiate congregations were older and more experienced, with skills, money, and connections to civic or religious power; therefore, they had the potential for a greater impact on the community (Maher, 2002). The religious formation provided by the Jesuit directors of these congregations, combined with the members' talents, connections, and fiscal resources, made these congregations one of if not the most influential

means to advance Catholic reform and the Jesuit means to that reform, as persuasively argued by Louis Châtellier (1989) in *Europe of the Devout: The Catholic Reformation and the Formation of a New Society*. A study of the Congregation of the Assumption located at the mother church of the Jesuits in Rome allows for a more detailed analysis of the structures created for establishing peace within the city of Rome. Pope Paul III had indicated Rome's serious need for assistance in eradicating the feuds and vendettas that were the cause of so much hatred and the social instability that ensued. The Commission he had appointed demanded a solution, which soon came in the form of the establishment of a group by the Society of Jesus in Rome for advancing religious reform and social harmony.

V. The Congregation of the Nobles and the Structures Used for Eradication of Hatred and the Establishment of Peace

In 1593, the Jesuits established a congregation of gentlemen and prelates dedicated to Mary, known as the Congregation of the Assumption (*Archivium Romanum Societatis Iesu* (*ARSI*); *Annale della Casa* (*Annale*, 1593)). A house history describing the activities of the order's principal church, *Il Gesù*, noted the founding of this Congregation dedicated to Mary's Assumption and its status as aggregated to the Marian Congregation system. The membership provides a clue to its potential abilities (*Annale*, 1593, 242r). The group embraced a higher social class of Romans. Of the initial fifty members, thirty-four percent were either on their way or already had earned membership in the *Referendario delle due Segnature*, which required doctorates in both canon and civil law—the surest step to power and influence in Rome. The social composition of this congregation soon evolved to membership in the highest ranks of Roman society. By the writing of the 1629 *Regole*, those admitted had to supply information identifying their noble status. By this time, the group was known by its more common name, the Congregation of the Nobles. This insistence on the clarification of nobility reflects a trend in the Latin West, which saw an increasing division of social class, rank, and status (Scott, 1995). The very existence of a congregation of nobles designates the importance of honor and rank and likewise indicates the volatile nature of 17th century Rome, a place where honor required recognition and the denial of honor could and did lead to violence.

The first *Regole* of the Congregation of the Assumption, composed in 1593, identified one of its primary goals as negotiating peaceful settlements, *far le paci* [*Archivio de'Nobili del Gesù* (*ANG*), Vol. XIX (*Gesti*), p. 5]. A house history of *Il Gesù* confirmed this practice when it noted how

members established peace among discordant factions (*il metter'paci fra discordi)* by the use of noble and titled persons (*nobili e titolate*) who were instrumental in stopping the shedding of blood (*spargimento di sangue).* The diary of the Congregation notes various successes but unfortunately did not record specific details of the disputes. For example, the entry for January 6, 1594 recorded how the *fratelli* of the Congregation created a *pace* within the household of Cardinal Girolamo Mattei. A month later, a peace was negotiated between two Roman gentlemen (*Gesti*, p. 23).

The Rule of 1593 quickly became outdated in relation to the importance of peacemaking, and the demands of this work soon required a more developed system for monitoring and establishing *paci* within the city. In August 1594, the officers of the Congregation decided that a member of the Congregation would supervise each of the thirteen *rioni,* or districts that comprised the city of Rome. According to these directives, each supervisor was to be in conversation with the pastors of the parish within his *rione* and would offer the services of the Congregation if a conflict within a parish required a *pace.* Many of these supervisors came from titled or influential families and held positions of power within the government, both civil and ecclesiastical. This assignment of well-placed persons certainly followed Ignatius' recommendation that prominent men be delegated as arbitrators in situations of conflict. Likewise, the establishment of these supervisors followed the advice given to Pope Paul III by the select committee for the reform of the Church. The diaries of the Congregation record some of the causes of discord and hate. In one entry, the secretary noted how "injurious words" occurred and resolution and restitution of *honore* would have depended upon the death of many persons if a *pace* had not been negotiated (*Gesti*, 4v). Another entry notes a *pace* that occurred between persons who lived in the *rione* of Ripetta near the Piazza del Popolo. One man claimed that another man hit him with a stick (*bastonate*). A notary of the same *rione*, assisted by a member of the congregation, eventually drew up (*rogare*) a *pace* between the two men. Although the records do not indicate the details of this *pace*, a peaceful resolution would require a careful enumeration of what would satisfy the aggrieved parties and assurance that these requirements would be fulfilled.

Peacemaking continued to be an important work of the Congregation, as reiterated in the Rule composed in 1629 with its identification of the creation of peace "among enemies" and the mitigation of discord as one of its particular and proper works. By this time, the method used to establish *paci* within the city had evolved into a more detailed and centralized system. According to the 1629 Rule, three different officials were involved in creating peace: the secretary of the peace, the visitors for each of the *rioni,* and those who were deputed to devise a peaceful resolution. The

Segretario delle paci acted as a type of clearinghouse for all the matters entailed in coordinating the efforts between the diocesan pastors and members of the Congregation (*Regole*, 1629 p. 37-39). The *segretario* maintained a list of all the pastors within the Roman diocese, and this office required that each *rioni* have an effective visitor, a man who maintained conversations with the pastors concerning outbreaks of conflicts within their respective parishes. According to the 1629 Rules, the secretary was to record all pertinent information in a book: the names of the persons involved in the conflict, who in the congregation established the *pace*, the reasons for the conflict, and the progress of the negotiations, as well as how the whole affair was terminated. Unfortunately, this book has never been found, and the requirements of secrecy and possible volatility of such information perhaps explains its regrettable disappearance from the archives.

In order to keep the information flowing between the secretary of the peace and the officials delegated to negotiate specific reconciliations, the Rule required *visitatori,* one for each *rioni*, who reported to the secretary of the peace (*Regole*, 1629, p. 39-43). These *visitatori* worked with the pastors of the diocese with "respect and submission," offering the assistance of the Congregation when needed. Once a month, the *visitatori* surveyed the parishes and questioned the pastors concerning incidents of hatred that could lead to violence. After his visitation, the visitor wrote out on paper that he had made his monthly visitation at every parish within his *rione* and reported to the *Segretario delle paci* either that there were no conflicts within a parish, or gave an account of how these conflicts were being resolved (*Regole*, 1629, p. 42).

The actual work of negotiating a *pace* was done by another set of officials within the Congregation: the peacemakers or the *paciatori* (*Regole*, 1629, p. 43-48). The 1629 Rule noted the difficulty of establishing peace and reminds those who undertake this effort that great patience is required. The third Rule for the *paciatori* reads like any modern recommendation for conflict resolution when it advises that the task of peacemaking would not be accomplished in one visit and that peacemakers would frequently come across obstacles and difficulties. Not all parish conflicts were the domain of the *paciatori,* however. The Rule mandated that all conflicts involving only women, between husband and wife, or dealing with civil litigation were to be avoided. Members of the Congregation of course would not involve themselves in any matter that required sacramental confession. Before a negotiated settlement could proceed, the peacemaker involved was to discuss the matter with the secretary of the peace who would in turn review the matter with the Jesuit director of the Congregation. The final rule cautions the *paciatori* that these works were to be done in secrecy, and that information was not to be revealed to the other members of the congre-

gation unless necessary. Perhaps for this reason those records that recorded the particulars of a *pace* have disappeared.

VI.   OTHER JESUIT-DIRECTED CONGREGATIONS AND THEIR ROLE IN THE ERADICATION OF HATRED

The *Formula of the Institute* identified the importance of reconciliation of the estranged and the promotion of consolation. These efforts and structures of peace-making identify one specific means used by the Society of Jesus, by way of its congregations, to advance these goals. The powerful and the influential who comprised the Congregation of the Nobles were better equipped for negotiating peaceful resolutions, and the Jesuits saw in this group a viable means to a desired end. However, the Society of Jesus expected other congregations that they had established in Rome to work toward the eradication of hatred as well. One of these groups was a congregation of merchants under the dedicatory title of Mary's Nativity (in Italian: *Natività della Madonna*), established by the Jesuits at the Church of the *Gesù* in Rome in 1594 [*Annale*, 1593, f. 263r; (*ARSI*, 1594, Rom. 127, Vol. II ff. 265-288v)]. This congregation's wider spiritual outreach included caring for the sick in hospitals, visiting and feeding prisoners, and "making peace not only among the brothers of the Congregation, but among others has been described by the Congregation of the Nobles" (*Annale*, 1593, 243r).

Although the Merchant's Congregation did not establish such a carefully worked out system for the eradication of hatred as the Congregation of Nobles, the 1657 Rule of the Congregation required its members to love and respect each other, and, if conflict arose, to inform the Jesuit director of the Congregation (*Regole*, 1657, p. 8). Jesuits kept journals or "house histories," and these records provide fascinating glimpses into the daily life and the workings of Jesuit ministries. One of these house histories records how participation in the Congregation of the Merchants helped eradicate hatred and lack of membership led to domestic strife.

According to this house history, on the day of a meeting of the Merchant's Congregation, one of the members received an image of a guardian angel from the father director. Upon arriving home he attached the image to the wall over his bed. During the night he awoke from his sleep and did not find his wife. He got out of bed, went to another room, and found her *in flagranti delicto*. The other man (*adultero*) had fled and left the woman behind, and the enraged husband was about to strike his wife, who expected to be killed (*aspettando la morte*). Instead, the husband caught sight of the image of the guardian angel and decided to forgive her. Whereas the eradication of hatred and subsequent violence came about by

participation in the Merchant's Congregation, absence from participation led to domestic strife. This same history notes that because a husband did not attend the Congregation's meetings, he fell into sin with a serving girl and impregnated her, this to the great sorrow of his wife. The records fail to indicate what occurred at this home, but the moral was clear: membership and participation in Congregation life leads to reconciliation. Although these stories did not involve a structured *pace* as instituted by the Nobles' Congregation, both narratives identify membership as consequential for either eradicating or causing hatred.

Other Congregations established by the Jesuits encouraged their membership to eradicate hatred and work for the establishment of peace. Although the Congregation of the *Buona Morte*t—a Congregation established to provide spiritual guidance and recommendations for charitable works so as to calm the conscience in one's approach to death and judgment—was not an affiliate of the Congregations established at the Roman College, this Congregation likewise admonished its members that they were to be advocates of peace. One Rule, composed in 1795, notes the presence of *pacieri* and *paciere*, male and female peacemakers among the officials of the Congregation (*Congregazione Delle Congregazioni Della Buona Morte,* p. 184).

CONCLUSION

These and other examples indicate how the Jesuits worked to eradicate hatred by means of establishing peace. Although the actual compromises and resolutions that were negotiated were secret and thus cannot be studied more closely, it is clear that the presence of these various congregations and their methods of restoring peace indicate a means by which the Jesuits worked toward restoring honor and avoiding violence. Jesuits worked in the early modern period to eradicate hate by establishing both personal involvement and elaborate structures to assure Christ's gift of peace within the community. Although these archival reports demand a careful reading, some success in eradicating hatred caused by both individual efforts and organized ones seem to have generated some success in establishing peace. Perhaps we can find in these Jesuit attempts toward the eradication of hatred the first efforts within the early modern period at arbitration and mediation by non-legal entities. The use of extant power structures that relied on honor and status, and not necessarily on legal structure, provided an interesting alternative to legal alternatives, a route which the rather full civil court archives indicate was a well-trodden path. An important aspect of this eradication of hatred involved lay leadership and direct action of the laity. The presence of these groups demonstrate the important role played

by the laity played in the eradication of hatred, as well as a dependency of the Society of Jesus on these same lay leaders to advance the work of peacemaking.

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