

The Pontifical University
of John Paul II in Krakow

Faculty of Theology

“Es war schon in mir“

**Biography and Theology in the work
of Raymund Schwager, SJ**

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Doctoral dissertation
written at the seminar in Dogmatic Theology
under the direction of Rev. Dr. Hab. Robert J. Woźniak, prof. UPJP2

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF WORK

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Title of the work: “Es war schon in mir” - Biography and Theology in the work of Raymund Schwager, SJ

D. thesis supervisor: Rev. Dr. Hab. Robert J. Woźniak, prof. UPJP2

Kraków 2022

Number of pages: 313

Abstract

This study, “*Es war schon in mir*“. *Biography and Theology in the Works of Raymund Schwager, SJ*, explores Schwager’s biographical and theological background before and during the earliest phases of his engagement with the thought of René Girard (1935-1977) to demonstrate that Schwager had already developed lines of inquiry and reflection, independent of Girard’s influence, which explains the grounds for their highly productive collaborations in the decades that followed. The later statement, “Es war schon in mir” – “It was already in me” reflects Schwager’s recollection that his encounter with Girard’s work revealed a moment of convergence rather than discovery. Through an investigation of his background, life and early major texts, the profound depth of this act of self-expression becomes clear in light of Schwager’s development of the concept of drama, which later gave rise to Dramatic Theology, and his pastoral concern for addressing conflict in the Church.

Key words: Raymund Schwager, SJ, Dramatic Theology, drama, René Girard, Mimetic Theory, St Ignatius of Loyola, the Jesuits, the *Spiritual Exercises*, Conflict in the Catholic Church, the Catholic Church in Switzerland, Swiss Jesuits, Swiss Kulturkampf, anti-Catholicism and anti-Jesuitism, Bildung, the history of twentieth-century Catholic theology and theological education, pluralism in theology, Josef Stierli, SJ.

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Introduction

In the epilogue of the eight volume *Collective Works of Raymund Schwager* (*Raymund Schwager Gesammelte Schriften*), Józef Niewiadomski not only reiterated his previous claim that Schwager was an innovative and prophetic theologian (2014)¹, but also that Schwager's work is even more relevant today (in 2017) than when he wrote it:

Since Schwager anticipated both the intellectual atmosphere and also the intensified conflictuality of the present in his theological project, his theology is more relevant today than at its origins².

This dissertation explores the genealogy of this prophetic and innovative theologian through the lens of Schwager's own self-reflection on his project, when he told his colleague and friend, Józef Niewiadomski, that "It was already in me" (*Es war schon in mir*)³.

In so doing, it shows that Schwager's adoption of drama can be understood as resulting from the unity of his life and texts in his pre-Innsbruck period (1935-1977), which not only contributed to his theological project of Dramatic Theology (text), but also to his practice of theology (life) in his subsequent Innsbruck period (1977-2004). As Niewiadomski observed above, Schwager still offers valuable reflections on the problem of conflict for contemporary theologians, making this dissertation more than a history of the origins of a particular school of theology, but a point of departure for future research

¹ J. Niewiadomski, „Prophetisch und Innovativ! Raymund Schwagers »Gesammelte Schriften« in R. Schwager, *Dogma und dramatische Geschichte - Raymund Schwager Gesammelte Schriften* 5, M. Moosbrugger (ed.), Freiburg, Herder, 2014, pp. 9-13.

² „Weil er die geistige Atmosphäre und auch die verschärfte Konfliktshaftigkeit der Gegenwart in seinen Theologieentwurf gleichsam vorwegnahm, ist seine Theologie heute aktueller als zur Zeit ihrer Entstehung“, J. Niewiadomski „Theologie für dramatische Zeiten des religiösen Pluralismus“ in *Kirchliche, politische und theologische Zeitgenossenschaft - Raymund Schwager Gesammelte Schriften* 8, M. Moosbrugger (ed.), Freiburg, Herder, 2017, p. 545.

³ Personal conversation with J. Niewiadomski.

on Schwager's biography and texts in his Innsbruck period and for analyzing and managing conflict in its various forms and circumstances.

Through a thorough investigation of the meaning of Schwager's statement that "It was already in me", this dissertation demonstrates that Schwager had already formulated in his own idiom key elements of Girard's theory prior to reading *La violence et le sacré* in 1973 and their first personal encounter in 1974. The "it", to which Schwager refers, corresponds to Girard's claims about social dynamics, violence, scapegoating and the formation of culture based on the Scapegoat Mechanism as found in *Violence and the Sacred* and the uncovering of the connection between violence and the sacred (culture) thanks to biblical revelations and the theological, ethical, historical and eschatological implications for this new knowledge as addressed in Girard's *Things Hidden Since the Foundation of the World*.

The dissertation proceeds in three steps: history, texts, and their synthesis as drama in the perspective of conflict. Based on the assumption that God acts in the world, history and biography are treated as critical sources for theology. Therefore, "Peripheries" (Chapter One) outlines the complex background of Schwager's world. "A Jesuit from Thurgau" (Chapter Two) lays out a biographical narrative up to his appointment as to Innsbruck in 1978. "Neglected Texts" (Chapter Three) analyzes Schwager's three principal early works. "Es war schon in mir" (Chapter Four) synthesizes the preceding research in light of Schwager's concept of drama to consider (1) the origin of drama in Schwager's thought, (2) compares it with Gustav Freytag's classic dramatic pyramid; (3) situates it within the twentieth-century Jesuit perspective on dialectics and (4) summarize drama as Schwager's view of conflict in the Church as developed in his early writings and biography.

1. STATUS QUAESTIONES

Since there exists at this time no complete biography of Raymund Schwager, SJ, this dissertation fills this lacuna in part through a biographical narrative of Schwager's pre-Innsbruck within specific parameters described below. There are many excellent sources from which a biography from this period can be drafted. For example, "Ein Gastmahl" provides a basic biographical framework as a context for the origin of Dramatic Theology⁴. Furthermore, Moosbrugger's commentary in Volume One⁵ and Moosbrugger and Peter's commentary in Volume Two of the Collected Work⁶ cast light on the formation and context of Schwager's early major writings.

Extraordinarily little research has been done on his early major writings as such because Schwager's later works superseded them. Research on Schwager's early writings, however, has become easier thanks to the publication of the Collected Works, although Schwager's third book was not included as it did not seem to offer anything substantially new from Schwager's second book⁷. This dissertation shows, however, that Schwager's third book should be appreciated as a significant step in his expanding view of drama. None of his three early works are available in any language other than the original German. Thus, this dissertation provides an extensive analysis of all three of these early works for the first time in English. Lastly, Schwager's two earliest articles,

⁴ For example, J. Niewiadomski, „Ein Gastmahl“ in J. Niewiadomski & N. Wandering (eds.), *Dramatische Theologie im Gespräch*, Thaur, Lit Druck- und Verlagshaus, 2003, pp. 9-18.

⁵ M. Moosbrugger, „Die Theologie Raymund Schwagers von ihrem Anfang her gelesen Einführung und Editionsbericht“ in R. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke - Raymund Schwager Gesammelte Schriften* 1, M. Moosbrugger (ed.), Freiburg, Herder, 2016, pp. 13-36

⁶ M. Moosbrugger & K. Peter, „Brauchen Wir einen Sündenbock – ein Angelpunkt der Theologie Raymund Schwagers: Einführung und Editionsbericht“, in R. Schwager, *Brauchen Wir einen Sündenbock? - Raymund Schwager Gesammelte Schriften* 2, K. Peter & M. Moosbrugger (eds.), Freiburg, Herder, 2016, pp. 13-41.

⁷ „Von den größeren Veröffentlichungen wurde auf diesem Hintergrund nur das Buch *Glaube, der die Welt verwandelt* in die Ausgabe nicht aufgekommen. Im Großen and Ganzen wiederholt die Argumentationsfiguren aus dem drei Jahre vorher Buch *Jesus-Nachfolge*“, J. Niewiadomski „Theologie für dramatische Zeiten des religiösen Pluralismus“ in *Kirchliche, politische und theologische Zeitgenossenschaft - Raymund Schwager Gesammelte Schriften* 8, M. Moosbrugger (ed.), Freiburg, Herder, 2017, pp. 549-50.

which though brief and published in non-academic journals, are nevertheless revelatory of Schwager's theological concerns. Not having been republished in the *Collected Works*, this dissertation considers both of these highly innovative and prophetic articles in Chapter Two.

Regarding Schwager's later Innsbruck phase, much has been written, both in the elaboration of Dramatic Theology and doctoral research⁸. The latter consists of four domains of research (1) the development of Schwager's Dramatic Theology in his principal works, namely, *Brauchen Wir einen Sündenbock?* (1978), *der wunderbare Tausch* (1986) and *Jesus im Heilsdrama* (in 1989/1996 in German)⁹; (2) Schwager's work in the light of other thinkers¹⁰; (3) application of Schwager's Dramatic Theology to specific doctrines¹¹; and (4) application of Schwager's Dramatic Theology to specific pastoral situations¹².

⁸ J. Niewiadomski, „Prophetisch und Innovativ! Raymund Schwagers »Gesammelte Schriften« in R. Schwager, *Dogma und dramatische Geschichte - Raymund Schwager Gesammelte Schriften* 5, M. Moosbrugger (ed.), Freiburg, Herder, 2014, p. 12.

⁹ B. Brown, *The Dramatic Soteriology of Raymund Schwager: Analysis and Evaluation*.

¹⁰ W. Galda, *Vom Geist Geführt - Beitrag Hans Urs von Balthasars zur Bestimmung des Propriums christlicher Existenz*; T. Kryst, *Interpreting the Death of Jesus: A Comparison of the Theologies of Hans Urs von Balthasar and Raymund Schwager*; R. Lupa, *Gott, Feindschaft, Gewalt...Jan Assmann, René Girard und Raymund Schwager im systematischen Vergleich*; M. Moosbrugger, *Die Rehabilitierung des Opfers. Zum Dialog zwischen René Girard und Raymund Schwager über die Angemessenheit der Rede vom Opfer im christlichen Kontext*; W. Morzycki, „Seele“. *Joseph Ratzingers Konzeption im Gespräch mit dem dramatischen Entwurf von Raymund Schwager*; L. Mudrak, *Der Geist und die Geister. Christologische Rückbindung der Pneumatologie bei Michael Welker und Raymund Schwager. Ein systematischer Vergleich in ökumenischer Perspektive*; N. Wandering, „Sünde“ als Grundbegriff einer Heuristik für eine theologische Anthropologie - *Impulse aus der Theologie K. Rahners und R. Schwagers*.

¹¹ L. Charlissery, *Veränderung durch Verwandlung. Significance of Raymund Schwager's dramatic understanding of the Eucharist in the modern world*; N. Janovsky, „Theodizee“ als Prüfstein der Dramatischen Theologie; G. Lanthapampil, „Kenosis“. *Die Nachfolge Christi bei Franziskus im Lichte der Dramatischen Theologie*; K. Lazik: „Die Zeit der Barmherzigkeit Gottes ist kurz“: *Die Herausforderung der Botschaft von Sr. Faustyna. Eine spirituell-dogmatische Studie im Lichte der Dramatischen Theologie*; K. Peter, *Apokalyptische Schrittexte: Gewalt schürend oder transformierend?* D.V. Somda, *Auferstehung des Fleisches und das Wohlbefinden des Menschen. Ein eschatologisch-soteriologischer Versuch in der dramatischen Theologie*; A. Sroka, *Wer oder was ist der Teufel? Die Gestalt des Teufels aus dem Blickwinkel der Dramatischen Theologie*; P. Steinmair-Pösel, *Gnade in Beziehung*.

¹² C.C. Asuzo, *The Transforming Power of Faith*; G.H. Dwiwibowo; „Damit die Herzen derer sich wandeln, die sie bedrängen und unterdrücken“; G.T. Kuzhippallil, *The Body of Christ and the Body of India - A Dramatic Re-reading of the Concept of the Body of Christ in the Indian Ecclesial Context*. R. S. Lokeso, *L'Église comme signe du Salut. Pour une ecclésiologie communio-dramatique en République Démocratique du Congo*.

Although Schwager devised and elaborated Dramatic Theology in his Innsbruck phase, the roots of its themes and their context are readily apparent in his earliest writings and moreover, prior to his encounter with the text of Girard. This dissertation excavates his biography and early major writings to demonstrate this claim and supports other research that demonstrates that Girard and Schwager can be understood as co-creators or partners in the development of Mimetic Theory, rather than be seen as student and teacher. Published in the Collected Work as well as in English translation, their correspondence testifies to the cooperation and mutual esteem for their respective and complementary projects¹³.

2. METHODOLOGY

This investigation consists of historical research, textual analysis, and theological reasoning. These interrelated approaches reflect changes in the practice of theology and the sciences more broadly. During the Twentieth Century, philosophers and historians of science have shifted from conceptualizing science as a series of theories – as if they were the result of a more or less lawful progression based on (1) theory-making, (2) experimentation and (3) verification (logical positivists, Carl Hempel) – to looking at (1) the actual ways in which scientists conduct research (Imre Lakatos, Bruno Latour), (2) the dominance of scientific paradigms and (3) the cultural, political, ideological and value-laden nature of science (Thomas Kuhn). In retrospect, it is possible to describe this change in the analysis of science as a post-modern critique of modernity, or, put another way, a concern for the concrete and caution about the abstract.

¹³ R. Schwager & R. Girard, *Briefwechsel mit René Girard - Raymund Schwager Gesammelte Schriften 5*, N. Wandinger (ed.), Freiburg, Herder, 2014; R. Girard & R. Schwager, *Correspondence 1974-1991*, S. Cowdell, et al. (eds.), trans. C. Fleming and S. T. Hidden, New York: Bloomsbury, 2018.

According to this perspective, knowledge is not merely a value-neutral, rational, and objective explanation of reality. Rather, knowledge or science (*Wissenschaft*) constitutes a complex reality that should also be analyzed in terms of its theological, philosophical, biological-neurological, psychological, sociological, and historical factors (Nancy Murray and George Ellis). This postmodern picture, moreover, criticizes the putative objectivity of scientific claims considering the way such claims construct reality (rather than describe and explain it) and thereby structure power relationships within human groups. Science, therefore, is not merely descriptive but also potently prescriptive and proscriptive. Scientific claims, under the guise of neutrality, objectivity and rationality, in fact covertly justify social realities that are fabricated, rather than given. Scientists therefore constitute reality even as they also discover it. Consequently, at the extreme end of this post-modernist criticism, a paradoxical absolute relativism contends that science is just another ideology, which does not discover universal truth or natural laws but instead qualifies human-made descriptions of reality as natural, eternal, and real. Hence, there is no reality as such to discover, but rather, with this perspective, all reality is reformable and conformable to human designs and desires.

2.1 Contextual Theology

Similarly, by the middle of the Twentieth Century, theologians began to undertake a critical reflection on the practice of theology considering similar epistemological issues. This new perspective arose out the recognition that the Gospel and theology resonate differently according to time and place. Vatican Two marked the passage from the preference for a unitary theological method, namely, neo-scholasticism within a unitary framework (Latin language, Tridentine liturgy, centralization of governance through canon law and papal universal jurisdiction) to the openness to the possibility of a (bounded) theological pluralism in a broader, more flexible framework

(vernacular languages, liturgical renewal, greater devolution of responsibilities to bishops and episcopal conferences, the universal call to holiness, emphasis on the lay apostolate and the acknowledgement of the relative autonomy of the secular sphere and the sciences¹⁴). Proponents of this shift claimed that it was a return to the sources or a renewal. Consequently, this change did not represent a rupture but a retrieval of the authentic living tradition.

In a post-colonial context, moreover, evangelization requires new ways of speaking to non-European peoples, hence, the ongoing need for inculturation¹⁵. At the same time, the problem of secularization, and in some countries, a de-ghettoization of one-time Catholic minorities, e.g., in the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Switzerland, Quebec, posed a new set of problems for the pastoral practice of the Church, calling for a renewed inculturation of the Gospel in a pluralist context.

In the wake of the cultural and political revolutions of the 1960s, theologians developed theologies taking the experiences of groups as a point of reference for re-reading divine revelation, such as the poor (theologies of liberation), women (feminism) and ethnic groups. Other theologians chose to engage the current challenges to human existence to write theologies concerned with peace and war, ecology, gender and sexual orientation. Embedded in this postconciliar theological milieu, Schwager wrote and practiced theology, acknowledging the benefits of pluralism while growing increasingly concerned about the extreme end of the post-modernist critique (relativism):

¹⁴ Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the modern world, *Gaudium et spes*, §36, §55, §59.

¹⁵ The conciliar source for the practice of inculturation is found in the Pastoral Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, *Sacrosanctum concilium*, §37-§40. There, the term inculturation does not appear, but the content does. In 1994, the Congregation for Divine Worship and Sacraments issued *Varietates legitimae*, An Instruction on Inculturation and the Roman Liturgy, that addresses the evolution of the Magisterium's teaching on inculturation in the liturgy from Vatican Two. It notes that the gradual replacement of the Council's term, 'liturgical adaptation', by 'inculturation' intended to convey the permanent validity of this practice (§4). Inculturation is a double movement of mutual exchange between the Church and a given culture, which aims at evangelization (§5-§8).

For teachers and researchers, the focus is on serving the truth, even if the claim to truth is widely suspected today. Where this concern is neglected or completely abandoned, the focus is only on the individual pursuit of reputation and image. Thereupon intellectual fads begin to dominate¹⁶.

Given these circumstances for the practice of theology, this dissertation adopts contextual theology to understand better the drama of Schwager's life and early writings as a way of drawing out the implications of his statement, "It was already in me". Marcel Chappin, SJ (1943-2021), professor of theology and church history at the Pontifical Gregorian University and Vice Prefect of the Vatican Secret Archives, articulates two levels of analysis which can be employed to arrive at satisfactory answers, namely, (1) a sociology of knowledge attending to the macro-level context of theology and (2) a sociology of science that casts light on the micro-level situation of the theologian¹⁷. In this project, these two levels of analysis contribute to the biographical-historical narrative which aids in the proper interpretation of Schwager's early texts.

Theologians author theologies in a specific time and place, operating within a network of relationship and within longer temporal and larger spatial metanarratives or traditions, shaped by polarities or tensions. For instance, in Schwager's Innsbruck phase, he necessarily conducted his theology within the living ecclesial-theological tradition of the Catholic Church, having received his *missio canonica* (canonical sending – a commission for a service in the Church) from the local bishop before he assumed his position at the faculty. Further, as a Jesuit, he was keenly aware of the need to conduct theology within the Ignatian framework of *sentire cum ecclesia* (thinking and feeling

¹⁶ "Für die Lehrenden und Forschenden hat der Dienst an der Wahrheit im Zentrum zu stehen, auch wenn der Anspruch auf Wahrheit heute vielfach verdächtigt wird, Wo dieses Anliegen vernachlässigt oder ganz aufgegeben wird, tritt nur die individuelle Profilierungssucht ins Zentrum. Dies führt dazu, daß intellektuelle Moden zu dominieren beginnen", R. Schwager, "Für eine Theologie mit mehr Wissenschaftlichkeit und mehr Lebensrelevanz" in A. Müller & C. Stadler, *Die Unvollendete - Betrachtungen zur Eröffnung der renovierten Theologischen Fakultät*, Innsbruck, Studia, 1 January 1999, p. 62.

¹⁷ M. Chappin, "Contextual Theology" in *Dictionary of Fundamental Theology*, New York, Crossroads, 1994, pp. 1100-1101.

with the Church, which German renders conveniently in the term *Kirchlichkeit*, “ecclesial-ness”). This macro-level context precedes and succeeds him and his work. Furthermore, working at a theology faculty at an Austrian state university – his micro-level situation – he theologized within, or at least in recognition of, another tradition, namely, a liberal-scientific one, which has its own proper aim, scope, and method. The polarity between ecclesial-theological and liberal-scientific approaches forges a context for the conduct of Schwager’s theology as a university professor, his Innsbruck phase.

Although this investigation covers his pre-Innsbruck phase, the two levels of context nevertheless apply since as both as a doctoral student and then as a private theologian Schwager’s pursuit of theology encounters the tensions between these two poles. Drawing on sources and approaches from both poles to find compelling and convincing answers that could appeal to his contemporaries, Schwager on explicitly shapes his second and third books as works of fundamental theology, and implicitly his first work as he often engages non-theological sources to conduct his research.

2.2 Historical Sources – Oral and Written

In composing biography two limits need to be acknowledged. The first recognizes the limitations of such a narrative due to the nature of the subject, a human life. The second recognizes the limits imposed using contextual theology. With respect to the first, a biographical-historical narrative is not able to coincide precisely with his life; it is rather a simplification, or an approximation of a given life. Such a narrative necessarily offers a sketch and overview of a human life in terms of major themes. It cannot claim completeness, because the events of a life themselves only partially

elucidate the totality of human experience, which includes realms lying beyond empirical investigation or adequate theoretical explanations¹⁸.

Second, by adopting the two tiers of contextual theology – the macro-level of theology and the micro-level of the theologian – the investigation confines itself to sociology of knowledge rather than psychology; it does not delve into psychological explanations for Schwager’s choices, beliefs, or values. For this project, psychological explanations refer to unconscious mechanisms and processes that influence human behavior. By contrast, sociology purports to explain social processes and institutions that influence a person’s choices through shaping his world. Put ideally, psychology studies the interior world of the psyche, whereas sociology studies the exterior world of the society. In practice, the distinction is difficult to maintain as Girard’s Mimetic Theory or social psychology indicate. The investigation nevertheless intends to respect the boundary between sociology and psychology, employing the limits set in contextual theology.

This biographical-historical narrative depends on two sources: oral history and texts. Carefully conducted interviews of colleagues, family and friends have uncovered important non-literary sources including this project’s object of inquiry, “It was already in me”. These interviews took place in the form of conversations or written testimonials. The latter, naturally, had the additional advantage of allowing those interviewed time to ruminate, verify facts, and compose replies. The former enjoyed the advantage of

¹⁸ For example, psychologists theorize about the sub- or unconscious causes of human behaviors, and individuals reflect on the reasons for their choices (intentionality). In both cases, however, much remains obscure. Furthermore, theologians theorize about the operations of grace and movements of the Holy Spirit, and believers ponder the meaning of their lives or the reasons for their choices in prayer, in confession or in spiritual direction, but any such conclusions are tentative in terms of knowledge, even if they are nearly certain in terms of the theological virtue of faith. Thus, a biographical-historical narrative must acknowledge that there are domains within a human life that are, at best, only indirectly accessible and render provisional explanations for a person’s choices and conduct. A biographical-historical narrative can nevertheless still be useful to the extent that it gives an adequate account of a person’s background and life.

spontaneity – presuming that oral communication is less formal and less likely to be contrived – and the opportunity for the interviewer to assess the interview as it progressed, changing focus as added information emerged.

At times, the only available source for biographical research is oral histories. Since the title of this dissertation comes from an interview with a close friend and collaborator of Schwager, the proper handling of oral sources is essential to defending the scientific character of this work. First, memories fade and become confused over time. Second, hidden conflicts and negative experiences on the one hand and feelings of deep admiration and uncritical adulation on the other hand distort recollections, thereby revising the past in a particular light. Consequently, statements are interpreted in the light of the respondent's experiences, relationship to Schwager and life circumstances.

Given these provisions, the sources have been compared with other oral testimonies as well as with extant written sources. In this project, interviews have been used as a point of departure for finding relevant written sources. It remains true, however, that oral histories are sometimes the only available information. In these occasions, they are only used to cast light on important matters to which no written documentation bears witness. Whenever possible, indirect evidence from documentation is sought to corroborate any oral claims.

Fortunately, in Schwager's case, the textual record numbers in the hundreds of documents over thirty-eight years (1966-2004) – from two homilies dated shortly after his priestly ordination on July 31, 1966, to his response in February 2004, to Hans Küng's public criticism of Pope John Paul II on the twenty-five-year jubilee of his pontificate¹⁹. Schwager's corpus is abundant in number and pluriform in genre. His scholarly legacy consists of published and unpublished materials, the former of readily

¹⁹ R. Schwager, "Pro und Kontra Küngs Bilanz", *Kirche In*, vol. 2, 2004, p. 28.

available texts – in libraries or on the internet, including the Collected Works – which are occasionally elsewhere translated; whereas the latter constitutes a vast body of unpublished documents stored in archives.

Archives containing salient material are in Innsbruck (Austria), Vanves (France), Rome (Italy), Zürich (Switzerland) and Pullach (Germany). The first is located at a state university; the other four belong to the Jesuits. The archive at Innsbruck is the most important in terms of its scope and content²⁰. The archivists have supplemented Schwager's scholarly estate with additional materials to augment the textual record. In the initial phase of the archive's arrangement, Paul Oberholzer, SJ, the archivist at the Jesuit Curia in Rome and a Jesuit of the Swiss province, sorted the textual record, and removed correspondences of a personal nature, transferring them to the Jesuit archive in Zürich²¹.

The archive of the Jesuit scholasticate at Fourvière resides in Vanves. This archive contains relevant documentation, including the annual program of study for the appropriate years (1963-1967), professors' lecture notes for some of the courses that Schwager attended and the semi-annual correspondence between the superior of the

²⁰ With the consent of the Jesuits, the faculty at Innsbruck administers the *Raymund-Schwager-Archiv*. The one-hundred-page index for the archive (*Registraturplan Schwager Archiv*) classifies and arranges the collection according to different periods of Schwager's life (principally divided between the pre-Innsbruck and Innsbruck period) and other thematic headings. The inventory may be accessed and downloaded in PDF format at http://www.uibk.ac.at/systheol/schwagerdrama/schwager-archiv/registraturplan-schwager-archiv_20101217.pdf (accessed on 2 April 2021). The archive holds Schwager's scholarly estate (*Wissenschaftlicher Nachlass*) consisting of published and unpublished materials from the 1960s onwards. The former includes his books, pamphlets, scholarly, spiritual and catechetical articles, book reviews, opinion and news pieces, and other print media. The unpublished documents include homilies, official and professional correspondence, book manuscripts, diverse notes on different subjects and authors, draft proposals, internal faculty memos, course lecture notes and discourses. Though Schwager's complete reference library is catalogued in the *Registraturplan Schwager Archiv*, the collection in the archive is incomplete. The archive also contains Schwager's own collections of articles and sources for his research, as well as book reviews and other articles on him and his work. Finally, the archive does possess some material of a personal nature, including photographs, a limited number of private correspondence and other personal documents. The archive does not, however, possess any diaries or private journals.

²¹ Oberholzer has moreover confirmed that these documents as well as other internal documents pertaining to the Jesuits, whether in Rome or in Zürich, are classified, and hence not available for consultations. Personal communication on 25 January 2011.

scholasticate, Jacques Misset, SJ, and the Jesuit Curia in Rome. Unlike Innsbruck, however, this archive does not have documents pertaining to Schwager specifically. Taken with other sources, e.g., the published recollections from Jacque Guillet, SJ²², and Bernard Sesboüé, SJ²³, these sources provide important insights into Schwager's educational experience. The archive for Pullach was not consulted. From the point of departure, "It was already in me", this dissertation has amassed an impressive array of evidence from oral and written sources to propose and support an accurate interpretation of Schwager's disclosure.

2.3 Theological Texts

This dissertation considers Schwager's three early works (1) *Das dramatische Kirchenverständnis bei Ignatius von Loyola. Historisch-pastoraltheologische Studie über die Stellung der Kirche in den Exerzitien und im Leben des Ignatius* (the Dramatic Church-Understanding of Ignatius of Loyola: A Historical-Pastoral Theological Study about the Position of the Church in the *Spiritual Exercises* and in Life of Ignatius), (2) *Jesus-Nachfolge* (Jesus-Following) and (3) *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt* (Faith which Transforms the World). Schwager defended his dissertation in January 1970 and published it with a slightly but significantly modified title the following year; he published *Jesus-Nachfolge* in 1973 and *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt* in 1976. This ten-year period is therefore bounded from the start of his doctoral studies in 1967 to the

²² J. Guillet & C. Ehlinger, *Habiter les Écritures*, Paris, Éditions du Centurion, 1993 is a book-length interview on the life and work of biblical theologian Jacque Guillet, who was prefect of studies at Fourvière until 1966.

²³ B. Sesboüé & M. Leboucher, *La théologie au XX siècle et l'avenir de la foi*, Paris, Desclée de Brouwer, 2007, a book-length interview not only gives details about Fourvière but also gives an account of the theological method of Joseph Moingt, SJ.

completion of the manuscript for *Brauchen Wir einen Sündenbock?* (Must There Be Scapegoats?²⁴), a book not treated in this dissertation.

Schwager wrote these early texts as a private theologian before his career as an academic theologian. They stand out from his other contemporary writing because they present longer and more articulated arguments in book form. During this time, Schwager actively engaged in pastoral and journalistic apostolates, writing frequently for *Orientierung* as a member of the editorial staff (1970-1977), teaching as guest lecturer in Amsterdam in 1974 and an associate professor in 1975 and publishing articles in other reviews. He was also actively involved in the Swiss synodal process (1972-1975) and the national referendum to repeal the anti-Jesuit article of the Swiss Federal Constitution in 1973. Finally, the long and at times frustrating road to his unexpected appointment to the University of Innsbruck (1974-1977) provided a laboratory for the application of his writings on conflict in the Church in the light of his own experiences.

3. AIM

Schwager's first book, *Das dramatische Kirchenverständnis bei Ignatius von Loyola*, places drama at the heart of Schwager's theological project. Its long descriptive subtitle, "A Historical-Pastoral Theological Study about the Position of the Church in the *Spiritual Exercises* and in Life of Ignatius," adverts to the polarities of life and text in Ignatius' understanding of the Church, i.e., Ignatius's understanding of the Church as shown in his biography as well as in the *Spiritual Exercises*. According to Schwager, Ignatius' biography, which recounts conflict between him and church authorities,

²⁴ Published in 1978, it is republished in R. Schwager, *Brauchen Wir einen Sündenbock?* - Raymund Schwager Gesammelte Schriften 2, K. Peter & M. Moosbrugger (eds.), Freiburg, Herder, 2016; the English translation appeared in 1987, R. Schwager, *Must There Be Scapegoats?* 1987, R. Assad, San Francisco, Harper and Row, 1987.

provides the necessary context to a proper interpretation of *Spiritual Exercises*. This dissertation endeavors to do something similar with a consideration of the life and texts of Raymund Schwager.

Appreciating the tensions and conflicts that shaped his world and his biography, on the one hand, and that he consciously placed them front and center in his own theological deliberations, on the other, shows the usefulness of considering a theologian in terms of the drama of biography and texts and moreover, clarifies the meaning of his statement that “It was already in me”. Schwager’s Innsbruck project – entailing its specific method and content as Dramatic Theology – furthermore, did not end with his death, as his literary legacy and biography continue to inspire subsequent readers to bring these tensions in their own lives and actions as Niewiadomski contends above. Just as Ignatius’ life and text appear to have encouraged Schwager in his investigation of conflict, so too does Schwager inspire others by his life (which is known to few), and especially by his texts. The longevity and availability of texts – noting again his recently published *Collected Works* – make them influential because they exist after their author’s passing, making known Schwager’s tensions, perspectives, questions, and concerns to readers who never knew the author.

For a theologian like Schwager, no text is more important to the practice of theology than the Bible. As the written canonical transmission of divine revelation, the soul of theology and the necessary condition for coming to know Christ according to Jerome’s maxim, “ignorance of Scripture is ignorance of Christ”, it acts in the life of the theologian or any believer in a way analogous to a passage from Moses’ song about God (Dt. 32:39),

See now that I, I alone, am he, and there is no god besides me. It is I who bring both death and life, I who inflict wounds and heal them, and from my hand no one can deliver²⁵.

The dramatic encounter with God's Word in the Bible likewise reveals that human projections about God are idols. The Word brings death by revealing these idols to be false, and by faith in God, restores life. This encounter wounds because one must surrender cherished delusions and prejudices about oneself, one's groups, even including the Church and its leaders. But it also heals, by restoring one to the truth about who one truly is, and what humanity is supposed to be in light of who God is. If one is a theologian, this is the one text from which one cannot be delivered. It is a crucible, a purification, a judgment and a salvation, a lifelong dialectic or drama whose consummation is eschatological. Schwager welcomed Girard's thought because it helped to unleash a deep potential in reading the Bible anew. Schwager and Girard recovered suppressed or neglected biblical texts – the apocalyptic texts – which have become important sources for their respective enterprises, both of which propose powerful critiques of the values and goals of contemporary society.

In sum, just as modern biblical scholarship has strained to discover the life of Jesus of Nazareth in a biographical-historical sense – as a complement to the text of the Gospels, rather than as its rival, when it is conducted with sympathy for its subject instead of antipathy – so too may one find great benefit and value in treating a theologian in a like manner. The analysis of Schwager's early works, therefore, follows a historical-critical approach. Each text will be set in its biographical-historical setting with special attention placed to macro- and micro-levels of contextual theology. The analysis shows that Schwager's concern about conflict clarify the choice of method, interpretation and content found in these works, coalescing in his idea of drama, preparing for Dramatic

²⁵ Unless otherwise indicated, all biblical citations are taken from New American Bible, Revised Edition (NABRE), which can be accessed at <https://Bible.usccb.org/Bible> (accessed on 1 February 2022).

Theology and inspiring future research from others. All of these riches attest to the pearl of great price that Schwager found within himself when he later reflected on the significance of his encounter with Girard in light of his own life's work.

Chapter One - Peripheries

1. PROLOGUE - LOCATION, CONFESSION, VOCATION

This dissertation interprets Schwager's declaration that "It was already in me" through an analysis of the drama of his life and text in terms of location, confession, and vocation in Schwager's background until 1935 in this chapter, and his biography in Chapter Two (which covers 1935-1977, when he began his career as an academic theologian at Innsbruck). Schwager was born on November 11, 1935, in Bichelsee, canton Thurgau, Switzerland²⁶. This one statement recognizes two fundamental constraints of time and place or embodiedness define every human being with a beginning and an end, even if the beginning is hidden in the womb and may be, analogously, hidden by hospitalization, by institutionalization, by home-boundedness or by infirmity at its end. This embodiedness is spatial and temporal, connecting each human being in multiple ways, seen and unseen, known and unknown, to the world around him and in him. To these, relationship contributes a third pole. Time, space and relationship create polarities that constrain and shape human existence even while leaving enormous scope for freedom.

Through embodiedness the human being enters relationship with the world, with other human beings, with other living organisms, and through all of these, with God. Love moves bodies towards one another (*eros*); when purified it even leads bodies to put aside their own good, e.g., self-interest, health, indeed even their lives, for another, sacrificial love (*agape*). Through sexual relations new bodies – the fruit of these unions –

²⁶ For sake of consistency, all place names for Austria, Germany and Switzerland are given in German unless a common usage in English demands a concession, when appropriate, such as the Congress of Vienna instead of Wien, Munich for München, Cologne for Köln, etc. Freiburg/Fribourg in Switzerland is used interchangeably in this text.

come into existence; through the sacrificial love of parents, those new bodies, children, receive the care, shelter, and education that they require to attain their own good, and to imitate the example of conferring life on others. Embodiedness, therefore, concerns not only the life of individuals, but the imperative of the species and deliberations about the ultimate meaning of life in the universe.

Indeed, embodied life demands sustenance from other embodied beings, namely, food, to exist, whether that be animal or vegetable. For the human being, however, this nourishment must also satisfy an array of needs that go beyond the biological operations of other organisms; these needs include emotions, imagination, creativity, self-expression, freedom, conscience and intellect as well as something that falls outside of the psychological realm but nevertheless interacts with it, namely, the soul and the spirit, which, taken all together, orient human beings to the meaning and purpose of life even when these are denied or rejected.

In social and political terms, humanity as a species expresses itself in the creation of culture. These cultures, societies, or polities – related terms indicating the convergence of culture, politics, and religion as descriptions of human sociality – welcome new members, whether by birth or by bonding through marriage, adoption or other forms of affiliation. By inculcating these new members with the proper patterns of thought, speech and actions, that is, the ethos of the group, they become full members of the community. Each society bears its own distinct character or vision of life, which seeks to align individual to its moral vision through its ethos and through the model of exemplary members. This moral vision is relative to the aspirations and aims of a particular society, but need not be relativistic, as if it does not correspond to a universal truth.

Human, therefore, contains a polarity between the genetic-biological basis of life and the unique property of being human, namely, culture in its expansive sense. As God fashions Adam (Gn. 2:7) from the ‘*adamah* (earth), so too does human recall the *humus*, the earth or soil. Human beings, therefore, are like other terrestrial creatures, synchronically because physical or natural laws govern them and diachronically, because they are part of the history of life in the universe. Yet, simultaneously, the Latin, *humanitas* and *humanus*, from which human and humane come, connote kindness, sympathy, philanthropy, politeness, refinement and the formation in these and related virtues that constitute a civilization or a culture. Being human, therefore, is a gift and task; it is an inheritance from one’s embodiedness upon conception, and concurrently, a growing duty through one’s lifetime, which calls forth fidelity, tenacity, and perseverance to strive for its perfection. Embodiedness is not reducible to the merely animal or vegetable as if man were only a soul or a spirit enwrapped or trapped in the flesh; embodiedness dynamically interacts with the qualities that distinguish man from other animals, the polarity between nature and culture, between the immanent and the transcendent. Through embodiedness, the human subject experiences the heights and depths of human existence: joy and sorrow, anger and fear, love and hate, hope and despair. The human subject even perceives the polarity of reflecting upon its own experiences as an object of its own self-reflection. It grows through this self-reflection and its capacity for self-expression whereby it strives, at sometimes, with much frustrations, to communicate its firsthand experiences to other human beings.

Often a source of pain or shame, this embodiedness, nevertheless, received an unparalleled ennoblement in the incarnation and resurrection of Jesus Christ. God shares human existence as true man as Jesus of Nazareth, whom Christians, because of the resurrection, recognized from the first generation as the Lord, namely, *Adonai*, the God

of the family of Abraham and of the nation, Israel, which God constituted through Moses on Sinai. In the course of the reflection on the meaning of the Lord Jesus Christ, the Christian tradition acknowledged the irreplaceable role of the embodiedness of the Son of God as the means through which salvation occurred (crucified and risen), the presence of this renewed embodiedness as the center of re-created humanity (the one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church, the communion of saints), the source from which this new humanity derives its life (the Eucharist and the sacraments), that ultimately leads to eschatological consummation in the resurrection of the body, the dwelling in the New Jerusalem in the new heavens and new earth and beholding God face to face (new creation).

In the history of Christian devotion and spirituality, fascination with the embodiedness of Jesus as true God and true man has drawn countless pilgrims (including Ignatius of Loyola) to the Holy Land to be in the very places where Jesus lived and preached, died and rose. Christian artists have produced representations, which aim, through images (painting, icons, statues, architecture and cinema) and words (prayers, music, song, poetry and literature) to transport their audiences sensibly or imaginatively to a mystical encounter with Jesus. Since the Eighteenth Century, the search for the historical Jesus has profoundly occupied Western scholarship. Often at odds in terms of motivations, methods, aims and conclusions with orthodox theological discourses on Christ, this approach sought to know the time and place of Jesus, namely, his embodied existence according to emerging methods of the archaeological, historical and social sciences. Considering the foregoing, this chapter considers three major themes that span the life of Schwager in terms of location, confession and vocation. These record the struggles and tensions that shaped his life and texts, giving rise to his understanding of drama and its contribution to Schwager's analysis of conflict in the Church.

2. BIRTHPLACE

Raymund Schwager was born in the Swiss Confederation (*Schweizerische Eidgenossenschaft*), in canton Thurgau, in the parish of Bichelsee, in the hamlet of Ifwil. A birthplace determines a life in significant and permanent ways and refers to a self-evident but easily overlooked condition of human life: embodiedness. Considerations of the importance of location seek to give embodiedness its proper due.

2.1 Thurgau as Perspective on Swiss history (ca. 1000-1798)

Thurgau²⁷, one of the rural cantons that to this day consists of towns, villages and hamlets²⁸, was bound to Konstanz by trade and also by ecclesiastical ties²⁹ until the early Nineteenth Century. Its current geopolitical and ecclesiastical neighborhood reflects the post-Napoleonic settlement ratified at the Congress of Vienna (1815)³⁰.

2.1.1 Medieval Thurgau (ca. 1000-1460)

Thurgau's story within the Swiss Confederation starts with the defeat of the Habsburgs in 1460, and thereupon, its subjugation to the confederation as a *Gemeine*

²⁷ Named after the fertile alluvial plain, that "Gau", of the Thur River, which flows out of St. Gallen, through Thurgau and then Zürich, where it finally joins the Rhein (Rhine) River. The canton sits between canton Zürich to the west and the Bodensee (Lake Constance) to the east, canton Schaffhausen and Baden-Württemberg (present-day Germany) to the north, and canton St. Gallen to the south. Medieval Thurgau was famed for its apple and pear orchards, thereby gaining the sobriquet *Mostindien*.

²⁸ According to the official government statistics, the population of Frauenfeld, the administrative capital and largest town, was 25,800 in 2020; <https://statistik.tg.ch/themen-und-daten/bevoelkerung-und-haushalte/bevoelkerungsstand-und-struktur/bevoelkerungsstand.html/6332> (accessed on 28 November 2021).

²⁹ The diocese of Konstanz (Constance) was erected in 525 and suppressed in 1821. The diocese aided in the evangelization of the Alemanni, one of the numerous Germanic peoples who came to Europe. A free imperial city (1192-1548) under the direct jurisdiction of the Emperor (*Reichsunmittelbarkeit*), Konstanz profited from transalpine trade through the Sixteenth Century. It hosted the ecumenical council of Konstanz (1414-1418) in which Pope Martin V's election ended the schism between Rome and Avignon. From 1527-1548, Protestants held the city until the Habsburgs, having defeated the Schmalkaldic League at the Battle of Mühlberg in 1547, annexed the city to *Vorderösterreich* (1548-1806) and returned the Catholic Bishop. Konstanz was particularly disposed to the spirit of the Catholic Enlightenment and its Austrian instantiation, Josephinism.

³⁰ The Congress of Vienna not only recognized the international and domestic borders of the Swiss Confederation and its neutrality in European affairs, but also paved the way for a major reorganization of ecclesiastical jurisdictions in Switzerland and the German principalities.

*Herrschaft*³¹. Thurgau, like all the other Swiss cantons, was originally organized as feudal territories within the *Sacrum Romanum Imperium* (Holy Roman Empire)³². In 1291, the old Swiss Confederation (*Alte Eidgenossenschaft*, 1291-1798) formed to contest the Habsburgs' political designs³³, as well as to foster common economic and political interests among three rural cantons³⁴. With new members³⁵, and their victories over the Habsburgs³⁶, the Swiss Confederation successfully checked the Habsburgs' expansion and then conquered their Swiss holdings³⁷.

2.1.2 Early Modern Thurgau – Mandated Territory (1460-1798)

Conquered by the core cantons of the old confederation, Thurgau became a *Gemeine Herrschaft* (a subjected or mandated territory) for more than three hundred years. (As will be seen subsequently, Schwager found this historical fact important when he reflected on his Thurgau identity.) Swiss expansionism rests on the quality of their famed mercenary units. Without the financial or administrative wherewithal to sustain

³¹ “Conventionally these territories are called in English ‘mandated territories,’ although a better translation would be ‘common lordships.’ They include the Thurgau, the Rheintal, and some sixteen other regions. Neither cantons nor associate members of the Swiss Confederation (like Geneva and the Grisons), they were dependent territories subject to the cantons’ rule”. B. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge, Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2010, p. 207.

³² In the Sixth Century the Franks conquered this area. The later Carolingian Empire introduced Christianity and feudalism. With the division of the Carolingian Empire at the Treaty of Verdun in 843, Swiss territory was divided between successor kingdoms in Lorraine (later, Kingdom of Burgundy) and in Germany (Swabia). In 1033, Otto I inherited the Kingdom of Burgundy and thereupon annexed it. This complex political organization of central Europe and northern Italy came to be known in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries as the “Holy Roman Empire”, adding more than a century later the qualification, “of the German nation”. It consisted of multiple and overlapping jurisdictions and sovereignties of nobility or free towns and free cities, all subject to the emperor. Switzerland occupied a strategic crossroads that connected Italy and Germany. Trade routes across the Alps encouraged urbanization at key places. Competing local aristocrats as well as burgeoning towns, such as Zürich, and their ambitious merchants created a fluid and complicated political scene.

³³ From their estates in Aargau, the counts of Habsburg aspired to expanded holdings after having inherited additional lands in Aargau as well as in Zürichgau and Thurgau from the extinct Kyburg family in 1264.

³⁴ The founding cantons (*III Orte*) are Uri, Schwyz und Unterwald.

³⁵ (*VIII Orte*) Luzern (1332), Zürich (1351), Glarus and Zug (1352), Bern (1353).

³⁶ Morgarten (1315), Sempach (1386) and Näfels (1388).

³⁷ First, Aargau (1415), and a generation later, Sarganserland and Thurgau (1460). Pope Pius II's excommunication of Hapsburg Duke Sigismund of Austria presented the Swiss with the chance to seize Thurgau.

standing armies, princes and cities relied on mercenary troops. Cantons (or even private individuals) organized companies of mercenaries – *Reisläufer* (ones who goes to war) – as they were in high demand due to their successes against the Habsburgs in the Fifteenth Century. However, the wealth and prestige of the mercenary adventurers as well as territorial expansionism came at a high social price. After the vastly superior royal army of the Kingdom of France crushed the Swiss forcers at Marignano in 1515³⁸, the entire mercenary system came into disrepute and contributed to the start of the Zürich reformation

Huldrych Zwingli (1484-1531), a Catholic priest, persuaded the Zürich City Council to approve his *67 Schlussreden* (Sixty-Seven Theses) in 1523³⁹ as a plan for reform, which spread quickly to eastern Switzerland⁴⁰. Two brief wars, the Kapplerer Wars in 1529 (Protestant victory) and in 1531 (Catholic victory) ended with his death. Despite this setback, Protestants eventually became the majority in Switzerland, a predominance that lasted for centuries⁴¹. Though Catholics formed local majorities in certain cantons or districts, the peripheral status of Catholic played an influential role in the subsequent story of Switzerland.

2.1.2.1 Confessional Coexistence in Thurgau (ca. 1525-today)

³⁸ Swiss casualties ranged from 8,000 to 14,000.

³⁹ His program abolished or significantly altered many distinctive features of Medieval culture, thereby inviting criticism from those loyal to the Church as well as from other reformers.

⁴⁰ After spreading the Protestant reformation to neighboring Thurgau and Aargau in the mid-1520s, it continued to the towns in Graubünden (Grisson) (by 1526), the city of St. Gallen (1527), canton Bern (1528), canton Schaffhausen (1529), the areas of Appenzell and Toggenburg (Zwingli's birthplace) in canton Glarus (1529) and Basel (1529), thanks to Zwingli's humanist friend, Johannes Œcolampadius.

⁴¹ By 1970, the Swiss population numbered more Catholics than Protestants, though Catholics never became the majority of the population (49.39%). Measured by Church membership (not practice), by 2000, Catholics had declined to 41.82% and Protestants to 35%. C. Bovay, *Religionslandschaft in der Schweiz*, Bundesamt für Statistik, Neuchâtel, 2004, p. 11.

Historically, Thurgau has been a Protestant canton with a sizable Catholic minority⁴². With Zwingli's death at the Second Kappeler War in 1531, a pause in the armed conflict gave the opportunity for both sides to seek a new *modus vivendi* that could consider changed ecclesiastical and political circumstances. That same year, the *Zweiter Landfrieden* (Second National Peace) committed the signatories⁴³ to respect the autonomy of each canton in religious matters according to the principle of *cuius regio, eius religio* ("whose realm, its religion")⁴⁴. With respect to *Gemeine Herrschaften*, the majority principle was applied⁴⁵, meaning that the stronger Catholic legal position as the majority of cantons counterbalanced the larger Protestant population. An unforeseen consequence was the sharing of churches (and cemeteries until the Eighteenth Century⁴⁶). Called *simultaneum*, this widespread practice in Thurgau caused tensions⁴⁷. Churches were even physically divided between Catholics and Protestants congregations⁴⁸.

During the Seventeenth Century Protestants gained concessions that increasingly restricted the scope of the majority principle, whereby it no longer applied to secular

⁴² In 2019, Church membership for the two largest groups in Thurgau stood at 29.8% for the *Evangelische Landeskirche* (Protestant Cantonal Church) and 30.1% for the Catholic Church. The difference, though, in the relative number including the other Protestant denominations had changed dramatically. In 1860, there were three Protestants for each Catholic (3:1) in the canton. By 2000, the proportion fell to five Protestants for four Catholics (5:4). In 2021, it is virtually 1:1. <https://statistik.tg.ch/themen-und-daten/bevoelkerung-und-haushalte/bevoelkerungsstand-und-struktur/religionen-konfession.html/7036> (accessed on 29 November 2021).

⁴³ The signatories included eleven cantons: seven Catholic cantons (Luzern, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, Freiburg, Solothurn) and four Protestant cantons (Zurich, Bern, Basel, Schaffhausen).

⁴⁴ "*Cuius regio, eius religio* did not only apply to kingdoms. Indeed, the principle, if not the phrase, was an invention of the Swiss, whose confederation was only the loosest of polities". Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*, p. 151.

⁴⁵ This meant that the eight Catholic cantons, which were more numerous in the Swiss Confederation, could appoint the administrators and set the policy for regions such as Thurgau. The agreement also forbade the further diffusion of Protestantism and established a principle of parity for use of the parish church, meaning that if there were at least three Catholic families, the parish church had to be shared.

⁴⁶ "In the Swiss Thurgau, Protestants and Catholics continued to be buried together until the Eighteenth Century. When full parity was instituted, however, existing cemeteries were divided into separate sections". Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*, p. 257.

⁴⁷ "In the Seventeenth Century, the number of shared churches in the Thurgau alone reached about thirty-five". Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*, p. 213.

⁴⁸ Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*, p. 233.

matters, and religious matters were instead referred to arbitration⁴⁹. The lack of clarity about the boundaries between secular and religious matters provoked a third war that concluded in the *Dritter Landfrieden* (Third National Peace) in 1656. This peace treaty established a court of arbitration with the aim to adjudicate whether a dispute was religious, and therefore, whether it was subject to majority vote or to arbitration. Finally, following a decisive victory of the Protestant cantons in 1712, the *Vierter Landfrieden* (Fourth National Peace) excluded the Catholic cantons from the *condominia* in several territories, and their position was moreover weakened in the remaining *Gemeine Herrschaften*. The treaty introduced new principles to resolve conflicts that sought to minimize a winner-loser outcome (through the majority principle) in favor of a principle of equitability, whereby both sides had to compromise. On the ground in the mandated territories, e.g., Thurgau⁵⁰, this meant that Protestants attained full legal parity with Catholics⁵¹. Decision-making shifted from democratic bodies that administered the mandated territories to the judiciary because these bodies more reliably settled conflict in a peaceful manner.

2.1.2.2 Confessional Coexistence in Bichelsee (1526-today)

The experience of Schwager's home parish, Bichelsee, illustrates well the mixed confessional nature of Thurgau⁵². First mentioned in 894 in a property transaction, the parish of Bichelsee eventually came into the possession of the abbey of St. Gallen in

⁴⁹ Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*, p. 227.

⁵⁰ "The Thurgau, for example, was ruled by the Catholic 'Five Cantons' (*V. Orte*), their archenemy Zurich, religiously divided Glarus, and from 1712 Protestant Bern", Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*, p. 207.

⁵¹ Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*, p. 228.

⁵² The first reference to Ifwil – at that time *Ifinwilare* – occurs in a document dated June 4, 817 in which the Carolingian Emperor Louis the Pious donated the settlement to the abbey of St. Gallen. The term *wil* in Swiss German refers to a hamlet, a small group of houses. When Schwager was born, Ifwil consisted of almost entirely of Catholic households.

1001⁵³. After changing hands several times, the parish was finally incorporated to the Benedictine abbey of Fischingen in 1419⁵⁴. In 1529, one of the former monks, Rochus Iberger, became pastor in Bichelsee and spread the Zwinglian reform. The victors in *Kappeler Kriege* (1531) executed a policy of Catholic restoration in Thurgau⁵⁵. From 1543, Protestants in Bichelsee affiliated with the neighboring parish in Dußnang, where there was a resident Protestant pastor, and the church was shared with Catholics under *simultaneum*⁵⁶. Despite these efforts, Bichelsee's confessional composition only gradually changed as the countryside remained firmly Protestant⁵⁷. Until the first resident Catholic pastor was installed, and a rectory built in 1769, a monk came to offer the Mass on the third Sunday of the month, gradually becoming more regular as the Catholic population grew. The old parish church had two pulpits – one for the Protestant pastor, the other for the Catholic pastor – which faced and opposed each other. Even after the reconstruction of St. Blaise in 1864 and its consecration in 1865, the practice of *simultaneum* endured until 1954. Five years later, Protestants finished building their own

⁵³ At that time, the parish Church of St. Blaise and of St. Nicholas still belonged to the local gentry. K. Schönenberger, "Die Katholische Kirchenbauten des Kantons Thurgau" in K. Schönenberger and A. Joos, *Katholische Kirche der Kantone: Basel-Stadt, Baselland, Thurgau, Schaffhausen, Olten*, Verlag Otto Walter, 1937, p. 89.

⁵⁴ A monk resided there as the pastor to care for the parish. A little over one hundred years later, in 1526 the Benedictines under Abbot Heinrich Stoll embraced the Zürich reformation. Stoll had succeeded Abbot Johannes Meili, Zwingli's uncle on his mother's side, who had hitherto resisted his nephew's reform program. Those who remained – they were but four monks by 1532 when Stoll left the abbey for good – married and began to preach the reform in their parishes (Dußnang, Sirnach, Bettwiesen, Bichelsee and Au). Schönenberger, "Die Katholische Kirchenbauten des Kantons Thurgau" in *Katholische Kirche der Kantone: Basel-Stadt, Baselland, Thurgau, Schaffhausen*, pp. 90, 108-109.

⁵⁵ At the July 1540 meeting of *Tagsatzung* (Confederal Diet) in Baden, the Catholic cantons postulated the *Statthalter* (steward) of the abbot of St. Gallen, Markus Schenkli of Wil, as the new abbot of Fischingen whereupon he endeavored to win the parishes back to the Catholic faith. Suppressed in 1848 after a decision of the *Groß Rat* (Cantonal Legislature) to close all religious communities within Thurgau, monastic life returned to the abbey in 1977.

⁵⁶ Schönenberger "Die Katholische Kirchenbauten des Kantons Thurgau" in *Katholische Kirche der Kantone: Basel-Stadt, Baselland, Thurgau, Schaffhausen*, p 99.

⁵⁷ Indeed, the first request for a Mass only came in 1584. Schönenberger "Die Katholische Kirchenbauten des Kantons Thurgau", in *Katholische Kirche der Kantone: Basel-Stadt, Baselland, Thurgau, Schaffhausen*, p 90. This request is therefore significant insofar as the terms of the Second National Peace of 1531 stipulated that Catholic Masses had to be provided so long as at least three Catholic families requested one. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*, p. 213.

parish church for Bichelsee⁵⁸. In the parish church of St. Blaise on August 7, 1966, Schwager celebrated his *Primiz* (first Mass) eight days after his priestly ordination.

2.2 The Making of Modern Switzerland (1798-1847)

With the arrival of the French Revolutionary army, the looming conflict of the character of Switzerland burst forth. The short-lived Helvetian republic (1798-1803), following the French Revolutionary model, centralized authority, reorganized cantons into new administrative districts, abolished feudalism and local prerogatives, and permitted limited freedom of worship. In 1798, during the initial phase of the transition from the confederation to the republic, mandated territories petitioned to join the new republic as equal partners. With the collapse of the Helvetian republic five years later, Napoleon's Mediation Act (1803-1815) restored the Swiss Confederation, but the former mandated territories became equal to the thirteen original cantons. Historians schematize the political evolution of Switzerland three phases: (1) Restoration (1815-1830), (2) Regeneration (1830-1848) and (3) the Federal State (1848-today). While the first period is only briefly treated, the second merits closer attention, and the third requires a further subdivision: pre-*Kulturkampf* (1848-1870), *Kulturkampf* (1870-1885) and post-*Kulturkampf* (1885-1938 – the year of Schwager's birth).

2.2.1 Restoration (1815-1830)

The first period witnessed a genuine restoration of the pre-1798 constitutional order⁵⁹ and the reorganization of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Increasingly, Swiss Catholics

⁵⁸ According to the 2000 Swiss national census, Catholics formed a slight majority (50%) and Protestants – including all denominations – a sizable minority (38%) in Bichelsee. http://www.statistik.tg.ch/documents/Religion_Gemeinden_2000.pdf (accessed on 1 March 2011).

⁵⁹ Cantonal autonomy and rights were strengthened, and the confederal government weakened (for example, it lacked any executive organs or central institutions). Sovereignty lay with the cantons, not with the 'Swiss people' as the Helvetian republic had proclaimed. In foreign policy, Switzerland declared in 1815 its neutrality even as it adapted to the international political order as the only remaining republic in

resented their inclusion in the diocese of Konstanz because they objected to the enlightened mindset of the church authorities⁶⁰ and their anti-Roman tendency in favor of a German national church⁶¹. With the Napoleon's fall, the Swiss successfully campaigned for independence from Konstanz⁶². At the same time, Pope Pius VII's decision to reestablish the Jesuits in 1814 (Pope Clement XIV had suppressed them in 1773 under enormous pressure) also had significant consequences for the education of Swiss Catholics⁶³. The return of the Jesuits inspired hope among some, just as it inspired fear and loathing, among others.

Their demonization is central to subsequent political developments that led to a new constitutional order in Switzerland and introduces the third polarity of conflict (vocation) in Schwager's background and life⁶⁴. In this period, the earlier confessional

central Europe. With a return to local autonomy, cantons were free to pursue policies favorable to their concerns. The Catholic minority was able to reassert its rights in worship and education.

⁶⁰ Karl Theodor von Dalberg – a Prince-Bishop who held multiple leading positions in the ecclesiastical and state administration in Germany – left the diocesan administration in the hands of his Vicar General, Iganx von Wessenberg. Dalberg's attentions therefore laid elsewhere. In 1787, he was named the coadjutor to the Friedrich Karl Joseph von Erthal, Archbishop of Mainz and the *Kurfürsten* (Prince-Elector) of Worms. In 1800, he then became Bishop of Konstanz. Two years later he succeeded Erthal as Prince-Elector and Archbishop of Mainz (though his diocese was somewhat diminished in size due to the French annexation of territory to west of the Rhine). His reign in Mainz was transferred to Regensburg due to the outcome of the *Reichsdeputationshauptschluß* (the treaty that settled the legal status of ecclesiastical territories in the Holy Roman Empire) in 1803. From Regensburg, he ruled as regent over a newly created principality while retaining the privileges and dignities of the Archbishop of Mainz. In 1805, the Pope named him Apostolic Administrator over all non-Prussian territories that fell on the eastern side of the Rhine in the former ecclesiastical territory of the dioceses of Mainz, Cologne and Trier. In 1806, Napoleon conferred on him the title of *Fürstprimas* (Prince-Primate) of Germany and made him the *Vorsitz* (President) of the Confederation of the Rhine. He transferred his residence to Frankfurt in 1807. With the fall of Napoleon, Dalberg retreated to Konstanz, and then to Regensburg in 1814 until his death in 1817.

⁶¹ K. Schönenberger "Aus der Geschichte des Bistums Basels" in K. Schönenberger and A. Joos, *Katholische Kirche der Kantone: Basel-Stadt, Baselland, Thurgau, Schaffhausen, Olten*, Verlag Otto Walter, 1937, p. 16.

⁶² On January 1, 1815, Pope Pius VII detached the Swiss portion of the diocese of Konstanz. Over the next fifteen years, he and his successor, Pope Leo XII, negotiated with the autonomous cantons to erect a reorganized diocese of Basel in 1828.

⁶³ The cantonal governments of Wallis (1814 – Brig and Sitten-Sion), Freiburg (1818 in Freiburg, 1827 in Estavayer-le-Lac) and Schwyz (1836) invited them to conduct their educational apostolate for the formation of priests and laymen.

⁶⁴ The conflict between and among Catholics and Protestants, which overlays the tensions between national centralization and cantonal autonomy, finds a potent symbol in the Jesuit. The nineteenth-century persecution of Swiss Jesuits is but one chapter in a larger, and more comprehensive anti-Jesuitism that influenced European politics before and after the French Revolution. Research on anti-Jesuitism is still in its infancy. However, a few recent studies already demonstrate the decisive role that anti-Jesuitism, and by

opposition to the Jesuits combined with more recent social, political, and economic aspirations to form an anti-Catholicism, whose principal concern was not religion per se, but perceived that Catholicism was a dangerous obstacle to the achievement of modernity. This position was not strictly confessional, as Catholics who shared these aspirations often promoted, or at least tolerated, measures taken against other Catholics, especially against religious and the Jesuits.

2.2.2 Regeneration (1830-1848)

The restoration of the Swiss Confederation did not please Swiss Liberals, who contended that a stronger, more centralized, federal state was required to secure liberty, promote scientific inquiry, and foster economic and social development. In the end, a brief civil war settled the question whether Switzerland was a federal state or a confederation of sovereign states⁶⁵. Liberals, however, did not have a monopoly on freedom; the patricians, by contrast, rooted freedom not in the Enlightenment but in the earlier Swiss national liberation myth⁶⁶. Both parties, therefore, served under the banner of freedom. Besides this political polarity, and the earlier confessional polarity, the

extension, anti-Catholicism, played in the formation of the German Empire. Since no such study exists for anti-Jesuitism in Switzerland, and moreover, the Swiss did in fact imitate Bismarck's *Kulturkampf*, reference to studies on anti-Jesuitism in the German Empire are made to clarify the Swiss situation to some extent. For an introduction to the cross-cultural study of anti-Catholicism, see M.A. Drury, "Anti-Catholicism in Germany, Britain and the United States: A Review and Critique of Recent Scholarship" in *Church History*, vol. 70, no. 1, 2001, pp. 98-131.; for the role of anti-Catholicism (including anti-Jesuitism) in German national unification, see M. Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2005; for anti-Jesuitism in German national unification, see R. Healy, *The Jesuit Specter in Imperial Germany*, Boston, Brill, 2003.

⁶⁵ These parties – Federal versus Confederal – had their origins in the Swiss Enlightenment, which caused divisions across confessional lines rather than between confessions. Though in the main, Liberals were Protestants, Catholics were also present in these movements, in part reflecting the influence of the enlightened Josephinist Catholicism that reigned in Konstanz. Putative economic, social, and educational reforms founded on the feudal system, which enshrined inequality and obstructed the advancement of liberty. Consequently, the desire for reform evolved into an openness to revolution insofar as the *Ancien Régime* posed a seemingly insurmountable obstacle to the attainment of the Enlightenment.

⁶⁶ These elites – customarily called patricians – judged the growing absolutist claims of the state and new forms of economic organization as threats to traditional liberties, families, rural life, the role of religion in society, and cantonal autonomy. Unlike the Swiss *bourgeoisie*, the patricians viewed the cause of liberty as one of the vindications of ancient rights that had been usurped by the French-backed Helvetian republic. In this struggle, the folk hero, Wilhelm Tell, whose legend emerged in the context of the war against the Habsburgs, could be impressed into service by both sides for their respective understandings of liberty.

mutual alienation of city dwellers (*Bürgertum*) and the countryside (*Bauertum*) create another division⁶⁷. These cleavages at times also cut across social lines, as patricians became successful industrialists (politically conservative, economically liberal). With the arrival of the mechanization of the textile industry and land reforms that permitted easier transfer of property (freed from feudal regulations), new social realities emerged in the countryside: wealthy industrialists and landless farmers⁶⁸. After 1830, these divisions also cut across confessional lines as rural Christians ecumenically resisted educational campaigns against “superstition” and the propagation of historical-critical biblical scholarship⁶⁹.

The urban and newer cantons⁷⁰ authorized liberal constitutions, which recognized popular sovereignty as the basis for a legitimate political order, instituted representative democracy with a limited franchise, division of powers, open and public governance, equality before the law, civil rights, such as freedom of the press and association, as well as free trade and free enterprise⁷¹. The new constitutions and their vision of human beings planted the seeds of *Kulturkampf*. The liberal constitutional order envisioned a citizenry that possessed adequate knowledge and capacities to reach responsible decisions free from appeals to authority⁷². Consequently, the state had the duty to control education to achieve these ends and the right to eliminate any obstacles.

The evolution of profiles and worldviews of Liberals and Catholics in this period, moreover, sharpened the conflict of education. Increasingly impatient with the slow pace of reform, Liberals divided into two camps by 1830: reform-oriented Liberals and

⁶⁷ F. Strobel, *Die Jesuiten und die Schweiz im XIX. Jahrhundert*, Olten, Walter Verlag, 1955, p. 117.

⁶⁸ T. Maissen, *Geschichte der Schweiz*, Baden, hier+jetzt, 2010, pp. 188-189.

⁶⁹ Maissen, *Geschichte der Schweiz*, pp. 191-192.

⁷⁰ Zürich, Bern, Luzern, Solothurn, Freiburg und Schaffhausen, Tessin, St. Gallen Aargau, Thurgau und Waadt.

⁷¹ Maissen, *Geschichte der Schweiz*, p. 138.

⁷² Maissen, *Geschichte der Schweiz*, p. 187.

revolutionary Radicals⁷³. With the waning of enlightened Josephinist Catholics⁷⁴, and the waxing of Catholics loyal to Rome (Ultramontanist), the appetite for compromises and concessions diminished in favor of resistance and confrontation. Violence stemming from the French Revolution, the persecution of the Church, and the martyrdom of many Catholics put into doubt Liberalism's claims of tolerance, reason, and freedom. The romantic reaction against rationalism and positivism, furthermore, resulted in a more congenial atmosphere in which tradition, authority and mystery again gained salience.

Liberals and Radicals antagonized more traditional Catholics and Protestants with the Baden Articles in 1843⁷⁵, and the possible appointment of historical-critical scholar, David Friedrich Strauss, to the chair of theology at the University of Zürich in 1835⁷⁶, leading to a tri-polarity among (1) revolutionary Radicals,⁷⁷ (2) evolutionary Liberals (also called *Liberalkonservativen*, Liberal Conservatives) and (3) Conservatives

⁷³ In the main, their goals were the same, namely, a more centralized federal state (*Bundestaat*). They strongly differed, however, on the means to attain this goal, and the willingness to use violence. A major challenge to their common goal was the fact that the Constitution of 1815 lacked provisions for revision. Reformers, therefore, needed to find a legitimate means to change the constitution. Liberals pursued a policy of peaceful political and legal evolution, whereas the Radicals upheld the possibility and the necessity of revolution through coercion and violence. Their divergent evaluations of violence also reflected opposing views on the scope of reform. The Radicals espoused a program that required social, religious and ecclesiastical as well as political and economic changes; the Liberals did not. Strobel, *Die Jesuiten und die Schweiz im XIX. Jahrhundert*, p. 115.

⁷⁴ Strobel, *Die Jesuiten und die Schweiz im XIX. Jahrhundert*, p. 70.

⁷⁵ Organized by Liberals in control of Luzern, the ostensible purpose of this week-long conference in Baden (Aargau) was to reorder church-state relations for the dioceses of Basel, Chur, and St. Gallen. The conference requested that the Vatican elevate Basel to an archdiocese as well as demanding greater independence for the clergy from Rome, state control over priestly and religious formation, taxation for religious communities, permission for mixed-marriage and a reduction in the number of religious holidays. In conjunction with some Protestants and Liberal Catholics, the Liberals and Radicals adopted a series of far-reaching resolutions on January 27, 1834, known as the Baden Articles. The reaction was swift. Liberal cantons – Aargau, Basel-Landschaft, Bern, Luzern, St. Gallen, Thurgau und Zürich – began to implement the resolutions, and Catholics in St. Gallen, Luzern, Solothurn, Aargau und Thurgau organized a network of resistance; similar resistance movements formed among Protestants as well. France and Austria demanded the abrogation of the Baden Articles, and Pope Gregory XVI condemned them in his encyclical *Commissum divinitus* (17 May 1835). Addressing Swiss clergy, the Pope defended the autonomy of the Church against the encroachment of the state. The drafting of state power to impose Liberal demands severely backfired as it inspired a vehement resistance in the Catholic cantons. F. Genoud, “Badener Artikel“, trans. A. Zangger, in *Historischen Lexikons der Schweiz*, <http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/d/D17236.php> (accessed on 3 March 2011).

⁷⁶ This proposal incited the “Praying Uprising” of the Protestant majority that overthrew the Zürich government, leaving the Radicals embittered and the Conservatives emboldened.

⁷⁷ The Radicals controlled Zürich, Bern, Luzern, Aargau, St. Gallen, Thurgau, Glarus, Outer Appenzell, Baselland and Waadt. Strobel, *Die Jesuiten und die Schweiz im XIX. Jahrhundert*, p. 119.

(*Rechtskonservativen*, Right Conservatives)⁷⁸. The Radicals succeeded in splitting the conservative alliance of Liberal and Right Conservatives⁷⁹ after settling on the most eligible scapegoat to divide them: the Jesuits⁸⁰. Despite his outrageous claims⁸¹, the Aargau *Groß Rat* (Cantonal Legislature) approved of the anti-Jesuit proposal of a leading Liberal Catholic, Augustin Keller, by 123-42⁸², on May 28, 1844. The decision inspired anti-Jesuit initiatives elsewhere⁸³. Anti-Jesuit hysteria increased Catholic anxiety as the latter viewed the assault on the Jesuits as a prelude for a wider persecution⁸⁴.

A nationwide *Jesuitenhetze* (Jesuit-panic) ensued when Luzern's cantonal government invited the Jesuits to oversee secondary public education (as they had done

⁷⁸ Strobel, *Die Jesuiten und die Schweiz im XIX. Jahrhundert*, p. 116.

⁷⁹ In January 1841, Radicals in Aargau initiated the *Klosterstreit* (conflict over the abbeys), not only to suppress religious communities – despite their clear legal protection under the Swiss Constitution (Article Twelve) – but also to split the conservative alliance and to punish the Zürich *Liberalkonservativen*. Catholics, however, viewed this as an attack on their constitutional rights, which, in turn, led to a successful electoral campaign against the Radicals in Luzern. For the Radicals, thereafter, Luzern became public enemy number one, Zürich number two. Persecution renewed discussion among Catholic cantons whether the moment had come to secede. Strobel, *Die Jesuiten und die Schweiz im XIX. Jahrhundert*, pp. 120-121. The Radicals also suffered a humiliating defeat in Wallis, when the popular Conservative government defeated the “Young Swiss” militia. Radicals referred to the defeat as the *Walliser Debacle* (the debacle in Valais/Wallis), and the myth of the Jesuit conspiracy was created.

⁸⁰ Strobel, *Die Jesuiten und die Schweiz im XIX. Jahrhundert*, p. 126.

⁸¹ Radicals, such as Keller and Ludwig Snell – a leading Radical political theorist – blamed the *Walliser Debacle* on a Jesuit conspiracy with slogans such as “*Jesuitenreaktion in Wallis*” (the Jesuit led reaction in Wallis) and the “*blutigen Jesuiten*” (bloody Jesuits), the evidence for which was entirely lacking. Strobel, *Die Jesuiten und die Schweiz im XIX. Jahrhundert*, p.128.

⁸² Keller put forth the motion to suppress the Jesuits to divide the conservative alliance and to eliminate the firmest obstacle – in his view – to the liberalization and modernization of the Catholic Church in Switzerland. Later a founding member of the Swiss state sponsored *christkatholische Kirche* in 1871, Keller only promoted the Jesuit expulsion. Ludwig Snell, a German refugee, and Zürich citizen, however, also campaigned for the expulsion of the Papal Nuncio as well as the suppression of all religious communities, including the Jesuits, as early as 1833. Strobel, *Die Jesuiten und die Schweiz im XIX. Jahrhundert*, pp. 129-132.

⁸³ In June, Snell sought to expel the Jesuits in Zürich through a campaign of public pressure and intimidation aimed at the *Liberalkonservativ* government. Snell used his newspaper, *Schweizerischer Republikaner* (Swiss Republican), to ignite latent anti-Jesuit prejudices through propaganda, petitions, and songs. He aimed to compel the Zürich cantonal government to raise the *Jesuitenfrage* (Jesuit Question) on the confederal level as Aargau had already done. The *Liberalkonservativ* government opposed the Radicals citing the rights of the cantons to autonomy in such matters and the incompetency of other cantons to interfere in their affairs. Zürich was the rehearsal for the upcoming campaigns. Strobel, *Die Jesuiten und die Schweiz in XIX. Jahrhundert*, pp. 143-144. The *Volkstagung* (National Meeting) to celebrate the Swiss Confederation (*Eidgenössisches Schützfest*) in July 1844, at Basil turned into a political rally, rife with anti-Catholic and anti-Jesuit propaganda. Strobel, *Die Jesuiten und die Schweiz im XIX. Jahrhundert*, pp. 155-160. Similarly, during the *Herrentagung* (Men's Meeting) at Luzern, Keller gave a three-hour speech in which he rehearsed the libelous contents of German *anti-Jesuitica*. Strobel, *Die Jesuiten und die Schweiz im XIX. Jahrhundert*, pp. 161-164.

⁸⁴ Strobel, *Die Jesuiten und die Schweiz im XIX. Jahrhundert*, p. 238.

before the Helvetian republic) in October 1844⁸⁵. Using their *Freischaren* (Radical militia), the Radicals tried to intimidate Luzern, which had exhibited a willingness to negotiate a settlement⁸⁶, but instead this action provoked seven cantons to conclude a *Schützverein* (defensive alliance) in December 1845⁸⁷. After two years of further hostility, Bern succeeded in appointing Ulrich Ochsenbein (the *Freischaren* general who had led an assault on Luzern in 1845 two years earlier) in the rotating office of Confederal President to mobilize for war⁸⁸. On September 3, 1847, the Confederal Diet delivered an ultimatum, the *Jesuitenbeschluss* (Jesuit resolution), to the Catholic cantons to expel the Jesuits. Their refusal became the pretext for the short war – it lasted less than a month – that followed in November. The victorious twelve cantons declared that the Jesuits were the cause for the war⁸⁹, though Maissen judges the war to be a political rather than a confessional war⁹⁰. With their triumph, the opportunity to impose a new liberal constitution had arrived⁹¹.

⁸⁵ The principal targets were Zürich and Luzern. In the former, their motion in Zürich's *Groß Rat* (Cantonal Legislature) to force the *Liberalkonservativ* government to demand the withdrawal of Luzern's request for the Jesuits ended in success on December 18, 1844. Radicals had already obtained similar demands from the cantonal governments in Bern and Aargau. Strobel, *Die Jesuiten und die Schweiz im XIX. Jahrhundert*, pp. 210-212.

⁸⁶ The Luzern government was willing to cancel the appointment so long as it was understood to be a prudential decision, and not the surrender of its constitutionally recognized rights. France, the Vatican, and the Jesuit General all indicated their desire for a negotiated settlement, but the Radicals refused to compromise. Twice, the *Freischaren* (the Radical militia) abetted by Bern and Aargau attacked Luzern, resulting in 120 casualties. Maissen, *Geschichte der Schweiz*, p. 196.

⁸⁷ Luzern, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Freiburg and Wallis formed the alliance, which their opponents maligned as the "Secessionist League" (*Sonder* is related to 'to put sunder' in English), and from which the subsequent civil war gains its libelous name: *Sonderkrieg*, "Secessionist War". Some considered the alliance illegal because they claimed that it contravened Paragraph Six of the Constitution of 1815.

⁸⁸ Bern, the *Vorort*, namely, the presiding canton of the confederal government at this time, obtained twelve votes (from twelve cantons) in the *Tagsatzung* (Confederal Diet) on May 28, 1847, to appoint the general.

⁸⁹ Strobel, *Die Jesuiten und die Schweiz im XIX. Jahrhundert*, p. 462.

⁹⁰ Maissen, *Geschichte der Schweiz*, p. 198.

⁹¹ The Confederal Diet approved it on September 12, 1848. Strobel, *Die Jesuiten und die Schweiz im XIX. Jahrhundert*, p. 430.

2.2.2.1 Thurgau in the Regeneration (1815-1848)

In 1829, Thurgau entered the newly organized diocese of Basel. Under the leadership of Protestant pastor, Hans Thomas Bornhauser, Thurgau adopted a liberal constitution in 1831. With respect to religious communities, the government pursued a hostile policy that viewed them as obstacles to economic and social progress. To obtain funds, the cantonal government expropriated property that had belonged to religious communities. Furthermore, the cantonal government forbade religious communities to receive novices⁹². Following the discriminatory Baden Articles (1834) and the subsequent *Jesuitenhetze* (1845), the Thurgau legislature voted 68-19 in favor of the expulsion of the Jesuits, even though there was not a single Jesuit within the canton⁹³. Following the victory over the *Sonderbund* (Secessionist League as its enemies called it), the legislature voted to suppress all religious communities on June 28, 1848⁹⁴.

2.3 The Federal State – Background to Kulturkampf (1848-1870)

The struggle over the character of Swiss society did not abate however, but shifted to new fields of competition, the most important of which was education. In response to the military defeat, Catholics sought to form a counterculture centered on faith, family, and the Church. Swiss Liberals, on the other hand, shaped the new national culture according to the German Liberal vision of *Bildung*. With the maturation of the nation-state, social, political, and economic transformations prompted new reflections and expectations about life and its purpose. At the center of such transformations lay the

⁹² K. Müller, *Die katholische Kirche in der Schweiz*, Einsiedeln, Benzinger, 1928, p. 138.

⁹³ Strobel, *Die Jesuiten und die Schweiz im XIX. Jahrhundert*, pp. 236-238.

⁹⁴ These were (1) the Augustinian canonry at Kreuzlingen, (2) the Benedictine monastery at Fischingen, (3) the Benedictine convent at Münsterlingen, (4) the Carthusian charterhouse at Ittingen, and the Cistercian convents (5) at Kalchrain and (6) at Tänikon.

education of youth. Primarily, Catholics and Liberals clashed on education because it inculcates children with a moral vision with a meaning and purpose for life.

2.3.1 Overview: Aftermath of the Civil War

Though hardly momentous on the battlefield, the brief war nevertheless ushered in a significantly new political order, which opposed anti-Catholic Liberals and anti-Liberal (or in the parlance of the Magisterium, anti-Modernist) Catholics. Legal and social conflict replaced armed conflict. This tension lasted until the end of the Nineteenth Century, when Catholics enfranchised on the national level (opposition as adversaries becomes opposition as partners). The Federal Constitution of 1848 contained prejudicial and discriminatory provisions that marginalized Catholics and led many to conclude that they were, in fact, second-class citizens⁹⁵. The constitutional mandate in Article 58 to expel the Jesuits, who had played a leading role in education after their reintroduction to Switzerland in the same year as their re-founding in 1814, particularly aggrieved Catholics⁹⁶. Further, even though other anti-Catholic proposals did not gain approval⁹⁷, cantonal governments⁹⁸ nevertheless seized the opportunity to suppress numerous religious communities to confiscate their property (secularization) to gain funds for the expansion of the state. As tensions rose in the 1860s following the publication of Pope Pius IX's *Syllabus of Errors*, cantonal authorities approved new discriminatory measures⁹⁹. During the Nineteenth Century, cantonal governments suppressed sixty

⁹⁵ P. Bernold, *Der schweizerische Episkopat und die Bedrohung der Demokratie 1919-1939*, Frankfurt, Lang, 1995, p. 30.

⁹⁶ "Der Orden der Jesuiten und die ihm affilierten Gesellschaften dürfen in keinem Theile der Schweiz Aufnahme finden (The order of the Jesuits and their affiliated societies are not permitted to be received in any part of Switzerland)".

⁹⁷ Proposals such as a state-run central seminary and control of priestly formation with obligatory training at state-universities, a national Catholic Church autonomous from Rome and the secularization and confiscation of Catholic schools. Strobel, *Die Jesuiten und die Schweiz im XIX. Jahrhundert*, p. 430.

⁹⁸ Freiburg, Wallis, Luzern, Tessin, Thurgau.

⁹⁹ These actions include (1) the prohibition of the publication of the *Syllabus of Errors* in Aargau, Basel und Thurgau; (2) the prohibition against priestly retreats and missions without a prior state license in Bern

monasteries and Jesuits communities and twenty convents of nuns and women religious¹⁰⁰. Religious communities, however, endured, and indeed flourished elsewhere in Switzerland. In this sense, therefore, Liberals conducted an undeclared *Kulturkampf* through the middle decades of the Nineteenth Century that preceded and prepared for the declared *Kulturkampf* of the 1870s¹⁰¹.

Thanks to basic civil rights guaranteed in the Federal Constitution, however, Catholics were able to devise strategies that ensured their long-term survival. Within the group, Catholics constructed a unified counterculture. Between Catholics and the larger Swiss society, Catholics forged an effective political organization that relied on the Church and its myriad associations. These proved strong enough to withstand the *Kulturkampf*, and eventually wrestle Catholics a place in the political system¹⁰².

2.3.2 The Catholic Counterculture

In nineteenth-century Switzerland, two “Catholicisms”¹⁰³ competed for allegiance. Taking an optimistic view, enlightened Josephinist or Liberal Catholicism sought to reconcile Catholics with Modernity, whereas Ultramontanist Catholicism used current ideas and techniques to resist modernity in the name of tradition. Surprisingly, the defeat of the “*Sonderbund*” cantons in the civil war, and the subsequent expulsion of the Jesuits, did not promote Liberal Catholicism. On the contrary the “*jesuitisierte*

and Solothurn; (3) the suppression of teaching congregations in Catholic Jura (which came under the control of Protestant Bern thanks to the Congress of Vienna); and (4) the closure of the diocesan seminary in Solothurn, which had only opened in 1860.

¹⁰⁰ O. Fatio, *Histoire du christianisme en Suisse : Une perspective œcuménique*, Geneva, Labor et Fides, 1995, p. 215.

¹⁰¹ Fatio, *Histoire du christianisme en Suisse : Une perspective œcuménique*, p. 215.

¹⁰² In 1891, Josef Zemp became the first Catholic to serve on the seven-member Federal Council (*Bundesrat* – the executive branch of the Swiss government) as a member of the Conservatives.

¹⁰³ The term “Catholicism” refers exclusively to an ideology based on the Catholic faith. Its proper domain, therefore, is ideology, which it shares with Liberalism, Socialism, etc. In this work, Catholicism never refers to the Catholic faith. The use of the adjective, Catholic, must be understood in its immediate context to determine whether it refers to the Catholic faith or a political program and worldview, namely, a Catholicism, that is derived therefrom.

Kirche und die Ultramontane” (“Jesuitified Church and the Ultramontanists”) arrived in force¹⁰⁴.

2.3.2.1 Ultramontanism

Not only in Switzerland, but also throughout Europe and beyond, Catholics were characterized as anti-modern because they questioned fundamental claims of the Liberal worldview and its contemporary instantiations. In positive terms, Swiss Catholics increasingly formulated an alternative worldview, Ultramontanism¹⁰⁵, that diverged from the victorious Liberal-Radical vision on church-state relations, marriage and family life, economic and social affairs, and the scope and competence of the federal, cantonal, and local political authorities. Important nineteenth-century developments – the Marian and missionary revivals¹⁰⁶ and the birth of the modern papacy¹⁰⁷ – testify to the creativity and

¹⁰⁴ Strobel, *Die Jesuiten und die Schweiz im XIX. Jahrhundert*, p. 432.

¹⁰⁵ Catholic anti-Modernism did not, therefore, refer to a kind of Luddite, anti-technological or anti-development worldview. Rather, Ultramontanism articulated anxieties about the ultimate illiberal trajectories of Liberalism that tend towards totalitarian claims about the nature of reality, i.e., materialism; about the nature of reason, i.e., rationalism; about the distribution of power in society, i.e., state as sovereign (even if theoretically exercised in name of the people); about the free markets as a just instrument for determining the distribution of the goods of the world, i.e., capitalism; about the nature of human beings, i.e., autonomous individuals; about the place of religion in society, i.e., private, spiritual (disembodied), sentimental and invisible; and finally, about God, i.e., effectively, public agnosticism or even atheism. Given the recent history of Europe, e.g., the French Revolution, it was not difficult to find persuasive grounds for such concerns.

¹⁰⁶ Running parallel to the Catholic critique of Liberal modernity was the vibrant spiritual renewal in missionary outreach and Marian devotion. Despite the chronic threat of suppression and persecution in many places, religious life did indeed flourish. Missionary congregations permanently altered the composition of the Church through globalizing its membership. Furthermore, plentiful priestly vocations joined the dynamic expansion of active congregations of religious sisters, who conducted missionary, educational and charitable apostolates around the world. Thanks to urbanization, industrialization, and immigration, Catholic populations grew in Protestant countries, e.g., the United Kingdom, the United States of America and Australia.

The tremendous appeal of the Marian renewal brought together popular piety, missionary outreach, and magisterial authority, thereby uniting Catholics and the Pope in a new way. Marian devotion, its variety of forms and associations united men and women, the young and the old, indeed Catholics from all walks of life. In this, it helped the Church to address the fragmentation caused by individualism, urbanization, and diaspora Catholicism. Marian apparitions in places such as Paris, Lourdes, La Salette, Pontmain and Marpingen inspired devotion because these events demonstrated to many the actions of God in the seemingly disenchanted world. At the same time, these occurrences disturbed liberal confidence in the myth of progress because it called into question their belief in the inevitable triumph of science and education, and the concomitant eradication of superstition and ignorance.

¹⁰⁷ During the Nineteenth Century, on the one hand, a significant evolution of (1) the papacy and its self-understanding (papal primacy and jurisdiction), and, on the other hand, (2) the emergence of semi-

vitality of Catholics in this competition. The magisterial espousal of the Marian cause reached a climax in 1854 when Pope Pius IX declared ex cathedra the dogmatic truth of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, thus binding together Marian devotion, dogmatic faith, and papal authority. In the intervening years, tensions arose due to the emergence of an alternative magisterium of academic theologians as Catholic theologians adapted to a demanding and rewarding environment shaped by the polarities between *Kirchlichkeit* and *Wissenschaft* (ecclesial-ness and science), church and state, the Magisterium and theologians¹⁰⁸. Sixteen years later in 1870, Vatican One defined the

autonomous Catholic theological faculties that necessitated the development and articulation of the doctrine of (1) the ordinary and universal Magisterium and (2) the papal Magisterium. An example of this phenomenon is Pius IX's letter to the Archbishop of Munich, *Ad Tuas libenter* (December 21, 1863), in which he expressed his dismay at the theological congress that was organized on the initiative of theologians themselves and lacking explicit episcopal approval. In this letter, the Pope introduced for the first time the term "ordinary Magisterium" to distinguish between dogma that are defined and those that are undefined. The latter subsequently would be referred to as the "ordinary and universal Magisterium".

This new articulation of the doctrine of the papacy, which logically derives from divine revelation, was seen as a prudential response to safeguard the Church and her doctrines against decades of violence, persecution, discrimination, error, and confusion. The Popes, among others, concluded that the revolutionary upheavals, e.g., the French Revolution, revolutions of 1848, etc., signified a profound moral and spiritual crisis that required a prophetic stance and a pastoral response.

By mid-century, bishops and theologians encouraged the articulation of the doctrine of the papacy in terms of the scope of its pastoral jurisdiction and its teaching authority to strengthen its spiritual authority against the aggressive encroachment of the state, especially on matters of marriage, family life, the public exercise of religion (e.g., holy days), religious life and education. Not without significant opposition within the First Vatican Council did the Council Fathers finally approve the statements on papal jurisdiction and teaching authority. The Dogmatic Constitution, *De ecclesia Christi* (July 18, 1870), articulated the two lines of development: (1) that papal primacy is exercised universally and immediately over the whole Church. and (2) that the Pope by virtue of his office as successor to Peter enjoys a singular gift of infallibility.

Regarding the background of the declaration on papal infallibility, "There is a general consensus that non-theological factors played at least as an important role here as the strictly theological ones. Prominent among the former was the widely shared hope that a strong affirmation of the spiritual authority of the Holy See would provide a remedy for the many evils of the day that were looked up as the fruit of Liberalism and freethinking stemming from Protestantism and the French Revolution". F. Sullivan, *The Magisterium*, Mahwah, Paulist Press, 1983, p. 94. After acknowledging the influence of strictly non-theological factors, Sullivan nevertheless underscores that fact that most contemporary theologians did hold to the validity of *Pastor Aeternis*. "And yet, as Newman was, they are convinced of the truth of the dogma without having to accept the theology or the exegesis of those who defined it, because it is not these that were defined". Sullivan, *The Magisterium*, pp. 95-96.

¹⁰⁸ The modern papacy had to address the appearance of theological faculties at state universities. Episcopal supervision over theological faculties, or at least, over the activity of their members, waned. These faculties came under the financial and administrative control of the state. Catholic theologians increasingly submitted their research for peer review by Protestant theologians. Although Catholic theologians remained enmeshed in the Church through a variety of procedures and protocols that recognized episcopal rights to oversee their scholarly publications, their participation in the peer review process, their adherence of academic standards for their profession (as university professors), and the need to defend theology as a science (understood in the reductionist sense of a natural science) created serious

papal authority to teach infallibly *ex cathedra*. These events symbolize well a Catholic matrix that troubled Liberal sensibilities on matters of class, sexual roles, and authority, and further clarifies the particular nature of German Liberal anti-Catholicism, which will be further investigated below¹⁰⁹.

2.3.2.2. *Swiss Catholic Subculture*

Swiss Catholics had an experience that differed from those of Catholics where a Protestant reformation did not ultimately prevail (e.g., France, Spain, Italy, Austria, Poland)¹¹⁰. With civil rights and an intact church organization, Swiss Catholics creatively responded to the hostile environment by building a highly effective *Subgesellschaft*¹¹¹, that is, a sub- or counterculture. With a unified worldview as its character and a flourishing social existence as its ethos, particularly from 1920 to 1950¹¹², this

tensions between their fidelity to the Church on the one hand, and their fidelity to the norms of academia on the other.

¹⁰⁹ Liberals found much troubling about the robust expression of papal authority. The universal and direct jurisdiction of the Pope over the whole Church opposed claims on behalf of national churches, which drew on Gallican theology and late Medieval Conciliarist thought as well as Orthodox and Protestant ecclesiologies. It also asserted the sovereign right of the papacy to intervene on behalf of Catholics anywhere in the face of persecution from civil authorities. Similarly, the *ex-cathedra* mode of the infallible papal Magisterium asserted the full autonomy of the papacy from any worldly authority whatsoever as far as the council taught the self-sufficient and independent competence of the Pope to teach on matters of faith and morals when he deemed it prudent and necessary. Implicitly, Vatican One taught that Christ had invested the papacy with a superior authority that surpassed any state on the one hand, and, on the other, that all Catholics were obliged in such matters to hear and to obey the Pope over any political authorities. Such claims were intolerable to those who did not view such statements as a defense of the Church's freedom to conduct her missionary mandate and a limitation on the increasingly authoritarian nature of the ever-expanding Liberal state, but rather as the unwarranted assertion of a monarchical tyranny that controlled its members with threats of condemnation to hell, and commanded, in their view, a blind obedience (of which Ignatius and the Jesuits were a supreme example), even at the cost of loyalty to the nation and fidelity to one's own conscience.

¹¹⁰ Swiss Catholics were a minority, sometimes gathered into local majorities in certain cantons. In this, they shared a common experience as a minority with Catholics in the Protestant countries of northern Europe, where a Catholic minority endured (Netherlands, German states, England, Scotland), or was introduced by immigration (USA). In many of these cases, Catholics formed alternative societies to defend their way of life against a hostile majority culture.

¹¹¹ According to Urs Altermatt's usage in *Katholizismus und Moderne*, Zürich, Benzinger, 1989, a *Subgesellschaft* (subculture) or *Sondergesellschaft* (alternative or counterculture) possesses two defining features: (1) a unified worldview and (2) an effective social embodiment. H. Bischofsberger, "Die katholischen Gymnasien im Wandel des 20. Jahrhundert" in E. Bucher & J. Küng (eds.), *Aufbau und Vermächtnis. Vom Kapuzinerkollegium zur Kantonsschule Appenzell*, Appenzell, Druckerei Appenzeller Volksfreund, 1999, p. 203.

¹¹² Fatio, *Histoire du christianisme en Suisse : Une perspective œcuménique*, p. 250.

subculture encompassed not only the Catholic rural cantons but also the growing number of diaspora Catholics¹¹³. Spurred on by mid-nineteenth-century industrialization, many Catholics immigrated to the traditionally Protestant cantons to find work, where they often met discrimination¹¹⁴.

Before and after their suppression in 1773, the Jesuits played an influential role in education¹¹⁵. With the Jesuit expulsion as well as the Liberal and Radical control of cantonal schools to attain their ideological objectives¹¹⁶, Catholics countered with the establishment of their own institutions¹¹⁷. Besides the Benedictines¹¹⁸, the Bishops of Chur and St. Gallen¹¹⁹, parishes and religious orders¹²⁰ – even those not normally

¹¹³ This subculture evolved into a comprehensive alternative society with parallel institutions in many areas of life. By the Twentieth Century, a Swiss Catholic could participate in a satisfying lifeworld outside of the place of employment that included health care and hospitals, charitable works for the elderly, the orphaned and the indigent, education from kindergarten to university, theatre, travel and sports groups, newspapers and magazines, a political party, banks, credit unions, and insurance companies, pious and professional associations, and labor unions. Bernold, *Der schweizerische Episkopat und die Bedrohung der Demokratie* 1919-1939, p. 30.

¹¹⁴ Schönenberger “Aus der Geschichte des Bistums Basels“ in *Katholische Kirche der Kantone: Basel-Stadt, Baselland, Thurgau, Schaffhausen*, p. 17.

¹¹⁵ Jesuits founded colleges in Luzern in 1574; Freiburg in 1582; Pruntrut (Porrentruy, canton Jura) in 1590; in canton Wallis starting first in Ernen in 1607 (later, Siders and Leuk, and finally ending in Brig in 1662); Sitten in 1625; and in Solothurn in 1646. Bischofsberger, “Die katholischen Gymnasien im Wandel des 20. Jahrhundert“ in *Aufbau und Vermächtnis. Vom Kapuzinerkollegium zur Kantonsschule*, p. 205. After their restoration in 1814, the Jesuits opened colleges in Freiburg in 1818 and in Schwyz (1836). Attempts made in Wallis and Luzern were not successful.

¹¹⁶ In 1858, the federal government obligated schooling for children six to twelve. In 1871, two more years for vocational training were added for boys. J. Küng, “Realschule: Geschichte, Bedeutung, Entwicklung“ in E. Bucher & J. Küng (eds.), *Aufbau und Vermächtnis. Vom Kapuzinerkollegium zur Kantonsschule Appenzell*, Appenzell, Druckerei Appenzeller Volksfreund, 1999, p. 40.

¹¹⁷ These schools nurtured and supported a counter-cultural milieu for youth formation. Consequently, Liberals and Radicals frequently sought to close them through legal means, or to dissuade their use their propaganda campaigns conducted in the mass media. Such harassment, however, usually resulted in the opposite effect that it had intended because this form of persecution only succeeded in persuading Catholics to shun cantonal school. At the secondary level, such a decision often required that the children – usually sons – live in other cantons (as was Schwager’s case), or even go abroad.

¹¹⁸ Einsiedeln, Engelberg and Disentis.

¹¹⁹ The Bishop of St. Gallen founded St. Georgen (1857-1874 – suppressed by the St. Gallen cantonal authorities), and the Bishop of Chur founded Maria Hilf in Schwyz (1856-1972; thereafter it became a public-cantonal school).

¹²⁰ Thanks to the persecution of religious communities in France as well as the emigration of religious due to the outcome of the First World War, many missionary congregations established secondary schools in Switzerland. Bischofsberger, “Die katholischen Gymnasien im Wandel des 20. Jahrhundert” in *Aufbau und Vermächtnis. Vom Kapuzinerkollegium zur Kantonsschule*, pp. 207-208.

associated with an educational apostolate¹²¹ – took on schooling to ensure that children would receive an appropriate education as Catholics did in other countries where the public schools were perceived to be hostile to their beliefs and practices. In general, secondary education for boys followed the Tridentine prescriptions, which conceived of such institutions as a minor seminary, that is, seedbeds for future priests and religious¹²².

2.3.3 The Liberal Culture

The ethos of the majority culture communicated the moral vision of the German Liberal tradition, whose values and concerns distinguish it in part from the Enlightenment's expressions elsewhere¹²³. The German Enlightenment (*Aufklärung*) did not adopt a fundamentally negative view of religion because of its link to Protestantism and to Pietism, which contributed to its spiritual and educational background.

2.3.3.1 *Bildung*

Bildung is the central and unifying concept of German Liberalism¹²⁴. A word without accurate cognates in other languages, *Bildung* expressed a worldview and value-system¹²⁵, constituting a “religion of cultivation”¹²⁶. Its semantic field relates to *Bild*

¹²¹ For example, the Capuchins founded St. Fidelis College at Stans (1877) and St. Anthony College Appenzell (1908).

¹²² The education, therefore, consisted of a humanistic formation with emphasis on classical languages as a preparation for the study of philosophy and theology.

¹²³ For instance, the French Enlightenment exhibited strongly anti-clerical and anti-Catholic tendencies that ultimately helped to justify violence in the French Revolution and to present religion in a fundamentally negative light. The same cannot be said in the German Enlightenment. Even though anti-Catholicism played a defining role in the formation of German Liberalism as the enemy (*Feindbild*), it never attained the scales of demonization that sustained violence elsewhere. Unlike French anti-Catholic violence, the German and Swiss *Kulturkampf* did not lead to bloodshed even if it did cause legal persecution and social stigmatization.

¹²⁴ “Different aspects of German Liberalism--a belief in a *bürgerliche* social order, a constitutional though not necessarily parliamentary state, a historically grounded belief in civic and human rights, a belief in reform within rather than emancipation from the state, a belief in private property and rights--were all embraced in the idea of *Bildung*, the cultivation of the human intellect and spirit”. Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, p. 23.

¹²⁵ According to Sperber, *Bildung* consists of “its characteristic as a secularized version of German Protestant ideals; its late-eighteenth-- and early-nineteenth--century origins as both a project of and reaction against the Enlightenment; its institutionalization in the *Gymnasium*, the state-run secondary school that became the crucial entryway to the learned professions; and its more general diffusion through

(picture and image) and its variants¹²⁷, and *bilden* (to form, shape, or mold), language redolent of moral formation and intellectual education. As a total vision of human existence, it proposes a program for personal development and social progress¹²⁸. As a species of German Protestantism, *Bildung* also preserved a space for the non-churchgoing, upper middle class (*Bürgertum*) to take seriously spiritual and religious matters, while at the same time emptying these matters of their dogmatic formulations¹²⁹.

Bildung, moreover, sustained a progressive political and economic program that required the promotion of science (*Wissenschaft*) as critical and free inquiry. German and Swiss nationalists, therefore, contended that the attainment of a competent citizenry for a liberal republic (which is not necessarily the same thing as a democracy) and a productive workforce necessitated a proper education based on the principles of *Bildung*. A professional governing class, *Beamten* (civil servants), should embody *Bildung*'s ideals because it was their vocation to coordinate and manage social progress¹³⁰.

the lives of the upper middle class". Sperber, "Bürger, Bürgertum, Bürgerlichkeit, Bürgerliche Gesellschaft: Studies of the German (Upper) Middle Class and Its Sociocultural World", *Journal of Modern History*, p. 276.

¹²⁶ Drury, "Anti-Catholicism in Germany, Britain and the United States: A Review and Critique of Recent Scholarship", in *Church History*, p. 188.

¹²⁷ For example, *Abbild* (copy, image), used in Gn. 1:27 for 'image of God'; *Vorbild* (model, example, exemplar), which has a strong moral connotation as someone to imitate, *Ebenbild*, (likeness), *Zerrbild* (caricature) and *Feindbild* (picture of the enemy).

¹²⁸ Though not invented in the Enlightenment, its diffusion at that time comes from the recovery of classical ideas of education and development from the Ciceronian idea of *cultura animi* and the Greek *paideia*. For many of its proponents, Greco-Roman antiquity was appreciated and embraced as an alternative worldview to Christianity, opening a path up for a new culture and new Europe.

¹²⁹ Medieval German mystics as well as the contemporary practices of the cultivation of the interior life and moral duty in Pietism tilted the German soul to embrace *Bildung*. Consequently, *Bildung* among other things helps to explain the endurance of metaphysics and ontology in German philosophy and theology, since such a competence revealed a well-educated person as well as the absence of a vengeful and crass atheism as compared with other countries. "Even as the concept became secularized, it (*Bildung*) remained free of the atheism and materialism of the French intellectual tradition". Healy, *The Jesuit Specter in Imperial Germany*, p. 177. Girard also comments on this important difference between German and French intellectual milieu in *Battling to the End*.

¹³⁰ Healy, *The Jesuit Specter in Imperial Germany*, p 177.

In their view, the main obstacle to reaching the aims of *Bildung* was the Catholic Church, whom the Jesuits singularly epitomized¹³¹. At mid-century, Liberals succeeded in imposing education reforms in Switzerland on national and cantonal levels, as well as in the neighboring Grand Duchy of Baden¹³². Swiss Liberals, for example, sought the imposition of universal obligatory schooling, so that the state would shape Swiss identity rather than the fathers of families and the fathers of the Church (priests, bishops and the Pope)¹³³: “the conflicts in the *Kulturkampf* concern therefore above all else the control of schools and beyond that, the autonomy of the Catholic Church”¹³⁴. In this conflict, *Bildung* supporters resorted to a legacy of anti-Catholic and anti-Jesuit polemics¹³⁵.

2.3.3.2 Liberal Anti-Catholicism

Liberal anti-Catholicism also seems to have provided an ideological framework like Germany that promoted an agenda of modernization, centralization, and industrialization in Switzerland. Although demonstrating this hypothesis is more difficult due to the lack of studies specific to the Swiss context¹³⁶, in her comparative survey Drury sees that “many of the themes and functions of anti-Catholic discourse in the West

¹³¹ “Ultimately, ‘Jesuitism’ was at its essence, according to Bunsen, a form of ‘drill, not *Bildung*; an enslavement, not a liberation,’ which encouraged ‘among the people, not independence and prosperous development, but a ruinous fluctuation between anarchy and despotism, like that between skepticism and superstition’”. Gross cites Christian Carl Bunsen, German Liberal Protestant theologian and polemicist, from his popular tract, *Die Zeichen der Zeit* in 1852. Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, p. 101.

¹³² The Baden *Schulstreit* (struggle over schools) between the Liberal government and the Archbishop of Freiburg im Breisgau started in the 1850s, reached a climax in 1864, and eventually died down with the German *Kulturkampf* by 1876.

¹³³ Maissen, *Geschichte der Schweiz*, p. 218.

¹³⁴ “Die Auseinandersetzungen im Kulturkampf betrafen deshalb vor allem die Kontrolle des Schulwesens und außerdem die Autonomie der katholischen Kirche“, Maissen, *Geschichte der Schweiz*, p. 220.

¹³⁵ “The anti-Jesuits’ critique reveal that Protestantism influenced far more than their religious beliefs. It structured their perception of the past, and, by demanding a strict separation of public and private spheres, family life and public activities. To the extent that anti-Jesuits would not admit approaches to national identity, morality, education, scholarship, and worship that did not rest on Protestant traditions, their faith shaped their anti-Catholicism”. Healy, *The Jesuit Specter in Imperial Germany*, p. 229. Healy’s conclusion also applies to Switzerland.

¹³⁶ F. Strobel’s *Die Jesuiten und Die Schweiz im XIX. Jahrhundert* comprehensively treats the political history of the Liberal instrumentalization of anti-Jesuitism for the formation of the Federal Constitution of 1848. However, its coverage ends in 1848. P. Stadler’s *Kulturkampf in der Schweiz*, considered the standard work on the subject, does not address the ideological origins or sociological dimensions of Liberal anti-Catholicism (for example, the roles that class and gender played).

transcended national and temporal boundaries”¹³⁷. If this is a well-founded statement, then it seems plausible to clarify the Swiss *Kulturkampf* with research from the German *Kulturkampf* (even while acknowledging the differences in history and the presence of a significant French speaking population in the western cantons of Switzerland)¹³⁸.

Although the Swiss *Kulturkampf* exhibits its own profile, the crux of the conflict is in its essence the same: a conflict of schools¹³⁹. To divide and conquer the conservative Catholic and Protestant opposition to the constitutional revisions in the 1840s, Swiss and German Liberals and Radicals drew on anti-Catholic and anti-Jesuit stereotypes¹⁴⁰. In the liberal construction of the self and the society, the outsider or the ‘other’ had to be invented to set boundaries in order to separate Germany – or Switzerland – from the alien, enemy other (*Feindbild*): “anti-Catholic intolerance was not derivative but constitutive Liberalism; it was not an ancillary expression, but, on the contrary, at the core of Liberalism in Germany”¹⁴¹.

¹³⁷ Drury, “Anti-Catholicism in Germany, Britain and the United States: A Review and Critique of Recent Scholarship”, in *Church History*, p. 99.

¹³⁸ M. Gross and R. Healy have examined the ideological origins and sociological dimensions of anti-Catholicism in the formation of the German Empire, and the early stages of its consolidation in the *Kulturkampf* (especially 1871-1878). Thus, with proper precautions, their research can contribute to a better understanding of the parallel phenomenon in Switzerland.

¹³⁹ “The intolerance of Catholics that culminated in the *Kulturkampf* and the attempt once and for all to break the power of the Roman Catholic faith and the influence of the Roman Catholic Church were instead embedded in a more pervasive and complex array of imperatives and anxieties specific to Liberal identity and the Liberal program for political citizenship, economic development, moral order, and public and private life in modern Germany”. Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, p. 3.

¹⁴⁰ “During the New Era after 1858, the Liberals’ stigmatization of Jesuits, priests, monks, and Catholics as stupid, medieval, superstitious, feminine, and un-German helped orient their vision of German society toward modern rationalism, bourgeois individualism, high industrialization, free-market capitalism, the united nation-state, and gender-specific public and private spheres”. Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, p. 22.

¹⁴¹ Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, p. 22. The same could be said of the Catholicism – as the political opponent of Liberalism. Both needed the enemy other to constitute their identity through a series of negations, i.e., anti-Modernist or anti-Catholic. To assign the role of victim to Catholics, therefore, would be mistaken because it would fail to consider their creative and steadfast resistance to Liberalism not only in explicit political terms, i.e., Catholicism as an effective alternative ideology, but also in terms of the vibrant life of the Church as an alternative society.

With respect to class in Germany and in Switzerland, Liberals had failed to capture the loyalty of the common people¹⁴². In response to the Revolutions of 1848, which the German episcopate had diagnosed as a spiritual crisis, they initiated in 1849 an extensive and extraordinarily successful program of parish missions¹⁴³, whose total exceeded four thousand when they ended in 1872¹⁴⁴. Similar efforts were made in Switzerland¹⁴⁵. Ecumenical in tone and in content, Protestant laity often listened to the homilies given by Jesuits and other religious priests, which in turn engendered fear and envy among Protestant clergy, who launched anti-Catholic campaigns to counter the missions¹⁴⁶.

Religious life, moreover, horrified the liberal imagination because religious vows in their view undermined the integrity of the nation¹⁴⁷ and subverted the basis of the social order:

In the Jesuit order and the monastic religious orders that demanded the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, members surrendered the very rights that the state by definition was bound to preserve: property, family and independence¹⁴⁸.

¹⁴² The ascendant popular Catholicism proved far more attractive as an embodiment of hopes and dreams of many common people as well as an expression of a convincing worldview. Moreover, as the century progressed, the failure of the Liberals to address adequately the miseries of industrialization and urbanization caused the working classes to turn either to Catholics or Socialists for direction and support. Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, p. 97.

¹⁴³ The missions attracted whole towns and villages. These mass gatherings were often emotional and intense. Even though they often did not have a long-term effect on the moral comportment of their participants, these missions generating a keen sense of Catholic identity and loyalty to the Church.

¹⁴⁴ Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, pp. 35-39.

¹⁴⁵ Fatio, *Histoire du christianisme en Suisse : Une perspective œcuménique*, p. 229.

¹⁴⁶ In the two decades before the *Kulturkampf*, the 1850s and 1860s, publishers and orators re-popularized anti-Catholic stereotypes that depicted a superstitious and sentimental (and therefore, a feminine) religion. At the same time, this literature asserted that priests in general and Jesuits in particular pose a special danger to women (and therewith, to their husbands) in their role of confessors; the Jesuit confessor manipulated the woman, and she, her husband in a parody of the original sin. Such anti-Catholic mythology became widely available in newspaper articles, pamphlets, family magazines and books. Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, p. 80.

¹⁴⁷ Religious orders also challenged nationalism by their multinational composition and transnational authorities, e.g., the Pope and religious superiors. Liberals characterized religious orders as a “disease” or a “virus” that infected the body politic of the state, and therefore, put into doubt their members’ loyalty as citizens.

¹⁴⁸ Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, pp. 248-249.

Worse still was the way devotional practices undermined the liberal coding of social reality¹⁴⁹.

Protestant and liberal critiques of Catholic devotional culture revolved around several key themes: bourgeois discomfiture with “religious kitsch”, an elitist hostility toward the lower-class folk who embraced this popular form of piety, and a contempt for the violation of bourgeois gender-roles¹⁵⁰.

Liberals conceived of the state as masculine, rational, and public, while they designated the church as feminine, emotional, and private¹⁵¹. Religion belonged in the feminine, sentimental, private sphere¹⁵², the privileged domain of the transmission of *Bildung* and the proper task for mothers:

We are reminded that crucial *bürgerlich* values were passed on in the family; that the practice of *Bürgerlichkeit* required a level of freedom from material labor only available to those families employing servants; that the idea of *Bildung* – of culturally inspired personal growth free of any utilitarian characteristic – corresponded closely to the position of women in families of *Bürgertum*; and that the family was an important arena for the cultivation of *Bildung*¹⁵³.

According to this anthropology, being emotional by nature, women were also more likely to be religious¹⁵⁴, which caused further anxieties about women’s dealings with priests, especially Jesuits¹⁵⁵, as well as the fact that since the late eighteenth-century

¹⁴⁹ This coding assigned meaning to human life through polarities – male/female, spirit/body, rational/emotional, state/church, public/private. Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, p. 201.

¹⁵⁰ Drury, “Anti-Catholicism in Germany, Britain and the United States: A Review and Critique of Recent Scholarship” in *Church History*, p. 107.

¹⁵¹ “In the modern period, however, the church and state had separated and become two separate bodies. Just as all human beings were by nature either male or female, it followed that the state and church were two different sexes”. Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, p. 200.

¹⁵² Public or emotional displays of religiosity were judged offensive and unbecoming to men and endangered the proper arrangement of society. Women, on the other hand, were expected to devote themselves to the domestic sphere, marriage, family and education of the children.

¹⁵³ Sperber, “Bürger, Bürgertum, Bürgerlichkeit, Bürgerliche Gesellschaft: Studies of the German (Upper) Middle Class and Its Sociocultural World” in *Journal of Modern History*, p. 283.

¹⁵⁴ “The predisposition of women for sentiment and emotion also meant that they were by nature more inclined to religion than men, who, due to their even temper, remained for the most part religiously indifferent”. Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, p. 200. This position might be clarified in the light of Friedrich Schleiermacher’s attempted reconciliation of the Christian faith with German philosophy. Schleiermacher, as philosopher, theologian, and pedagogue, sought to give an account of Christianity in the light of Kant’s philosophy. He therefore began with the experience of the subject as dependent and its call to trust in God. The correlation of feelings and sentiments with piety and religiosity rested therefore on an impressive intellectual pedigree for German Liberal Protestants.

¹⁵⁵ This presented significant dangers because women were susceptible to the influence of priests, especially Jesuits, who, through confession, invaded the most intimate sanctuary of the social order, the relationship between husband and wife. “It was, therefore, not merely the zealous proselytizing of the

Catholic women – lay and religious¹⁵⁶ – played an increasingly public role that only intensified during the Nineteenth Century¹⁵⁷.

While in Germany the connection between anti-Catholicism and fears of women in public has not been adequately identified by historians of culture and society, it is an important key to understanding the nature of Liberalism and the origins of the *Kulturkampf*. Closer inspection reveals that for German Liberals the Women's Question and the "Catholic Problem" were one and the same¹⁵⁸.

A religious vocation not only offered women an associational life outside of the home that potentially embraced the entire world, but it also allowed a woman to devote herself entirely to the service of God and the Church¹⁵⁹. Catholic lay women were likewise potentially subversive role models because they too enjoyed an ample associational life outside of the home and played a decisive role during the *Kulturkampf*¹⁶⁰.

The Swiss *Kulturkampf* pitted both sides in a conflict over the meaning and purpose of life. In many ways the opposing parties came to resemble each other in terms of tactics, organization, and strategy¹⁶¹. While research is still needed, it seems plausible

Jesuits that made them such hated enemies but their 'crude exploitation of the weakness of the female sex' and their 'peace-destroying interference in the life of the family,' the foundation of the bourgeois order"; and "As the power of the confessional reduced the nation to feminine subservience, it also represented the anxieties of sexual rivalry with priests". Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, p. 209.

¹⁵⁶ Active women's religious congregations grew rapidly. Catholic sisters managed social institutions in education, care for the sick, the elderly and the orphaned, and relief for the poor. Fatio, *Histoire du christianisme en Suisse : Une perspective œcuménique*, p. 232.

¹⁵⁷ Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, p. 209.

¹⁵⁸ Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, p. 196. In Switzerland, the referenda for women's rights to vote and hold office, on the one hand, and the abrogation of the anti-Jesuit constitutional article, on the other, occurred within a couple of years of each other.

¹⁵⁹ Religious vows troubled Liberals who perceived these as contrary to personal responsibility and individual autonomy. The growth in women's religious life may be seen in the broader context of a renewed, multifaceted women's movement whose common aim was to gain access to the public sphere. These new active congregations differed from the contemplative orders whose missions were hidden from the eyes of the world. They provoked Liberals who assigned women singularly to the role of wife and mother in the private, domestic sphere. Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, p. 215.

¹⁶⁰ These extensive networks organized and sustained the social life of Catholics in towns, cities and nationwide. Indeed, as the later events of the *Kulturkampf* make evident, women's groups decisively influenced the course of events through their creative resistance to state intimidation and through their defiance of reigning social norms.

¹⁶¹ Urs Altermatt, for example, observes that Catholics espoused "anti-Modernism with modern means". Maissen, *Geschichte der Schweiz*, 221. Put another way, both sides used the full array of tools available at that time to represent and defend their views in the Swiss public forum. The existence of the enemy other shaped Catholic and Liberal identities. In this, both Catholicism and Liberalism refer to historical, culturally conditioned instantiations of worldviews that transcend nineteenth-century Switzerland. For this

to conclude that the Swiss *Kulturkampf* shares common ideological origins and sociological dimensions with the concurrent German *Kulturkampf*¹⁶². Education was the point at which both parties' anxieties converged, and aggravated this struggle, leading to intensified discrimination against the Jesuits¹⁶³. The *Kulturkampf* ended inconclusively, requiring both sides to compromise¹⁶⁴.

2.4 *Kulturkampf* (1870-1885)

The *Kulturkampf*¹⁶⁵ refers to tensions between church and state that reflect historical and cultural circumstances typical of modernity, as a struggle over culture¹⁶⁶. Liberals held that the state was obliged to declare (a mostly non-bloody) war in the name of progress to subjugate the anti-Modernist Church¹⁶⁷. The Swiss *Kulturkampf* spans four phases over fifteen years: (1) Vatican One (1869-1870)¹⁶⁸, (2) escalation (1871-1873),

reason, both could eventually compromise and redefine their positions without changing their essential beliefs and allegiances to coexist.

¹⁶² Both emerged from the common German Liberal milieu and underwent similar experiences of state building through political centralization, industrialization, and urbanization. However, this is not a one-way street; German and Swiss *Kulturkämpfer* did look to each other for example and encouragement.

¹⁶³ The *Jesuitengesetz* (the Law against the Jesuits) in Germany, and the *Jesuitenverbot* (Prohibition of the Jesuits) in Article 51 of the Swiss Federal Constitution.

¹⁶⁴ The former reluctantly recognized Catholics as a legitimate sub-culture, and potential allies against the Socialists, while the latter acknowledged the legitimacy of the federal state, accommodated itself to the larger political order, and demonstrated its loyalty to the new federal state.

¹⁶⁵ "The *Kulturkampf*, or struggle for civilisation, was coined in 1872 by the Progressive deputy, pathologist and popular science writer Rudolf Virchow". Burleigh, *Earthly Powers*, p. 317.

¹⁶⁶ The struggles between churchmen, on the one hand, and emperors, kings, and princes on the other hand, were fundamentally struggles within a unified cultural domain, Christendom. With the sundering of the Church into different ecclesial bodies in the Sixteenth Century, struggles between church and state assumed a confessional dimension because these ecclesial bodies were, often, state-churches, which did not perceive themselves in any compelling way as part of a transnational body under an international head. Confessional states erected state-churches to control the church and solidify national cohesion. The so-called "Wars of Religions" pitted dynastic, political, national, and confessional interests against each other, often leading to counter-intuitive alliances across religious bodies against co-religionists. Cavanaugh, *Theopolitical Imagination*, pp. 20-52.

¹⁶⁷ Fatio, *Histoire du christianisme en Suisse : Une perspective œcuménique*, p. 215.

¹⁶⁸ With his Bull, *Aeterni Patris* (June 29, 1868) (Pope Leo XIII's encyclical on the perennial value of Thomas Aquinas for Catholic theology and philosophy, given on July 4, 1879, has the same name) – Pope Pius IX announced the convocation of an ecumenical council, the first in over three hundred years, to confront the problems of the day, and to define Catholic doctrine about the Church. The council opened on December 8, 1869, the solemnity of the Immaculate Conception, and was suspended on October 20, 1870, due to surrender of Rome to the forces of the *Risorgimento*. In between, the Council Fathers approved two Dogmatic Constitutions: *Dei Filius* (*de fide Catholica*) on April 24, 1870, during the third session, and *Pastor aeternus* (*de ecclesia Christi*) on July 18, 1870, during the fourth session.

(3) climax (in late 1873-1874), (4) waning of the conflict (1875-1885). As predicted¹⁶⁹, Liberal and Protestant opinion across Europe viewed the dogmatic definitions on universal and immediate papal jurisdiction and infallibility as a declaration of war against modernity¹⁷⁰. The rapidly changing political situation in Central Europe further explains the origins of the German *Kulturkampf*¹⁷¹.

The victorious Prussians had defeated the French on the battlefield; a smaller, Protestant power had defeated a larger, Catholic one¹⁷², confirming the emerging ideology of national stereotypes¹⁷³, which received a historical-philosophical justification from German Idealism¹⁷⁴. On January 8, 1871, in the symbolic seat of French political hegemony and cultural glory, in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, Wilhelm, the King of

¹⁶⁹ As early as 1863, serious discussion was given to the timeliness (*opportunitas*) of defining papal primacy and papal infallibility. Some Catholics doubted the prudence of such definitions because they would inflame Protestant and Liberal opinion against the Catholic Church. Prominent Swiss Catholics were divided on the advisability of defining papal infallibility: Peter Joseph de Preux, Bishop of Sion, and Gaspard Mermillod, auxiliary Bishop of Lausanne (who was consecrated by Pope Pius IX on September 25, 1864), supported the definition, whereas Eugène Lachat, Bishop of Basel, and Karl Johann Greith, Bishop of St. Gallen, judged the moment to be inopportune. Catholic politicians, such as Philip Anton von Segesser, a leading conservative and Catholic layman from Luzern, joined the inopportunist, while the Liberal Catholic, Augustin Keller from Aargau, tried on April 2, 1870, to persuade the Federal Council to prevent the ecumenical council altogether. Fatio, *Histoire du christianisme en Suisse : Une perspective œcuménique*, p. 216.

¹⁷⁰ Fatio, *Histoire du christianisme en Suisse : Une perspective œcuménique*, p. 217.

¹⁷¹ Significant political transformations in Europe frame this second phase: (1) Italian unification, (2) German unification and (3) the German *Kulturkampf*. The Franco-Prussian War (19 July 1870 – 10 May 1871) created the circumstances that led to sudden suspension of Vatican One. French troops withdrew after the outbreak of the war, leaving Rome undefended. Shortly thereafter, on September 20, 1870, Italian forces conquered Rome. The following year, the capital of the Kingdom of Italy was transferred to Rome on June 30, 1871. The Popes remained in Rome, prisoners of the Vatican. The Lateran Accords in 1929 normalized church-state relations after a nearly sixty-year confrontation.

¹⁷² The German Empire now eclipsed the French (Third) Empire, accelerating the global ascendancy of Protestant powers (the United Kingdom of Britain and Ireland, Germany, and the United States of America).

¹⁷³ Eighteenth-century preoccupations with religious stereotypes – diligent, industrious Protestants and lazy, dishonest Catholics – experienced a strong revival in the late Nineteenth Century with the invention of national stereotypes. P. Münch, “The Thesis before Weber: an Archaeology” in H. Lehmann and G. Roth (eds.), *Weber's Protestant Ethic - Origins, Evidence, Contexts*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993, p. 67.

¹⁷⁴ Nations were seen as manifesting the work of the spirit (*Geist*), marching progressively toward freedom, thanks to the victory of science and reason, over the forces of reaction. Münch, “The Thesis before Weber: An Archaeology”, in *Weber's Protestant Ethic - Origins, Evidence, Contexts*, p. 71.

Prussia, became the first Emperor of the new *Kaiserreich*¹⁷⁵, realizing the long standing aspirations of northern German Protestants. The tremendous military victory over France (which at that time had a larger population) and the achievement of national unification, however, masked deep anxieties that required a polarization on a single enemy:

By the early 1870s all the various threats in this age of militant Catholicism *and* the women's movement *and* democratization *and* nascent Socialism *and* French revanchism could no longer be managed separately in the Liberal imaginary. The burden of such a formidable array of enemies meant that they were collapsed into a single meta-enemy¹⁷⁶.

The foreign enemy, France, had been defeated; the domestic enemy, Catholics, now needed to be purged or subjugated to forge a united modern Germany with one culture, society, and morality¹⁷⁷.

The definitions of papal infallibility and papal primacy incited theorists and jurists to find a solution to the *Kirchenfrage* (Question of the Churches)¹⁷⁸. Considering the conciliar teaching, Liberals contended that the Catholic Church posed a dire threat to the German Empire¹⁷⁹, and whether progressive or nationalist, they both embraced coercion to subjugate the Catholic Church, and to privatize religion to the greatest extent

¹⁷⁵ The new German Empire produced *Kleindeutschland* – small Germany. In this, it excluded the German-speaking parts of the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy, whose population was principally Catholic. The new empire, therefore, ensured that Catholics would be a minority in two senses: first, in numbers, as they formed about one-third of the population located on its eastern, western, and southern margins, and second, in nationalities, namely, Catholics were composed of German, Polish and French speakers. H. Hürten, *Deutsche Katholiken, 1918-1945*, Paderborn, Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 1992, p. 14.

¹⁷⁶ Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, p. 237.

¹⁷⁷ Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, p. 241.

¹⁷⁸ Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, p. 246.

¹⁷⁹ The state, therefore, had a moral obligation to defend its citizenry against the prerogatives of the Pope and the Catholic Church over its members, who were also German citizens (the polarity between political and religious allegiance). The gravity of this danger, in their estimation, justified coercive measures, conducted in the name of religious liberty. (Article 49 of the Federation Constitution of 1874 also exhibits a similar understanding of religious liberty as freedom *from* religion.) Liberals also rejected the concept of the separation of church and state since it allowed the Church too much autonomy in its own affairs. Rather, the state had a duty to interfere in ecclesiastical affairs, and to subordinate it to the goals of the state, namely, freedom, progress, *Bildung* and science. Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, p. 249.

possible. The German *Kulturkampf* was fought in Prussia¹⁸⁰, culminating in the wildly popular *Jesuitengesetze* (Jesuit Laws)¹⁸¹, which set an ominous precedent:

With the introduction of the law, leading Jews became profoundly ambivalent about their relationship toward the progress of the *Kulturkampf*. German Jews had good reason to be concerned that the Jesuit law as an *Ausnahmegesetz* (exceptional law not part of the normal juridical process) would establish a legal precedent that could be turned against any other religious or social group labeled “staatsfeindlich”¹⁸².

With respect to Switzerland, the rapid rise of the German Empire, its military victory over France, the cordial relationship between the governments in Bern and Berlin, their common worldviews, and the German Empire’s overflowing prestige and cultural might made it an ideal model for the Swiss *Kulturkampf*¹⁸³. Political developments in Switzerland had favored a reassertion of the civil rights by Catholics¹⁸⁴, who pursued a conciliatory approach to those whom Vatican One agitated¹⁸⁵. Nevertheless, divisions among Catholics on Vatican One provided Liberals with an opportunity to push through constitutional reforms using Pope Pius IX, rather than the Jesuits, to drive a wedge between their political rivals¹⁸⁶; these inner-ecclesial tensions

¹⁸⁰ Prussia accounted for three-fifths of imperial territory, and two-thirds of the Empire’s population. Conducted with discriminatory legislation and state intimidation, with concurrent campaigns in Baden and Hesse, it was only occasionally enacted on the imperial level. In July 1871, the Catholic department of the Prussian ministry of religion (*Kultusministerium*) was dissolved, and in December of that same year, priests were threatened with imprisonment if they addressed political matters from the pulpit (*Kanzelparagraphen*). In the following year, new legislation brought Catholic schools under state oversight, and banned Jesuits and other religious congregations from running schools altogether.

¹⁸¹ By this legislation, on July 4, 1872, the German state suppressed all existing Jesuit foundations, forbade any future foundations, and expelled all Jesuits – whether German citizens or foreigners. *Deutsches Reichsgesetzblatt* (1872), 22, 253.

¹⁸² Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, p. 265.

¹⁸³ Stadler, *Kulturkampf in der Schweiz*, pp. 808-810.

¹⁸⁴ In a surprise electoral outcome, Luzern returned the Conservatives to power for the first time since the civil war on May 7, 1871. Joined with an earlier Conservative victory in Ticino as well as a Conservative government in Fribourg, Catholics possessed a solid territorial basis to launch a campaign to restore their civil rights and erode the anti-Catholic articles of the Federal Constitution of 1848, as well as local discriminatory actions against religious communities. Maissen, *Geschichte der Schweiz*, pp. 220-221.

¹⁸⁵ Carl Johann Greith, the Bishop of St. Gallen, published a pastoral letter, taking a restrictive reading of the conciliar teaching, thus attempting to downplay its negative consequences for church-state relations.

¹⁸⁶ Partial constitutional revisions in 1869 were interpreted broadly to impose greater state control over the Catholic Church, and to compel a more democratic form of ecclesiastical governance. By 1872, Liberals advanced an array of constitutional reforms that would sharpen the separation of church and state and increase state dominance over the Catholic Church: (1) sole recognition of civil marriage as legally binding (church marriage no longer would have force of law); (2) abolish extant ecclesiastical jurisdiction; (3)

also brought forth a schism at the end of 1872 with the formation of the *christkatholische Kirche* (Christian Catholic Church)¹⁸⁷, which, though it embodied the aspirations of Liberals, namely, a national Catholic Church, independent of Rome and under state supervision, never won popular allegiance¹⁸⁸. This situation deteriorated further in early 1873¹⁸⁹, reaching the climax in (1) the exiles of Bishop Lachat from Solothurn and Bishop Mermillod from Geneva¹⁹⁰; (2) the cantonal government of Geneva's interference with the episcopal appointment of parish priests¹⁹¹; (3) persecutions of religious¹⁹² and clergy¹⁹³ in various cantons; (4) Pope Pius IX's encyclical, *Etsi multa*

regulate the erection of dioceses; (4) forbid the establishment of new religious communities; and (5) intensify restrictions against the Jesuits. Maissen, *Geschichte der Schweiz*, p. 219.

¹⁸⁷ Others joined the first congregation in Solothurn (founded on September 18, 1871), with its legal recognition from the sympathetic Swiss state on December 1, 1872. By 1876, the new ecclesial body entered communion with other old Catholic groups in Europe. Maissen, *Geschichte der Schweiz*, p. 220.

¹⁸⁸ Fatio, *Histoire du christianisme en Suisse : Une perspective œcuménique*, p. 217.

¹⁸⁹ Church-state tensions worsened when two dissenters from the conciliar teachings on papal primacy and infallibility, Johann Baptist Egli, pastor in Luzern, and Paulin Gschwind, the pastor of Starrkirch-Dulliken, refused to read Bishop Lachat's Lenten pastoral letter on Vatican One in 1871. After remonstrations failed, Lachat finally resorted to a decree of excommunication in 1872 to call Gschwind and another pastor to order. In response, the majority of the *Diözesanstände* (cantonal organs of church administration) within the diocese of Basel – namely Aargau, Solothurn, Bern, Baselland and Thurgau – decided to dismiss Bishop Lachat and expel him from his residence in Solothurn on January 29, 1873. Luzern and Zug, the remaining two cantons within the diocese, rejected this decision, whereupon the Bishop set up his residence in exile for the next twelve years.

¹⁹⁰ On January 16, 1873, Pius IX named Gaspar Mermillod as the Apostolic Vicar of the new Apostolic Vicariate of Geneva. Geneva – the city and neighboring twenty parishes – had only belonged to the diocese of Lausanne since 1819 because of the post-Napoleonic reorganization of the Catholic Church in Switzerland. The Radical cantonal government construed this function as a step toward the reestablishment of the long-vacant see; the last resident Bishop had fled in 1532. For this reason, the cantonal authorities expelled Bishop Mermillod on February 17, 1873, less than three weeks after Bishop Lachat had been expelled from his residence in Solothurn. This action met with approval in Berlin. Stadler, *Kulturkampf in der Schweiz*, p. 819.

¹⁹¹ The Geneva authorities also passed a new law requiring that pastors be elected, rather than appointed, and generally pursued a policy of asserting government control over church affairs. Fatio, *Histoire du christianisme en Suisse : Une perspective œcuménique*, p. 218.

¹⁹² Mainly in Solothurn and Aargau (but also to a lesser degree in St. Gallen and Ticino), cantonal authorities suppressed religious communities at the collegiate churches of St. Leodegar in Schönenwerd and St. Ursus and Viktor in Solothurn (today, this is the cathedral) and the Benedictine abbey of Mariastein (all in canton Solothurn), and the Augustinian canons at Rheinfelden, Zurzach and Baden, as well as the convents at Hermetschwil, Gnadental and Mariä Krönung in Baden (all in Aargau). Schönenberger, "Aus der Geschichte des Bistums Basel" in *Katholische Kirche der Kantone: Basel-Stadt, Baselland, Thurgau, Schaffhausen*, p. 19.

¹⁹³ Aargau and Solothurn forbade the clergy to have contact with Bishop Lachat in Luzern. Fatio, *Histoire du christianisme en Suisse : Une perspective œcuménique*, p. 217. The cantonal government in Bern waged a campaign against Catholics in its recently acquired territory of Jura. (The Congress of Vienna had awarded this region to Protestant Bern as compensation for territory lost to Aargau and Waadt.) Catholics – clergy and faithful en masse – remained loyal to Bishop Lachat. Ninety-seven priests signed a letter officially announcing their fidelity to the Bishop Lachat. Consequently, the Bern government banned

luctuosa, the closure of the nunciature and expulsion of the Nuncio¹⁹⁴; (5) revisions to the Federal Constitution, *konfessionelle Ausnahmeartikeln* (Articles of Religious Exemption), which, among other things, outlawed the Jesuits¹⁹⁵, and (6) the establishment of a state-theology faculty at the University of Bern¹⁹⁶.

Even though the *Kulturkampf* endured for another decade (1875-1884), enthusiasm for it waned because Protestants were of two minds on it¹⁹⁷, and overreach by

recalcitrant clergy in Jura, leaving sixty-nine parishes without pastors in September 1873. The state then attempted to appoint compliant, dependable clergy to the vacant posts; this policy utterly failed. Jura was divided between a mostly empty puppet church and a thriving, clandestine church. At the close of the year on December 21, 1874, the frustrated cantonal authorities within the diocese of Basel (except, of course, for Luzern and Zug) declared the diocese suppressed and its property confiscated. Schönenberger, “Aus der Geschichte des Bistums Basel“ in *Katholische Kirche der Kantone: Basel-Stadt, Baselland, Thurgau, Schaffhausen*, p. 18.

¹⁹⁴ Watching events unfolding in Germany, Italy and Switzerland from the Vatican, Pope Pius IX issued his encyclical *Etsi multa luctuosa* on November 21, 1873, in which he conveyed his support for Swiss and German Catholics during their respective *Kulturkämpfe*, while at the same drawing attention to and detailing their persecution. He contested the anti-Catholic laws passed in Solothurn, Bern, Basel, Aargau and Zürich, and the interference of governments of Geneva and Bern in the Church’s internal affairs. A month later, the Federal Council responded with the closure of the nunciature in Luzern on December 12, 1873; shortly thereafter, in January 1874 it deprived the Nuncio, Gian Battista Agnozzi, of his passport, and on February 12, 1874, he finally left Switzerland; the next Nuncio was not welcomed until 1920.

¹⁹⁵ In 1872, an electoral coalition of Protestant Federalists and Catholic Conservatives as well as sympathetic cantonal authorities succeeded in defeating the first draft of a new constitution. Thanks to the *Kulturkampf*, however, the mood had changed by 1874. The coalition of 1872 – as had also occurred earlier in 1848 – fractured along confessional lines, permitting the passage of the first total revision of the Constitution of 1848, on May 29, 1874. The new constitution contained exclusionary, *konfessionelle Ausnahmeartikeln* (Articles of Religious Exemption), whose aim was to place new or strengthen existing restrictions from the Constitution of 1848. Article 49 declared the inviolability of conscience and belief, explaining such mostly in terms of freedom *from* religion, though acknowledging the rights of parents to give their children a religious formation until the age of sixteen. Article 50 required the Catholic Church to seek permission from the federal government to erect new dioceses. Article 51 reiterated and broadened the *Jesuitenverbot* (prohibition on the Jesuits) from the 1848 Constitution. The Jesuit order was not permitted to operate in Switzerland, and its members were forbidden to conduct any action in churches or schools. The new constitution also granted the federal government the right to ban other religious orders should they be seen as a threat to the state or confessional peace. Article 52 forbade the founding of new or restoration of suppressed religious communities. (Articles 51 and 52 were only abrogated in 1973 by a popular referendum in which Schwager took part.) Article 75 excluded clergy from serving on the Federal Council.

¹⁹⁶ The Cantonal Council of Bern decided at the end of the 1874 to erect the faculty of Catholic theology at the University of Bern. Leading Liberal Catholics, e.g., Eduard Herzog und Eugène Michaud, staffed the faculty. Drawing on earlier traditions, e.g., Josephinism and the writings of Ignaz Heinrich von Wessenberg, as well as the contemporary *altkatholisch* (Old Catholic) theological program from Ignaz von Döllinger, the faculty became, in short order, the theological center of the new *christkatholische Kirche*. None of the Swiss Catholic Bishops had any interest in training priests at a state-controlled faculty, and moreover, the action confirmed fears of the authoritarian tendencies of the state to interfere in internal church affairs.

¹⁹⁷ While Protestants ascribing to Liberalism approved of the persecution of the Catholics, conservative Protestants grew increasingly weary of the state encroachment on religion and began to criticize the *Kulturkampf*. Conservative Protestants were pleased by the fact that neither in Germany nor in Switzerland

the Liberals, in terms far-reaching education reforms that would have effectively nationalized education with confession-free schools, alienated public opinion, and temporarily reunited the conservative alliance, which successfully defeated these proposals in 1882¹⁹⁸. The *Kulturkampf* petered out by 1885¹⁹⁹.

A major reason for the inconclusive end of the *Kulturkampf* was the solidarity of Swiss Catholics²⁰⁰. As in the German Empire, Swiss Catholics did not succumb to social pressure, public opinion, intimidation, and persecution²⁰¹. Catholics were naturally relieved as many of the anti-Catholic measures were repealed (though the Exemption Articles were not)²⁰². Finally, in Schwager's home canton, despite the strident position of the Radical cantonal government headed by Fridolin Anderswert, a renowned *Kulturkämpfer*²⁰³, the *Kulturkampf* left Thurgau undisturbed in part because of the long tradition of confessional accommodation through the parity principle²⁰⁴.

the liberal agenda failed to achieve its aims. Liberal Protestants, on the other hand, had welcomed the *Kulturkampf*. They were pleased with the new Federal Constitution of 1874 that had decisively impressed the state as Protestant, industrial and urban. Fatio, *Histoire du christianisme en Suisse : Une perspective œcuménique*, p. 221.

¹⁹⁸ The struggle over the schools was at its most fundamental level a struggle about the meaning and scope of federalism, and to what extent cantons meaningfully exercised jurisdiction in these matters. Catholics and Protestants fought together to protect local, confessional education. Fatio, *Histoire du christianisme en Suisse : Une perspective œcuménique*, p. 236.

¹⁹⁹ Stadler, *Kulturkampf in der Schweiz*, p. 805.

²⁰⁰ Catholics rallied around their clergy and acknowledged publicly their bishops as well-respected popular leaders. Fatio, *Histoire du christianisme en Suisse : Une perspective œcuménique*, p. 236.

²⁰¹ In neighboring Germany, Bismarck had learned this lesson more quickly with the ascendancy of the *Zentrumspartei* (Center Party) in the 1874 elections as identity politics trumped the old politics of the notables, or the more recent, class-based politics. Gross, *The War Against Catholicism*, p. 278.

²⁰² Bishop Mermillod became the Bishop of Lausanne-Geneva in 1883 (and Cardinal in 1890), and Pope Leo XIII suppressed the Apostolic Vicariate of Geneva. Bishop Mermillod was allowed to return to Switzerland from exile, although Bishop Lachat was not allowed to return to Basel. A compromise struck between Pope Leo XIII and the Federal Council recognized Bishop Lachat as the Apostolic Administrator of the future diocese of Lugano in Ticino (founded a year after Lachat's death in 1888), after he had first renounced his see in Basel.

²⁰³ Supporting the hardline against Bishop Lachat and the diocese of Basel, Anderswert joined the newly founded *christkatholische Kirche* in 1871. A member of the Federal Constitutional Reform Commission in 1872 and in 1874, he advocated strict control over the Catholic Church and supported the *Jesuitenverbot*. Soland, "Der Kulturkampf in Thurgau" in *Kulturkampf in der Schweiz*, p. 547.

²⁰⁴ Thurgau Catholics, therefore, endured the *Kulturkampf*, loyal to their local ordinary, Bishop Lachat, despite the threats to their diocese and the anti-Catholic campaigns conducted in the mass media. Soland, "Der Kulturkampf in Thurgau" in *Kulturkampf in der Schweiz*, p. 546.

Although the *Kulturkampf* ended indecisively, it was nevertheless a watershed in Swiss history with two significant long-term effects: (1) the solidification of a unified Catholic subculture, and consequently, (2) the reluctant but eventual acceptance of Catholics as partners in federal politics²⁰⁵. As a process of purgation, the *Kulturkampf* made each side far more uniform as dissenters left²⁰⁶. Dramatic social transformations due to industrialization and urbanization splintered Liberals among three political tendencies: Classical Liberals, Radical/*freisinnig* (free thinking) Democrats, and finally, Socialists, who contended that they were the true heirs of the Enlightenment.

The rise of Socialism as a reaction to modern miseries created a new electoral politics in Germany and in Switzerland²⁰⁷. From the 1890s onwards, the Liberals deployed identity politics in terms of a revised Swiss nationalism that was able to include Catholics to resist the class-based politics of the Socialists²⁰⁸. Liberals substituted their fear of Socialist internationalism for their previous fear of Catholic internationalism; in both cases Liberals condemned their opponents as un-Swiss²⁰⁹. Consequently,

²⁰⁵ The Liberals had failed to defeat the Church, though they had succeeded in traumatizing many of its members, casting into doubt the soundness and justice of the new Federal Constitution. State dominance over education was advanced, but not assured. Catholics still retained the right to educate their children according to their wishes, even if the actual possibilities were diminished thanks to the suppression of religious communities and their schools.

²⁰⁶ After these events, groups on all sides become more unified and coherent in their outlook since their dissenters left their bodies for other groups. For example, Catholics loyal to Rome predominated because of the abandonment by those Catholics who founded the *christkatholische Kirche* (which numbered about 50,000 members in 1877). Fatio, *Histoire du christianisme en Suisse : Une perspective œcuménique*, p. 220. Catholics emerged from the conflict as a well-organized, disciplined social body that gained it political clout. This unintended consequence of the *Kulturkampf* repeated the events of 1848 in which Catholics became more faithful to Rome than they had been before the 1840s. Maissen, *Geschichte der Schweiz*, p. 220.

²⁰⁷ In the German Empire, Bismarck turned to Catholics in the *Zentrumspartei* for support in his new struggle with the Socialists (and in this, he deployed the same legal device, namely, the *Ausnahmegesetz*, to persecute the Socialists as he had done against Catholics and the Jesuits). In Switzerland, the *bürgerliche Schulterschluss* (loosely translated as the civic coalition, but literally, citizens shoulder-to-shoulder) brought conservative Liberals and Catholics together to oppose the Democrats and Socialists.

²⁰⁸ The newly formulated national myth drew upon the founding of the Swiss Confederation in 1291 rather than on more recent history (Helvetian republic, *Sonderkrieg*, etc.). Maissen, *Geschichte der Schweiz*, pp. 230-232.

²⁰⁹ Maissen, *Geschichte der Schweiz*, pp. 232-233.

conservative Liberals increasingly reckoned Catholics as loyal Swiss, and Catholics likewise recognized Socialists to be a greater threat²¹⁰.

2.5 Catholics after the *Kulturkampf* (1885-1935)

Two significant discourses on the social question took shape during the fifty years preceding Schwager's birth in 1935: the *Bildungsdefizit* (educational deficit) and the Social Doctrine of the Catholic Church. The former reflects a critique on the fitness of Catholics for modernity, and the latter a Catholic critique on the inhumanity of modernity. Swiss industrialization advanced at a rapid pace, as did the Catholic diaspora²¹¹. The composition of Swiss Catholics was also diversifying²¹². During the interwar years, the Swiss Bishops strongly supported the Swiss state against Fascist and National Socialist encroachments²¹³, navigating a third way between Liberalism on the one hand, and Socialism (nationalist or internationalist) on the other, based on the social vision of *Quadragesimo anno* (1931). Despite the integration of Catholics into national politics, the imbalance between Catholic and Protestant social advancement became a flashpoint as Liberals reintroduced confessional rhetoric into the public discourse in a

²¹⁰ Fatio, *Histoire du christianisme en Suisse : Une perspective œcuménique*, p. 237.

²¹¹ The Swiss hierarchy responded with opening new parishes and expanding social and charitable works. Catholics innovated theory, e.g., Social Doctrine, and adopted novel practice, e.g., labor unions and other organizations, which aimed at alleviating and redressing the negative consequences of modernization.

²¹² No longer strictly rural and agrarian, diaspora Catholics spread through Switzerland, making it possible to form a new political party. The networking of local and cantonal associations culminated in the foundation of a nationwide umbrella organization, *Schweizerischer Katholische Volksverein* (SKVV - Swiss Catholic People's Union) in 1905, and then, a nationwide political party, the *Schweizerische Konservative Volkspartei* (SKVP - Swiss Conservative People's Party) in 1912. This minority party found its influence increased after the First World War. After the introduction of proportional voting, the Radicals lost their dominant position. After 1918, the SKVP became the second largest party in Switzerland, and Jean-Marie Musy became the second Catholic to serve on the Federal Council. The reopening of the nunciature in 1920 underlined the SKVP's influential role in Switzerland. It never obtained more than 50% of Catholic voters despite episcopal support. Bernold, *Der schweizerische Episkopat und die Bedrohung der Demokratie 1919-1939*, p. 32.

²¹³ Catholics resented the enduring legal discrimination enshrined in the Federal Constitution of 1874. Their loyalty to the Swiss state is notable because they did not choose to ally themselves with revisionist political parties, especially on the right, who sympathized with Germany and Italy. Catholics, rather, remained committed to national sovereignty and to the imperfect constitutional order throughout the interwar period.

manner and to an extent unseen since the Enlightenment, especially in Germany²¹⁴, and this appealed to many people despite the secularization of the German middle class²¹⁵.

2.5.1 *Bildungsdefizit*

Despite equality before the law and other features of a liberal constitutional state, Catholics and Protestants were not treated equally²¹⁶. By the end of the Nineteenth Century, moreover, the state of world politics seemed to confirm the conclusion that diverse cultures produce different political, economic, and social outcomes²¹⁷, begging the question regarding the cause of this disparity. In Germany and in Switzerland, the widespread explanation among Liberals for the relative disparity is summed up in the term “educational deficit” (*Bildungsdefizit*), denoting a lack of *Bildung* and thereby connoting, a lack of the values and vision of the German Liberal worldview.

Catholics, it seemed, were ill prepared for the higher positions in a modern state with a free economy. This incapacity, however, was not attributed to racial or biological factors, as they were elsewhere to other groups, but to cultural factors. Indeed, Switzerland was the perfect laboratory in which to evaluate this hypothesis because it had a shared history and language (at least among the German-speaking cantons which made up the majority), and therefore, religion was the only weighty variable²¹⁸. The

²¹⁴ Münch, “The Thesis before Weber: an Archaeology”, in *Weber’s Protestant Ethic - Origins, Evidence, Contexts*, pp. 69-71.

²¹⁵ “The more secular German society became, the more, so it seems, that religious categories were used as tools to interpret reality, and liberal non-churchgoers of protestant background, as well as liberal protestants, were particularly addicted to this mixture of universalistic speculations, self-righteousness, and prejudices”. T. Nipperdey, “Max Weber, Protestantism, and the Context of the Debate around 1900”, in *Weber’s Protestant Ethic - Origins, Evidence, Contexts*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993, p. 78.

²¹⁶ Protestants dominated the upper echelons of government, business, universities, bureaucracy, and military, whereas Catholic were overrepresented as a percentage of the population in agriculture and industrial labor.

²¹⁷ The dominance of the Protestant powers – the United Kingdom, Germany, and the United States of America – lent plausibility to the view that Catholicism retarded economic development and political progress (Latin America, Spain, Italy, even France), whereas Protestantism fostered it.

²¹⁸ Drury, “Anti-Catholicism in Germany, Britain and the United States: A Review and Critique of Recent Scholarship”, in *Church History*, p. 123.

Catholic milieu, values, and pedagogical models, it was argued, did not prepare Catholics for positions of responsibility in the state, commerce, or higher education²¹⁹. Educational reform, which considered new branches of knowledge, especially chemistry, physics, and biology, as well as a necessary diminution in the time devoted to classical languages, would remedy the *Bildungsdefizit*²²⁰. The diagnosis, therefore, comes down, again, to education, to the same neuralgic point of conflict between the Catholics and Liberals, and, again, to the role of the Jesuits as the chief villains.

This analysis of social advancement enjoyed a still wider appeal than just the German-speaking world, even if the terms of the inquiry emphasized, for example, race rather than religion, as it did in the Anglo-American context. Bringing together eighteenth-century national stereotypes – that compared “industrious, thrifty” Protestants (e.g., English, Dutch, Prussians, Scandinavians, Scots) with “lazy, profligate” Catholics (e.g. Irish, Italians, Portuguese, Spanish, Catholic German-speakers, etc.) – and nineteenth-century nationalist ideologies, this approach sought to explain economic success and political progress in terms of cultural values (as opposed to Marxist explanations that attributed them to material causes). Converging with the ascending evolutionary explanation for the origins and survival of species (Charles Darwin, et al.), it appeared natural to evaluate different human units (races, nations, tribes) according to objective criteria drawn from the newly devised social sciences (e.g., economics, sociology, and anthropology), which applied natural scientific methods to human beings. Social scientists measured human units according to quantifiable standards, e.g., economic production, scholastic achievement, and social advancement. Scientific racism,

²¹⁹ U. Altermatt, *Die Universität Fribourg auf der Suche nach Identität*, Freiburg in der Schweiz, Academic Press Freiburg, 2009, p. 186.

²²⁰ Healy, *The Jesuit Specter in Imperial Germany*, pp. 183-185.

therefore, justified the estimation of human groups as superior or inferior as far as its conclusions were reached through science rather than prejudice.

This discourse about the relative superiority of Protestantism over Catholicism gained an additional academic-scientific patina thanks to the authority of Max Weber, one of the founders of sociology and a leading theorist for modernity²²¹. This view, moreover, found a receptive audience in the German middle class (*Bürgertum*) because it narrated a story of the virtues of nationalism, science (*Wissenschaft*) and Protestantism. Although Swiss Liberals did not aspire to formal unification with the Germany, they did take enormous pride in the latter's achievements, in which they shared by virtue of a common language, a common confession and shared moral vision for society (*Bildung*). The *Bildungsdefizit* controversy, therefore, alludes to a matrix of concerns over education, culture and progress that help to clarify (1) the continuing salience of the long struggle between Catholics and Liberals, (2) the social consequences of the *Kulturkampf* for Catholics as a minority and (3) distinctive features of German-speaking Catholic theology.

²²¹ Max Weber (1864-1920) articulated an early form of the secularization thesis. He reasoned that modern society differs from other forms of social organization because under the gaze of instrumental rationality (measurement and calculation) the world undergoes disenchantment (*Entzauberung*): as reason advances, religion retreats. This process of rationalization and accompanying disenchantment arise out of the bureaucratization of society, i.e., the application of rational calculation to social organization (as opposed to other earlier organizing principles such as religion). While Weber's concept of disenchantment plays a similar role to alienation in Marx's social theory, he does not believe that capitalist or socialist bureaucratization differ in any significant way: both leads inexorably to the iron cage (*stahlhartes Gehäuse*) from which there is no escape. Weber claimed that modern society originates in religious beliefs, specifically for Weber, in the Protestant Work Ethic. That ethic, once secularized, transposed habits and virtues from a religious to a secular context. Social theorists could investigate this process by formulating ideal types, i.e., theoretical and abstract categories that could be used to produce and test hypotheses, such as, in this case, the ideal types of 'Protestant' and 'Catholic'.

2.5.2 Social Doctrine of the Catholic Church

The experience of marginality, typified by the *Bildungsdefizit* controversy, led Catholics to two main responses: the establishment and institutionalization of an alternative, parallel subculture, as has already been seen²²², as well as the formulation of the Social Doctrine of the Catholic Church²²³. Swiss Catholics joined other European Catholics²²⁴ in analyzing negative features of urbanizing and industrializing societies. *L'Union de Fribourg*²²⁵ sponsored an international congress in 1885, whose deliberations Pope Leo XIII consulted in preparation for his encyclical *Rerum novarum* (1891)²²⁶. Forty years later, Swiss Catholics received with enthusiasm Pope Pius XI's encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*, which renewed the Catholic critique of the Liberal dichotomization of the true and the good, knowledge and ethics, economics and ethics²²⁷. Finally, as was the case elsewhere, Swiss Jesuits promoted the Social Doctrine through the means that were at their disposal given their ambiguous status²²⁸.

²²² Such as schools, labor unions and a political party. As elsewhere in the late Nineteenth Century, such as the United States of America (1887), a new kind of Catholic university was founded by the cantonal government of Freiburg (Fribourg) in 1889 to address the *Bildungsdefizit* through an institution whose aim was to prepare Catholic men for public life; an institution from which Schwager would earn his doctorate in 1970. Altermatt notes that the university's founders referred to the *Bildungsdefizit* in speech regarding the aim of university: "If one imagines the Bildungsdefizit of Swiss Catholicism, one would hardly be surprised, that the founders of the University of Fribourg in their programmatic statements assigned to the university the task to become an educational and research center for Catholic Switzerland", my translation of the original: "Wenn man sich das Bildungsdefizit des Schweizer Katholizismus vergegenwärtigt, verwundert es nicht, dass die Freiburger Hochschulgründer in ihren programmatischen Reden der Universität die Aufgabe zuwiesen, ein Bildungs- und Forschungszentrum für die Katholische Schweiz zu werden". Altermatt, *Die Universität Fribourg auf der Suche nach Identität*, p. 187.

²²³ Although ethical reflections on wealth and poverty, on law and a just social order, on war and peace, and on the proper means to attain the common good are biblical themes and coterminous with the Church, modernization cast these matters in a new light. With the eclipse of the Catholic vision of society, the Church's traditional discourse on these matters demanded new formulations. H. Carrier, *The Social Doctrine of the Church Revisited*, Vatican City, Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, 1990, p. 21.

²²⁴ France, Germany, Belgium, England, Austria, and Switzerland.

²²⁵ This association of economists and sociologists also enjoyed the support of the like-minded Bishop Mermillod (of Lausanne-Geneva from 1883).

²²⁶ R. Charles, *Christian Social Witness and Teachings* (vol. 1), San Francisco, Ignatius, 2000, pp. 355-356.

²²⁷ A. Rauschler, "Der Beitrag der deutschsprachigen Jesuiten zur katholischen Soziallehre" in M. Sievernich & G. Switek (eds.), *Ignatianisch - Eigenart und Methode der Gesellschaft Jesu*, Wien, Herder, 1990, p. 468.

²²⁸ *Orientierung* and its predecessor, *Apostolischer Blätter*, gave the social doctrine a strong public voice. Rauschler, "Der Beitrag der deutschsprachigen Jesuiten zur katholischen Soziallehre", p. 475.

Although not an ideological program as such, it gave Catholics a moral framework that distinguished their social vision from contemporary rivals²²⁹.

An important perspective from which to consider the emergence of Social Doctrine of the Catholic Church is to view it as a minority critique of a dominant social order. The peripheral Catholic other analyzed the Liberal state and free market from the perspective of those who were left out, namely, farmers, industrial proletariat, the Church, and those who were increasingly left bereft of the social networks that once cared for them, e.g., elderly, the indigent, the orphaned, et al. The Liberal critique of the Church as an obstacle to progress is, therefore, in a certain manner, repaid, as the Social Doctrine of the Catholic Church highlights the negative consequences of modernity that permits, even valorizes at times, the victimization or sacrifice of some for the benefit of others. Liberals contributed to the rise of their own opponents – Socialists, Communists, Fascists, and National Socialists – by their unwillingness to ameliorate and rectify those byproducts of modernity that the Church’s Social Doctrine diagnosed. The Twentieth Century testifies to the failure of Liberals to adopt the Church’s therapy.

3. CONCLUSION

This chapter shows the significance of location, confession, and vocation as contexts for Schwager’s biography (as will be seen in the next chapter) and his early major writings (in Chapter Three). Three points summarize the major themes of this historical background: First, the sustained experience of marginalization became an opportunity for Swiss Catholics to devise strategies that not only ensured their survival but led to a measure of coexistence and inclusion in the Swiss state. Second, although effectively instrumentalized as scapegoats and thereby constitutionally banished from

²²⁹ Carrier, *The Social Doctrine of the Church Revisited*, pp.11-12.

Switzerland, the Jesuits nevertheless inhabited an ambiguous frontier zone in which practical tolerance offset legal proscription (more to come on this in Chapter Two), and moreover, they did not succumb to vengeful fantasies because of their mistreatment. And finally, the handling of inner-ecclesial conflict often led to schism, leaving believers divided among themselves in separate bodies, sometimes with open hostility and violence, and other times with a significant measure of tolerance and cooperation. In either case, however, reconciliation remained elusive.

Chapter Two – A Jesuit from Thurgau

Reading Schwager's early major works (Chapter Three) within his macro-context (Chapter One) and micro-context (Chapter Two) – focusing specifically on the conflict in the domains of location, confession, and vocation – clarifies the origins and evolution of Schwager's use of drama in his pre-Innsbruck phase and thereby assists in the search to interpret what Schwager meant when he said, "It was already in me" (Chapter Four).

1. *SELTENHEITSWERT* – A JESUIT FROM THURGAU

At Schwager's Mass of Thanksgiving (*Primiz*) at his home parish in August 1966, the Jesuit Vice-Provincial, P. Dr. Franz Walker, described of Schwager's vocation as *Seltenheitswert* (a rarity) for Schwager brought with his entrance into the Jesuits a distinctive perspective from the periphery²³⁰. Later Schwager recalled how his location shaped his keen sense of skepticism about dominant myths in general. The Swiss were raised on the notion that they were citizens of the oldest democracy in the world, prizing personal liberty and downplaying rules and laws²³¹. Early on as a young Thurgauer, Schwager questioned the veracity of this national myth²³². In the classroom, he would have heard the story of the liberation of the Swiss Confederation from Habsburg oppression from the perspective of the core cantons, but he also noticed that this same story failed to recount the submission of Thurgau as a mandated territory (1460-1798) to its fellow Swiss liberators. Only in the Nineteenth Century did Thurgau and the other

²³⁰ "Thurgauer, die dem Orden der Gesellschaft Jesu beitreten, haben, wie er an Beispiele zeigte, Seltenheitswert", "Primiz von HH. Pater Raymund Schwager in Bichelsee", in *Thurgauer Volkszeitung*, August 10, 1966.

²³¹ K. Schatz, *Geschichte der Schweizer Jesuiten* (1947-1983), Münster, Aschendorff Verlag, 2017, p. 197.

²³² The myth of Swiss freedom even tempted the author of *The Decline and Fall of the Rome Empire*. After his brief conversion to the Catholic faith in Oxford, Edward Gibbon was remanded by his father to Geneva to return to the Protestant fold, which he did in 1754. Regarding the abortive attempt of writing a history of the liberty of the Swiss, "...the archival materials of that project were, as the historian confessed later, 'fast locked up in the obscurity of a barbarous old German language,' in which he was not proficient". Edward Short, *Newman and History*, Herefordshire, Gracewing, 2017, p. 8.

cantons under *Gemeine Herrschaften* pass from the ranks of the conquered enemies to patriotic co-nationals in the construction of modern Switzerland.

New confessional and political constellations starting at the end of the Nineteenth Century had made it desirable to abandon the earlier distinction between conquerors and conquered. The myth of Swiss exceptionalism also took on a more inclusive confessional cast, especially by the 1930s and 1940s, to counter the threats of extremism on both ends of the political spectrum. Even at Catholic schools, therefore, pride could be taken in the national myth, even if the young Schwager did suspect that it did not tell the whole story:

He [Schwager] learned early on to distrust collective myths. Born on November 11, 1935, in the canton of Thurgau in Switzerland, he grew up in that part of Switzerland whose history is in direct contradiction to the national myth of the Swiss. In school he learned the “myths of freedom” of the so-called original free Swiss, but never heard a word about how they had suppressed the people of Thurgau in the past. As he himself said, the word of the prophet Isaiah (8:12)²³³ has become increasingly compelling: “Do not call everything conspiracy that this people call conspiracy”; adding for himself “do not call everything freedom that people call freedom”²³⁴.

Reflecting on this childhood experience in the light of the Word of God, Schwager connected his experience to that of the prophet Isaiah. God warned the prophet Isaiah to reject the Kingdom of Judah’s official policy to ally with Assyria rather than to trust in

²³³ For context of the quote, Isaiah 8:11-22, “For thus said the LORD—his hand strong upon me—warning me not to walk in the way of this people: 12 Do not call conspiracy what this people calls conspiracy, nor fear what they fear, nor feel dread. 13 But conspire with the LORD of hosts; he shall be your fear, he shall be your dread, 14 He shall be a snare, a stone for injury, a rock for stumbling to both the houses of Israel, a trap and a snare to those who dwell in Jerusalem; 15 And many among them shall stumble; fallen and broken; snared and captured. 16 Bind up my testimony, seal the instruction with my disciples. 17 I will trust in the LORD, who is hiding his face from the house of Jacob; yes, I will wait for him. 18 Here am I and the children whom the LORD has given me: we are signs and portents in Israel from the LORD of hosts, who dwells on Mount Zion. 19 And when they say to you, “Inquire of ghosts and soothsayers who chirp and mutter; should not a people inquire of their gods, consulting the dead, on behalf of the living, 20 for instruction and testimony?” Surely, those who speak like this are the ones for whom there is no dawn. 21 He will pass through it hard-pressed and hungry, and when hungry, shall become enraged, and curse king and gods. He will look upward, 22 and will gaze at the earth, but will see only distress and darkness, oppressive gloom, murky, without light”.

²³⁴ “Früh lernte er, den kollektiven Mythen zu mißtrauen. Am 11. November 1935 im Kanton Thurgau in der Schweiz geboren, wuchs er in jenen Teil der Schweiz auf, dessen Geschichte in einem Frontalen Widerspruch zum Nationalmythos der Schweizer steht. In der Schule lehrte er die »Freiheitsmythen« der sogenannten freien Urschweizer, hörte aber kein Wort darüber, daß diese in der Vergangenheit die Thurgauer unterdrückt haben. So ist im – wie er selbst sagte – das Wort des Propheten Jesaja (8,12) immer vertrauter geworden: »Nennt nicht alles Verschwörung, was diese Volk Verschwörung nennt«; er ergänzte es für sich »nennt nicht alles Freiheit, was die Menschen Freiheit nennen“. J. Niewiadomski and W. Palaver (eds), *Vom Fluch und Segen der Sündenböcke*, Thur, Kulturverlag, 1995, p. 11.

the Lord; thus, the people – popular opinion, the crowd – named the prophet and any opponents of the policy “conspirators”, who were, therefore, “enemies of nation”. Considering Thurgau’s Swiss experience, Schwager adds “do not call everything freedom that people call freedom”. Invoking the immense value of freedom, per se, does not guarantee that the claim is true or just. The claim must be assessed.

In his reading of Isaiah, which gives raise to his objection to the myth of freedom, lies the kernel of Schwager’s understanding of Jesus’ faith as trust in God’s authority above any other human authority (as will be seen in Chapter Three). In his early writings, Schwager identifies Jesus’ faith as complete trust in God’s authority. (In the passage from Isaiah, Judah had placed its trust in Assyria, rather than the Lord.) Jesus’ freedom from all psychological and sociological influences and determinations, from violence, and even from death itself are not the only manifestations of his faith; its power is also demonstrated in the resurrection and the community of believers, the Church. Any other foundational claim for freedom, such as rationality, will, or autonomy, fails because none of these escape the snare of the hidden mechanisms that structure and determine individuals and societies. For Schwager, getting freedom right in the case of Jesus also means getting it right for other human beings, because Jesus is the way that sets humanity free from spiritual, sociological, and psychological influences that parody the living God and his Kingdom parasitically, and hold humanity in their thrall.

The classroom instruction of the national myth and his reaction to it introduces the tensions and conflicts which shaped the institutions in which Schwager was educated: his high school in Appenzell, his novitiate in Rue, his philosophy faculty in Pullach, his regency in Feldkirch, his scholasticate in Fourvière and finally his doctoral program in Fribourg. All these institutions arouse out of the social and political upheavals of recent European history in general, and Swiss, German, and French history,

in particular. Each represents a Catholic response to adapt to new circumstances, even while seeking to maintain fidelity to their enduring concerns and values.

Although Schwager did conduct an apostolate outside a formal academic environment after earning his doctorate in theology (1970-1977), it nevertheless remains reasonable to organize his biography according to educational institutions, because that singular phase can also be seen as the unforeseen road to Innsbruck. In this final phase, Schwager demonstrated his competence and suitability for the position through his early major works. Moreover, the actual process of application and acceptance (1974-1977) embodies aspects of his consideration of the problem of conflict in the Church, thereby becoming an experiment to test the ideas he was already developing at Fribourg and afterwards.

1.1. Childhood – Bichelsee and Appenzell (1935-1955)²³⁵

Julius Raymund Schwager was born to a Julius Schwager (1901-1969) and Rosa (*née* Goldinger) Schwager (1907-2002) on November 11, 1935, the second of seven children²³⁶. Whereas Catholics in the diaspora²³⁷ experienced discrimination, in Schwager's hometown²³⁸, Catholics felt included, participated in public life and were welcome to be Swiss Catholics, without having to choose one allegiance over the other²³⁹. According to recollections of his surviving siblings, his parents were strong,

²³⁵ This section relies on the recollections of the family, especially Raymund's sister, Cécile Schwager-Bernet.

²³⁶ His older sister Bernadette was born a year earlier in 1934. Raymund, however, was the firstborn son. In time, the family grew to seven children including his five younger siblings: Alex (b. 1938), Jules (b. 1941), Cécile (b. 1945), Yvonne (b. 1947) and lastly, Jeanette (b. 1955), for whom Raymund was godfather and was already away at boarding school when she was born. Twenty-one years separated from the eldest to the youngest.

²³⁷ Particularly in cities such as Geneva, Zürich, and Bern and in the Protestant cantons, more generally.

²³⁸ Schwager's family lived in the Catholic village of Ifwil nearby Bichelsee, which was more Catholic; the neighboring village of Balterswil, more Protestant.

²³⁹ Indeed, Protestants still used the parish Church of St. Blaise in Bichelsee according to the practice at *simultaneum*; the first Protestant parish church was only built in 1959.

even strict, practicing Catholics²⁴⁰. The family enjoyed close contacts with the parish and a positive relationship with the pastor.

The pastors of Bichelsee were leaders of the community as well as the parish. Johann Evangelist Traber (pastorate 1885-1926) left a significant legacy²⁴¹ when he opened the first successful loan association (*Darleihkasse*)²⁴², according to the principles and procedures of the *Raiffeisenbank* movement²⁴³, on January 1, 1900. Traber's *Kurze Aufklärung über Raiffeisensche Darlehenskassen* (A Brief Elucidation about the Raiffeisen Loan Association) helped to spread the movement throughout Switzerland, especially among Catholics²⁴⁴. Although a Protestant, Raiffeisen's principles of self-help, self-governance, and self-responsibility concurred well with the Social Doctrine of the Church²⁴⁵. Even though Traber died a decade before Schwager was born, he left a

²⁴⁰ While his father's family did not have any priestly vocations, his mother's family, especially but not limited to his mother's maternal lineage, the Zuber family, did including a Jesuit, who had worked abroad in South America in the Nineteenth Century, a priest-professor at the seminary in Luzern, a professor at the teachers' training college at Cham and at least, two pastors. Thus, the possibility of a priestly or religious vocation was well established on the mother's side. Besides frequenting the sacraments faithfully, devotions and family prayer shaped the quotidian atmosphere at home. For example, as the family worked, they prayed the rosary in common.

²⁴¹ A Thurgau native, Traber studied theology in Würzburg and Leuven. Ordained in 1883, he became pastor of Bichelsee two years later, introducing a skilled theologian to the neighboring communities of farmers and artisans. From 1895 onward he was a member of the Thurgau Catholic Press Union and later was the editor of the *Schweizer Raiffeisenboten* (Swiss Raiffeisen Messenger), Traber undertook many parish initiatives, founding men's and women's associations and overseeing the local school.

²⁴² The parish men's association provided the initial pool of investors in the loan association. From its start, however, Traber insisted on the confessional-neutrality of the loan association, an echo of the long tradition of confessional parity and practical cooperation in Bichelsee. S. Moser, „Sparen und Kredit in den katholischen Raiffeisenkassen“ in U. Altermatt (ed.), *Katholische Denk- und Lebenswelten: Beiträge zur Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte des Schweizer Katholizismus im 20. Jahrhundert*, Fribourg, Academic Press, 2003, p. 86.

²⁴³ The Raiffeisen movement emerged in mid-nineteenth-century Germany when Friedrich Wilhelm Raiffeisen organized loan associations and rural credit unions to provide relief for the rural poor so that they would have access to capital without the danger of debt slavery. In 1866, Raiffeisen explained his initiative in *Die Darlehnskassen-Vereine als Mittel zur Abhilfe der Noth der ländlichen Bevölkerung sowie auch der städtischen Handwerker und Arbeiter* (Credit Unions as a Remedy for the Poverty of Rural and Industrial Workers and Artisans).

²⁴⁴ Traber is recognized as the founder of the credit union and cooperative banking movement in Switzerland. A. Böhi, *Pfarrer und Dekan Johann Evangelist Traber. Schweizer Raiffeisen-Pionier*, St Gallen, 1943.

²⁴⁵ One scholar has summed up the reasons for its appeal in terms of the fact that it conferred on Catholics the means to participate in the capitalist system in a manner consistent with their principles and mores. S. Moser, „Sparen und Kredit in den katholischen Raiffeisenkassen“ in *Katholische Denk- und Lebenswelten: Beiträge zur Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte des Schweizer Katholizismus im 20. Jahrhundert*, p. 87.

legacy as a priest not only dedicated to the salvation of souls but also to the presence of the Kingdom of God in ordinary life, and a pastor who renewed the spirit of confessional cooperation and coexistence, as well as strengthening Catholics in their commitments to the Church (*Kirchlichkeit*).

International disorder and economic distress shaped the first years of Schwager's life²⁴⁶. Extremist politics, however, failed to gain a foothold, as the ecumenical campaign of *Geistliche Verteidigung* (spiritual defense) lauded Swiss exceptionalism in terms of its long tradition of freedom, democracy and Christianity²⁴⁷. Though skeptical about the Liberal Swiss state, the Swiss Bishops never sided with anti-democratic movements and promoted publicly and vigorously Swiss patriotism, while still proposing a Catholic social vision. With the outbreak of war in Europe²⁴⁸, the Swiss mobilized 630,000 citizens, severely disrupting family life²⁴⁹. With government-mandated wage, price controls, food rationing as well as long days of farm work, the carefree world of a childhood collided with the tough realities of poverty and the anxiety of looming violence. Schwager did, however, find solace in schooling and parish life.

With the end of the war, national unity also dissolved, as cleavages between conservative Catholics on the one hand, and Leftists and conservative Protestants on the other, renewed the *Kulturkampf*²⁵⁰. If the wartime experience had suggested the possibility of ecumenical advances and political integration – through the unification that comes about through the presence of a common enemy – the immediate postwar period

²⁴⁶ Like other farmers, the Schwagers endured hardships on the account of the Great Depression, which the Second World War only aggravated. Reaching its most severe in 1936, the lack of stable social networks as well as adequate public relief rendered unemployment even more miserable.

²⁴⁷ Maissen, *Geschichte der Schweiz*, pp. 260-261.

²⁴⁸ The invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939, following the secret Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact between Germany and the Soviet Union.

²⁴⁹ Out of a total population of 4,300,000. The 400,000 soldiers and 200,000 support personnel (including 20,000 women) were away for extended periods, averaging six hundred days of service, though often for more than one thousand. Maissen, *Geschichte der Schweiz*, p. 262.

²⁵⁰ Fatio, *Histoire du christianisme en Suisse : Une perspective œcuménique*, pp. 256, 266.

shored up the Catholic subculture as an embattled minority against whom Liberals, Protestants, and Leftists united. In these circumstances, Swiss Catholics demonstrated high degrees of unity and participation²⁵¹.

In the succeeding decade, however, Catholics increasingly closed the achievement gap with Protestants (attributed to the *Bildungsdefizit*) and their civil rights were taken more seriously. In 1959, Martin Rosenberg attained the definitive integration of Catholics into the Swiss political life through the *Zauberformel* (magical formula), which established a consensus model of governance for the seven-member Federal Council – an approach that harkens back to the principle of parity from the Fourth National Peace (1712), which, at that time, had protected Protestants (who were the majority of the population) from the majority principle (which benefitted the more numerous Catholic cantons) by introducing a consensus model of arbitration for governance.

1.1.1 Appenzell - Boarding School (1948-1955)

At the age of thirteen, Schwager's parents sent their son to the Capuchin boarding school, St. Antonius²⁵², in the neighboring canton at Appenzell in 1951²⁵³. St. Antonius instantiated the educational concerns and aspirations of Catholic parents, who wished to comply with canon law and to avoid liberal cantonal schools. Hosting a boarding school (*Internat*) and a day school, whose enrollment in the 1940s averaged three hundred students, the Capuchins sought to form young men through a sound intellectual,

²⁵¹ Mass attendance in rural Switzerland attained 95%, though in the diaspora, in Protestant cities such as Zürich or Bern, it reached no more than 40%. Fatio, *Histoire du christianisme en Suisse : Une perspective œcuménique*, pp. 260-261.

²⁵² Founded in 1908, St. Antonius was one of the two private high schools (*Gymnasium*) – the other was St. Fidelis at Stans – that the Capuchins administered. Bischofsberger, “Die katholischen Gymnasien im Wandel des 20. Jahrhundert“ in *Aufbau und Vermächtnis. Vom Kapuzinerkollegium zur Kantonsschule Appenzell*, p. 203.

²⁵³ Schwager, Letter to Fr. William O'Donnell Hewett (August 22, 1995), Korrespondenzen 1995-2000, RSA-II.10.

moral, and physical education²⁵⁴. While the curriculum covered modern and classical languages as well as mathematics and the natural sciences, the greatest efforts were placed on religious education, which not only took the form of specific classes in philosophy and theology, but also shaped the overall program of study²⁵⁵. Indeed, it still was common during Schwager's generation (1940-1960) for graduates to take theology as their course of study at the university (on average, thirty-eight percent)²⁵⁶. Music and drama also featured prominently in the life of the school because the former was an obligatory subject, and both were popular extra-curricular activities.

With the highest marks, Schwager was awarded his high school diploma, *Eidgenössische Maturität*²⁵⁷, in 1955²⁵⁸. Schwager developed a strong appreciation for Francis of Assisi, who joined fidelity to the Church with a strong commitment to peace²⁵⁹. Yet even though Schwager was drawn to the Capuchins – and, indeed, P. Dr. Sebald Peterhans, OFMcap., preached his *Primiz* – he discerned a vocation to the Society of Jesus. Like Francis of Assisi, Ignatius of Loyola had undergone a profound conversion, and their common pursuit of chivalry and honor took on a new meaning: the struggle remained, but its ends and the means changed entirely.

²⁵⁴ J. Küng, “Hausordnung und pädagogische Zielvorstellung in der Retrospektive“ in *Aufbau und Vermächtnis. Vom Kapuzinerkollegium zur Kantonsschule Appenzell*, p. 138.

²⁵⁵ Küng, “Realschule: Geschichte, Bedeutung, Entwicklung“ in *Aufbau und Vermächtnis. Vom Kapuzinerkollegium zur Kantonsschule Appenzell*, p. 48.

²⁵⁶ The daily schedule of the boarding school followed that of a monastery or a seminary with regular hours for prayer, devotions, daily Mass, meals, classes, and recreation. The Catholic environment nourished many vocations; in its first twenty years of operation alumni included over two hundred priests and religious. Küng, “Realschule: Geschichte, Bedeutung, Entwicklung“ in *Aufbau und Vermächtnis. Vom Kapuzinerkollegium zur Kantonsschule Appenzell*, p. 55.

²⁵⁷ Shortly before Schwager's entrance, St. Antonius obtained cantonal accreditation to confer a Swiss *Matura*, a publicly recognized high school decree that qualified one for university (equivalent to the *Abitur* in Germany and *Matura* in Austria).

²⁵⁸ “Primiz von HH. Pater Raymund Schwager in Bichelsee“ in *Thurgauer Volkszeitung*, August 10, 1966.

²⁵⁹ Schwager particularly valued Francis' counterexample to the crusades, whereby the saint went to speak with the Sultan at Damietta during the fifth crusade in 1219. For a history of interpretations (*Wirkungsgeschichte*): John Tolan's *Saint Francis and the Sultan: The Curious History of a Christian-Muslim Encounter*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009.

2. JESUIT FORMATION (1955-1970)

Schwager's decision to enter the Jesuits introduces a vast network of meaning, as the Jesuit vocation and history consists of many experiences and stories over its half-millennium history. This choice furthermore associated Schwager with the long and controversial narrative that originates with Ignatius of Loyola and his spiritual legacy. Whether viewed as stalwart servants or menacing agents of the Catholic Church, especially the papacy, the Jesuits bear a dramatic profile.

2.1 Rue - Novitiate (1955-1957)

At the age of seventeen, Schwager entered the novitiate in the final decade of rapid growth of the Jesuits following their re-foundation in 1814²⁶⁰. Despite the constitutional articles against them, the Jesuits were never extirpated from Switzerland²⁶¹ because Catholics could dismiss the amendments to the Federal Constitutions of 1848 and 1874 as unjust, and therefore, not binding on conscience according to Thomas Aquinas' Treatise on Law (q 96, a 4)²⁶². Police carefully observed the growth of the Jesuits, though they took no action against them²⁶³.

²⁶⁰ From 600 members in 1814 to its peak in 1965 with 36,038 members, G. Bromilely (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Christianity*, vol. 3, Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 2004, p. 23. In 1954, the Jesuits counted 32,501 members worldwide of which the German Assistance (Germany, Switzerland, Austria, as well as the Baltic States, Hungary, and the Netherlands) alone had 1,899 priests, 834 scholastics and 414 lay brothers. Naturally, the situation varied in each country. In Switzerland, which became an autonomous Vice-Province in 1947, this growth, though modest in numbers, was impressive given the constraints that the order confronted. J. Stierli, *Die Jesuiten*, Freiburg, Paulusverlag, pp. 224-225.

²⁶¹ Approximately, two hundred and fifty Jesuits were expelled from all the Catholic cantons.

²⁶² Wherever Catholics held political power, although the anti-Jesuit legislation remained law, it was ignored in practice. Even as the interpretation of the prohibitions against pastoral work and teaching grew more stringent, enforcement was often neglected. H. Doswald, *Die Jesuitengesetzgebung der Schweizerischen Bundesverfassung*, Winterthur, Keller, 1956, p. 63.

²⁶³ The police knew of eleven Jesuits in Basel in 1939; from there, a Jesuit went to Wallis in 1940 and another to Luzern in 1943. In 1950, one became a diocesan (H.U. von Balthasar). By 1953, there were only six in Basel. Six ran a retreat house in Zug and at Château des Augustins in Rue, near Fribourg, there was a novitiate. In Bern there were four Jesuits, and finally in Zürich, the center of Jesuit activity, there were three houses of about twenty Jesuits. Doswald, *Die Jesuitengesetzgebung der Schweizerischen Bundesverfassung*, p. 61.

Opened in 1946, the cantonal authorities of Fribourg allowed the Jesuits to occupy a Salesian-owned house in Rue for the novitiate²⁶⁴. Schwager received his formation from two novice masters, Josef Stierli (1946-1956) in his first year²⁶⁵, and Markus Kaiser (1957-1963) in the second. In 1956, the parish mission preacher, Markus Kaiser, who had already served as a substitute for Stierli during his illness (1953-1954), became his successor as Stierli left to become the new provincial²⁶⁶. Before a thorough consideration of Schwager's first novice master's two books, *Die Jesuiten* (The Jesuits) and *Cor Salvatoris* (Heart of the savior), it is important to take account of the changing mood in Switzerland vis-à-vis the Jesuits.

In 1955, the same year when Schwager entered the novitiate, the Federal Council took upon the motion to abolish Articles 51 and 52 of the Federal Constitution of the Catholic jurist and future member of the Federal Council, Ludwig von Moos²⁶⁷. The Federal Council also sensed the incoherence between the Swiss self-understanding as “a free state under the rule of law” (*eine freiheitliche Rechtsstaat*) while at the same time designating the Jesuits as “enemies of the state” (*staatsfeindlich*), without demonstrating this to be true²⁶⁸. Indeed, while the Jesuit leadership welcomed the abolition of the discriminatory article, they preferred to take a gradual approach to bolster public support.

²⁶⁴ The Bishop of Fribourg emphasized the temporary nature of this arrangement even if it were still a reasonable first step to erecting a permanent Swiss novitiate elsewhere. Due to its remoteness, the novices did not have opportunities to get to know the community, a problem further compounded by the fact that the scholastics studied abroad. The hope that this location would attract French-speaking Swiss candidates was not realized. The novitiate was transferred in 1958. Schatz, *Geschichte der Schweizer Jesuiten* (1947-1983), p. 62.

²⁶⁵ Deeply imbued with the spirit of Ignatius and his writings, Stierli came from the school of Albert Steger and Hugo Rahner. After nearly a decade of formation work, Stierli posed the question to the Jesuit General, Janssens, whether the formation was too monastic and should rather place greater emphasis on the Ignatian Experiments – that is, apostolic experiences – a matter to be revisited following Vatican Two at the thirty-first congregation of the society. Schatz, *Geschichte der Schweizer Jesuiten* (1947-1983), pp. 59-61.

²⁶⁶ Kaiser brought a notable change in style and leadership to the novitiate, even if not all the change was positively appreciated in hindsight from his novices. Schatz, *Geschichte der Schweizer Jesuiten* (1947-1983), p. 61.

²⁶⁷ Schatz, *Geschichte der Schweizer Jesuiten* (1947-1983), p. 5.

²⁶⁸ Schatz, *Geschichte der Schweizer Jesuiten* (1947-1983), p. 40.

Two books from Jesuit authors contributed to this approach: (1) Stierli's *Die Jesuiten* (The Jesuits; more to come shortly) and (2) Ferdinand Strobel's *Die Jesuiten und die Schweiz im XIX. Jahrhundert* (The Jesuits and Switzerland in the Nineteenth Century)²⁶⁹. Oft cited in the previous chapter, Strobel's work thoroughly and critically reviewed the period leading up to the civil war in 1847. He concluded from his massive historical work (over 1,100 pages, more than half of which consists of primary sources) that the Jesuits were not dramatic personae but bit players:

The Jesuits, or the Jesuit Question, undoubtedly played a decisive role in this prehistory of the Swiss federal state. Without them, the decision of 1847/48 is inconceivable. However, their role is purely *passive*. The Jesuits were not actors in this great play (*Spiel*), just reluctant extras. The Radical director-producers (*Regie*) of this play gave this role to them²⁷⁰.

Using the language of the theatre to refute this anti-Jesuit myth, Strobel was able to raise doubts in his contemporaries about whether this myth undermined the contemporary claim of Switzerland as a *Rechtstaat* (a nation under the rule of law). Strobel's work demonstrates that importance of history as an exercise in rehabilitation of former enemies and a path for contemporary reconciliation. Schwager too places immense importance on history as an instrument for rereading the past to place conflicts in a new setting which could allow for reconciliation. For example, in his third book, *Glaube, der die Welt verwandelt*, Schwager pays close attention to the potency of the evangelical-prophetic spirit to change the course of history, and in his second book, *Jesus-Nachfolge*, he raises the possibility of rehabilitating Nestorius considering new research on the development of Christology.

²⁶⁹ Schatz, *Geschichte der Schweizer Jesuiten* (1947-1983), p. 40.

²⁷⁰ "Die *Jesuiten*, bzw. die Jesuitenfrage, spielten ohne Zweifel eine entscheidende Rolle in dieser Vorgeschichte des schweizerischen Bundesstaates. Ohne sie ist die Entscheidung der Jahre 1847/48 gar nicht denkbar. Allerdings ist ihre Rolle rein *passiv*. Die Jesuiten waren nicht Akteuren in diesem großen Spiel, sondern nur Statisten wider Willen. Diese Rolle war ihnen der radikalen Regie zugeteilt worden". Strobel, *Die Jesuiten und die Schweiz im XIX. Jahrhundert*, p. 464.

2.1.1 Stierli's *Die Jesuiten*

Part of a series of books on religious orders (which under the Federal Constitution of 1874 either did or could suffer the same fate as the Swiss Jesuits), Stierli's *Die Jesuiten* addresses a more popular audience than Strobel's work, even though the aim was the same: to revise the public image of the Jesuits through an honest presentation of the evidence. Although the effect of this book might have been less significant for the broader society than Strobel's, this book is significant for the present study because it presumably summarizes Stierli's vision of the Jesuit ideal and vocation. Since Stierli was Schwager's first novice master, and then his provincial, it is reasonable to assume that the material presented in the book accurately reflects the spirit and content of the formation of the novitiate.

In the prologue Stierli describes the structure of the book as a testimony (*Aussage*), a confession (*Bekennntnis*) and a thanksgiving (*ein Zeugnis des Dankes*)²⁷¹. Written after an undisclosed illness (during 1953-54), Stierli frames the entire work with this claim:

For four hundred years the Jesuit order stands in the fervent contest of spirits – as a bearer of this struggle, even more, as this struggle's object and its victim. Grateful admiration and loyal followers, on the one hand, unquestioning hostility, and passionate enmity, on the other, in between, as a third attitude, the critical distance: this is how the world meets the Society of Jesus²⁷².

Stierli situates the Jesuits within the context of conflict: *im heißen Ringen der Geister* (in the fervent contest [*Ringen* – a place of wrestling, struggle such as in a boxing ring] of spirits), in a struggle between spirits and mentalities (the language alludes to the Church

²⁷¹ Stierli, *Die Jesuiten*, p. 12.

²⁷² "Seit vierhundert Jahren steht der Jesuitenorden im heißen Ringen der Geister – als ein Träger dieses Kampfes, mehr noch als sein Objekt und sein Opfer. Dankbare Verehrung und treue Gefolgschaft auf der einen Seite, bedingungslose Ablehnung and leidenschaftliche Feindschaft im andern Lager, dazwischen, als dritte Haltung, die kritische Distanz: so begegnet die Welt der Gesellschaft Jesu". Stierli, *Die Jesuiten*, p. 11.

militant from the opening of the rules for *sentire cum ecclesia*²⁷³, *Kirchlichkeit*). Further, Stierli describes the Jesuits not only as actors and subjects, but also as objects and victims within this conflict of mentalities. From the very first sentence, there is a sense of polarity – the Jesuit order as subject and object, oscillating between the active and the passive, between triumph and defeat, between grateful adulation and faithful followers on the one hand, and unquestioning hostility and enthusiastic enmity on the other.

But he does not stop there. Stierli introduces the third disposition between these opposites: “the critical distance” (*die kritische Distanz*). The world’s assessment of the Jesuits shifts back and forth between love and hatred, only occasionally resting at a critical distance, which, in his view, is the right distance, avoiding the excesses of adulation and enmity. Stierli’s picture is fascinating because these few words resonate powerfully with Girard’s later Mimetic Theory. The polarity of the world and the Jesuits, either as implacable enemy or as infatuated lovers, too often fails to find the proper balance, a critical distance, that might avoid either extreme (hostility or infatuation) since, in the history of the Jesuits, lovers can become enemies and enemies can become lovers (as in the suppression of the Jesuits in the Eighteenth Century when the Catholic

²⁷³ “To have the genuine attitude which we ought to maintain in the Church militant, we should observe the following rules...”, Ignatius of Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius*, trans. G. Ganss, Chicago, Loyola University Press, 1992p. 133. There are in fact formulations of the title approved by Ignatius:

The first version, from the <i>Autógrafo</i> (1540) (A)	Two revisions 1541 & 1547 (P)	From the Vulgata of Frusio, 1547 (V)
Para el sentido verdadero que en la iglesia militante debemos tener, se guarden las reglas siguientes.	Ad certe et vere sentiendum in Eccleisa militanti sicut tenemur, serventur regulae sequentes.	Regulae, aliquot servandae, ut cum orthodoxa Ecclesia vere sentiamus.

Corella comments, “Las diferencias son claras, désele la importancia que se quiera. Desde luego, Ignacio conoció y aprobó las tres. Pero A es la suya en un sentido que no le perteneces a V. El tono general de la expresión es en más suave en A y P che V. Esta versión de Frusio se caracteriza por ser más escueta, más tajante. El estilo de Frusio es distinto del de Ignacio, un poco más dictatorial”. (The differences are clear, giving the emphasis each wants to give. Of course, Ignatius knew and approved of all three. But A is his in a sense that does not belong to V. The general tone of the expression is softer in A and P than in V. This version of Frusio is characterized by being more concise, more categorical. Frusio’s style is different from Ignatius’, a little more dictatorial.) J. Corella, *Sentire La Iglesias*, p. 105.

monarchs of France, Spain and Portugal pressed for their suppression and the non-Catholic monarchs in Prussia and Russia sheltered them). Both the adulation of the faithful follower and the unquestioning hostility of the enemy are disproportionate because they lack the right distance.

In Mimetic Theory, the right distance protects the subject and his model from falling into envy and rivalry, thus preventing altogether this oscillation between friend and foe. Stierli seeks to discover this critical distance – the “right distance” in Girard’s idiom²⁷⁴ – especially when he treats the unfolding of the Jesuit ideal. He commences his work with an overview of Ignatius as the source and inspiration for this spiritual movement and concludes with the world historical significance of the Jesuits. In a way as will be seen in Chapter Three, Schwager has done something parallel with his dissertation’s investigation of Ignatius and his method of discernment of God’s will, then the development of Christian discipleship in *Jesus-Nachfolge* and finally, the world historical significance of following Jesus in *Glaube, der die Welt verwandelt*.

As part two summarizes Stierli’s account of the Jesuit vocation, it merits deeper attention since it may give further insight into Schwager’s formation. The justification for and the pursuance of this vocation, Stierli explains, must be evaluated in the light of Ignatius’ own biography, a method that Schwager also employs in his dissertation, where the life of Ignatius assists in interpreting his texts²⁷⁵. Stierli observes that the origin of the Jesuits lies in a twenty-year-long period during which, on the one hand, Ignatius only gradually comes to discover God’s plan through various steps and stages, and on the

²⁷⁴ “Christ is the only one who immediately places us at the right distance. He is simultaneously ‘near and difficult to grasp’. His presence is not proximity. Christ teaches us to look at the other by identifying ourselves with Him, which prevents us from oscillating between too great proximity to and too great distance from the other whom we imitate. If we were to identify with the other, we would be imitating him in an intelligent manner. Imitating Christ thus means thwarting all rivalry, taking distance from the divine by giving it the Father’s face: we are ‘brothers’ in Christ”. R. Girard, *Battling to the End*, R. Girard, *Battling to the End*, trans. M. Baker, East Lansing, Michigan State University Press, 2010, p. 123.

²⁷⁵ Stierli, *Die Jesuiten*, p. 88.

other hand, never loses his confidence in the call he had received at Manresa. At the heart of Ignatius' way is the polarity between unshakeable confidence in God's call and a patient and careful discernment of the unfolding of God's plan in the concrete circumstances of life. Schwager's dissertation similarly traces this path from the grace at Manresa to the founding of the Jesuits in Rome two decades later along a geographic itinerary with special focus on the dramatic relationship between Ignatius and church authorities.

The *Spiritual Exercises*, the *Constitutions*, and the Formula (which was incorporated into the text of the papal bull of erection of the society, *Regimini militantis Ecclesiae*) nourish the Jesuit vocation from which the living tradition and practical applications spring²⁷⁶. From this third source, the Formula, Stierli takes the title of part two, *Die Jesuiten: "Kriegsdienst unter dem Banner des Kreuzes"*. Rendered in English, "The Jesuits: 'Whoever Wishes to Serve as a Soldier of God beneath the Banner of the Cross'..."²⁷⁷ employs the language of chivalry and warfare even as it adopts means other than weapons to achieve its purpose²⁷⁸. The *ecclesia militans* therefore urges a community of believers who go out into the world to evangelize:

To call it militant means to think of a hard-working Church, more of the street and everyday life, on mission, striving for the Kingdom, humble and sweaty, in need of reinforcement, with the enrollment lists always open²⁷⁹.

²⁷⁶ Stierli, *Die Jesuiten*, pp. 97.

²⁷⁷ "Whoever wishes to serve as a soldier of God beneath the banner of the cross in our Society, which we desire to be designated by the name of Jesus, and to serve the Lord alone and his vicar on earth, should keep in mind that once he has made a solemn vow of perpetual chastity". https://jesuitportal.bc.edu/research/documents/1540_Formula (accessed on 24 April 2020).

²⁷⁸ "He is a member of a community founded chiefly for this purpose: to strive especially for the progress of souls in christian life and doctrine and for the propagation of the faith by the ministry of the word, by spiritual exercises and works of charity, and specifically by the education of children and unlettered persons in Christianity". https://jesuitportal.bc.edu/research/documents/1540_Formula (accessed on 24 April 2020).

²⁷⁹ My translation of Correda comments on the significance of *militans* in the *autógrafo* and first two revisions (P), "Llamarla militante es pensar un Iglesia trabajadora, más de la calle y de la vida cotidiana, en misión, afanada per el reino, humilde y sudorosa, necesitada de refuerzos, con las listas de enrolamiento siempre abiertas", Corella, *Sentire La Iglesias*, p. 105.

The Jesuit's purpose is twofold: the sanctification of the person through religious vows (which the Jesuits share with other religious orders) and the innovation of a global apostolate, well suited to the changing picture of the earth in the Sixteenth Century. Rather than collapsing into a rivalry between these two ends, both were ordered to the same goal that held them at the critical distance: giving greater glory to God²⁸⁰.

Ignatius remained a knight, but he abandoned the weapons of war for any means available – so long as they do not contravene God's law, the law of Church and one's own conscience – and launched a global crusade to win the world over to Christ under the immediate authority of the Church²⁸¹. This global apostolate rested on Ignatius' *tantum quantum* (in as much as, in so much as, to the extent that) principle²⁸² that governed means under the all-encompassing goal. It concedes as much freedom to use or cease to use created things to achieve the goal for which God made human beings, namely, "to praise, serve and reverence God" so that one may be saved. The goal to win souls to Christ, therefore, justified wide scope for accommodation to time and place in the global apostolate. Jesuits could become, in a sense, all things to all people.

Besides the *tantum quantum* principle, Ignatius also gave the rules for discernment by thinking and feeling with the Church (*sentire cum ecclesia*, *Kirchlichkeit*), thereby adding a second momentous dimension to discernment, because these rules make concrete Ignatius' decision to put his order in and under the Church. Consequently, this obedience to the Church brought the Jesuits blessings and curses, even in the person of the Popes, whom they have tried to serve and for whom they have

²⁸⁰ Stierli, *Die Jesuiten*, p. 99.

²⁸¹ Stierli, *Die Jesuiten*, pp. 110-112.

²⁸² The Principle and Foundation of the *Spiritual Exercises* explains the right use of creatures: "from this it follows that we ought to use these things to the extent [*tantum quantum*] that they help us towards our end, and free ourselves from them to the extent [*tantum quantum*] that they hinder us from it". Ignatius of Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius*, p. 32.

often been attacked and judged. For this reason, the enemies of the Church often found the Jesuits to be a powerful and attractive symbol to loath and hate.

For its global apostolate at the service of the Church, Ignatius invented a new form of religious life in which some traditional features were eliminated, and a strong emphasis was placed on leading an ordinary life, so that nothing unnecessary should hinder its fruitfulness. Without permanent home or residence, the Jesuit, starting as a novice, needed to cultivate his interiority as a “cloister of the heart”²⁸³. The novitiate exhibited a polarity between various kinds of extraordinary spiritual and apostolic experiments and the ordinary life of prayer and discernment, which would lead the novice, after a two-year-long novitiate, to make a mature decision to proceed or depart²⁸⁴.

The subsequent formation of a scholastic also shuttles between studies and apostolate (regency between philosophy and theology and tertianship after ordination and the completion of studies) before one finally arrives at profession as the definitive act of commitment. After having described the governance and composition of the order, Stierli addresses misunderstandings regarding the use of militaristic language and images, which he attempts to correct through his treatment of the manifold aspects of relationships between superiors and their subjects, as well as by giving reassurances about specific practices regarding obedience, fraternal correction and manifesting one’s conscience to one’s superiors, all longstanding neuralgic points of Jesuit critics.

Stierli attributes the scope and influence of the (in his day) over 32,000-member order to the *Spiritual Exercises*, which not only refers to the text of the practice but also the living tradition of its practice from Ignatius’ original experience at Manresa to

²⁸³ Stierli, *Die Jesuiten*, pp. 120-121.

²⁸⁴ Stierli, *Die Jesuiten*, p. 123.

today²⁸⁵. As a novice, Schwager would begin his lifelong engagement with the *Spiritual Exercises* as a spiritual practice as well as theological source. The *Spiritual Exercises*' Principle and Foundation (already cited above) defines man's relationship to God and to the creation. First, the knowledge of the absolute transcendent majesty of God and the experience one's own creatureliness leads one to a total availability to service and a comprehensive 'readiness for self-offering' (*Hingabebereitschaft* – a concept closely related to Schwager's reflection on Jesus' self-offering/*Hingabe* in *Jesus-Nachfolge*)²⁸⁶. Joy, not resignation, marks this self-offering, which takes shape in the search to discern God's will in the concrete circumstances of ordinary life. Second, the basic disposition toward creation, as seen above, rests on the *tantum quantum* principle, which allows one to use the things of creation freely in service to the apostolate with a spirit of detachment or indifference. God has made everything to help human beings reach their goal. They exist for this purpose, and therefore, should inspire wonder, marvel, and joy in human beings.

Considering the Foundation and Principle, sin in the first week means one's refusal to serve God, and thereupon, the discovery of the urgent need to repent and serve. This leads one to seek companionship with Jesus in the second week, in which Ignatius refers to the example of Medieval chivalry in terms of the allegiance between a knight and his lord. The inner core of the vows and mutual obligations, which unbreakably bind them together, is friendship. Motivated by a deep personal affection for Christ, the disciple offers his life (*Hingabe*) freely in service to the spreading of the Kingdom of Christ, while at the same time recognizing that by grace Christ has chosen him for this vocation and mission. The *Spiritual Exercises* unfold and deepen the idea

²⁸⁵ Stierli, *Die Jesuiten*, pp. 149-154.

²⁸⁶ Stierli, *Die Jesuiten*, p. 154.

of companionship with Christ, which inspires the Jesuit from his novitiate forward²⁸⁷. This companionship not only consists of the personal following of Christ (*Nachfolge Christi*) but also the global following as an apostolic society, themes that Schwager explores in his earlier major writings.

In the third part of the book, Stierli summarizes the entire history of the Jesuit vocation of sanctification and apostolic efficacy as a *Geisteskampf* (conflict over spirits/mentalities) between the Church and its modern opponents:

The four-hundred-year history of the Society of Jesus therefore forms a rich chapter in the history of the Church in modern times. At the same time, the apostolic mission places the order amid the great spiritual currents of the time. It is at the forefront of the encounter between Church and modern culture and receives the most violent blows of the sword in the struggle with a world hostile to Church and Christianity²⁸⁸.

Stierli treats each century, critically evaluating Jesuit successes and failures to attain its ideals, its Paschal experience of suppression in 1773 and its restoration in 1814, and its broad spiritual, intellectual and apostolic heritage. Finally, he gives a short account of the struggles against the Jesuits, starting with Ignatius' own experiences. (Schwager also places importance on these experiences in the development of Ignatius' dramatic understanding of the Church and his relationship to church authorities in the dissertation.)

Readily conceding the shortcomings of the members of his community, Stierli lists a theme to which Schwager frequently returned: "Let us admit that the holy unrest has often become an unholy activism. The lack of patient growth has disrupted some

²⁸⁷ Stierli, *Die Jesuiten*, pp. 156-157.

²⁸⁸ "Die vierhundertjährige Geschichte der Gesellschaft Jesu bildet darum ein reiches Kapitel der Kirchengeschichte der Neuzeit. Zugleich stellt die apostolische Sendung den Orden mitten in die große geistige Strömung der Zeit hinein. Er steht in vorderster Front der Begegnung von Kirche und moderner Kultur und empfängt darum auch die heftigsten Schwertstreiche im Kampf einer kirchen- und Christentums- feindlichen Welt". Stierli, *Die Jesuiten*, pp. 160-161.

organic developments in religious life”²⁸⁹. Repeatedly, Schwager repeats the same concern, regarding the need to not to rush to conclude deliberations too soon, lest the matter fail to mature and ripen properly, and any hope of reconciliation be lost. Stierli weighs the different probable causes for hostility to the Jesuits, both in and outside of the Church, through its four centuries, concluding that the most profound reason is its identification with the mystery of the Cross, which both symbolizes its conflict with the world, which opposes Christ, and its fidelity to and companionship with Christ.

The eschatological character of the struggle means that human judgments must be reckoned as provisional and reformable in the light of God’s final judgment, which will rectify human mistakes and vindicate those who were condemned. This, too, finds important echoes in early Schwager when he takes note of the tentative nature of human judgments and refers the ultimate meaning of life to the moment of death as Jesus did when he redefined death as his self-offering (*Hingabe*). Death did not overpower him as a passive object, but rather, by redefining it, he overcame death, and in his resurrection was able to communicate to his disciples the true meaning of his death as the path to eternal life. Jesus also suffered the condemnation of human authorities, even religious authorities. In his early writings, Schwager develops similar ideas when he characterizes the Eucharist as “the Celebration of the Condemned One” and the apocalypse as evidence of the peril that faces the world when the global dimension of following Jesus fails. Lastly, Stierli calls the saints and martyrs the true Jesuits, because in them the Church militant has become the Church triumphant, the realization of the purpose of the order and the Church, the transformation of believers through following Jesus.

²⁸⁹ “Geben wir ruhig zu: Die heilige Unruhe ist so und so oft zu einem unheiligen Aktivismus geworden. Der Mangel an geduldigem Wachsenlassen hat manche organische Entwicklung des religiösen Lebens gestört”. Stierli, *Die Jesuiten*, p. 215.

2.1.2 Stierli's *Cor Salvatoris*

The year before Schwager entered the novitiate, Stierli had contributed to and edited a collection of theological and spiritual papers on the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, *Cor Salvatoris* (Heart of the Savior). The purpose of this publication, Stierli writes, is to initiate and at the same time pave the way for a comprehensive theological treatment that responds to the objections and opposition to this devotion. Reviewing the contributions in its concluding chapter, Stierli cites the dogmatic and spiritual fruits of the devotion. He commences with the polarity for religious conduct between the objective truth on the one hand, and subjective choice on the other. The reconciliation of the polarities between dogma and piety, between world and human history is the pierced heart of the crucified:

Since the Cross of Christ is the coordinate axis of world and human history, it is the innermost place of the gracious encounter with God and man as well as the place of religious devotion of humanity. This Cross itself has a center in the pierced heart of the Lord²⁹⁰.

The pierced heart brings together theology and soteriology. First, it clarifies the image of God as the Trinity, who is love. Then, through the sacrificial death on the Cross, it reveals the extreme depth of God's love for sinners. From this comes a renewed vision of the Church as Jesus' body and bride that goes beyond the narrow concept of the Church as juridical institution, to the priority of the Church as sacrament, mediator of this love for sinners, symbolized in the outpouring of the water and blood²⁹¹. The life of grace leads the baptized back into the heart of God, into the new Jerusalem. Jesus' going out from God brings about the coming back to God through Jesus. Schwager's perennial concern for a theology that is relevant to life echoes Stierli's likeminded wish to marry

²⁹⁰ "Denn die Koordinatenachse der gesamten Welt- und Menschheitsgeschichte, der innerste Ort der gnadenhaften Begegnung mit Gott und Mensch, aber auch die Stätte der religiösen Hingabe der Menschen ist das Kreuz Christi. Dieses Kreuz hat selber noch einmal ein Zentrum im durchbohrten Herzen des Herrn", J. Stierli, "Dogmatische und religiöse Werte der Herz-Jesu-Verehrung" in *Cor Salvatoris*, Freiburg, Herder, 1956, p. 250.

²⁹¹ Stierli, "Dogmatische und religiöse Werte der Herz-Jesu-Verehrung" in *Cor Salvatoris*, pp. 258-260.

dogma to piety through the devotion to the sacred heart, the place of drama between God and man: “then we will also experience the Church’s devotion to the Sacred Heart as a life-shaping theology and a theologically well-founded devotion”²⁹².

Stierli contends that the truth rightly grasped inevitably produces fruit in the spiritual life and counters the contemporary tendency to activism. Through the mutual interaction of interiority and sacrificial service, each pole helps to purify the other of an inauthentic version of the devotion (Pelagian or Semi-Pelagian) that fails to uphold the priority of grace. Stierli also underscores the capacity for this devotion to properly integrate the emotional and intellectual sides of human psychology in contrast with their recent alienation in the preceding rationalistic generation.

Today, based on findings in depth psychology, we are ready again more than a previous rationalist generation to value the emotional forces correctly and to take them seriously²⁹³.

Therefore, ascetical efforts, intellectual striving and moral practices do not exhaust the spiritual life, but must also integrate one’s temperament, disposition, and passions, lest a reckoning come:

All true piety must be based on clear knowledge and an intentional will. Knowledge of the faith, ascetic endeavors in the sense of mortification, and the positive striving for a Christian attitude are absolutely part of religious life, but they do not yet make up its fullness because man is not just reason and will. The richer one cultivates one’s humanity, the deeper one’s soul [*Gemüt*]. That is why a person who only cultivates reason and will would become crippled, even crippled in one’s religion. But one fine day the suppressed and violated emotional forces will take dire vengeance²⁹⁴.

²⁹² “Dann werden wir es auch hier erleben, wie lebensgestaltend diese Theologie ist and wie theologisch begründet die kirchliche Herz-Jesu-Verehrung ist“, Stierli, “Dogmatische und religiöse Werte der Herz-Jesu-Verehrung” in *Cor Salvatoris*, p. 261.

²⁹³ “Wir sind heute, auf Grund der tiefenpsychologischen Erkenntnisse, wohl auch wieder mehr als eine vorausgegangene rationalistische Generation bereit, die emotionalen Kräften recht zu werten und ernst zu nehmen”. Stierli, “Dogmatische und religiöse Werte der Herz-Jesu-Verehrung” in *Cor Salvatoris*, p. 265.

²⁹⁴ “Alle wahre Frömmigkeit muß auf klaren Erkenntnissen und zielbewußten Willenshaltung aufbauen. Glaubenserkenntnis, aszetisches Bemühen im Sinn von Abtötung und positives Streben nach christlicher Haltung gehören unbedingt zum religiösen Leben, aber sie machen noch nicht seine Fülle aus. Denn der Mensch ist nicht bloß Vernunft und Wille. Er hat je reiche sein Menschentum ist, auch ein um so tieferes Gemüt. Deshalb müßte der Mensch, der nur Vernunft und Willen pflegt, verkrüppeln, auch und gerade religiösen verkrüppeln. Eines schönen Tages aber werden die unterdrückten und vergewaltigten emotionalen Kräfte schlimme Rache nehmen“. Stierli, “Dogmatische und religiöse Werte der Herz-Jesu-Verehrung” in *Cor Salvatoris*, p. 266.

More than a decade later, in his dissertation, this same constellation of concerns emerges when Schwager cited Barthes – who was quoting Bataille – regarding Ignatius’ discovery of dramatized discourse that consists of rational, volitional, and affective elements of human psychology rather than the merely rational. Thanks to this fuller picture of interpersonal decision-making – considering the interaction of reason, the will, and emotions in all the actors as well as the interaction among the actors – Schwager could easily detect a kinship with Mimetic Theory when he encountered it. Schwager’s discovery of drama and its enormous subsequent import for his practice of theology may therefore have deeper roots in the novitiate.

Stierli argues that Christianity (in his day, at least) had become too sober, needing the sober inebriation of the Spirit at Pentecost that bursts forth in love. While institution, rules and organizations have their necessary place in human society, they cannot set the world on fire; only love or hatred can. The history of Christian discipleship shows that, when people unite their hearts to Christ’s heart, they set the world of fire with love. This unity, however, does not command uniformity, as if there were only one way to be united with Christ, but pluriformity, which means that, “within these general forms and frameworks, there consists as many ways of devotion to the Sacred Heart as there are hearts who honor him”²⁹⁵.

Stierli identifies the Holy Spirit as the bond which holds together the polarity between the common external guidelines and practices (the Church) on the one hand, and the unique personal relationship between Jesus and each believer on the other, elaborating the Thirteenth Rule for *sentire cum ecclesia* (“It is the same Spirit working in the Church and in the individual”):

²⁹⁵ “Aber innerhalb dieser allgemeinen Formen und Grundlinien bestehen so viele Weise der Herz-Jesu-Verehrung, als es verehrende Herzen gibt“, Stierli, “Dogmatische und religiöse Werte der Herz-Jesu-Verehrung” in *Cor Salvatoris*, p. 270.

Wherever the Spirit of God is, there is freedom. Therefore, every human being may, indeed, must go on his own spiritual way to God as the Holy Spirit shows to everyone within the Church²⁹⁶.

In his early works, Schwager likewise places immense importance on the Thirteenth Rule for *sentire cum ecclesia* to preserve a proper pluralism in the Church that avoids the extremes of uniformity and relativism and safeguards the freedom that is necessary for following Jesus.

As the next chapter recounts, Schwager adopts this rule in his dissertation to interpret Ignatius' criterion of the greater fruit, thereby showing the unity between individual religious experience and the communal life of the Church through the example of Ignatius. Then, generalizing these findings in *Jesus-Nachfolge*, Schwager contends that Jesus' original experience of freedom (as result of his faith in God's authority and which the Spirit preserves and safeguards), is the source of Christian faith, which constantly challenges both the individual and the community of believers. And finally, in *Glaube, der die Welt verwandelt*, Schwager argues that the same Spirit acts in the individual and the Church on the one hand, and in the world on the other hand, thus disclosing the historical and eschatological dimension of faith, which diachronically transforms the world, just as Christian discipleship transforms individuals and the community, synchronically, at any given moment. Reading Stierli's two works suggests that Schwager's formation under Stierli either accentuated or introduced to him concerns that subsequently bore fruit in Dramatic Theology.

²⁹⁶ "Wo der Geist Gottes ist, da ist Freiheit. Darum darf, ja muß jeder Mensch seinen eigenen religiösen Weg zu Gott gehen, wie der Heilige Geist ihm innerhalb der Kirche jedem einzelnen zeigt". Stierli, "Dogmatische und religiöse Werte der Herz-Jesu-Verehrung" in *Cor Salvatoris*, p. 270.

2.2 Post-Novitiate Formation (1957-1970)

With the profession of temporary vows, the novice becomes a scholastic, and proceeds to three years of philosophy and four years of theology with an apostolate of two years in-between, namely, the regency. As a Jesuit, Schwager's program of studies followed the *ratio studiorum*²⁹⁷ as revised in 1954 to accord with the Apostolic Constitution *Deus Scientiarum Dominus* (1931)²⁹⁸. The Apostolic Constitution grappled with the changing world of theological and philosophical studies. Once the queen of university disciplines, the natural, historical, and social sciences effectively eclipsed theology as the center of university education by the opening of the Twentieth Century, causing theologians to respond by innovating new areas of study in relation to theology, or retreating to other teaching environments, such as seminaries or private institutes. Schwager's academic itinerary reflects the adaptations to this novel environment with studies at Jesuit faculties in Pullach and Fourvière for his philosophy and theology, respectively, and his doctorate at the Catholic University of Fribourg.

²⁹⁷ A synthesis of the scholastic and humanist methods, the *ratio studiorum* (1599), claimed an impressive reputation for forming rigorous minds, skilled in languages and rhetoric, philosophy, and theology. Drawing upon humanist techniques of Renaissance universities – in particular, Paris, where the first Jesuits were studied – the early Jesuits articulated a complete program of education and formation that gained them admiration and enmity in the succeeding centuries. U. Lehner, “The Many Faces of the Catholic Enlightenment” in U. Lehner & M. Printy (eds.), *A Companion to the Catholic Enlightenment in Europe*. Leiden: Brill, 2010, pp. 30-32.

²⁹⁸ The new scientific method – drawing upon the humanist method – favoring specialization, the critical investigations of sources, use of the vernacular, and the written dissertation competed with the scholastic method, the heart of the Medieval theological method, and its preference for speculative investigations, repetition and argumentation, the use of Latin, and the oral disputation. The Apostolic Constitution reiterated the irreplaceable role of Latin as the language of instruction because it rendered accessible the sources of and contributions to theology, philosophy, and canon law. It also foresaw Greek competence as highly desirable and necessary. Ecclesiastical studies started with five years of humanities (emphasizing Greek and Latin), three years of philosophy and four years of theology. This document not only laid out the program of study, but also articulates a hybrid method of Catholic theology that sought to bring together the scholastic and scientific or positive methods as “positivo-speculative.” In the first ‘positive’ step, the sources of a dogma, namely scripture and tradition, are investigated according to the newer, positive sciences, namely, textual criticism, patristics, history of interpretation, and so forth. The second ‘speculative’ step investigates and illuminates each dogma according to the method and principles of St. Thomas Aquinas. A. Bea, “The Apostolic Constitution *Deus Scientiarum Dominus*. Its Origin and Spirit” in *Theological Studies*, vol. 4. Issue 1, 1943, pp. 34-52, translated from *Gregorianum*, vol. XXII, 1941, pp. 445-466.

France and the German-speaking world diverged in their hospitality to theology at state universities. In France, all four theological faculties²⁹⁹ – none of which ever received ecclesiastical approval or endorsement – closed in 1885. However, with a change in law in 1875, and following the example of the Belgian Bishops, who established the Catholic University of Louvain after the creation of Belgium in 1830³⁰⁰, the French Bishops founded five universities³⁰¹. In the German-speaking world, by contrast, theological faculties at state universities multiplied in number, were officially supported, and divided along confessional lines³⁰².

2.3 Pullach – Philosophy (1957-1960)

As in Switzerland, so too in Germany, the Jesuits suffered decades of legal discrimination³⁰³. Immediately upon the abrogation of the prohibition against new foundations, the Jesuits returned to Aachen in 1917 under the leadership of Augustin (later Cardinal) Bea, and soon founded the *Berchmanskolleg* to replace the house of studies in Valkenburg, the Netherlands. Despite the troubled history of the Jesuits in

²⁹⁹ At Paris, Bordeaux, Lyon, and Rouen.

³⁰⁰ First in Mechelen in 1834 and then transferred to Louvain in 1835.

³⁰¹ In 1875, at Anger, Lille, Lyon, and Paris; and in 1876, at Toulouse. After 1880, the French state restricted the use of the designation university (*université*) to state universities only; thereafter, Catholic universities are called free faculties or Catholic institutes.

³⁰² There were sixteen Catholic faculties in Germany and Austria-Hungary. The relative newness and scholarly inferiority of most of these Catholic faculties stimulated intense rivalry between and within universities where Catholic and Protestant faculties existed. In due time, Catholic theologians adopted the same standards of scholarship and research method that delivered a comparable level of Catholic scholarship. These innovations in the macrocontext of theology – scientific standards as well as confessional standards – fostered the emergence of a de facto alternative teaching authority in the form of academic theologians, whose authority rested on peer review, standards of scholarship and the prestige of universities rather than just ordination, hierarchy, and tradition. The crisis of the Magisterium and its relationship to modern scholarship or science took on a new urgency in the Nineteenth Century due to these and other related developments. The papal Magisterium's preoccupations with Modernism resulted in a series of interventions that anathematized heretical propositions and lent official support to neo-Scholasticism. Moreover, with the appearance of a de facto teaching authority of academic theologians, the theology of the Magisterium developed and was articulated piecemeal in papal and conciliar documents. Periods and places of tension and relaxation followed. For instance, Catholic university theologians in Germany and Austria were exempted from professing the Oath against Modernism (1910) because it endangered their academic credibility.

³⁰³ Given on July 4, 1872, its paragraph (§1) forbade new Jesuit foundations and suppressed their current one, and (§2) permitted the expulsion of Jesuits, whether they were German citizens or foreigners *Deutsches Reichsgesetzblatt*, vol. 22, 1872, p. 253.

Germany earlier, by this time, they were so numerous to divide into two provinces in 1921³⁰⁴, and then erect a vice province for Switzerland and Lichtenstein in 1947.

Whatever hardships the *Kulturkampf* or earlier anti-Jesuitism incurred, it did not cause a defensive reaction on the part of the faculty, who engaged alternative systems of thought and interdisciplinary research. Embracing the possibilities foreseen in the revised *ratio studiorum*, the faculty frequently invited guest lecturers and introduced the scholastics to a wide variety of subjects beyond the basic curriculum³⁰⁵. Originally focused on neo-scholastic philosophy oriented by the writings of Francisco Suárez, SJ (1548-1617), lectures commenced on October 5, 1925. The intellectual milieu shifted to transcendental philosophy with greater attention paid to the thought of Immanuel Kant und Joseph Maréchal, SJ, in lectures³⁰⁶ and publications³⁰⁷. Schwager benefitted from a diverse and innovative faculty³⁰⁸. Among the faculty was Walter Kern, SJ, the lecturer for contemporary philosophy, who, having come to know the young Swiss scholastic at Pullach, would fifteen years later invite Schwager to apply for the open chair of dogmatic theology at Innsbruck. Schwager's first educational experience abroad was positive for him, as it manifested a strongly apostolic openness to the world, intellectual curiosity, and fearless engagement with other systems of thought.

³⁰⁴ Niederdeutsche (Lower German) province in Cologne and Oberdeutsche (Upper German) province in Munich.

³⁰⁵ Logic, epistemology, metaphysics, ethics, natural theology, philosophy of nature and philosophical psychology.

³⁰⁶ J. Oswald, "Berchmanskolleg, Pullach", <http://www.historisches-lexikon-bayerns.de> accessed on 1 April 2021.

³⁰⁷ In 1955, the faculty commenced a new series of books, *Pullacher Philosophische Forschungen*, to bring Scholasticism (Thomas Aquinas) rather than neo-Scholasticism into dialogue with influential German philosophers, such as Hegel, Nietzsche, and Heidegger, as well as the problem of Atheism. The school co-published the journal *Scholastik*. Its faculty also produced a series of Latin textbooks, *Institutiones Philosophiae Scholasticae*, with the aim to produce a Spanish edition for Latin America, whose appeal disappeared after Vatican Two.

³⁰⁸ Heinrich Falk, SJ, specialized in Russian thought, while others engaged in interdisciplinary dialogue between philosophy and science, interacting Christian anthropology and psychotherapy (Trapp), ethics and the study of instinct and conduct. *Hochschule für Philosophie München - Rückblick 1925-1975 und Jahresbericht 1974/75 der philosophischen Fakultät S.J.*, p. 10.

2.4 Feldkirch – Regency at Stella Matutina (1960-1963)

After the completion of the course of philosophy, a Jesuit scholastic undertakes his regency to gain practical experience³⁰⁹. Schwager undertook his regency at Stella Matutina, a Jesuit high school in Feldkirch, Vorarlberg³¹⁰. Information on Schwager's experience is limited with no available extant written records³¹¹.

2.5 Fourvière – Theology (1963-1967)

Vatican Two opened on October 11, 1962, during the second year of Schwager's regency. A year later, in 1963, he was well into his first semester of theology in France³¹². Schwager has left little written testimony to his time in Fourvière. His licentiate thesis on St. Paul is stored in Innsbruck. It is necessary, therefore, to reconstruct his experience through other sources³¹³.

³⁰⁹This usually entailed serving as a teacher or a prefect of students at one of the Jesuits' high schools. Stierli, *Die Jesuiten*, p. 124.

³¹⁰ Having been expelled from their *Gymnasium* in Fribourg in 1847, this group of Swiss Jesuits finally found a home in Feldkirch, where they administered a state *Gymnasium* (1856-1868). With the spread of anti-Jesuit sentiments in the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy, however, the imperial authorities removed the Jesuits in 1868; they were, however, still permitted to administer a private high school both as a day school and boarding school. Since many of the students came from the German Empire, the program conformed to the German imperial system. In time, Stella Matutina earned the privilege of conferring an Austrian *Matura* and a German *Abitur*, qualifications necessary for higher education in their respective countries. In the immediate aftermath of the war and dissolution of Austria-Hungary, a movement arose to leave the new Austrian republic and join the Swiss Confederation. The movement was not only countered by the Austrian government and the Entente powers, but many in Switzerland feared the addition of a new rural Catholic canton. In the end, the status quo prevailed; Vorarlberg remained part of Austria. Among its most famous alumni is Hans Urs von Balthasar, who spent two and a half years there in the early 1920s after leaving the Benedictine Gymnasium at Engelberg abbey. The German program closed in 1934 and the Austrian program in 1938 because of the *Anschluss*. Following the war, Stella Matutina reopened with a mainly Austrian student body. By Schwager's regency, it granted diplomas according to the Austrian and German educational standards.

³¹¹ His colleague, H. Büchele, SJ, reported that Schwager served as prefect for fifty adolescents (fourteen-sixteen years old) as well as undertaking limited teaching. He had a reputation for being strict and demanding, for which he was in later years admired.

³¹² The faculty was located on a ridge overlooking the ancient city of Lyon and within view of the newly built Basilica of Our Lady, which among other things commemorated the salvation of the city from the Prussian army during the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871). The Jesuits established themselves in Fourvière in 1841 to provide retreats and later to serve as the scholasticate during three phases: 1858-1871 (Franco-Prussian war), 1897-1901 (closed because of the *association loi de 1901* - law of freedom of association 1901), 1926-1968 (transfer to a new location).

³¹³ This account relies on a limited documentary record, namely, the annually published program of study, *Ephemerides et Catalogus*, semi-annual reports that the rector, Jacque Misset, SJ, sent to the Jesuit

Beyond an academic education, Fourvière afforded other extraordinary opportunities as an intellectual nexus. Schwager met influential theologians who visited, such Hans von Balthasar and Gaston Fessard, as well as those who resided there, such as de Lubac. Thanks to Schwager's facility with French, he gained access to a broader array of resources that were unavailable in his native German. Although René Girard holds the first place of importance, another unexpected but inspiring source for Schwager, again solely available in the French original, was the literature of Alfred Tomatis, a medical doctor and philosopher³¹⁴. The interest in Tomatis arose from Schwager's existential need to correct his own weakness in music stemming from incapacities in hearing. Schwager admired von Balthasar, who had also attended Pullach and Fourvière (neither of which pleased von Balthasar³¹⁵); yet it pained Schwager that he could not share von Balthasar's talent for music³¹⁶.

General, memoirs from two faculty members, Jacque Guillet, SJ and Bernard Sesboüé, SJ, and interviews with Schwager's colleagues, Herwig Büchele, SJ and Józef Niewiadomski. Robert Bonfils, SJ, the archivist, kindly assisted in the making the archives in Vanves available for this dissertation.

³¹⁴ While the subsequent collaboration and friendship of Schwager and Girard is well known, his interest in the work of Tomatis is less well known and harder to weigh. Schwager struggled with music, suffering certain deficiencies in his hearing that negatively affected his capacity to sing, much to his disappointment. Tomatis' research on hearing led to therapies to help patients recover or discover their full capacity to hear. Originally published in 1963, *L'Oreille et le Langage* (Paris, Le Seuil, 1963, later published in English as *The Ear and Voice*) Schwager's access to Tomatis depended on his ability to read French since Tomatis' works were translated into German decades later. R. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, M. Moosbrugger (ed.), *Raymund Schwager Gesammelte Schriften* vol. 1, Freiburg, Herder, 2016, p. 423. Schwager cited Tomatis in his dissertation, as well as borrowed his insights in homilies and in two journal articles: the first sought to demonstrate an empirical, anthropological basis for Rahner's transcendental-philosophical argument in *Hörer des Wortes (Hearers of the Word)*, R. Schwager, "Hörer des Wortes – Eine empirische Anthropologie für Theologie?" *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie*, vol. 114, 1992, pp. 1-23, and the second to clarify the theological revelation of God as Father in the light of developmental influence of speech as mother, R. Schwager, "Mutter-Sprache und Vater-Gott", *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie*, vol. 119, 1997, pp. 64-71.

³¹⁵ H.U. von Balthasar, *Prüfet Alles, das Gute behaltet*, Ostfildern, Schwabenverlag, 1986, trans. M. Shrady, *Test Everything*, San Francisco, Ignatius, 1989, p. 9.

³¹⁶ Having possessed extraordinary music talent and perfect pitch, von Balthasar was able to play Mozart from memory. D. Schindler, *Hans Urs von Balthasar: His Life and Work*, San Francisco, Ignatius, 1991, pp. 8-9; After a lifelong secret passion for music, Von Balthasar received the Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart Prize in Innsbruck in 1987. Schindler, *Hans Urs von Balthasar: His Life and Work*, p. 36.

As elsewhere, the Jesuits in France had endured challenges after their refoundation as the French government oscillated between hostility and amiability³¹⁷. As a result of the First World War, anti-Jesuitism diminished, permitting the scholasticate at Fourvière to reopen in 1921 after its closure two decades earlier due to the anti-clerical “law of freedom of association” (*association loi de 1901*)³¹⁸. The scholasticate’s name, the *Séminaire des missions de Syrie*, not only alluded to the Jesuit presence in Algeria and the Middle East, but also recalled the experience of exile, which many Jesuits came to appreciate because without the burden of running and teaching in schools, it made it possible for them to contribute to the flourishing of French Catholic intellectual life in the 1920s and 1930s. Thus, the experience of marginalization was reassessed as an opportunity.

Even as the French state shifted from confrontation to coexistence with the Catholic Church, Catholic philosophers and theologians sought to elaborate strategies for an engagement with modernity³¹⁹. Following the Magisterium’s negative judgments on the Modernist proposals³²⁰, Thomism enjoyed a highly creative period³²¹. Due to a

³¹⁷ For example, during 1879-1881, the government imposed legal restrictions on teaching and religious life, leading to the emigration of Jesuits to receive formation abroad or to serve in the missions. By 1890 the legal persecution subsided, allowing Jesuit communities to grow anew, and for pastoral work except for education, however, where Jesuits could only serve discretely in non-teaching capacities. Following the Dreyfus Affair, a renewed anti-clerical surge targeted religious life. The French government’s *association loi de 1901* prohibited male religious from teaching in schools and from preaching in churches. Again, many Jesuits went to the missions or abroad. The persecution had, however, unintended beneficial consequences: the elimination of the excessive burden of major colleges (high schools) enabled the younger Jesuits to go deeper into their religious and intellectual formation, and it allowed the most gifted Jesuits to undertake a broader scope in their inquiry.

³¹⁸ The Jesuits had already cautiously refounded scholasticates in Vals (1920), even as the superiors remained abroad in Jersey and Enghien. Thus, Vals and Fourvière remained bound to the exile communities in England and Belgium as well as the missions.

³¹⁹ In the first phase, from Pope Leo XIII’s promulgation of the encyclical *Aeterni Patris* (1879) to the 1920s, many contributed to the renewal of Thomism as neo-Scholasticism. Concurrently, doubts about the universal competence of neo-Scholasticism to respond to all modern challenges precipitated the early twentieth-century Modernist crisis.

³²⁰ Modernists differed from neo-Scholasticism on (1) the continuing nature of revelation beyond the close of the apostolic age; (2) the mutability of dogma both in formulation and in content; (3) denied the sharp distinctions between reason and nature on the one hand and revelation and the supernatural on the other; (4) favored the use inductive reason alongside deductive reasoning; and (5) a historical-critical exegesis of

change in composition of its membership because of the *Action française* affair in 1926, the French episcopate embraced a greater openness to the world, allowing diverse points of departure to grow among theologians³²². During the Second World War, furthermore, new impetus also came from the encyclicals of Pope Pius XII³²³.

The theological controversies of the preceding decades leading up to *Humani Generis* (1950), its immediate aftermath, and the surprising outcome at the time of Vatican Two bears more directly on Schwager's education in Fourvière. The encyclical's cautions on various contemporary theological tendencies – no single theologian was named even if many presumed to know the intended targets – was perceived at least in part as direct criticism of the school of Fourvière as one of the two major promoters of *nouvelle théologie* (new theology). The struggle between neo-Scholastics and their critics centered on the matter of whether there was more than one orthodox method³²⁴. As historical studies increasingly demonstrated, neo-Scholasticism represented only one stream of Thomist thought, and further, that patristic theologians offered alternative orthodox methods.

Despite the magisterial settlement of the controversies, other non-theological factors eroded confidence in the adequacy of the classic approach to theological

the Bible. J. Mettepenningen, *Nouvelle Théologie - New Theology: Inheritor of Modernism, Precursor of Vatican II*, London, T&T Clark, 2010, p. 21.

³²¹ Thomism consisted of a family of related approaches including (1) Jacques Maritain and Integral Humanism, (2) Chenu and the return to Thomas as a source for contemporary theology, (3) Transcendental Thomism of Rousselot and Maréchal, (4) Dominicus de Petter and Reality Thinking, and 5) the Roman School – Garrigou-Legrange.

³²² Dominicans, such as Congar and Chenu, at La Saulchoir and Louvain pursued a thomist *ressourcement* (return to the sources, akin to the spirit of the Italian humanism, *ad fontes*) and Jesuits, such as Henri De Lubac and Jean Daniélou, undertook a patristic *ressourcement*, while Teilhard de Chardin investigated possible connections between natural science and theology. In 1942, Daniélou, De Lubac and their confrère, Claude Mondésert, published at Lyon the first volume of the *Sources chrétiennes*, the bilingual edition of Gregory of Nyssa's *Life of Moses*. On the surface, this action may have appeared to be obscure in significance, but taking its context into account, namely, the German occupation of large portions of France and the Vichy government, the choice was subversive since it focused on Moses in a time of virulent anti-Semitism. Gregory of Nyssa's *On the Creation of Man* appeared shortly thereafter in 1944.

³²³ *Divino Afflante Spiritu*, (1943), *Mystici Corporis* (1943) and *Mediator Dei* (1947).

³²⁴ A.N. Williams, "The Future of the Past: The Contemporary Significance of the *Nouvelle Théologie*" in *International Journal of Systematic Theology*, vol. 7, no. 4, 2005, p. 349.

formation in the 1950s³²⁵. Gradually, the concerns of *nouvelle théologie* for the return to the sources of theology, dialogue, and engagement with contemporary questions gained ground (thereby raising questions about whether the purpose and nature of *Humani Generis* was to halt discussion or to pause and more deeply investigate the disputed questions to the let matter reach a more mature form); in a little more than a decade, theological exiles like de Lubac, who was removed in 1950 from teaching, had become a theological expert (*peritus*) at Vatican Two³²⁶. Lastly, a series of actions of Pope John XXIII and the Jesuit leadership significantly influenced the scholasticate at Fourvière shortly before Schwager's arrival³²⁷.

2.5.1 Renewal as Pluralism in Theological Method

Arriving in 1963, Schwager encountered the seeking of balance in polarity between the neo-scholastic and *nouvelle théologie* methods which could bring forth a legitimate, and indeed, Catholic pluralism in terms of theological methods. Such a renewal would combine neo-Scholasticism's striving for logical coherence and scientific rigor, its capacity for speculation, thanks to its unified method, language and tradition, and its universal theological system, with *nouvelle théologie*'s return to the

³²⁵ Students were increasingly critical in many ways about their studies, formation, and the lifestyle. A spirit in favor of practice (*praxis*) over thought inspired in part by example of the experiment with worker-priests and the competing example of Marxism also cast doubt on the adequacy of the classic approach; Schwager certainly appears to have shared this view in his early writings as he emphasizes the priority of action over thought. The Algerian War (1954-1962) pressed theologians to address contemporary social and political questions considering the Gospel, for example, the morality of torture; moreover, Jesuit missions in that country gave the scholastics a personal, eyewitness account of that struggle. Guillet, *Habiter les Écritures*, pp. 210-211.

³²⁶ Pope John XXIII appointed him and Yves Congar, OP, to the theological commission that drew up the drafts for the conciliar documents. Under Pope Paul VI, de Lubac served on the newly erected Secretariats for non-Christians (1964) and non-believers (1965), where he developed concerns about certain secularizing tendencies in the theological exposition of conciliar doctrine. R. Voderholzer, *Meet Henri de Lubac*, San Francisco, Ignatius, 2008, p. 88.

³²⁷ (1) Pope John XXIII's *Veterum sapientia* (1959) affirmed that all theology must be conducted in Latin, in stark contrast to *Zeitgeist* and to the aims of the new Jesuit leadership in France; (2) the gathering of all Jesuit scholastics of the French provinces in Fourvière following the decisive five-year visitation of Belgian Jesuit, Clément Plaquet, who decided to close the other scholasticates; (3) the announcement and opening of Vatican Two (October 11, 1962); and (4) the papal encyclical *Pacem in terris* (April 11, 1963), which was viewed as a positive and wide-ranging reappraisal of recent Jesuit apostolates in France.

sources, especially to the Bible and patristics, a new appreciation for the historical, the particular and the local as well as the urgency to address contemporary questions. When taken together, the two approaches could correct and complement each other. The renewal specifically aimed to revitalize that which was classical through a return to the sources beyond any one method, even while revering the formerly dominant method as one of these sources to be retrieved. If, in terms of its texts, Vatican Two represents this renewal, then the same council, in terms of its putative spirit, represents – in the words of Guillet – not renewal, but revolution, the overturning of what came before in favor of something entirely new³²⁸. Rather than continuity, rupture, and rather than pluralism, relativism – the very danger that the neo-scholastic critics of *nouvelle théologie* had predicted and feared.

Schwager left no record of his impression of these developments during his final two years at Fourvière. His subsequent writings leave little doubt, however, that he prized pluralism for Catholic theology and foresaw great danger in rushing to close arguments and conflict before a mature and widespread consensus, based on truth rather than opinions and prejudices, was reached. Consequently, theology functions more successfully when it is practiced open-endedly and accepts the burden of conflict and controversy as the price and possibility for both theology's development and relevance. Refusing to bear this tension endangers theology by rendering it an ideology, or worse, irrelevant as the Dame Emile Rose Macaulay observed in her last novel in 1957,

Theology seems the only science which does not keep adapting its views and its manuals to new knowledge as it turns up, as history does, and geography, and medicine, and anthropology, and archaeology, and most people think this is a pity, and partly the reason Christianity is less believed than it once was³²⁹.

³²⁸ Guillet, *Habiter les Écritures*, pp. 215-217.

³²⁹ From *The Towers of Trebizond*, which recounts the adventures of Laurie, a young English woman, on a journey to Turkey in the company of her aunt, Dorothea ffoulkes-Corbett, a progressive, devout Anglican, and her high Anglican chaplain-companion, Father Hugh Chantry-Pigg. R. Macaulay, *The Towers of Trebizond*, New York, FSG, 2012, second paperback edition, pp. 193-194.

The reemergence of the Bible as the soul of theology³³⁰ may be seen as a sincere response to the danger of the irrelevance of theology, as biblical language and stories powerfully communicate their message without the requirement of a specialist training. Previously, the Scriptures were not treated as a specific area of studies, namely, exegesis and biblical theology, but was integrated into a program for formation of the future Jesuit in his roles as preacher, spiritual director, and confessor. In theology proper, the role of the Scriptures was secondary, even when the most recent manuals did contain a positive theology that preceded the speculative-systematic component according to the “positivo-speculative” method of *Deus Scientiarum Dominus*; biblical citations (*dicta probantia*) provided evidentiary support for theses³³¹.

Following the Second World War, the need to study the Scriptures in terms of exegesis and biblical theology gained urgency, laying the foundation for a renewed theology for which the Bible and the patristic interpretations thereof sustained a broader theological program³³². The Prefect of Studies at Fourvière, J. Guillet, SJ, authored *Thèmes Bibliques* (1954), and X. Léon Dufour edited the *Vocabulaire de théologie biblique* – works that exemplified the desire to overcome the inadequacies of historical-biblical criticism by using inter-textual and linguistic analyses of key biblical terms to create a distinctively Catholic biblical theology and at the same time make biblical

³³⁰ “Sacred theology rests on the written word of God, together with sacred Tradition, as its primary and perpetual foundation. By scrutinizing in the light of faith all truth stored up in the mystery of Christ, theology is most powerfully strengthened and constantly rejuvenated by that word. For the Sacred Scriptures contain the word of God and since they are inspired, really are the word of God; and so the study of the sacred page is, as it were, the soul of sacred theology. (3) By the same word of Scripture, the ministry of the word also, that is, pastoral preaching, catechetics and all Christian instruction, in which the liturgical homily must hold the foremost place, is nourished in a healthy way and flourishes in a holy way”, *Dei Verbum*, §24, www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19651118_dei-verbum_en.html (accessed on 20 March 2021).

³³¹ Sesboüé, *La théologie au XX siècle et l'avenir de la foi*, pp. 31-32.

³³² In May 1950, the Pontifical Biblical Commission issued with papal approbation, *De Scriptura sacra in Clericorum seminariis et religiosorum collegiis recte docenda*, which encouraged seminaries to have up to date libraries for biblical theology, and for the best students, optional courses in biblical theology.

literacy available to laity and clergy alike. Even before *Optatam Totius*³³³ (The Decree on Priestly Formation), the faculty at Fourvière had already introduced a new course of study. In the following academic year, 1966-1967, further innovations arrived with the new prefect of studies, Paul Beauchamp, SJ. It is convenient to divide Schwager's study into two periods: classical and new.

2.5.1.1 Renewal – the Complementarity of Continuity (1963-1965)

In his July 15 letter to the Jesuit General, the rector, Jacques Misset, noted gaps in the faculty because positions went unfilled or because of the absence of professors on account of other responsibilities³³⁴. Further, he reports with expectancy the arrival of new faculty members, who subsequently played a decisive role in the transformation of Fourvière³³⁵. Professors Martelet, Léon-Dufour and Araud introduced group projects and teamwork that promoted greater participation of the students and a deeper exchange between faculty members and students. Guillet occupied the office of prefect of studies during the period. Published in the *Ephemerides et Catalogus in Annum 1963-1964*, the horarium describes the micro-context that structured the academic environment in a monastic schedule of prayer, liturgies, and recreation³³⁶.

³³³ *Decree on Priestly Training, Optatam Totius*, October 28, 1965, §16.

³³⁴ Beside de Lubac, Gustave Machelet, SJ, also served as a *peritus* for Vatican Two. J. Misset, Letter to Jean-Baptiste Janssens, SJ (15 July 1963), Lyon Collection, Archives françaises de la Compagnie de Jésus (Archives de la Province de France), Vanves, P. Misset Papers, (recteur 1962-1966) Q Ly 512.

³³⁵ Theodore Léonard, SJ and Bernard Sesboüé, SJ (Dogmatic Theology), Pierre Vallin, SJ (Church History) and Paul Beauchamp, SJ (Sacred Scripture). Misset, Letter to Jean-Baptiste Janssens, SJ (15 July 1963).

³³⁶ A typical day started at 5:10 a.m. with a half hour visit to the Blessed Sacrament, followed by 35 minutes of meditation and Mass. Priests still offered Masses privately and the community undertook devotions together. Two morning sessions (50 minutes each) concluded with an examen at noon, lunch, a visit to the Blessed Sacrament, community recreation and leisure. Classes commenced at 3 p.m. for two more sessions (50 minutes each), study, a break, group conversation or repetition of materials, supper, a visit to the Blessed Sacrament, recreation, litanies, preparation for meditation, night examen and finally bed by 10:15 p.m. Saturday, Sundays and Tuesdays afforded more time for private study, leisure and recreation. A highly structured daily life of prayer, mediation, examination of conscience and visits to the Blessed Sacrament framed the study of theology and sustained the common life.

The second session of the council (September 29 – December 8, 1963) coincided with the first months of Schwager's first year of theology³³⁷. Schwager's first-year theology class (1963/64) consisted of thirty-three students out of a total of 122³³⁸ and included two other Swiss scholastics. Among his classmates was Michel Corbin, SJ, whose studies on St. Anselm influenced Schwager's soteriology³³⁹. The first-year coursework especially focused on fundamental theology, which introduced the student to divine revelation, its sources, the role of the Church in theology and special problems of the historicity of the Gospels and the person of Jesus³⁴⁰.

The following summer, Misset sent his assessment on August 15, 1964, to Janssens, wherein he observes a growing malaise due to the emergence of a small group of scholastics, influenced by certain contemporary currents of thought, who wished to engage aspects of the modern world, especially in their desire to understand unbelievers. Such desires, Misset continues, seem to be leading to a lack of appreciation for both the neo-scholastic and *nouvelle théologie* theological methods, and an excessively critical spirit on matters regarding the Church and the Jesuits, their structures, activities, and apostolates, culminating in the weakening of the faith³⁴¹.

³³⁷ The session approved the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy and the Decree on Social Communications.

³³⁸ The scholasticate's enrollment jumped from 90 to 122 scholastics from eleven nations and twenty provinces; half of the study body was now foreign and there were some difficulties accommodating all the French scholastics. J. Misset, Letter to Jean-Baptiste Janssens, SJ (14 January 1964), Lyon Collection, Archives françaises de la Compagnie de Jésus (Archives de la Province de France), Vanves, P. Misset Papers, (recteur 1962-1966) Q Ly 512.

³³⁹ Schwager credited Corbin with a momentous recovery of Anselm's misunderstood theology in 1989 in *Jesus im Heilsdrama*. Grant Kaplan has noted that Corbin dedicated his 1992 study on Anselm (*Prière et raison de la foi. Introduction à l'oeuvre de S. Anselme de Cantorbéry.*) to René Girard. R. Schwager, *Jesus in the Drama of Salvation*, trans. J. Williams and P. Haddon, New York, Crossroads, 1999, pp. 5-6.

³⁴⁰ I.) Fundamental Theology divided into five mini-courses: a.) *introductio in theologiam* [Guillet], b.) *de fontibus fidei* [Baumgarnter], c.) *de ecclesia* [Haulotte], d.) *de evangeliorum historicitate - de revelatione personae Jesu Christi in evangeliiis* [Lamarche] and e.) *de revelatione* [Martelet]); II.) Moral Theology; III.) auxiliary disciplines consisting of Greek [Lamarche], Hebrew [Guillet], and ascetical theology, and finally, *circ. vel rep.*, namely, review of the material in the vernacular.

³⁴¹ J. Misset, Letter to Jean-Baptiste Janssens, SJ (15 July 1964), Lyon Collection, Archives françaises de la Compagnie de Jésus (Archives de la Province de France), Vanves, P. Misset Papers, (recteur 1962-1966) Q Ly 512.

Little changed from the first to second academic year (1964/65), as Schwager's class numbered thirty students (one fewer than the preceding year) out of 122; and the classical horarium structured the schedule and studies focused on sacraments³⁴². In the upper years, professors Martelet, Léon-Dufour and Araud continued to introduce new pedagogical practices to promote student-teacher dialogue and a greater sense of self-responsibility among the study body for their education. Momentous changes, however, did take place outside of the scholasticate: the third session of the council (September 14 – November 21, 1964) concluded with Pope Paul VI promulgating three significant documents³⁴³, and the thirty-first General Congregation of the Society of Jesus (May-July 1965) elected Pedro Arrupe³⁴⁴ on May 22, 1965, to succeed Belgian Johann Baptist Janssens (1942-1964) as the twenty-eighth Father General (1965-1983).

2.5.1.2 The Choice between Pluralism or Relativism (1965-1967)

The third and fourth years of Schwager's studies took place during rapidly changing circumstances. A new horarium came into force with the opening of the academic year (1965/66). The fourth and final session of the council took place during the start of Schwager's third year of theology, resulting in eleven more

³⁴² I.) Dogmatics divided into five mini-courses: a.) *de sacra. in communi* [Leonard], b.) *de fide, de baptismo, de confirmatione* [Moingt], c.) *de poenitentia, de extrema unct.* [Sesboüé], d.) *De Eucharistia, de ordine* [Baumgartner], e.) *de matrimonio* [Machelet]); II.) Moral Theology; III.) Church History consisting of two courses: a.) *patrologia* [Kannengiesser], and b.) Introduction to Church history [Vallin]; and lastly *circ. vel rep.*, namely, review of the material in the vernacular.

³⁴³ In the session's closing days, the chairman of the council presidents, Cardinal Tisserant, announced the decision to postpone the vote on the contested schema on religious liberty until the next session so that deliberation could continue. While this procedural move delayed a decision, the unexpected addendum to the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, the preliminary explanatory note, and papal emendations to the decree on ecumenism frustrated certain quarters. Nevertheless, the Pope promulgated the three conciliar documents on the Church, ecumenism and Eastern Churches that signaled an opening to the theological renewal of the preceding decades.

³⁴⁴ A Basque Jesuit, whose studies for the priesthood were concluded abroad because of the Spanish Civil War, was eventually ordained, earned a doctorate in medical ethics in the United States of America, and finally was sent to Japan as a missionary. Arrupe was one of eight Jesuits who personally and directly experienced devastation of the first atomic bomb in Hiroshima on August 6, 1945, the Feast of the Transfiguration. He tended to the injured in the remains of the novitiate, where he was superior since 1942.

documents. The second session of the thirty-first General Congregation took place at the start of his fourth year of theology, just a month after his priestly ordination.

Writing to Arrupe on March 2, 1966, Misset listed the innovations that had come to Fourvière: new forms of apostolate, greater emphasis on formation in terms of maturity and responsibility (and hence a general relaxation of the rules of life to afford greater latitude to test responsibility), more frequent and wider ranging dialogues with the professors, the introduction of Mass with concelebration and preaching, and the broad use of group projects and teamwork in teaching. With all these changes, Misset expressed concern about the growing tension between greater individual liberty and the sustainability of common life. The large student body easily divided into cliques and factions to the exclusion of others, particularly foreigners. He concluded that the intensification of the uncertainty of the times made it increasingly difficult for the scholasticate to succeed in its educational and formational aims³⁴⁵.

Writing in hindsight, Guillet, who concluded his tenure as Prefect of Studies in 1966, passed this judgment on Fourvière: prior to Vatican Two, he contended, there was greater clarity between neo-scholasticism or *nouvelle théologie*; starting in 1965, however, a third tendency emerged in the form of relativism³⁴⁶. This new alternative constituted more than a generational change from neo-Scholasticism to *nouvelle théologie*, both of which sought continuity with the whole theological tradition. In his view, 1965/66 was a watershed. The old rivalry between two modes of continuity gave way to an anarchy of riotous opinion and fragmentation. The gradual evolution in theology that had occurred during the preceding decade, therefore, fell victim to revolution, heralded by the appointment of Beauchamp as his successor as the Prefect of

³⁴⁵ J. Misset, Letter to Jean-Baptiste Janssens, SJ (14 January 1964), Lyon Collection, Archives françaises de la Compagnie de Jésus (Archives de la Province de France), Vanves, P. Misset Papers, (recteur 1962-1966) Q Ly 512.

³⁴⁶ Guillet, *Habiter les Écritures*, pp. 215-216.

Studies³⁴⁷. In this sense, the scholasticate anticipated the Revolution of 1968. Rather than the renewal, a mania for novelty reigned. The professors themselves were divided. Whereas some of the younger faculty sympathized³⁴⁸, only one initially embraced the revolutionary faction of the student body³⁴⁹. Schwager's anecdote about an encounter with von Balthasar bears witness to these tensions³⁵⁰.

In his third year, (1965/66) Schwager's class had dropped to twenty-six out of the total enrollment of 127 scholastics. The structure of the studies changed so significantly that it was necessary for third and fourth theologians to follow the same courses concurrently, and in some courses on the Bible, all four years attended concurrently to compensate for the absence of such coursework before the reform³⁵¹. For the first time in his theological studies, there were courses, specifically on the Scriptures. Not only did the organization of the subjects and the class composition change, but new pedagogical methods that encouraged greater student participation were also preferred. Shortly after he completed his third year, Schwager was ordained to the priesthood on the Feast of St. Ignatius of Loyola, July 31, 1966, at the Jesuit retreat center in Zug. A week later he celebrated his Mass of Thanksgiving in Bichelsee on August 7, 1966³⁵².

³⁴⁷ Guillet, *Habiter les Écritures*, p. 210.

³⁴⁸ Guillet mentions by name, Moingt, Sesboüé, Beauchamp and Haulotte. Guillet, *Habiter les Écritures*, p. 217.

³⁴⁹ Guillet, *Habiter les Écritures*, p. 216.

³⁵⁰ Schwager recalls the occasion on which von Balthasar visited Fourvière to celebrate the birthday of de Lubac. Schwager organized a meeting of the Swiss scholastics with von Balthasar in which their enthusiasm for the council was met with a stinging rebuke. In his recollection, von Balthasar expressed the first criticism of the council he had ever heard, in terms that were later echoed by J. Ratzinger. R. Schwager, "Eine Säule der Theologie der 20. Jahrhundert" in A. Batlogg (ed.), *Begegnungen mit Karl Rahner: Weggefährten erinnern sich*, Wien, Herder, 2006, p. 67.

³⁵¹ Schwager took I.) dogmatic theology: a.) *de Deo Uno* [Leonard], b.) *de Deo Trino* [Sesboüé], c.) *de Deo creante et elevante*, d.) *de peccato originali* [Moingt], e.) *de novissimis* [de Broucker]; II.) Scripture: a.) *de scriptis johann.* [Léon-Dufour], b.) *de Epist. ad Rom.* [Léon-Dufour], c.) *de libris sapient.* [Pautrel], d.) *de Pentateucho* [Beauchamp]; III.) *de Conciliis et schismatibus saecul. XIV et XV* [Vallin]; and IV.) auxiliary courses: a.) *theologia orientalis* [Marichal] and b.) *historia religionum* [Goetz].

³⁵² A local newspaper reported a community-wide celebration of the new priest with hundreds of people, family members, relatives, and several priests in attendance. The Jesuit Provincial noted that Schwager was a rare breed, a Jesuit from Thurgau. P. Dr. Sebald Peterhans, OFMcap. (Appenzell) delivered the homily, adverting to the significance of the council for a new priest insofar as the hour of the laity had

The second session of General Congregation (September-November 1966) received the conciliar mandate for religious communities to convoke general chapters to renew their constitutions³⁵³. In the intervening time since the first session (May-July 1965), the general attitude had shifted from a limited reform or renewal of the society to a thoroughgoing reconsideration of the Jesuit identity as demonstrated by the request made to the Pope for permission to reinterpret the substantials of the Jesuit institute. Heretofore, the substantials were divided into two categories: a first order, which were irreformable, and a second, which were reformable³⁵⁴. Pope Paul VI permitted the Jesuits to abrogate the list of first-order substantials so that the General Congregation possessed the authority to study and reformulate the entire vocation.

The result of this consultative process was a series of reform decrees that aimed to modernize governance, formation, education, and ministry. In scholasticates, there was a general relaxation of discipline, the elimination of devotional practices and a call for greater exchange between students and professors, especially granting the former the rights to express opinions, make suggestions and read works that had influenced the construction of the modern mind³⁵⁵.

In accord with Vatican Two, the General Congregation, furthermore, set forth a new vision of its mission – in particular, to address the problem of Atheism as a social system (e.g., Marxism), and to evaluate atheist claims about human beings that relied upon the new human sciences, especially psychology and sociology, which Schwager does in his early major writings. The General Congregation endorsed the mutual

arrived; yet the priesthood remains irreplaceable as the bridge between heaven and earth. The way forward for a priest is to focus on Christ: “*Ohne Christus sind wir alle verloren, mit Christus alle geborgen* (without Christ we are all lost, with Christ we are sheltered/secure)”. “Primiz von HH. Pater Raymund Schwager in Bichelsee”, in *Thurgauer Volkszeitung*, August 10, 1966.

³⁵³ According to the vision and principles set forth in *Perfectae caritatis* (the Decree on the Adaptation and Renewal of Religious Life) and the apostolic letter, *Ecclesiae Sanctae*.

³⁵⁴ J. Becker, *The Re-formed Jesuits*, San Francisco, Ignatius, 1992, p. 39.

³⁵⁵ Becker, *The Re-formed Jesuits*, pp. 40-41.

promotion of faith and (social) justice in the order's apostolate. As has been seen, the scholasticate at Fourvière had firmly embraced the reform and already implemented a new program of education and formation even before the General Congregation had issued its decrees.

In his final year (1966/67), the total enrollment reached 128, fourth theology consisting of twenty-four students, among whom were four Swiss Jesuits, two of whom had started the same program of studies with Schwager four years earlier. The *Annuaire 1966-1967*, now published exclusively in French, lists the fourth year of theology, which focused on Christology and exegesis, without any reference to an horarium³⁵⁶. Directed by Paul Lamarche and co-written with fellow Swiss Jesuit, Marcel Boeglin, Schwager submitted his license thesis, *Der Sohn Gottes in den Paulusbriefen* (The Son of God in the Letters of St. Paul)³⁵⁷ in July 1967.

2.5.2 Tallying the Results from Fourvière

After four years in France, Schwager left Fourvière with new talents, knowledge, and horizons. He acquired fluency in French and gained a broad theological education. In contrast to Pullach, where Transcendental philosophy and theology were held in high esteem, the faculty at Fourvière favored a more empirical-phenomenological approach

³⁵⁶ The coursework (whose names are translated into English) for fourth year: *Incarnation and Mariology* [Sesboüié], *Redemption* [Haulotte], *Contemporary Questions in Christology* [Leonard], *Dogmatic Controversies of the Fourth and Fifth Centuries* [Vallin], *Pauline and Captivity Epistles* [Lamarche], *Gospel of Mark* [Lamarche – third and fourth years only], *The Prophets before Jeremiah* [Beauchamp], *The Prophets from Jeremiah onward* [Pautrel], *Deuteronomy* [Beauchamp – third and fourth years only], *Exegeses of the Early Pauline Writings* [Léon-Dufour], *Creation, Elevation of Man and Original Sin* [Moingt], *The Missions and History of Religions* [Goetz], and finally, seminars organized into working Groups: *Apocalypse* [Haulotte], *Gospel of Matthew in the Studies of Léon-Dufour* [Verspiere, a fellow student of Schwager].

³⁵⁷ Written in German with quotations and endnotes in French and Greek, the thesis consists of three parts: (1) a study of the title “Son of God” in the Pauline corpus (Gal. 4, Rm. 8, 1:3-4) and the history of research; (2) The Father-Son relationship in light of the resurrection as the revelation of the *dynamis* of the Father (exegesis of Eph. 1:19ff, Phil. 2:9-11), analysis of the terms “begotten”, “to rise” and “beginning” (exegesis of 1 Cor. 15:20-25, Rm. 5:12-21 and 8:28-30 and Col. 1:15-20 (with focus on the term, *arche*); and a final reflection on *dynamis* and *arche*; (3) conclusion drawn from the hermeneutic outlook as a result of these exegesis.

that took experience as a point of departure and consistently referred its theological investigations to Scripture³⁵⁸. Events of the day, e.g., the Algerian War and the liceity of torture, became subject matter for discussion, both in and out of the classroom. Theology was not only a discourse on God, but also increasingly a theological anthropology. Schwager's early works reflect these concerns with its strong emphasis on experience, practice, and history on the one hand, and his caution about abstraction on the other.

Because of his formation in philosophy in Pullach and in theology at Fourvière, Schwager could enjoy a privileged position from which to judge the progress and regress of theology in the decades to come. Schwager's thorough education in dogmatic theology and biblical exegesis laid a foundation for his future academic work that aimed to bridge the gulf between historical-biblical criticism and systematic theology. Besides his formal education, Schwager had the advantage of living in a key node in the Jesuit network. Reflecting on his experience as a member of the faculty at the time Schwager was enrolled, Sesboüé, attributes immense importance to Moingt as a pioneer in theology and influential on a generation of scholastics who attended his lectures³⁵⁹. Schwager took Moingt's courses on the sacraments of initiation, original sin, creation, and grace. During that period, Moingt practiced a return to the sources in which he sought to uncover the dialectic process out of which doctrines developed, which could be an inspiration for Schwager's subsequent Dramatic Theology.

³⁵⁸ Schwager, "Eine Säule der Theologie der 20. Jahrhundert" in *Begegnungen mit Karl Rahner: Weggefährten erinnern sich*, p. 62.

³⁵⁹ Sesboüé, *La théologie au XX siècle et l'avenir de la foi*, pp. 40-43.

2.6 Fribourg – Doctorate in Theology (1967-1970)

Schwager's decade-long sojourn (1958-1967) abroad ended with his doctoral program at the Catholic University of Fribourg³⁶⁰. Since the analysis of the text of the dissertation is taken up in the next chapter, here is presented Schwager's context in terms of the interrelationship of location, confession, and vocation. Schwager resided at the *Domus probationis Dominae Nostrae a Strada (Maison d'étude Notre Dame de la route)*³⁶¹. Navigating the constitutional prohibitions against the Jesuits, the cantonal authorities and the university cooperated with the Jesuits to establish the house of studies. The ambivalent position of the Jesuits endured even after his decade abroad.

While the rehabilitation of the Jesuits would soon be accomplished with the national referendum and a kind of reconciliation achieved, conflict over Vatican Two was just beginning. As in Fourvière, so in Fribourg, the postconciliar period witnessed the polarization of the community between a progressive faction of mostly younger Jesuits surrounding the novice master, Willi Reust³⁶², and a conservative faction under the rectors, Maximilian Rast and then Jean Nicod. The groups were divided on questions of governance, way of life, and Rome. At least from one source's assessment, the progressive faction's aims could be summarized as a call for total democratization of governance, a greater secularization and de-sacralization of the Jesuit vocation and a strong anti-Roman tendency³⁶³. As was the case in Fourvière, opposing evaluations of Vatican Two's relationship to the past (in term of continuity or discontinuity) divided the entire Swiss vice province; traditionalists, who rejected Vatican Two altogether, were not to be found among the Swiss Jesuits at that time.

³⁶⁰ Its twin identities of location and confession shaped the institution both in terms of its unique role on behalf of Catholics as well as its service in terms of promoting tolerance and dialogue between Catholics and Protestants.

³⁶¹ Since 1958, this residence hosted the novitiate. After 1966, there were not any novices.

³⁶² Schatz, *Geschichte der Schweizer Jesuiten* (1947-1983), pp. 232-240.

³⁶³ Schatz, *Geschichte der Schweizer Jesuiten* (1947-1983), pp. 208-209.

During the writing of his dissertation, which deals directly with inner-ecclesial conflict in the life of Ignatius of Loyola, Schwager witnessed the growing frustration among Catholics because of the diverging manners of interpretations of Vatican Two. The historic encyclical *Humanae Vitae* symbolized this polarization, as distinct groups oscillated between viewing Pope Paul VI as an ally or an enemy, as a supporter of the spirit or a guardian of the text. The ambivalence of the papacy in its exercise of governance and teaching became a particular concern for Schwager in two brief but seminal articles, “Raubgut: Theologische Meditation zur Autorität” and “Unterwegs zu einer toleranten Kirche” in 1969.

2.6.1 Schwager’s First Article – „Raubgut: Theologische Meditation zur Autorität“

Appearing in *Orientierung*, “Raubgut: Theologische Meditation zur Autorität” offers a theological reflection on authority in the Church in the context of the non-reception of the teaching of *Humanae Vitae*³⁶⁴. The Kenotic Cantic (Phil. 2:6-11), where the term *Raubgut* translates the New Testament hapax legomenon, ἀρπαγμός (harpagmos), in Phil. 2:6³⁶⁵, inspires Schwager’s title. Rendered as “something to be grasped (at)”, harpagmos denotes seizure and theft, connoting the illegitimate use of force to obtain something, that is, “to rob”. The context, moreover, hints at a comparison between the two Adams: the old Adam who tries to steal divinity, and the new Adam who receives divinity eternally – without any form of envy – as the Son. Thus, the article’s title becomes clear: “something to be grasped at: theological mediation on authority”.

³⁶⁴ R. Schwager, “Raubgut”, *Orientierung*, vol. 33, no. 3, 15 February 1969, pp. 31-35.

³⁶⁵ “ὅς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ ὑπάρχων οὐχ ἀρπαγμὸν ἠγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ”.

Through his exegesis of the traditional Petrine proof texts (Mt. 16, Lk. 22, Jn. 21), Schwager proposes a mode in which believers should understand and recognize papal authority, even during conflict or scandal. Schwager analyzes scandal starting with the words that Jesus speaks to Peter in Mt. 16, when he addresses Peter as both rock and as Satan/scandal. After inquiring whether Peter also falls under the law of apostasy as formulated in Mt. 18:17, “scandals must come”³⁶⁶, Schwager concludes that such a possibility fits the paradoxical nature of the Gospels, wherein contradictory statements, such as the unity and seeming inequality between the Father and the Son, are nevertheless affirmed as true.

The Bible present office in Israel and in the Church ambivalently because God has assigned authority to high priests, prophets, the teachers of the Law and Peter, and yet, at the same time, these same offices threaten the faith because of the potential magnitude of their errors³⁶⁷. The only difference between the leaders of Israel and Peter, in Schwager’s view, is that Peter repented after his failure, acknowledged his sin, and sought mercy. Because of this crucial experience, Peter gained deeper insight into sin, conversion, forgiveness, and grace. Yet Peter remained always, throughout his life, liable to think as men do rather than as God does. There is never a moment, even after Pentecost, when this was no longer possible. Peter could always become a scandal³⁶⁸ .

³⁶⁶ Schwager, “Raubgut”, *Orientierung*, p. 32.

³⁶⁷ Schwager, “Raubgut“, *Orientierung*, p. 33.

³⁶⁸ “And when Cephas came to Antioch, I opposed him to his face because he clearly was wrong. For, until some people came from James, he used to eat with the Gentiles; but when they came, he began to draw back and separated himself, because he was afraid of the circumcised. And the rest of the Jews [also] acted hypocritically along with him, with the result that even Barnabas was carried away by their hypocrisy. But when I saw that they were not on the right road in line with the truth of the Gospel, I said to Cephas in front of all, ‘If you, though a Jew, are living like a Gentile and not like a Jew, how can you compel the Gentiles to live like Jews?’” (Gal. 2:11-14). Of course, it is possible that Peter’s deference to those who came from James might have arisen from the same sense of prudence that Paul counsels in the situation of those who are scandalized by the eating of meat sacrificed in pagan temples. “But not all have this knowledge. There are some who have been so used to idolatry up until now that, when they eat meat sacrificed to idols, their conscience, which is weak, is defiled. Now food will not bring us closer to God. We are no worse off if we do not eat, nor are we better off if we do. But make sure that this liberty of yours in no way becomes a stumbling block to the weak. If someone sees you, with your knowledge, reclining at

The problem goes deeper, however, since there appears to be a dilemma between the hierarchical Church, built on Mt. 16 and elsewhere, and Jesus' statements in Mt. 23, where God alone is master, teacher and father, making the Church a fellowship of brothers and disciples³⁶⁹. The solution, however, according to Schwager, is found in the emphasis on service in Mt. 23: the greater is the one who serves. Christ's service, which comes at the price of his self-emptying, becomes the model for Christian, especially papal, leadership; the one who leads is always, first, a brother among the brothers. Peter and his successors ought to lead as Jesus did: through the greater love that seeks out the wounded and angry brothers. This greater love restores the fellowship of the Church.

2.6.2 Schwager's Second Article – „Unterwegs zu einer toleranten Kirche“

Schwager's contribution to *Experiment*, "Unterwegs zu einer toleranten Kirche"³⁷⁰ (Underway to a Tolerant Church), furthers this argument, echoing von Balthasar's famous 1963 apologetic work *Glaubhaft ist nur Liebe* (Only Love is Credible, but later pushed in English as *Love Alone*). The theme of scapegoating is clear from the start of the piece, when Schwager comments on the sociological mechanism that leads to violence against individuals or a minority. He identifies this mechanism with the tendency of groups to formulate norms under which human beings must be judged. These norms – whether law, dogma, or any other truth claims – tempt groups to condemn their enemies to death. (He opens *Jesus-Nachfolge* posing this very problem.) Jesus revealed this process (1) when he commanded his followers not to judge; (2) when

table in the temple of an idol, may not his conscience too, weak as it is, be 'built up' to eat the meat sacrificed to idols? Thus through your knowledge, the weak person is brought to destruction, the brother for whom Christ died. When you sin in this way against your brothers and wound their consciences, weak as they are, you are sinning against Christ. Therefore, if food causes my brother to sin, I will never eat meat again, so that I may not cause my brother to sin" (1 Cor. 8:7-13).

³⁶⁹ This passage served as a proof text against *Pastor aeternus* for the *christkatholische Kirche*.

³⁷⁰ R. Schwager, "Unterwegs zu einer toleranten Kirche", in *Experimental*, no. 4, April 1969, pp. 2-6.

he admonished his followers to embrace the spirit to avoid the danger of the letter (cf., 2 Cor. 3:6); and (3) when he allowed himself to come under human judgment through his passion and death to demonstrate its lethal fallibility.

In contrast to offering a new law or new doctrines, Jesus presented faith as a life-long journey in which one must walk to grow and mature (hence, the title of his second book, *Jesus-Nachfolge*, Jesus-following). Understanding, therefore, comes from wisdom gained along this path of faith, which is the fruit of this walking (praxis/action) rather than a prerequisite (theory) to set on out on the journey in the first place. The example of the long story of faith from Abraham to Jesus, the example of the life cycles in the natural world and the Parable of the Wheat and the Tares all show that faith takes much time to ripen and bear fruit.

Faith, Schwager contends, emerges during the personal history of a disciple. Consequently, Christians must acknowledge that each disciple requires time to mature. Judgments and condemnations according to one's own point of view should be postponed because there is need for discernment between that which is mature and that which is still growing. In this regard, the activity of the Holy Spirit manifests itself in plurality, rather than uniformity, as is evident, for example, in the diverse books of the Bible, which bring together wildly divergent styles and contents that bear witness to God's activity in the world.

Pluralism accordingly is not an intrusion of secular ideology into the Church, but constitutive of the way God acts historically in the world. At the same time, pluralism dissolves into chaos unless proper boundaries are set. Criteria, namely, the fruits of the Holy Spirit, determine the boundaries between pluralism and chaos. Given the wide domain in which legitimate pluralism governs, conflict should be accepted as a common feature of ecclesial life. Further, conflict must not only be endured and

forborne; it should also be allowed to run its course to arrive at the opportune moment to reach judgments. When this counsel is followed, then Christians will avoid using power and the sociological mechanism of demonizing one's enemies to resolve conflict.

Schwager cites Jesus' own example in the Sermon on the Mount as the foundation for this position. In Schwager's reading of the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus offers admittance to the Kingdom of God based on the Beatitudes, rather than any specific doctrine. In the recent times, on account of the conflict between the Church and society, this foundation has become obscured because dogmatic formulations and doctrines have eclipsed the importance of the Beatitudes as conditions for entrance in the kingdom. If this imbalance persists, Schwager observes, then one may be liable to follow the examples of the Pharisees rather than Christ because one makes his own views law rather than taking Christ's example as normative. For Schwager, therefore – like von Balthasar – the priority of love should motivate church authorities to seek the angry and hurt brothers and sisters in Christ in imitation of Jesus the healer and peacemaker, and further provide the proper framework in which each Christian can mature in this following of Jesus and, because the ultimate meaning of anyone's life is revealed eschatologically, to do so without rushing to judgments or conclusions.

3. CULTURAL-POLITICAL APOSTOLATE (1970-1978)

Despite his academic success, Schwager was not destined for a career in academia³⁷¹. Given the legal restrictions on Jesuit activities³⁷², Schwager was transferred in 1970 to Zürich to the *Institut für weltanschauliche Fragen* (Institute for

³⁷¹ “Seine akademische Ausbildung war keineswegs auf die akademische Karriere »fixiert«, Niewiadomski and Palaver, *Vom Fluch und Segen der Sündenböcke*, pp. 11-12.

³⁷² In 1970, the discriminatory articles, 51 and 52, of the Federal Constitution (1874) remained, at least on paper, in force, prohibiting Jesuits from holding positions at the university or erecting institutes of higher education or serving as pastors.

Worldview Questions, but formerly, the *Apologetischen Institut* until 1968) as a journalist covering fundamental theology, then editorial secretary, and finally editor of *Orientierung* before he departed for Innsbruck. As in Fribourg, Schwager encountered postconciliar tensions, which in this case emerged between the community itself, whose progressive views were often at odds with other Jesuits, and much of the rest of the province³⁷³. Schwager wrote fifty articles and book reviews from 1969-1982³⁷⁴. From Zürich he undertook parish supply, participated in both the campaign for the constitutional referendum to abrogate the anti-Jesuit and anti-religious articles of the Swiss constitution (1973) and the Swiss Synod (1972-1975), and he discovered *La violence et le sacré* and began his lifelong friendship with René Girard. Behind the scenes, however, an unforeseen opportunity arose for Schwager, namely his eventual appointment to Innsbruck, whose course started already in 1974.

3.1 Zürich – *Orientierung*

Born out of the efflorescence of the post-*Kulturkampf* subculture (*Milieukatholizismus*), the *Apologetischen Institut des Schweizerischen Katholischen Volksverein* (Apologetic Institute of the Swiss Catholic People's Union) was entrusted to the Jesuits in 1932 because such activities lay outside of the explicit prohibitions of article 51 of the Constitution of 1874. Through its publication *Apologetische Blätter* (Apologetic Pages), it presented the Social Doctrine of the Church to the Swiss public³⁷⁵. In 1947, the institute and publication were rebranded as the *Institut für weltanschauliche Fragen* (Institute for Worldview Questions), and its publication became *Orientierung*

³⁷³ Schatz, *Geschichte der Schweizer Jesuiten* (1947-1983), pp. 101-102.

³⁷⁴ According to the *Orientierung*'s authors' index, Schwager wrote fifty articles and book reviews from 1969 to 1982, thereby making him one of its most frequent contributors in its fifty-two-year history. He wrote many of these texts from May 30, 1970 – January 1, 1978. His submissions dwindled after his appointment to Innsbruck in 1978 until his association with this journal ended in 1982.

³⁷⁵ Begun on September 1, 1937, this press service for Catholic newspapers addressed the pressing political and religious questions of the day (National Socialism, Communism, Atheism, etc.).

(Orientation), a semi-monthly, to downplay their confessional and adversarial origins³⁷⁶. This innovative approach, however, brought the editors and the Jesuit leadership in Rome to loggerheads on several occasions over the following decades³⁷⁷.

3.2 The Constitutional Referendum (May 20, 1973)

For a century, the Federal Constitution contained anti-Jesuit and anti-religious articles. Following the Second World War, pressure mounted to alter the constitution to reflect new circumstances³⁷⁸. Although, the political debate started in earnest in late 1971, the wider societal discussion was already long underway. The referendum came close on the heels of the referendum to give women the right to vote and hold office in 1971. (It will be recalled that nineteenth-century Liberals feared the influence of Jesuits over women.) The referendum took place at the most auspicious moment – neither too early nor too late – after perceptions about the Jesuits and Catholics changed after Vatican Two, but before the emergence of a younger generation for whom the matter was increasingly irrelevant, and before the divisions among Swiss Catholics intensified in the 1980s³⁷⁹.

³⁷⁶ In the first issue, the editors explained the new mission in terms of three aspects of finding direction (orientation) in the emerging conditions of the postwar world: (1) the diffusion of information and news about the global Church and the exchange between faith and world affairs; (2) the articulation of the Catholic vision to contribute to broader discussion on matters the commonly confront the human race; and (3) the directing of the aforementioned concerns to the message and person of Jesus, who is the way, the truth and the life, “Warum Orientierung?”. *Orientierung* gained influence as a key Catholic periodical, whose high point, in terms of readership, coincided with Vatican Two under the leadership of Mario von Galli, SJ, and Ludwig Kaufmann, SJ. With declining subscriptions, the review ceased publication in 2009.

³⁷⁷ Culminating in a rebuke from Arrupe on July 1, 1968 (three weeks prior to the July 25, 1968, publication of *Humanae Vitae*), in which the Jesuit General counseled prudence and good faith to strive to understand papal teachings and actions – in a manner, it should be noted, very similar to Schwager’s concern (but from the other direction) that one should not rush to judgment but allow matters to ripen. Tensions remained high between the editorial staff and the Jesuit General into the mid-1970s. Schatz, *Geschichte der Schweizer Jesuiten* (1947-1983), p. 254.

³⁷⁸ Fears of Catholic political power waned, Switzerland signed the European Human Rights’ Convention and enfranchised women (on the cantonal level in 1959) and Vatican Two signaled new possibilities between Catholics and non-Catholics.

³⁷⁹ Schatz, *Geschichte der Schweizer Jesuiten* (1947-1983), p. 57.

Schwager contributed a chapter on St. Ignatius and the Jesuits to the 1970 publication³⁸⁰. He also reacted to the campaign and the outcome in favor of abrogation in a letter to Xavier Vehyakam, SJ, a classmate from Fourvière³⁸¹. It amazed Schwager that such an obvious case of injustice should not be easily rectified. But in the months preceding the referendum, all the old legends and accusations against the Jesuits returned. Sadly, he observes in the letter, only a few Protestants refuted these prejudices, and Catholics naturally reacted defensively.

3.3 The Swiss Synod (1972-1975)

The Swiss Bishops decided to hold diocesan and interdiocesan synods on the tenth anniversary of the opening of Vatican Two. They hoped to revitalize practice of the faith through a wide-ranging consultative process that invited the participation of all the faithful – lay, religious and clerical. Even though Vatican Two did not specifically address diocesan synods, the Roman congregations did cooperate and grant the necessary canonical permissions – under the 1917 Code of Canon Law – to make such gatherings with lay participation and voting possible³⁸². With Rome’s legal recognition, the Swiss Bishops elaborated a multilayered synodal structure that sought to involve Catholics from all levels of society and from different regions and groups. Not always successful, the synodal bodies nevertheless generated discussions on a host of issues confronting the lives of Swiss Catholics. The bishops excluded no subjects from discussion. After three years, the synod issued seventy-five resolutions, many of which did not win approval in

³⁸⁰ R. Schwager, *Dokumentation zu den Konfessionellen Ausnahmeartikeln, Art. 51 und 52 der Schweizerischen Bundesverfassung*, (subsequently abbreviated and published in 1973 in *Jahrbuch der Christ-katholischen Kirchen der Schweiz*), RSA-VII.

³⁸¹ R. Schwager, Letter to Xaiver Vehyakam SJ (June 6, 1973), RSA-II.1 Korrespondenzen 1976-1978 (1973).

³⁸² P.V. Aimone, “The Participation of Laypeople to the Diocesan Synods Immediately Following after Vatican Two (1966-1983), Particularly in the Swiss Local Church” in A. Melloni & S. Scatena (eds.), *Synod and Synodality: Theology, History, Canon Law and Ecumenism in New Contact: International Colloquium Bruges 2003*, Münster, Lit Verlag, 2005, pp. 677-678.

Rome. Nevertheless, the process, though not perfect, was judged positively by contemporary observers, Schwager among them.

Schwager took a great interest in the synodal process as it offered an opportunity to assess his convictions about pluralism. He inspired and with three others co-founded *Drehscheibe*, a newsletter, in June 1970³⁸³, for which he served as editor of the first nine issues. Through it, they aimed to convince as many people as possible that their participation in the synodal process was indeed valuable and worthwhile³⁸⁴. In 1971, he co-authored an open letter to the leaders of the synod to strengthen its ecumenical character³⁸⁵. In that same year, on August 21, 1971, he held a lecture on the aim, goal, and task of the synod³⁸⁶. Schwager reported on the process from 1970-1975 in *Orientierung*. At Innsbruck in 1973, Schwager presented a paper, “Die Erfahrung der Synode 72 und die künftige Entwicklung kirchlicher Strukturen” (The Experience of the Synod ’72 and the Future Development of Ecclesial Structures), in which he made three general observations³⁸⁷. In his last piece on the synod experience from 1975³⁸⁸, he gives the impression that the process was successful, even if it did not realize its ultimate ends because of the relationship between the local, Swiss Church and the universal Church.

³⁸³ A. Bondolfi, Letter to Raymund Schwager (7 May 1970), *RSA-II.2 Korrespondenzen*.

³⁸⁴ R. Schwager, “Drehscheibe”, in *Orientierung*, vol. 34, no. 12, 30 June 1970, pp. 129-131.

³⁸⁵ R. Schwager, Offener Brief an die Verantwortlichen der Synode ’72 (6 January 1971), *RSA-VIII-2a*.

³⁸⁶ He cites three areas for attention: canon law, the new social context of faith and the production of documents. With respect to the first, he calls for revisions in canon law that recognize the new cooperation between the bishops and the laity. Second, he observes that the new social context means that the Church can no longer rely on infant baptism and sense of belonging to sustain membership; personal choice and a stronger emphasis on assistance to others need to supplement the sacramental foundation (themes he develops in his major early writings). With respect to the third area, documents, he recommends teamwork, which he experienced at Fourvière. R. Schwager, “Zweck, Ziel und Aufgabe der Synode 72”, 21 August 1971, *RSA-VIII 2a*.

³⁸⁷ First, the synod was not strong enough to be an institutional partner with the episcopal conference. Second, this condition results from the fact that the synod aspired to a stronger position, not merely an advisory role, but to a genuine synod. Third, the synod’s composition of three groups – bishops, synodal representatives and experts – militated against this aspiration. Schwager, therefore, contended that it is necessary to create a genuine corporate identity and consciousness for the synod, which, in his view, should play a role in the nomination of Bishops. R. Schwager, “Die Erfahrung der Synode 72 und die künftige Entwicklung kirchlicher Strukturen”, *RSA-VIII*.

³⁸⁸ R. Schwager, “Die schweizerische Erfahrung mit der Synode 72” in M. Moosbrugger (ed.), *Kirchliche, politische und theologische Zeitgenossenschaft - Raymund Schwager Gesammelte Schriften 8*, Freiburg, Herder, 2017pp. 115-120.

The synod had strengthened ties between the Swiss episcopate and the faithful. In his view, the synod must not be misunderstood to be an ecclesiastical parliament. Divisions in the synod did not fall between camps, but between differences over individual questions. Since the synod did arrive at resolutions, its success lay in creating a place of confrontation in which divergent experiences and insights could be exchanged in the spirit of a common dedication to the truth, the result of which were the resolutions³⁸⁹.

As will be seen in greater detail in Chapter Four, Schwager's engagement with the synodal experiment likely contributed to his understanding of drama. Reconciliation must be seen as a common task in which all the parties struggle together to discover and recognize the truth, not their own truths. To arrive at the truth, all must undergo a process of clarification by arguing, listen and revising, so that together they can commonly discover the truth.

3.4 Encountering Girard

Published at the end of 1972, *La violence et le sacré* represented a major expansion of Girard's thought³⁹⁰. Given Schwager's education, reading French posed no difficulties, having discovered a book review in the November 1973 issue of *Esprit*³⁹¹. Three months later Schwager reviewed *La violence et le sacré* in *Orientierung*³⁹². In the next issue, Schwager provided an abbreviated translation of the momentous article from

³⁸⁹ R. Schwager, "Schweizer Synoden zwischen Programm und Erfahrung", *Orientierung*, vol. 37, no. 22, 30 November 1973, p. 256.

³⁹⁰ Having proposed the mimetic or imitative nature of desire in his earlier work, *Mensonge romantique et vérité romanesque* (literally, 'the romantic lie and the novelistic truth' but published later in English as *Deceit, Desire and the Novel*), Girard next developed this insight into a general anthropological theory regarding the origins of human culture. The power of Girard's argument in *La violence et le sacré* came from the elegance of his proposal, its wide explanatory capacity, and its diverse body of evidence.

³⁹¹ R. Girard, *Violence, the Sacred and Things Hidden – A Discussion with René Girard at Esprit* (1973), trans. A. McKenna, East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2022.

³⁹² R. Schwager, "Gewalt und Opfer", *Orientierung*, vol. 38, no. 4, 28 February 1974, pp. 41-44.

*Esprit*³⁹³. Schwager also wrote his first brief letter to Girard, which planted the seed of their life-long friendship³⁹⁴. Girard was pleased that a theologian had not only taken interest in his theory, but also that Schwager was able to see how the theory would benefit from direct contact with the Bible, something that Girard intimates at the conclusion of *La violence et le sacré*³⁹⁵. Based on their correspondence³⁹⁶ as well as their recollections, both benefitted enormously from their exchange of ideas. Schwager started working on a book in which he would bring Girard's Mimetic Theory into contact with biblical scholarship because he believed that Girard's theory could launch a revolution in biblical exegesis³⁹⁷.

3.5 Innsbruck - the Long Road (1974-1977)

Despite Schwager's impressive output for his cultural-political apostolate in his first few years, there were, however, no plans for him to pursue an academic career until an opportunity arose unexpectedly in 1974 due to the rapidly changing situation at the faculty of theology at Innsbruck³⁹⁸. By Schwager's arrival in autumn 1977, the once

³⁹³ R. Girard, "Das Evangelium legt die Gewalt bloß", *Orientierung*, vol. 38, no. 5, 28 February 1974, pp. 53-56.

³⁹⁴ R. Girard and R. Schwager, *Correspondence 1974-1991*, S. Cowdell, et al. (eds), trans. C. Fleming and S. T. Hidden, New York, Bloomsbury, 2018, pp. 15-16.

³⁹⁵ R. Girard, *Violence and the Sacred*, trans. P. Gregory, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1977. p. 309.

³⁹⁶ Girard and Schwager, *Correspondence 1974-1991*.

³⁹⁷ R. Schwager, Letter to Oughourlian (11 September 1976), *RSA-II.1 Korrespondenzen 1976-1978* (1976).

³⁹⁸ The Jesuits arrived in 1562 in Innsbruck to conduct the work of the counter-reformation in the German-speaking world. Out of this initiative under the direction of Peter Canisius came first a *Gymnasium*, from which later emerged the University of Innsbruck in 1669. Although founded under the auspices of the Emperor Leopold I and thus a state foundation, the new university nevertheless maintained strong links to the Catholic Church as a rival to the Protestant universities in Germany. From its start, the Jesuits helped to staff the faculties of philosophy, theology, and canon law. The prominence of the Jesuits both in number and influence endured for centuries, flourishing, and suffering often in tandem with the institution, such as the suppression of the Jesuits in 1773, and the suppression of the university in 1782; after the defeat of Napoleon, Pope Pius VII reestablished the Jesuits in 1814, and Emperor Franz I reopened the university in 1826. In 1857, the Jesuits were again appointed for the second time to lead the Catholic faculty. The Jesuit provincial received full authority to organize the faculty, and the Jesuits were obliged to provide eight professors. This extraordinary mandate came at time when the Jesuits were opening new foundations – including Stella Matutina in Feldkirch, where Schwager undertook his Regency – throughout the Habsburg lands. The faculty drew students from many countries. The 1933 concordat between the Republic of Austria and the Holy See (Article V, § 1,4) strongly reaffirmed and expanded the role of the Jesuits at

renowned faculty with its prominent Jesuit presence at Innsbruck faced fundamental questions about its future. This challenge emerged from fewer Jesuits and the loss of prestige for theology as a desirable course of study. This situation mirrored similar trends in university-level theology across Europe, where the number of students and the relative importance of such faculties, whether Catholic or Protestant, had been in decline since the Second World War³⁹⁹. The picture at Innsbruck, was, however, more nuanced because of its singular status as a leading faculty of Catholic theology⁴⁰⁰. Indeed, despite trends to the contrary, Innsbruck witnessed an increase in the teaching staff and enrollment in the closing decades of the Twentieth Century, in part because of the inclusion of religious education for schoolteachers under this faculty. Despite these positive developments, the Jesuits found it increasingly onerous to meet their teaching commitments stipulated by the concordat⁴⁰¹.

Innsbruck. On July 20, 1938, the National Socialist regime dismissed the fifteen Jesuit faculty members and closed the faculty. The Canisianum, the Jesuit run seminary, also met a similar fate. The Jesuits were dispersed again. Following the war, the faculty was officially reestablished for the third time in its history, on June 21, 1945. In the 1950s, the faculty flourished with a large, international enrollment numbering up to five hundred students. The faculty enjoyed a world-class reputation due to its famed theologians and the *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie*; founded in 1877, it is one of the oldest scholarly theological journals in the world. E. Coreth, *Das Jesuitenkolleg Innsbruck - Grundzüge seiner Geschichte*, Wien, Herder, 1991, pp. 140-213.

³⁹⁹ U. Teichler, "Graduation and Careers" in W. Rüegg (ed.), *A History of the University in Europe volume 4 - Universities since 1945*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011, p. 352.

⁴⁰⁰ It was endowed with generous resources and facilities, bearing a long tradition of academic theology, and claiming preeminent theologians, who contributed to the intellectual milieu of Vatican Two, Hugo Rahner, Karl Rahner and Josef Andreas Jungmann. Coreth, *Das Jesuitenkolleg Innsbruck - Grundzüge seiner Geschichte*, p. 197.

⁴⁰¹ According to the 1933 Concordat (Art. V, §1,4) the faculty was obliged to...preserve the distinctive character in the matter of the composition of its teaching body (...*insbesondere bezüglich der Zusammensetzung ihres Lehrkörpers in ihrer Eigenart erhalten bleibt*). In 1977, on account of a lack of Jesuits candidates, the faculty appointed the first non-Jesuits to professorships. Ensuing negotiations among the Austrian government, the Jesuit provincial, the nuncio and the university resulted in a qualification to the Concordat, stating that the faculty must remain...under the leadership and the decisive influence of the Society of Jesus (*unter der Leitung und dem maßgeblichen Einfluß der Gesellschaft Jesu*). Coreth, *Das Jesuitenkolleg Innsbruck - Grundzüge seiner Geschichte*, p. 210. The broad interpretation of this statement in the coming decades eventually resulted in a non-Jesuit dean of the faculty, Schwager's student, friend and collaborator, J. Niewiadomski.

A letter from Hans Rotter, SJ, informed Schwager of the faculty's deteriorating situation because of Karl Rahner's departure for Germany and the Schupp affair⁴⁰². Rotter expressed his hope that Schwager might be able to assist more regularly at the faculty. A letter dated June 28, 1974, from Walter Kern, SJ, whom Schwager had first met in Pullach, invited Schwager to hold twelve hours of lectures on faith as an audition for future employment⁴⁰³. Kern was impressed with *Jesus-Nachfolge*, Schwager's second book. At that time, nothing was on offer, but he encouraged Schwager to at least make himself known at the university.

This situation changed because of two crises with Bishop Paul Rusch⁴⁰⁴. In 1973, the bishop demanded the removal of Sigmund Kripp, SJ, the director of the "MK youth center", due to his manner of implementation of Vatican Two in his youth ministry, leaving the Jesuit community divided, and the wider locality upset and increasingly estranged from the bishop. The next year, another scandal occurred with the sudden departure of Franz Schupp, SJ, from the university just before the fall term⁴⁰⁵. Due to Rahner's transfer and Schupp's departure, the faculty suddenly needed to fill two

⁴⁰² H. Rotter, Letter to Schwager (12 April 1974), RSA-I.1b (1974).

⁴⁰³ W. Kern, Letter to Schwager (28 June 1974), RSA-I.1b (1974).

⁴⁰⁴ Pope Pius XII has appointed him Apostolic Administrator of Innsbruck-Feldkirch on October 15, 1938. As Apostolic Administrator, he was consecrated a Titular Bishop at the age of thirty-five, making the youngest Bishop in Europe at that time. Always paying close attention to youth work, he led the Church through the National Socialist period. After the war, he rebuilt and expanded the local church and its social ministries, especially for youth and families. For these efforts, he earned the title *Sozialbischof*, "a socially engaged Bishop". He reached the pinnacle of his influence and authority in the early 1960s when, with the active support of the Jesuits, Rome erected the diocese of Innsbruck-Feldkirch in 1961. A few years later, however, the winds turned. His direct and authoritarian leadership had fallen out of style. After 1968, Rusch was depicted more and more in the mass media as a reactionary and traditionalist, out of touch with the aspirations of youth and society in general, and the face of the enemy to progressives, academics, and his once-beloved youth movement. He retired in 1980. In this light can one better understand the effects of the two scandals that embroiled the Innsbruck Jesuits in difficulties, both opening the way to Schwager's eventual appointment and casting light on the trials that he faced with obtaining his permission from the Bishop.

⁴⁰⁵ Appointed ordinary professor for dogmatic theology in 1971, this talented, brilliant young theologian wished to adopt a strictly natural scientific method to his presentation of theology, a position that he failed to justify to the authorities in Rome, which led to an investigation in 1973. The two theological experts rendered their negative judgment on his theological method in summer 1974. The process, however, never concluded. Schupp chose not to contest the matter. Instead, he abruptly surrendered his university professorship and requested laicization in September 1974.

positions, which according to university regulations (1857/1933) had to be filled by Jesuits; no candidates were immediately available. George Voss, SJ, who hitherto had taught at Heythrop in London, eventually filled one post; Schwager would fill the other. Writing on October 11, 1974, Kern told Schwager about the possibility of applying for the now vacant position⁴⁰⁶. The appointment of a theologian to a Catholic faculty at an Austrian state university involves overlapping authorities⁴⁰⁷.

The situation at the university grew tenser over the winter of 1974-1975. Students threatened a *Vorlesungsstreik* (class boycott) against the bishop, which was only averted at the last moment. In the new year, Schwager obtained his *Habilitation* (qualification for a professorship) on May 30, 1975⁴⁰⁸, partly based on the research demonstrated in *Jesus-Nachfolge*, and the *Lehrbefugnis* (permission to teach) from the faculty on June 5, 1975, and from the Austrian Federal Ministry of Science and Research on July 18, 1975⁴⁰⁹. With these qualifications, Schwager was appointed a *Dozent* (lecturer), but an obstacle remained: Bishop Rusch had not yet granted Schwager a *missio canonica* to teach at the faculty.

Kern reported to Schwager in a letter dated June 29, 1975, that the bishop raised concerns about statements in *Jesus-Nachfolge*⁴¹⁰. In July Kern wrote to Schwager about

⁴⁰⁶ W. Kern, Letter to Schwager (11 October 1974), RSA-I.1b (1974).

⁴⁰⁷ Namely, the university, the state and the local Bishop, whose respective rights are governed by civil, canon and concordat law. Schwager's appointment, like any other, required several steps: he had to obtain two qualifications that he lacked at that time: *Habilitation* and *Lehrbefugnis*. The *Habilitation* qualifies one to hold a teaching position at the university, and the *Lehrbefugnis* is an authorization from the Austrian state to teach at university. After the university and state have given their decision, the Bishop exercises his authority to grant a theologian his mandate to teach, i.e., *mandatum* or *missio canonica*. It should be remembered that Schwager's appointment occurred before the promulgation of the new Apostolic Constitution on Catholic Higher Education, *Sapientia Christiana* (1979), and the Code of Canon Law (1983).

⁴⁰⁸ Protokoll des Habilitationscolloquium mit Dr. Raymund Schwager am 30.5.75 (Entwurf), RSA-I.1a (1975).

⁴⁰⁹ Bescheid über die Verleihung der Lehrbefugnis - Universität Innsbruck, RSA-I.1a (1975).

⁴¹⁰ W. Kern, Letter to Schwager (June 29, 1975), RSA-I.1b (1975).

the Bishop's objections⁴¹¹. Although these challenges might have seemed unfair to Schwager, Kern observed that the Bishop, who shared responsibility for the orthodoxy of the faculty, had become cautious because of the recent problems with Kripp and Schupp. Kern informed Schwager that it would take time, but the reservations could be resolved with clarifications and patience. As the record of correspondence indicates, the process ran for two more years before Bishop Rusch granted Schwager the *missio canonica* on September 30, 1976⁴¹², but postponed his appointment until the September 27, 1977⁴¹³. This long road to Innsbruck put Schwager through a practical application of his writings on drama in the perspective of conflict in the Church. For more than three years, Schwager was required to wait patiently to clarify his views and to forbear with the bishop. In the end, Kern, Kehl, Schwager and Bishop Rusch arrived at an outcome which they all could accept.

⁴¹¹ Bishop Rusch raised questions about statements in *Jesus-Nachfolge*, including: (1) Schwager's underappreciation of the Vatican I and the definition of Chalcedon, (2) his treatment of the definition of faith, namely, Trent versus Luther's fiduciary faith, (3) Jesus and *visio beatifica*, (4) the rationality of the resurrection, and (5) the Eucharist as symbolic action. He also expressed reservations about Schwager's pacifism in three recent articles, "Jesus angesichts der Gewalt", "Gerechter Krieg?" and "Alternative zur Rüstungsspirale" in *Orientierung* and his activity on behalf of the Swiss Synod, namely, the *Drehscheibe*, W. Kern, Letter to Schwager (July 29, 1975), RSA-I.1b (1975).

⁴¹² Schwager prepared clarifications for Bishop Rusch, which was received on December 6, 1975. Bishop Rusch answered with a critical and only somewhat satisfied reply to Schwager in a letter dated January 12, 1976. He continued to withhold his permission for Schwager to take his position at the university. Schwager replied to the Bishop's concerns in a letter dated April 24, 1976. Meanwhile, Schwager applied for the open position for the ordinary professor of dogmatic theology, and Nikolaus Kehl, SJ, informed Schwager about developments in the selection process. After a meeting with Bishop Rusch, Kern reported to Schwager that the Bishop still had concerns because he contended that theologians must teach in a way that is positive and clear. He worried about Schwager's presentation of the limits of knowledge of Jesus; the position of Jesus with respect to graced humanity; and finally, his critical language vis-à-vis the Church. Schwager's clarification came in a letter dated September 25, 1976, in which he sought to clarify the three points to which Bishop Rusch had objected. All correspondence is in the archive in Innsbruck, RSA-I.1b (1975 & 1976).

⁴¹³ In a letter dated January 24, 1977, to Kern, Schwager expressed his frustration with the most recent delay. He wondered what would happen next in the autumn. Was there a way to address this matter legally? His superior was annoyed about the whole thing. What could be done? Schwager also wrote directly to Bishop Rusch to remind him that his appointment as ordinary professor of dogmatic theology ought to start on March 1, 1977. In his reply to Schwager of January 31, 1977, Bishop Rusch contended that it was prudent for him to remain a *Dozent* for a period before he became an ordinary university-professor. All correspondence is in the archive in Innsbruck, RSA-I.1b (1977).

4. CONCLUSION

This chapter has demonstrated that the perspectives from the periphery informed strongly Schwager's practice of theology in his pre-Innsbruck period, beginning with his recollections from the classroom. As a young Thurgauer, he learned to question the Swiss national myth of freedom, which became a characteristic skepticism before other myths, and more broadly, before any truth claims, because one might fail to consider the powerful and perilous influence of psychological mechanisms and sociological structures on human knowing. This chapter also revealed the importance of Stierli's two books as inspiration for Schwager's thought as well as the significance of his two earliest articles and his various pastoral engagements during his years in Zürich as valuable expressions of his theological vision and practice.

The experiences of a Jesuit from Thurgau – which went beyond his location, encompassing his Catholic confession, his vocation to the Jesuits and all that this choice entailed – conferred on him perspectives that made him attentive to the problem of human knowledge in terms of its susceptibility to non-rational coloration and its often not fully acknowledged provisional or tentative nature. Consequently, Schwager argued that a properly bounded pluralism should be acknowledged as a God given circumstances in which the community of believers accompanies each disciple on a lifelong journey to faith, which only achieves its consummation eschatologically. Faith, in this context, is the goal or end of following Jesus rather than its precondition or requirement. The analysis of his arguments in favor of these propositions follows in the next chapter as the dissertation shifts from biography to his early major writings as sources for his understanding of drama.

Chapter Three – Neglected Texts

This chapter surveys Schwager's early major texts: (1) his dissertation, *Das dramatische Kirchenverständnis bei Ignatius von Loyola* (1970); (2) *Jesus-Nachfolge: woraus lebt der Glaube* (1973); and (3) *Glaube, der die Welt verwandelt* (1976). Regarding the first two works, Moosbrugger qualifies them as "key works" to understanding Schwager's subsequent theological program:

Both of his first books reveal not only a lot about the person of Raymund Schwager, but also about the fundamental dynamics of his theology. They are in the truest sense of the term key works⁴¹⁴.

The third book, *Glaube, der die Welt verwandelt*, develops the insights of the first two books in a world-historical frame, thereby increasing the scope of Schwager's research as it marks his first limited engagement with the thought of René Girard. Yet none of these texts exist in English at this time. If they are key texts, they remain neglected. This seems particularly unfortunate because all three lay the foundation for Schwager's later program of Dramatic Theology. They contain his first impressions of drama as a theological concept, and his elaboration thereof in terms of *Jesus-Nachfolge* (Jesus-following) in his second and third books. It is important to keep in mind Schwager's particular sense of faith as following Jesus, the action that leads to faith, rather than a requirement of a set of beliefs to become his disciple. For this reason, it is necessary to consider the importance of "Jesus following" as a hermeneutical key to these three works.

⁴¹⁴ "Seine beiden ersten Bücher verraten nämlich nicht nur viel über die Person Raymund Schwager, sondern auch über die grundlegende Dynamik seiner Theologie. Sie sind im wahrsten Sinn des Wortes Schlüsselwerke", Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 13.

1. THE KEY TERM - *NACHFOLGE*

By choosing *Jesus-Nachfolge*, Schwager, deliberately or not, places his works in relationship to the enormously popular devotional work of Thomas à Kempis, a Windesheim Canon Regular of Saint Augustine, *De imitatione Christi*, which in German bears the title *Nachfolge-Christi*. The title may be inspired by the opening line of book one: “He who follows (*nachfolgt*) me cannot walk in darkness” (Jn. 8:12)⁴¹⁵, where the verb *nachfolgen* translates the Latin *sequor* (to follow, come after, attend, accompany) from the Greek word, ἀκολουθέω (*akolouthéo*, i.e., to be on the same way with, accompany, follow and from which the noun acolyte comes)⁴¹⁶.

Gregory of Nyssa bears witness to the important connection between imitation and following. Gregory summarized Christianity as “an imitation of the divine nature”⁴¹⁷. The Latin translation of the original text in Greek provides an important insight into the definition:⁴¹⁸ “[*quod*] *Christianismus sit imitatio divinae naturae*”, from “Χριστιανισμός [ἔστι] τῆς θείας φύσεως μίμησις “– *imitatio* translating μίμησις (mimesis), a term of fundamental importance to Girard. Furthermore, Gregory of Nyssa employs the term ἀκολουθία (*akolouthia*) in a variety of contexts – logical, cosmological, historical, and exegetical – that shape his overall theological program.

⁴¹⁵ “ὁ ἀκολουθῶν ἐμοὶ οὐ μὴ περιπατήσῃ ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ”, (Jn. 8:12). The context of this statement is fascinating. It is set in John’s Gospel at the Temple in Jerusalem at the end of the eight-day feast of Sukkot (the Feast of Tabernacles or Ingathering). Near the temple treasury (Jn. 8:20), on the very night when the four large candleholders at the women’s courtyard were extinguished, Jesus announces “I am the light of the world. Whoever follows me will not walk in darkness but will have the light of life”. The Feast of the Ingathering signifies the mission of the Catholic Church to bring all peoples into the light of life, Jesus Christ. Furthermore, this statement appears in the text immediately after one of the most important episodes in the Gospel from the perspective of Girard, namely, the story of the woman caught in adultery (Jn. 7:53-8:11). R. Girard, *I See Satan Fall Like Lightning*, trans. J. Williams, New York, Orbis, 2001 pp. 54-61.

⁴¹⁶ Thomas a Kempis, *The Imitation of Christ*, trans. R. Knox, San Francisco, Ignatius, 2005, p. 25.

⁴¹⁷ “Der Bischof von Nyssa kann das Wesen des Christentums sogar als Nachahmung definieren”, R. Schwager, *Der wunderbare Tausch*, München, Kösel, 1986, p. 85; “If one can give a definition of Christianity, we shall define it as follows: Christianity is an imitation of the divine nature”, Gregory of Nyssa, *Ascetical Works*, Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 2010, p. 85.

⁴¹⁸ J.P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca*, vol. 46, Paris, Imprimerie Catholique, 1858, p. 243.

We will have an idea if we notice that the word designates both the material sequence (ἀκολουθία ύλική) of the text of the Bible, the necessary connection of the realities of history of salvation and the analogical correspondence between these two plans. We therefore believe that we are in the presence of the word key to a theology concerned with marking the links in all areas of reality and which represents from this point of view of one of the most important efforts that have ever been facts of theological systematization⁴¹⁹.

In terms of reasoning, ἀκολουθία means logical sequence, order, necessary connection, coherence, and dependence on arguments, all of which is derived from the original sense of following⁴²⁰. This broader connection between imitation and following, mimesis and *akoloutheo/akolouthia* lends itself well to a theology which adopts drama as an organizing structure to describe the urgency and centrality of following Jesus – not only for the community of believers but indeed for the entire world.

The Windesheim canon's work appears in English simply as *The Imitation of Christ*. *Nachfolge* translates as following after, but it may also be rendered as succession, emulation, or discipleship (especially in a religious and Christian setting). In this dissertation and depending on the context, *Jesus-Nachfolge* is rendered either as following Jesus or Christian discipleship. Both translations, used interchangeably, mean the same thing in this present work. Schwager develops his sense of drama in terms of following Jesus in three successive steps in these three books: (1) in the life and writings of Ignatius of Loyola (his dissertation); (2) then, more broadly and following upon the first step, as an expression of the faith of individual believers and their community, the Church (*Jesus-Nachfolge*); and (3) then finally, globally through the influence of the following of Jesus on world history (*Glaube, der die Welt verwandelt*).

⁴¹⁹ J. Daniélou, « Akolouthia chez Grégoire de Nysse », *Revue des Sciences Religieuses*, vol. 27, no. 3, 1953, p. 249.

⁴²⁰ H. Drobner, "Fuentes y métodos filosóficos de Gregorio de Nisa", *Teología y vida*, vol. 43, 2002, p. 210.

2. DAS DRAMATISCHE KIRCHENVERSTÄNDNIS BEI IGNATIUS VON LOYOLA

Under the direction of Alois Müller, and his second reader, Josef Sudbrack, SJ, Schwager defended his dissertation, *Ignatius und seine Exerzitien im Wandel der Kirche* (Ignatius and His *Exercises* in the Transformation of the Church) on January 10, 1970, at the Catholic University of Fribourg/Freiburg with the distinction *magna cum laude*⁴²¹. Through a study of Ignatius' biography, the *Spiritual Exercises*, and other sources, Schwager articulated Ignatius' multifaceted understanding of the Church, designating it as dramatic. His longtime collaborator Józef Niewiadomski observed more than thirty years later that Schwager's dissertation contains many of the principal themes – namely, conflict and violence, peace and unity, and the relationship between the individual and the Church – that constituted his theological project⁴²². Publishing the dissertation in 1971, Schwager's new title more precisely defines his inquiry, significantly adding dramatic to the title: *Das dramatische Kirchenverständnis bei Ignatius von Loyola: Historisch-pastoraltheologische Studie über die Stellung der Kirche in den Exerzitien und im Leben des Ignatius* (Ignatius of Loyola's Dramatic Understanding of the Church: a Pastoral-Theological Study about the Position of the Church in the *Exercises* and Life of Ignatius).

For a Jesuit, the choice of Ignatius seems logical, even predictable, as the saint's example and *Exercises* are central to the Jesuit vocation. Yet, upon a closer inspection of Ignatius' biography, the choice is clearly not motivated solely by a desire to honor Jesuits' founder or the significant role he plays in their spiritual life. Schwager seeks

⁴²¹ Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, 25-26.

⁴²² "Liest man diese Dissertation nach mehr als dreißig Jahren, so wird man bereits dort jene Programmatik entdecken, der Schwager bis heute treu geblieben ist", J. Niewiadomski, „Ein Gastmahl“ in J. Niewiadomski and N. Wandinger (eds.), *Dramatische Theologie im Gespräch*, Thaur, Lit Druck- und Verlagshaus, 2003, p. 9.

to answer whether the *Spiritual Exercises* still have any relevance four hundred years later because Ignatius' view of obedience in the *Spiritual Exercises* appears outmoded. His approach is not strictly textual, but also historical and pastoral. Schwager not only treats Ignatius' texts but also his biography in order to open new possibilities for understanding the *Spiritual Exercises*.

Íñigo López de Loyola – he later adopted the Latin version, Ignatius, as a sign of his conversion – lived during the Spanish ascendancy. Born in 1491, one year before the successful conclusion of the centuries-long *Reconquista* and Christopher Columbus' momentous discovery of the New World, Ignatius, like many men of his social standing, was drawn to a military career. Contemporary popular romances, which successfully revived older stories of chivalry as the model for a noble life, enflamed Íñigo's desire in a manner akin to Francis of Assisi. As a young man, however, arrogance and pride rather than chivalry characterized his behavior as he was prone to violence and sensitive to slights to his honor. From 1509, he entered the service of Antonio Manrique de Lara, Duke of Nájera and Viceroy of Navarre, whose royal mandate from the King of Castile-Aragon was to pacify the newly absorbed southern portion of the Basque kingdom of Navarre (1512 onward).

Through loyal military service, Íñigo advanced in prestige and in importance to the duke until his career came to a precipitous and unexpected ending due to the wound that he sustained on May 20, 1521, during the siege of Pamplona. During his convalescence, Íñigo became more deeply acquainted with contemporary devotional literature, especially the widely read *De Vita Christi* by Ludolph of Saxony. Sudbrack (who is treating drama in a way like Schwager, drawing on the same French literary critics, Bataille and Barthes) viewed this Medieval devotional work from his post-historical-critical biblical context as a species of Dramatic Theology for Ignatius.

But the exegetical knowledge that the Gospels do not contain a historical account of a life, but a “dramatic” theology of Jesus must be made fruitful for the retreat meditation. The life of Jesus Christ of Ludolph of Saxony, with all the pious and moralizing accessories that seem superfluous to us, offered Ignatius a corresponding processing of the biblical material because of the exegesis of the time⁴²³.

Through the meeting of these texts with his mystical experiences, Ignatius changed the direction of his life (a *Katastrophe*, a reversal – as will be seen in Chapter Four – but in a positive direction, unlike most tragedies, also inspiring Schwager to offer his alternative ending for drama, as will be seen). Like his model, Francis of Assisi, Ignatius abandoned the way of the warrior-knight for the way of the warrior-athlete for Christ. After many steps, Ignatius eventually gathered disciples and founded the Society of Jesus.

2.1 Aim

Schwager seeks to determine whether the perspective and method of the *Spiritual Exercises* are still applicable to and valid for believers regarding the renewed understanding of the Church as the People of God, thereby responding to the criticism that the *Exercises* are too individualistic and insufficiently ecclesial and social: “the *Exercises* are not identical with the Holy Scripture. They are rather a particular point of view from which Scripture is viewed and a particular method by which they are appropriated”⁴²⁴. In his study, Schwager makes important discoveries about the way in which conflict between Ignatius and various Church leaders can be generalized from his

⁴²³ “Aber die exegetische Erkenntnis, daß die Evangelien kein historisches Leben, sondern eine »dramatische« Theologie Jesu enthalten, muß für die Exerzitenmeditation fruchtbar gemacht werden. Das Leben Jesu Christi des Ludolf von Sachsen mit all dem frommen und moralisierenden Beiwerk, das uns überflüssig zu sein scheint, bot Ignatius eine entsprechende Aufarbeitung des biblischen Stoffes auf dem Boden der damaligen Exegese”. J. Sudbrack, “Die »Anwendung der Sinne« als Angelpunkt der Exerziten“ in M. Sievernich and G. Switek, *Ignatianisch - Eigenart und Methode der Gesellschaft Jesu*, Wien, Herder, 1990, p. 118.

⁴²⁴ “Die Exerziten sind ja in Wirklichkeit nicht einfach die Heilige Schrift. Sie sind vielmehr ein bestimmter Gesichtspunkt, unter dem die Schrift gesehen, und eine bestimmte Methode, durch die sie angeeignet werden soll”, Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 42.

specific case to inner-ecclesial conflict in general, all of which will inform his understanding of drama.

2.2 Structure

Chapter One interprets the mystical way of Ignatius from subjective religious experience in Loyola (periphery) to the verge of ecclesiastical recognition of the *Spiritual Exercises* in Rome (center). Chapter Two analyzes the swift rise of the *Spiritual Exercises* as an approved method of piety, thereby gaining a widespread influence over the life of the Church for centuries. Chapter Three argues that the *Spiritual Exercises* in its traditional form does not meet current theological expectations. But, in Chapter Four, Schwager proposes that Ignatius' original experience of the Church – as formulated in the Thirteenth Rule for *sentire cum ecclesia* and interpreted through his actual exercise of the Thirteenth Rule – suggests the ongoing relevance of Ignatius' aim in the *Spiritual Exercises*. Chapter Five argues that Ignatius refers the Thirteenth Rule – summarized as “the same Spirit acts in the Church and in the individual believer” – to his objective criterion of the greater fruit and to the Church, and not to the subjective discernment of spirits as elaborated in the *Spiritual Exercises*. Finally, Chapter Six argues for the relevance of Ignatius' experience of the Church as a model for the dramatic interaction between individual believers and the Church.

2.3 Content

As the aim summarized the introduction to the dissertation, this section gives an overview of the contents of its six chapters as they bear on the question of Schwager's views on conflict.

2.3.1 Íñigo becomes Ignatius – transformations on the way from Manresa to Rome.

In Chapter One, Schwager recounts the biography of Ignatius, not only from autobiographical and contemporary sources, but also from the later accounts of the saint's life in the Twentieth Century. Starting with Ignatius' interior experiences of the tensions between restlessness and relaxation that led him to Christ, Schwager seeks to discover Ignatius' understanding of the Church's place in this process. After his conversion at Loyola, Ignatius' path takes on a visible and bodily character of seeking Christ. The leaders of the visible Church helped to balance his invisible spiritual experience, which had a strongly affective dimension.

2.3.1.1 Manresa

At Manresa, Ignatius took the first steps in the method of discerning spirits, distancing himself from his strong emotions to analyze them in terms of the polarity of consolations and desolations.

Neither spontaneous affectivity nor the distance and harshness towards oneself were characteristic of his form, but the polarity of both properties. It was only on this basis that his specific art of discerning spirits could grow, and not just any kind of discerning of spirits – this is as old as Christianity itself – but that which is primarily based on subjective impulses. His spontaneous affectivity meant that his soul was always filled with emotion. The distance to himself allows him to see the network of moods. Thus, the discernment of spirits because of consolation and desolation could become an important topic on his religious path⁴²⁵.

He weighed the interior promptings to go to Jerusalem. Based on his inner illumination at the Cardoner River near Manresa, Ignatius resolved to move permanently to Jerusalem rather than make a pilgrimage. At the same time, he also underwent his apostolic turn:

⁴²⁵ “Weder die spontane Affektivität noch die Distanz und Härte gegen sich selbst war jedoch Charakteristische seiner Gestalt, sondern die Polarität beider Eigenschaften. Nur auf ihr konnte seine spezifische Kunst der Geisterunterscheidung waschen, und zwar nicht irgendeiner Geisterunterscheidung – dies ist ja so alt wie das Christentum selbst –, sondern derjenigen, die sich vor allem auf die subjektiven Regungen abstützt. Seine spontane Affektivität bewirkte, daß seine Seele immer mit Regungen erfüllt war. Die Distanz zu sich selber erlaubt es ihm, das Geflecht der Stimmungen sichtlich zu überschauen. So konnte die Geisterunterscheidung aufgrund von Trost und Mißtrost zu einem wichtigen Thema seines religiösen Weges werden”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 54.

following Christ not only entailed asceticism, but also bringing forth much fruit to benefit as many others as possible. Ignatius' vocation subsequently drew energy from the tensions between the ascetical and apostolic poles. Both developments also strengthened the connection between his spiritual experience and the Church, especially as he increasingly took recourse to the Church, especially through a confessor, to discern God's will.

2.3.1.2 Jerusalem

In Jerusalem, the Franciscan Provincial forbade him to remain there. On the existential and geographical periphery of the Latin Christendom, Ignatius decided to obey him rather than his inner inspiration.

We can still ask ourselves why Ignatius bowed to the representative of the Church and why he did not remain true to his inner light. For a moment he stood both geographically and spiritually on the border of the Christian West. It would only have taken one small, but decisive, step and he would have stepped out of this room⁴²⁶.

That Ignatius did not abandon the Church despite his inner calling does not clarify whether this obedience resulted from his social conditioning or from his insight into the mystery of the Church⁴²⁷. Schwager's two subsequent works also ascribe immense importance to the necessity of the community for the individual, as well as the need for the individual not to take flight from the Church when the ambivalence of this community and its leaders becomes known. As he was living in the immediate postconciliar period, Schwager was aware of the attractiveness of flight from the Church. Ignatius' own experience, therefore, informs Schwager, who argues in his next two

⁴²⁶ "Wir können uns hier noch die Frage stellen, warum Ignatius sich dem Vertreter der Kirche gebeugt hat und wieso er nicht eher seinem inneren Lichte treu blieb. Einen Augenblick lang stand er ja sowohl geographisch wie geistig an der Grenze des christlichen Abendlandes. Es hätte nur noch eines kleinen, aber doch entscheidenden Schrittes bedarf, und er wäre aus diesem Raum hinausgetreten". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, 59.

⁴²⁷ "Beim konkreten Verhalten des Ignatius der Kirche oder Vertreter der Kirche gegenüber, kann man darum nur schwer unterscheiden, wie weit er aus tieferer Einsicht ins Geheimnis der Kirche oder aus Treue zur religiöse-sozialen Ordnung seiner Zeit gehandelt hat". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, 59.

books that the individual and the community of believers (the Church in its human members), which exist in a polarity, correct, heal, and perfect each other.

2.3.1.3 Barcelona and Alcalà

Returning to Spain – first to Barcelona, then Alcalà – Ignatius encountered the theological controversies of his day, regarding the nature and mission of the Church, and sought to help souls gain the right understanding. The inquisition discouraged Ignatius as an uneducated layman from carrying out this apostolic work. Thus, he moved to Salamanca where he reevaluated his initial convictions about penance, studies and Jerusalem, leading to a reconsideration of his method of discernment. Recognizing more clearly that sometimes matters cannot be discerned only based on interior experience and on direction from ecclesial authorities because the choices are often between goods, rather than between a good or bad option, he adopted a third criterion, the greater fruit: “a closer look at the various critical situations shows that he was almost always guided by the same criterion, namely the good or the greater fruit”⁴²⁸. Thanks to this new criterion’s focus on the goal or outcome, the greater fruit, the dilemma between interior impulse and exterior ecclesial guidance diminished in importance, a development to which Schwager returns in his treatment of ends, means and representation in the next chapter.

2.3.1.4 From Paris to Rome

In Paris, where humanists and scholastics contended, Ignatius attended colleges of both positions, gaining what he most desired – a degree that licensed him to preach –

⁴²⁸“Bei einem näheren Blick auf die verschiedenen, kritischen Situationen zeigt es sich, daß fast immer das gleiche Kriterium ihn führte, nämlich die gute oder die größere Frucht”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 64.

as well as a genuine appreciation for both approaches⁴²⁹. During his studies, he gathered a group of likeminded men, who sought ecclesiastical approbation for their mission. Anxious and uncertain of the outcome, they traveled to Rome. Ignatius came to see the Theatines as a model for his group and the papacy as key to his discernment of God's will, as the Pope alone could settle any jurisdictional obstacles to their apostolic work. His confidence reflected his understanding of the ecclesiology of the Council of Trent, which – leaving the deeper mystery of the invisible Church in the background – strongly accented the visible hierarchy, wherein all jurisdiction flowed from Christ to the Pope as the Vicar of Christ, and through him, to the episcopate⁴³⁰.

2.3.1.5 Making Sense of the Mystical

Ignatius had commenced on this path because of his mystical experiences. He took great care when he expressed the content of these experiences, never falling into doctrinal error. He was moreover critical of claims of mystical experiences because Ignatius and his companions knew that the same psychological or physiological reasons, which allowed them to make an almost certain judgment, may in fact be a delusion⁴³¹. He was also cautious and critical in assessing his own visions, making literal accounts of them in his diaries for subsequent interpretation before he would share them with others.

He could immediately characterize what he saw with what it meant. But he knew that in a report that was written for others he had to distinguish between what had been seen and his interpretation⁴³².

⁴²⁹ He praises both approaches in his Eleventh Rule for *sentire cum ecclesia*, “we ought to praise both positive and scholastic theology”.

⁴³⁰ “Praktisch alle damaligen Konzilsteilnehmer waren sich dagegen darin einig, daß sie die Kirche vor allem von der äußern und hierarchischen Seite her betrachteten...Die Kirche wurde als Heilsanstalt gesehen. Ihr inneres Geheimnis blieb im Hintergrund. In diesem theologischen Milieu hat Ignatius ganz gelebt und gedacht”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 77.

⁴³¹ “Ignatius und seine Gefährten kannten also – wenigstens unter anderem – psychologische oder physiologische Gründe, die ihnen ein fast sicheres Urteil erlaubten, daß eine Erleuchtung eine Täuschung sei”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 86.

⁴³² “Er konnte das, was er sah, unmittelbar mit dem bezeichnen, was er meinte. Er wußte aber, das er in einem Bericht, der für andere geschrieben wurde, zwischen dem Geschauten und seiner Interpretation unterscheiden mußte”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 90.

From the time of his first experiences at Manresa, Ignatius bore a strong inner tension between his good intentions and powerful passions, which initially he attempted to master through ascetical practices and force. These drives often took the shape of a snake, which in his view later represented the devil, but at least in the view of Carl Jung could symbolize the sexual libidinal sphere of human development⁴³³. His contemplation of the Cardoner River occasioned one of his most important inner illuminations, which conferred on him a new understanding of his life, not in terms of specific content or messages, but in terms of personal transformation. This crisis purged Íñigo, the proud *hidalgo* (from the sixteenth century Spanish usage, *hijo de algo*, “son of something”, namely, someone important), from certain powerful, self-centered tendencies (originating in himself and in his culture), thereby reconciling distinct stages of his personal development without necessarily obliterating his earlier identity in favor of his later one.

In some profound sense, the transvaluation of identity that transformed Íñigo into Ignatius was a process of evolution. Both because of the effects produced and because of the mechanisms of transvaluation, it does not seem accurate to envision this process as the elimination of an old identity and its replacement with a new one. The identity of Íñigo was not destroyed; it was transformed...In a sense, then, the transforming experience of Íñigo made him more fully, more authentically himself⁴³⁴.

The *Spiritual Exercises* were the fruit of these powerful mystical experiences propelled Ignatius on the long journey to discover the meaning and purpose of his life, which eventually brought forth the *Spiritual Exercises* and the Jesuits.

2.3.2 The Apparent Absence of the Church in the *Exercises*

While tracing the influence of Ignatius’ own spiritual way from Pamplona to Rome on the *Spiritual Exercises*, Schwager finds little direct evidence of the Church’s

⁴³³ “Er [C. Jung] glaubt es auch eindeutig als ein Symbol der vital-sexuellen Sphäre interpretieren zu können”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 91.

⁴³⁴ W. Meissner, *Ignatius of Loyola - The Psychology of a Saint*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1992, p. 85.

place in it. This reflects Ignatius' own highly individualistic path, for, "from the perspective of the *Exercises*, the enemy to be overcome is initially not the evil in the world, but the adversary within"⁴³⁵. This was at first a deeply personal and inward struggle.

However, Ignatius discovered his gift for sharing this path with others, which then brought him into conflict with church authorities because he was not a licensed theologian. He also found the discernment of spirits (measured by consolation and desolation), when used with other people, wanting. Ignatius, therefore, devised three moments of election (decision-making), each of which used a different criterion – grace, discernment of spirits, and lastly, reason illuminated by grace – to address the lack of clarity for making a choice according to God's will. In all three of these approaches, the discursive method plays a significant role, as it does as well in the *Spiritual Exercises*, often within the context of interaction with the Church. Hence, there is a rationalizing impulse that tends to reduce mystery to the manageable and measurable.

With respect to the nature of the Church, this particularly becomes known in the Roman solution for the first group of Jesuits, who, with Ignatius, understood the Church to refer to everything that pertains to the visibility of the Kingdom of God on earth, for example, the Scriptures, laws, edification, obedience, and reason⁴³⁶. In other words,

⁴³⁵ "Der Feind, den es zu überwinden gelte, sei in der Perspektive der Exerzitzen zunächst nicht das Böse in der Welt, sondern der Widersacher im eigenen Innern". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 107.

⁴³⁶ Schwager quotes Hugo Rahner's *Ignatius the Theologian*, trans. M. Barry, San Francisco, Ignatius, 1990, twice in footnote 47, Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 110.

"This opened the way for what Leturia called the Roman solution of the *casus perplexus*, which is utterly rooted in ecclesiology of Ignatius and his theology: in this event the little band of companions would place themselves at the disposal of the Vicar of Christ in Rome and allow him to resolve the doubt – a sort of third time of the election – with audible words of reason and a clear-cut decision based on the authority of Christ's own representative, which could be subjected to external verification". Rahner, *Ignatius the Theologian*, pp. 220-221.

"Nadal understood by Church everything to do with the visibility of God's Kingdom on earth, hence, scripture, law, edification, obedience and reason; and this must now be put into practice by making an election based on the contemplation of the life of a Christ and by applying the reason of the third time of the election as a check upon the mystical or psychological immediacy of the first and second time". Rahner, *Ignatius the Theologian*, p. 231.

Ignatius' definition of the Church is narrow when compared to Vatican Two, which refers the visibility of the Kingdom of God on the earth to concrete human beings – the People of God – rather than rules, texts, or reason, which, though important, are only secondary. The influential place for reason in the *Spiritual Exercises*, therefore, does not in itself concede a meaningful role for the Church in Schwager's assessment:

We asked the question how the *Exercises* relate to the new conception of the Church, according to which the visibility of the Kingdom of God does not consist primarily in letters and in the law, but in the concrete human being among God's people. From this point of view, the Church is primarily the community of persons, united by the unity of the three Divine Persons. Letters, law, and reason are therefore ecclesiastical only as far as they promote the communion of the People of God⁴³⁷.

Similarly, Ignatius' recommended method of prayer – following a method already present in the *Vita Christi* of Ludolph of Saxony – includes hardly any role for the Church either. It is for this reason that Ignatius wanted to anchor the *Spiritual Exercises* within the Church through its recognition by church authorities. Schwager contends that this drive for ecclesiastical approbation reflects Ignatius' historically conditioned understanding of the Church, which subsumes the entire Church under the hierarchy. The renewed understanding of the Church as community of believers, who receive charismatic gifts to fulfill the mandate of Christ, would also qualify the *Spiritual Exercises* as ecclesial. Concluding the chapter, Schwager wonders if Ignatius' original goal to unite believers to the Church still has value for a new generation.

⁴³⁷ “Wir haben ja die Frage gestellt, wie die Exerzitien sich zur neuen Auffassung von der Kirche verhalten, nach der die Sichtbarkeit des Gottesreiches nicht zunächst in Buchstaben und im Gesetz besteht, sondern im konkreten Menschen im Volk Gottes. In dieser Sicht ist die Kirche in erster Linie die Gemeinschaft der Menschen, die durch die Einheit der drei göttlichen Personen geeint wird. Buchstaben, Gesetz und Vernunft sind folglich nur insoweit kirchlich, als sie die Gemeinschaft des Gottesvolkes fördern”, Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 111.

2.3.3 Confusing the Means and the End of the Exercises

Schwager takes up objections and responses to the *Spiritual Exercises* as a way of inner freedom and liberation, especially in the light of psychological and sociological influences. Ignatius devised the *Spiritual Exercises* to induce a mystical experience, like his own, in the retreatant through a specific ascetical structure of life (prayers, penance, fasting, schedules). This mystical experience – not rational effort – spontaneously reorders the intellect, will and passions, conferring inner peace and liberation, as well as fostering personal authenticity and maturity. This transformative experience, however, did not always occur, not even in Ignatius' lifetime. This, in Schwager's assessment, led to a confusion of the ascetical and the mystical; the ascetical practices were practiced as if they were the ends of the *Spiritual Exercises*, even though they were only intended to be the means to creating the conditions of possibility for liberation through a mystical experience.

Turning to the question of the contemporary usefulness of the *Spiritual Exercises*, Schwager notes several new challenges: its historically conditioned features, the secularization on the conception of the interior life from a drama between Christ and the devil to the impersonal mechanics of psychology, and lastly, the pervasive hermeneutics of suspicion, which cast doubt on any reliable encounter with God. Citing Sudbrack, Schwager notes that contemporary thought and practice – as opposed to Ignatius' time – place greater emphasis on encountering God in relation to other human beings.

The encounter with one's neighbor is increasingly proving to be a new starting point for the authentic experience of the divine. But precisely this neighbor has no express place in Ignatian methodology⁴³⁸.

⁴³⁸ "Als neuen Ansatzpunkt für die echte Erfahrung des Göttlichen erweist sich nämlich immer mehr die Begegnung mit dem Nächsten. Gerade dieser Nächste hat aber keinen ausdrücklichen Platz in der ignatianischen Methodik", Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 168.

Given these and other challenges, Schwager concludes that the transformative experience, which the *Spiritual Exercises* ought to cause, seems today highly unlikely. Schwager proposes to recontextualize *Spiritual Exercises* in dramatic terms with new tools to gain access to Ignatius' original aim:

In addition to the elements of the Ignatian method, there would have to be added: a presentation of religious truths in a modern hermeneutic perspective, a criticism of subjective experiences through the knowledge of Depth Psychology, a mediation of personal experiences through the community, an integration of action not only in the form of personal prayer, but also in the form of a commitment to the neighbor, a redefinition of the goal insofar as disorder is to be overcome not only in the world of subjective affectivity, but also in the Church and social structures at the same time⁴³⁹.

2.3.4 “The same Spirit acts in the Church and in the individual”

Given this ambitious proposal, Schwager turns to assess which rules for *sentire cum ecclesia* are still viable in Chapter Four. Schwager formulates the criterion from the Thirteenth Rule, i.e., “the same Spirit acts in the Church and in the individual”⁴⁴⁰, as a point of departure. The First Rule (¶ 314) and the Thirteenth Rule (¶ 326) are similar, but with a crucial difference (the bold text highlights the difference):

The First Rule. With all judgment of our own put aside, we ought to keep our minds disposed and ready to be obedient in everything to the true spouse of Christ our Lord, which is our holy mother, the hierarchical Church⁴⁴¹.

The Thirteenth. To keep ourselves right in all things, we ought to hold fast to this principle: What seems to me white, I will believe to be black, if the hierarchical Church thus determines it. For we believe that between Christ our Lord, the bridegroom, and the Church, his spouse, **there is the same Spirit which governs and directs us for the salvation of our souls. For it is by the same Spirit and Lord of ours who gave the ten commandments that our holy mother the Church is directed and governed**⁴⁴².

⁴³⁹ “Zu den Elementen der ignatianischen Methode müßte wohl hinzukommen: eine Präsentation der religiösen Wahrheiten in einer heutigen hermeneutischen Perspektive, eine Kritik der subjektiven Erfahrungen durch die Erkenntnisse der Tiefenpsychologie, eine Vermittlung der persönlichen Erfahrungen durch die Gemeinschaft, eine Integrierung des Tuns nicht nur in der Form des persönlichen Gebetes, sondern auch in der Gestalt eines Einsatzes für den Nächsten, eine Neudefinierung des Zieles, insofern die Unordnung nicht bloß in der Welt der subjektiven Affekte, sondern *gleichzeitig* in den kirchlichen und sozialen Strukturen zu überwinden ist”, Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 176.

⁴⁴⁰ “4. Kapitel «Es ist der gleiche Geist, der in der Kirche und im Einzelnen wirkt»”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 127.

⁴⁴¹ Ignatius of Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius*, p. 121.

⁴⁴² Ignatius of Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius*, p. 125.

The Thirteenth Rule introduces the operation of the Holy Spirit in both Christ and the Church and, thereby, the source of unity in diversity between the Church and its members. Schwager's summary of the Thirteenth Rule as "the same Spirit acts in the Church and in the individual" maintains both the polarity of Church and individual on the one hand, and the reconciliation of these two poles through the action of the same Spirit on the other. Tensions, therefore, need not lead to division or separation, but can be held in a field of action that remains within the purview of the Spirit, whose goal is the salvation of souls. (It should be recalled that Stierli also had recourse to this Thirteenth Rule in considerations of the polarity between the individual and the Church in *Die Jesuiten*.)

Second, after formulating the maxim, Schwager contextualizes it in Ignatius' biography to discover the saint's sense of obedience. Through this comparison of the text of the Thirteenth Rule and Ignatius' decisions, Schwager finds important divergences in actual practice. Ignatius' strict notion of obedience – which he expected others to adopt – was not always borne out in his own actions vis-à-vis the Pope. For Ignatius, the apostolic mission was the highest and ultimate good; consequently, everything else could be relativized because even obedience was only a means to this end.

2.3.4.1 The Purification of Human Images of God

Having recognized the work of the same Spirit in the Church and in the individual, Ignatius was again faced with the problem of clarifying the Spirit's activity to distinguish between the genuine will of God and human projections, which Schwager treats in Chapter Five, "Die Erkenntnis der Wirksamkeit des göttlichen Geistes" (The Recognition of the Efficacy of the Holy Spirit). Ignatius returns to the goal of human

existence – as he formulated it in the Principle and Foundation⁴⁴³ of the *Spiritual Exercises* – and the various means by which to achieve this goal. The specification and execution of this goal frequently remains unclear. First, since discernment starts with the subjective experience of God, it often lacks the necessary clarity to make a good decision. For this reason, one ought to have recourse to the church authorities. If the course of action remains unclear because one must choose between more than one good end, then one should employ the criterion of the greater fruit. In sum, Ignatius' three criteria for discernment are: (1) clarity of the experience, (2) obedience to ecclesiastical authority and (3) the greater fruit.

Yet Schwager notes that even with these three criteria, the course of action may remain obscure. This is because our images of God – shaped as they always are by the fact that God is a transcendent mystery known only through analogy, mediated through human language and culture, and by limitations placed on human knowledge by affectivity – compete with the true God. Ignatius' attention to the role of emotions in shaping images of God is highly innovative. Ignatius wants to distinguish between consolations and desolations that rest on images of God generated by emotions from those which authentically rest on God. The practice of discernment of spirits constitutes, therefore, a process of purification that starts with one's spontaneous experience of God, self and other. From these experiences, one shapes images of God. These images must then come under the judgment of the examination of conscience to cleanse these images of human projections, ignorance, and error. The purification of the images of God also leads to a rectification of conduct. The life-long commitment to this process of the discernment of spirits, the purification of images of God and the rectification

⁴⁴³ “Human beings are created to praise, reverence, and serve God our Lord, and by means of doing this to save their souls”. Ignatius of Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius*, p. 32.

of conduct constitutes the human contribution to sanctification and lead to considerations about the necessity and urgency of the Church as the proper context in which these processes ought to occur.

2.3.4.2 The Greater Fruit and the Priority of Action

Schwager has already shown in the preceding chapters that Ignatius' relationship to the Church must not only be seen in the light of his texts but also in the light of his actual choices. Bringing these two sources together results in a transcending of the literal sense of the text of the *Spiritual Exercises*, which in current circumstances no longer seems relevant. Yet, Schwager claims, Ignatius' experience – especially his criterion of the greater fruit – still has something important to offer today, even if it must be understood differently. Schwager bases this claim on the priority of action over theory, by which he means that life processes (being and doing) precede thinking and reflecting about them (theory).

Ignatius had already indicated the priority of apostolic effectiveness over thinking: “it can therefore be said that not so much the truth but rather effectiveness stands in the foreground of his spiritual consciousness”⁴⁴⁴. He was also aware of the power of the emotions to color actions and thought. For this reason, Ignatius prescribed indifference as the proper way to engage the emotions to gain an adequate distance to counter their distortions of perception, which lead to poor choices. Schwager argues that indifference in the *Spiritual Exercises*⁴⁴⁵ should not be misunderstood to mean a “no” to

⁴⁴⁴“Es kann darum gesagt werden, da nicht sosehr die Wahrheit als vielmehr die Wirksamkeit ganz in Vordergrund seines geistlichen Bewußtseins sind”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 224.

⁴⁴⁵ “97 *The Third Point*. Those who desire to show greater devotion and to distinguish themselves in total service their Eternal King and Universal Lord, will not only offer their persons for the labor, but go further still. They will work against their human sensitivities and against their carnal and worldly love, and they will make offerings of great worth and moment, and say ‘Eternal Lord of all things, I make my offering with your favor and help. I make it in the presence of your Infinite Goodness, and of your glorious Mother, and of all the holy men and women in your heavenly court. I wish and desire, and it is my deliberate decision, to imitate you in bearing all injuries and affronts, and any poverty, actual as well as spiritual, if

life's spontaneity, but the courage that allows one to live with a distance from these spontaneous reactions, thereby gaining the freedom not be ruled or dominated by every whim of emotion. This vital distance vis-à-vis spontaneity provides a freedom from those forces that tend to dominate, especially during conflict.

This distance – gained through indifference in Ignatius' terms – is the harvest of the greater fruit. The distance provides freedom from the influences that shape and control perceptions and reactions. (Schwager develops this theme further in *Jesus-Nachfolge*.) The choice of fruit – a powerful biblical symbol drawn from nature – indicates a process of growth and ripening whose meaning can only be grasped from the perspective of the whole cycle, and not only from any stage. Schwager further adds that since life is growth, it never ends; therefore, it is always open to greater fruit beyond that which it has currently produced, a view already presented in Stierli's *Jesuiten* and Schwager's earliest published writing, "Unterwegs zu einer toleranten Kirche". Moosbrugger notes that "this image of plant growth expresses an important spiritual attitude of the early Schwager (spiritual patience, long-term existential commitment instead of immediate revolutionary rage)"⁴⁴⁶.

2.3.4.3 Contemplative in Action

Taking Ignatius' close collaborator and theologian Jérôme Nadal's contemplative in action as a description of the Ignatian spirituality, Schwager observes a certain paradoxical reciprocity between action and receptivity.

your Most Holy Majesty desires to choose and receive me into such a life and state". Ignatius of Loyola, *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius*, pp. 54-55.

⁴⁴⁶ "Diese Bild vom pflanzlichen Wachstum drückt eine wichtige geistliche Grundhaltung des frühen Schwagers aus (spirituelle Geduld, langfristiges existenzielles Engagement statt unmittelbarer Revolutionswut)". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 424.

Considered the priority of doing, the *contemplativus in actione* shows an extremely suspense-filled way of the middle. With respect to onward rushing action, distance must be preserved that allows a person to grasp and receive all the fruits, which his own actions aroused in him after the fact and left behind as a gift. In this sense, receiving is paying attention to the ‘echo effect’ of one’s own actions⁴⁴⁷.

Reception and action become fruitful because of an *äußerst spannungsgeladenen Weg der Mitte* (literally, “an extremely suspense-filled way of the middle”, but more clearly, “tension at the right distance”; the phrase also recalls Stierli’s critical distance) that does not yield to either extreme. This tension allows also one to recognize that the very action that has produced fruit is also a gift that one has already received.

Schwager states that Nadal’s phrase, moreover, successfully overcame the tendency coming from Greek philosophical thought that pictured contemplation as purely passive vis-à-vis God (who is pure act). Ignatius took a major step in dehellenizing Christianity, giving priority to grace and receptivity on the one hand, but nevertheless holding to human action and creativity on the other. The priority of contemplation in action underscores the role of the Holy Spirit as the inspiration for action, but in no way denies human efforts, as H. Rahner likewise observed: “this Spirit-Church dialectic in the theology of Ignatius leads directly to the indissoluble unity of tension between grace and free cooperation, between trust in God and personal endeavor”⁴⁴⁸.

2.3.4.4 Practice and Theory

The relationship between (1) the greater fruit (from action) and (2) the three criteria that evaluate the fruit (from theory) – the doctrine of God, divine revelation, and the purpose of human existence – establishes a reciprocal process of mutual purification

⁴⁴⁷ “Das >contemplativus in actione< zeigt bei allem Vorrang des Tuns einen äußerst spannungsgeladenen Weg der Mitte auf. Dem vorauseilenden Tun gegenüber muß jene Distanz bewahrt bleiben, die es dem Menschen erlaubt, alle Früchte, die sein eigenes Tun rückwirkend in ihm erweckt und als Gabe zurückläßt, zu beachten und empfangen aufzunehmen. Das Empfangen ist in diesem Sinne ein Achten auf die >Echowirkung< des eigenen Tuns”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, pp. 242-243.

⁴⁴⁸ Rahner, *Ignatius the Theologian*, p. 223.

between praxis and theory. Theory tests action to determine whether the fruit is genuine, and orthopraxy confirms orthodoxy (theory) because human action, so transformed and sanctified, offers the most immediate visibility of the divine life, which has been given to humanity.

One's own spiritual experience offers a norm of interpretation for the letter of the Scripture, while the letter of the Scripture must continuously purify one's own spiritual experience. Since the two lines of action never meet in a definable and definitive center, but always permeate the whole of life from two different sides, a space necessarily remains open for ever further development⁴⁴⁹.

Ignatius came to understand that the greater fruit was a dependable guide to discovering the divine will; thus, in this opened-ended discernment of reciprocity between letter and spirit, action and thought, the greater fruit play the decisive role.

Schwager observes that Ignatius was never able to find an adequate way to work out how divine and human logic fit together rationally; this lack of conceptual understanding, however, does not mean that there cannot be a way to put them together: "if there can be no reconciliation between divine and human logic on the level of the comprehending mind, it is still possible on the level of human action"⁴⁵⁰. Departing from 1 Corinthians 1:18-25, where Paul teaches that the Cross confounds human wisdom and knowledge, Schwager notes the priority in human life of being and doing over knowing and reflecting: human beings come to be, live, and grow long before they can reflect and question their existence, education, choices and life. This process of self-examination is partial and limited throughout one's life, as much remains hidden or unknown. Many people, if not all, therefore, experience frustration, disorientation, and

⁴⁴⁹ "Die eigene Geisterfahrung bietet eine Interpretationsnorm für den Buschstaben der Schrift, während der Buchstabe der Schrift die eigene Geisterfahrung dauernd zu reinigen hat. Da sich nun die beiden Wirklinien nie in einer festumreißbaren und endgültigen Mitte treffen, sondern von zwei verschiedenen Seiten her immer das ganze Leben durchdringen, bleibt notwendig ein Raum für eine immer weitere Entwicklung offen". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 245.

⁴⁵⁰ "Wenn es keine Versöhnung zwischen der göttlichen und der menschlichen Logik auf der Ebene des begreifenden Verstandes geben kann, so ist diese dennoch auf der Ebene des menschlichen Tuns möglich". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 246.

resentment on account of their inability to make sense of their lives or to express this meaning to other people.

2.3.4.5 The Role of the Holy Spirit

In this universal existential plight comes the Holy Spirit as hope in obscurity.

The mysterious logic of the Holy Spirit is therefore by no means imposed on a human life that would by itself be completely comprehensible. Rather, it reveals itself as hope in a life, which is according to its own dynamics repeatedly incomprehensibly frustrating and painful⁴⁵¹.

The Spirit produces the greater fruit as a gift and a disposition, more than any quantifiable or measurable success, by which one can bear the inevitable troubles of life in calm freedom (indifference). The open and incalculable character of the greater fruit also presumes the conviction that the success of the Kingdom of God never coincides perfectly with quantifiable successes of the visible Church. When the greater fruit is misconstrued as corresponding to quantifiable success of the visible Church, problems inevitably emerge. Even when discerning the proper course of action was unclear, and Ignatius was inclined to have recourse to a system of obedience as a way of breaking through the impasse, he never lost sight of the ultimate purpose of the greater fruit.

This strategy is to be understood primarily as a service, and not as a service for a system, not even for the juridically comprehensible Church, but for those questioning and suffering people who are thrown into life without being asked about it⁴⁵².

In the end, Schwager argues, the concrete service of other human beings takes precedence over any self-referential service to the Church as institution or system.

⁴⁵¹ “Die geheimnisvolle Logik des göttlichen Geistes stülpt sich demnach keineswegs über ein menschliches Leben, das von sich aus rein durchsichtig wäre. Sie offenbart sich vielmehr als Hoffnung in einem Leben, das durch seine eigene Dynamik immer wieder unbegreiflich ärgnerregend und schmerzvoll ist”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, pp. 246-247.

⁴⁵² “Aber diese Planung ist vorwiegend als ein Dienst zu verstehen, und zwar nicht als Dienst für ein System, letztlich nicht einmal für die juridisch faßbare Kirche, sondern für jenen fragenden und leidenden Menschen, der ins Leben geworfen wird, ohne danach gefragt zu werden”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 247.

2.3.4.6 Dramatic Understanding of the Church

Schwager's introduction of the Church logically leads him to the Holy Spirit's action in the People of God and the dramatic behavior of the individual in the Church. Ignatius always held together his experience of the Spirit with his understanding about the Church because the Spirit acts in both (Thirteenth Rule). Naturally, when one experiences the Holy Spirit, one is already bound to that community which commonly shares this experience, the People of God, who confer the benefit of its reflection on this experience, bringing light to the obscurity of individual experience. The community takes priority over the individual's experience of the Spirit, for while the latter is always tentative, the former has in Jesus already reached its goal, and can see the totality of the whole cycle. There remains a tension in the Church between those still seeking and those who have already arrived. If the fruit remains unclear or ambivalent, the criterion of the greater fruit does not apply solely to individuals (who are on the way), but to the community (which in Jesus has already completed this journey).

The priority of the Church before individual experience means, at the same time, that this priority has a mysterious and inexhaustible reality. The Church may not be reduced either to the hierarchy, which, though visible, never comprehends the mysterious reality of the Church, or to the priority of Church leaders, as Ignatius' concrete behavior amply demonstrated even against his evidence of his demanding words about obedience. This multilayered and complex relationship can be best called a drama.

It would be made clear that the unity with the Church takes place in the encounter of people, between whom all the moments as in a drama - development, conflict, tension, crisis, defeat, and ultimate reconciliation - can be played, and even must be played⁴⁵³.

⁴⁵³“Es würde klargemacht, daß die Einheit mit der Kirche sich in der Begegnung von Menschen vollzieht, zwischen denen alle Momente wie in einem Drama – Entwicklung, Auseinandersetzung, Spannung, Krise, Niederlage, und letztlich Versöhnung – spielen können, ja sogar spielen müssen”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, pp. 249-50.

The dramatic nature of the relationship between the individual and the concrete community of believers necessarily reflects God's transcendence and mystery, which is moreover the fundamental reason for pluralism in the Church against any totalitarianism.

By affirming this pluralism, one need not fear the collapse of the unity, which belongs to the Church. The People of God do not know, indeed may never know, a full unity on a created level. However, since this unity is solely and alone based on the one Spirit, it can sustain an incomprehensible diversity⁴⁵⁴.

Since it is a work of the Spirit, the unity of the Church takes the shape of pluralism rather than totalitarianism: "any attempt to create any coherent unity in the Church on a created level must lead to totalitarianism"⁴⁵⁵. The unity of the Church cannot be undertaken in human ways of attaining unity, such as force or coercion.

Caution must be exercised not to misuse the priority of the Church over the individual:

In the military domain, individual or even whole units may be "sacrificed" for the benefit of the entire army. In the Church, however, such a "sacrifice" would mean rather that power is the goal pursued and that spiritual fruits are no longer sought. In it, a sacrifice only makes sense if it is accepted in complete freedom and so is precisely under the sign of the individual "greater fruit"⁴⁵⁶.

Only by free acts of self-offering may sacrifice take place; the life of faith must be a life of freedom to ensure the Church, or its members do not abuse people. Again, whilst Ignatius' texts give little guidance on the question at hand, his actions do. Lastly, Schwager acknowledges the limitations of his own perspective on Ignatius' Thirteenth Rule:

⁴⁵⁴“Bei der Bejahung dieses Pluralismus ist auch nicht allzu rasch der Zerfall der letztlich geforderten Einheit zu befürchten. Da ja das Volk Gottes auf keiner geschöpflichen Ebene eine volle Einheit kennt, ja nicht einmal kennen darf, sondern diese einzig und allein in einem Geist begründet ist, erträgt diese Einheit eine unbegreifliche Vielfalt”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, pp. 250-251.

⁴⁵⁵ “Jeder Versuch, auf einer geschöpflichen Ebene irgendeine kohärente Einheit in der Kirche zu schaffen, muß zu einem Totalitarismus führen”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, pp. 250-251 p. 250, footnote 20.

⁴⁵⁶“Im militärischen Bereich werden unter Umständen einzelne oder sogar Abteilungen für den Vorteil des ganzen Heeres >geopfert<. In der Kirche würde eine solche >Opferung< bedeuten, daß Machtziele verfolgt und nicht mehr Geistesfrüchte gesucht werden. In ihr hat ein Opfer nur dann einen Sinn, wenn es ganz in Freiheit angenommen wird und so gerade im Zeichen auch der individuell >größere Frucht< steht”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 251.

In the sense of the dependence of every point of view on its position, this work does not claim to be the only and whole truth about Ignatius' conception of "a spirit that works in the Church and in individual"⁴⁵⁷.

2.4 Summary

In *Das dramatische Kirchenverständnis bei Ignatius von Loyola* (St Ignatius' Dramatic Understanding of the Church), Schwager argues that even though the method of the *Spiritual Exercises* may no longer be effective in causing the transformative mystical experience, Ignatius' foundational intuition still has something valuable to contribute regarding the problem of conflict and reconciliation within the Church. Thanks to Ignatius' Thirteenth Rule for *sentire cum ecclesia* – "the same Spirit acts in the Church and the individual" – there is a chance to show a unity between subjective religious experience and the communal life of the Church. The Church – as the recipient of the greater fruits – discerns and recognizes certain actions as works of the Spirit. In Ignatius' case, the Church recognized his personal experience and the *Spiritual Exercises* as a charism. The priority of Church over the individual originates in the former's inexhaustible and mysterious character as coming from the Blessed Trinity⁴⁵⁸. Thus, as in the case of God, a distinction can be made due to the polarity between being and knowing. Just as human knowledge of God can never exhaust the reality of God, so, in an analogous way, the representatives of the Church, the hierarchy, whose responsibility and mission it is to preserve and safeguard divine revelation, do not exhaust the mystery of the Church, but should be contextualized within the People of God, as the structure of the dogmatic constitution, *Lumen Gentium*, indicates⁴⁵⁹.

⁴⁵⁷"Im Sinne der Standpunktbedingtheit jeder Sicht will allerdings auch diese Arbeit nicht den Anspruch erheben, die einzige und ganze Wahrheit zu sein über die Auffassung des Ignatius von >einem Geist, der in der Kirche und im Einzelnen wirkt<". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 251.

⁴⁵⁸ Cf. *Lumen Gentium*, §1-8.

⁴⁵⁹ "The Mystery of the Church (Chapter One), On the People of God (Chapter Two), On the Hierarchical Structure of the Church and in Particular on the Episcopate (Chapter Three), The Laity (Chapter Four),

Ignatius encountered different faces of the hierarchy on his way from Loyola to Rome and beyond. His personal drama points to the universal, encompassing drama of the individual's unity with the Church in the face of feelings, prejudice, and the sinfulness of all its members, including its leaders. Since all are liable to these same conditions, the process of discernment and purification must never cease to occur through the Holy Spirit within the community. Assuming the transcendence of God, which relativizes all human experiences and absolute claims, this process should lead to personal humility. It also requires a legitimate pluralism due to the image of the Triune God imprinted on every human being, the provisional nature of human knowledge and the open-endedness of the greater fruit awaiting eschatological consummation. In this, God creates a new humanity according to his ways, and each member of the Church contributes through striving for the greater fruit, freely undertaken and never coercively sacrificed except as a voluntary self-expression of the greater fruit.

3. JESUS-NACHFOLGE: WORAUS LEBT DER GLAUBE

In *Jesus-Nachfolge*, Schwager outlines Jesus' example of self-giving as the universal foundation for Christian discipleship. Published in late 1973, *Jesus-Nachfolge: woraus lebt der Glaube* harvests the fruit of Schwager's reflections on questions that emerged during the dissertation, in particular the persistence of human freedom in the face of the reigning psychological and sociological determinisms. Written as a private theologian, *Jesus-Nachfolge* (Jesus Following) seeks to answer the question in the subtitle, out of what does the faith live? It lives, according to Schwager, out of the authority of God, which Jesus experienced and exercised as freedom

The Universal Call to Holiness in the Church (Chapter Five), Religious (Chapter Six), The Eschatological Nature of the Pilgrim Church and Its Union with the Church in Heaven (Chapter Seven), The Blessed Virgin Mary, the Mother of God in the Mystery of Christ and the Church (Chapter Eight)".

throughout his life, reaching a climax in his redefinition of his death as a self-offering (*Hingabe*), and then granting his disciples this new understanding of death through the transformative experience of the resurrection.

The freedom out of which Jesus lives resembles Ignatius' discovery of the harvest of the greater fruit, namely, the indifference or freedom to act beyond the influence of powerful emotions and spontaneous reactions. Schwager extends this insight to the freedom to act beyond the influence of education, religion, social groups, and cultural expectations – in other words, those constraints not only of psychological but also of sociological origin. Jesus exhibits a profound freedom to act exclusively out of God's authority, giving him the possibility to break through the major boundary markers of his religious and cultural environment as well as overcoming death itself.

3.1 Aim

In *Jesus-Nachfolge*, Schwager addresses the contemporary crisis of the credibility of faith in the postconciliar period. While joy and hope were expected, division and doubt instead emerged as was seen in Schwager's own biography. The tensions between changing social circumstances and the choices made in response to them had given rise to a new openness to Modernity at Vatican Two. Afterward, the spirit of *aggiornamento* (updating) in the Church and in the Jesuits translated into a specific set of preferences for mission in terms of dialogue and engagement with the world, which was intended to overcome unsolved tensions between the Church and the modern world. Similarly, Schwager begins his second major work with reference to the mutual incomprehensibility of believers from different religions, their consequent harsh judgments about each other and the violence that sometimes ensues, which results, he argues, from mutually unintelligible understandings of reality. The way one thinks about reality affects everything else that follows, as Schwager had personally experienced:

Some years back in England I held very lengthy and intensive discussions with Mohammedans and Hindus. I experienced that we were not only divided about certain points, but that the basic view of reality diverged from one another. So not only did we not agree, but some questions just seemed nonsensical to the partner and not worthy of further consideration⁴⁶⁰.

Schwager then summarizes the historical background to this mutual incomprehension. With the disintegration of Christendom following the various sixteenth-century reformations, the Church's truth claims – its understanding of reality – came under withering criticism from the Eighteenth Century onward. With globalization came an increasing familiarity with the diversity of cultures, religions, and mores, and with the critical spirit of inquiry came the rejection of traditional answers, at least, for elements of the elite culture and those aspiring to it. Thus, the Enlightenment found Christianity wanting, holding Christ responsible for all European ills, such as violence, ignorance, and superstition, and seeking, therefore, a new religion of pure reason, free from dogma and prejudice. Abandoning the search for a new spiritual basis for unity in the Nineteenth Century, materialist explanations for religion gained currency: Marx proposed a dialectical materialism that claimed that economics is the basis of all human artifacts including religion, whereas Durkheim held that religion, which forms communities necessary for human flourishing, unknowingly worships itself. The earlier spiritual quest for unity surrendered to a materialist, or at least natural (as opposed to supernatural), quest.

But in the Twentieth Century, Schwager continues, the materialist quest faced a profound epistemological crisis: the loss of reality itself. Conflicting claims about the nature and intelligibility of reality vanished due to an ascendant relativism. Nothing – not

⁴⁶⁰ “In England habe ich vor einigen Jahren eine Zeitlang sehr intensiv mit Mohammedanern und Hindus diskutiert. Ich machte dabei die Erfahrung, dass wir nicht nur über bestimmte Punkte uneins waren, sondern dass die Grundsicht der Wirklichkeit bei uns auseinander ging. Wir waren uns deshalb nicht nur nicht einig, sondern manche Fragestellungen kamen dem Partner einfach als unsinnig und nicht weiteren Überlegens würdig vor”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 426. The editor cites one of Schwager's private correspondence, which explains his motivation for writing *Jesus-Nachfolge*.

dogmatic religion, a religion of reason or a materialist ideology – could provide a basis for unity since reality itself no longer existed. Schwager then cites Peter Berger, the Austro-American sociologist of religion, to articulate the view that construes reality as a social construction:

To put it more simply: originally, we gain our worldview from other people, and if it is plausible to us – and it remains so – it is mainly because others hold onto it and that confirms it to us⁴⁶¹.

There is no reality as such, it is claimed – only plausibility structures that work because one holds them to be true because others hold them to be true. They are conventional or imaginary, relying on sociological mechanisms and processes to create and sustain them. When these social mechanisms or processes fail, so too does the plausibility structure. Conceding freely that the post-Vatican Two crisis represents the disintegration of just such a plausibility structure with all the predictable reactions to this threat, Schwager nevertheless believes that Christianity is not reducible to these sociological mechanisms. This book lays out his argument that Christian claims do not rest on sociological mechanism – though they have often used them to create plausibility structures – but on Jesus’ experience of God, on his faith.

Schwager’s pastoral concern drives this theological work, suggesting to him a point of departure other than theology. Rooting this book in the historical and cultural circumstances of his day, Schwager begins with non-theological sources drawn from historical and human sciences to devise this anthropological point of departure for his subsequent theological reply. In so this, his approach shows a kinship with Anselm’s priority for using human representations as the point of departure for his theology as

⁴⁶¹ “Einfacher ausgedrückt: Ursprünglich gewinnen wir unsere Weltvorstellung von anderen Menschen, and wenn sie uns plausibel ist – und bleibt –, so hauptsächlich deshalb, weil andere an ihr festhalten und sie uns bestätigen”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 262.

Schwager later observed in *Jesus in the Drama of Salvation* in 1989⁴⁶². Anselm drew on images or concepts from ordinary life or common experience, understanding them to be analogies when applied to the transcendent mystery of God. Drama as Schwager began to employ it in his dissertation embraces the polarity of similarity and dissimilarity, the purification of the similar with the dissimilar to find a reconciliation that transcends apparent contradictions. As a book (*Jesus-Nachfolge*) and as a way of acting, following Jesus addresses the apparent contradictions of life through a reconciliation that transcends them.

The encounter with the Risen One breaks through the psychological and social forces that shape human existence by sharing Jesus' own experience of God with others. In so doing, the resurrection points to a new way of understanding God and humanity. The new image of God, which Jesus reveals through the Paschal Mystery, enables both the individual and the Church to live under God's judgment (authority of God) as a lifelong and ongoing critique of decisions, motives, and conduct. Therefore, according to Schwager, both the believer and the Church need to return continuously to the true foundation of faith, namely, the authority of God, if both are to render attractive witness to God.

3.2 Structure

Jesus-Nachfolge consists of an introduction and four chapters. The Introduction finds traditional apologetics wanting because of the problem of conflicting conceptions of reality arising from relativism. Schwager explains the structure of the book at the end of Chapter Three:

⁴⁶² "Anselm's method shows that a christian theology which is to reach the furthest depths and heights must start from dominant notions or representations of the age, and even from everyday images", Schwager, *Jesus in the Drama of Salvation*, p. 14.

So, it turns out afterwards that the previous three essential steps (three chapters) in the attempt to justify faith can be understood indirectly at the same time as a representation of the three Divine Persons⁴⁶³.

In Chapter One, “The Claim of Faith and the Many Religions”, Schwager proposes a fundamental theology, which begins with the claim that Jesus embodies something new in the history of the world (he returns to this subject in his third book). Chapter Two, “Jesus as the Son of God”, traces the tensions and conflict of making sense of this novelty, starting with Jesus himself and eventually culminating in the Chalcedonian definition of Jesus as true God and true man (AD 451). Chapters Three and Four address how this novum offers a new way of living, namely, Jesus following, while particularly highlighting the role of the Holy Spirit for the individual (Chapter Three) and the community (Chapter Four).

3.3 Content

3.3.1 Searching for a New Apologetic

In “The Claim of the Faith and the Many Religions”, Schwager lays out a new apologetic since, in his view, the one proposed in the dogmatic constitution *Dei Filius*, which relies on a robust conception of reason, no longer seems plausible, given the diversity of religious and ideological claims about reality as well as the evidence from history. Even though the dogmatic constitution maintained the priority of divine revelation and grace, it assigned a decisive role for reason, contending that, by reason, one could recognize the truth of the Catholic faith based on the evidence of the marks of the Church, prophecies, and miracles. Schwager shows the weakness of the approach. First, regarding all three sources of evidence, the constitution simply asserts

⁴⁶³ “So zeigt sich nachträglich, daß die bisherigen drei wesentlichen Schritte (drei Kapitel) im Versuch, den Glauben zu rechtfertigen, indirekt zugleich als eine Darstellung der drei göttlichen Personen verstanden werden können”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, pp. 390-391, footnote 49.

the proposition without argumentation as it does regarding the role of reason; it is postulated as if it were an article of faith.

There is, however, a circularity. The Council does not itself develop any arguments to try to convince human reason of the credibility of the revelation. Rather, it teaches in a dogmatic way that such arguments exist. The role of reason in faith thus becomes an object of faith itself⁴⁶⁴.

With respect to the marks of the Church, Schwager raises counterarguments against three marks of Church – catholic, holy and one – easily drawn from history and experience, but leaves open the possibility that the fourth mark, apostolic, may be salvageable. As for prophecies and miracles, Schwager notes that modern biblical scholarship casts serious doubt on the reliability and meaning of the texts to render the evidence ambiguous and unconvincing. In such a case, such apologetics no longer furnishes motives of credibility.

Vatican One believed that by invoking external arguments it could show how rational the Christian faith is. Even a brief examination of these arguments, hints at the fact – at least from the point of view of the present – that they lack an inner persuasiveness. In any case, as purely external arguments, they are not – as the Council said – suited to every human reason⁴⁶⁵.

Further, Schwager takes note of a deeper problem for this sort of apologetic and its critics, namely, Vatican One's claim of the universal validity of the eternal signs (the four marks of the Church) as well as those casting doubt on them, especially from historical and biblical scholars.

⁴⁶⁴ Im ganzen Vorgehen des Konzils liegt allerdings ein großer Zirkel. Es entwickelt selber keine Argumente, um dadurch zu versuchen, die Vernunft der Menschen tatsächlich von der Glaubwürdigkeit der Offenbarung zu überzeugen. Es lehrt vielmehr auf dogmatische Weise, daß es solche Argumente gebe. Die Rolle der Vernunft im Glauben wird damit selbst zu einem Glaubensgegenstand". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p 266, footnote 8.

⁴⁶⁵ "Das Erste Vatikanische Konzil hat geglaubt, durch die Berufung auf äußere Argumente zeigen zu können, wie vernunftgemäß der christliche Glaube sei. Bereits seine kurze Prüfung der Argumente, auf die dabei angespielt wurde, hat nun aber gezeigt – mindestens aus der Sicht der Gegenwart – keine genügende innere Überzeugungskraft haben. Auf alle Fälle sind sie als rein äußere Argumente nicht – wie das Konzil sagte – jeder menschlichen Vernunft anpaßt". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, pp. 275-276.

A critical approach, however, requires time as well as the appropriate education and expertise. Its prerequisites are well beyond the average believer. On the other hand, one could not argue that the believers must simply believe the scholars. In that case, their faith would not be based on the authority of God but on the authority of these scholars. So, one notices that the external signs were not really adapted to the understanding of all people, but, at most, to the less learned. But this again stood in contrast to the teaching of the council⁴⁶⁶.

Neither Vatican One's appeal to four marks of the Church nor academic or scholarly criticism thereof seems adequate in the light of these considerations, as either amounts to an argument from authority.

3.3.1.1 Pierre Rousselot, SJ – on the Importance of Context

Searching for a new apologetic, Schwager finds in the thought of the French Jesuit theologian, Pierre Rousselot (1878-1915), who died on April 25, 1915, during the Battle of Les Éperges on the Western Front, a point of departure. Rousselot contends that the persuasiveness of an argument depends not on the facts themselves but on their context or arrangement. This context or arrangement contains the unifying power of reason, which one fails to notice if one concentrates on the individual facts. Without reason, the persuasiveness of the facts fails because they lack an argument (arrangement, context) that makes them compelling. Rousselot's insight about the critical role of sequence and the ordering of facts bears a striking resemblance to the importance which Gregory of Nyssa places in *akolouthia* as regards order, sequence, and logical connection in argumentation.

When it comes to the act of faith, not only reason but also a supernatural light comes into play in a reciprocal process. On the one hand, the supernatural light of faith

⁴⁶⁶ "Ein kritisches Vorgehen fordert aber Zeit und setzt eine entsprechende Bildung und Arbeitsmethode voraus. Seine Voraussetzungen überfordern einen durchschnittlichen Gläubigen bei weitem. Dagegen konnte man auch nicht argumentieren, die Gläubigen hätten sich an die Gelehrten zu halten. In diesem Fall würde sich ja ihr Glaube nicht auf die Autorität Gottes, sondern auf die Autorität dieser Gelehrten stützen. Man merkte also, die äußeren Zeichen nicht dem Verstand aller Menschen, sondern höchstens dem weniger Gelehrter wirklich anpaßt waren. Doch dies stand wiederum im Gegensatz zur Lehre des Konzils". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, pp. 276-277.

clarifies facts as external signs, and, on the other hand, the credibility or reasonableness of the faith emerges from these same external signs. By this, Rousselot presents a biblical context for prophecies and miracles, moving from isolated facts to a framework that confers a persuasiveness to those facts. More importantly for Schwager's purpose, Rousselot argued that Christian witness in daily life seen in the supernatural light of faith provided sufficient evidence to lead to a credible faith.

3.3.1.2 On the Persuasiveness of Examples

The compelling power of the argument or its persuasiveness is most effective in communicating the truth of its claims through a life of integrity and authenticity:

He no longer saw reports of isolated facts in the biblical narratives about miracles and prophecies but put everything into a comprehensive perspective of faith. In addition, he found external signs of faith not only in the biblical miracle and prophecy reports, but also in the unity, fruitfulness, and holiness of the Church. He was convinced that, thanks to the supernaturally formed light of the understanding, the reasonableness of faith could be seen in the example of a single real Christian life. It thus became clear to him that extensive source studies are not necessary for credibility of the faith for so-called normal Christians. According to him, even everyday Christian life offers enough evidence which – if seen in the supernatural light – leads to a comprehensible faith⁴⁶⁷.

The fourth mark of apostolic, therefore, might provide a motive of credibility because a life of authentic discipleship shows the truth of Christian claim.

3.3.1.3 On the Problem of Emotions

Rousselot notes, however, that man possesses passions, love, and desire, which give rise to the experiences that color his worldview and potentially obscure the persuasiveness of Christian witness in daily life. These experiences influence reason just

⁴⁶⁷ “Er sah in den biblischen Erzählungen über Wunder und Prophezeiungen nicht mehr Berichte von isolierten Fakten, sondern stellte alles in eine umfassende Glaubensschau. Zudem fand er nicht nur in den biblischen Wunder- und Prophezeiungsberichten und in der Einheit, Fruchtbarkeit und Heiligkeit der Kirche äußere Glaubenszeichen. Er war überzeugt, daß sich dank des übernatürlich durchformten Verstandeslichtes, selbst am Beispiel eines einzigen echten Christenlebens ablesen ließe, wie vernunftgemäß der Glaube sei. Damit ergab sich für ihn von selbst, daß umfangreiche Quellenstudien für den vernünftigen Glauben eines sogenannten normalen Christen nicht notwendig sind. Nach ihm bietet selbst das alltägliche christliche Leben genügend Indizien, die – sofern sie im übernatürlichen Licht gesehen werden – zu einem einsichtigen Glauben führen”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 278.

as reason tries to explain these influences. Rousselot resolves this dilemma with an appeal to the teaching that reason and love are both ordered to God. The dialectic of the love of God and the knowledge of God purifies and corrects any misperceptions arising from experience and emotion.

3.3.1.4 On the Weakness of Rousselot's Solution

He fails, in Schwager's view, however, to consider the possibility that one can confuse God with an image of God, especially on account of the power of culture to shape an individual's view of reality. Even granting Vatican One's teaching that reason and revelation converge on the same God, who is truth, it does not address the concern about whether one has confused God with his image.

As soon as the discoloration of the intellectual light does not only come from a transient personal passion but is anchored in a whole culture and tradition, it becomes a second nature for every person within this tradition. The orientation towards an "imagined God" then does not simply arise from an individual mistake but arises from the innermost desire of the corresponding worldview or religion⁴⁶⁸.

Since human beings perceive the world through the lenses of culture and tradition, not only individuals but also whole societies are liable to invent gods, which become enduring and deeply embedded as second natures in the community.

3.3.1.5 On the Scope and Limit of a Plausibility Structure

This problem is further illustrated in the claims of various religions to communicate revelations. Human beings experience the world as real, but culture and tradition constitute this reality through plausibility structures. An imagined god, therefore, is not only a personal invention but also a social one, resulting from upbringing, education, mores, and society. Acknowledging that human beings must

⁴⁶⁸ "Sobald nämlich die Verfärbung des Verstandeslichtes nicht von einer vorübergehenden persönlichen Leidenschaft herrührt, sondern in einer ganzen Kultur und Tradition verankert ist, wird sie bei jedem Menschen innerhalb dieser Tradition zu einer zweiten Natur. Die Ausrichtung auf einen »vorgestellten Gott« entspringt dann nicht einfach einem individuellen Fehler, sondern ergibt sich aus dem innersten Begehren der entsprechenden Weltanschauung oder Religion", Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 281.

operate under these determinations shows the limitation of Rousselot's thought because his argumentation can support any social construction of reality from within.

He [Rousselot] touched that viper's nest of problems that is outlined today by the theory of the social construction of reality. Like this theory, he was also able to explain why people can convince themselves that a belief system is rational. But he was no longer able to justify what was fundamentally different [of the Catholic faith] from other "lights"⁴⁶⁹.

At the same time, however, the relativism of the theory of the social construction of reality places limits on its total claim of explanation; as long as there is a standpoint from which to compare social constructions of reality, there is freedom to compare and judge.

But if everything threatens to get caught up in the pull of relativism, then the very theory that relativizes everything can itself be relativized. This does not add to the vortex of relativism or paralyze thinking at all. Rather, it opens a new possibility of spiritual freedom. The impression that everything is relative and that there is nothing more than a world of dancing images can only arise where one compares the different religions from a purely external point of view⁴⁷⁰.

This capacity allows one to examine claims (*Urteile*) to discover pre-judgments (*Vorurteile*), thereby seeing the claims more clearly. Further, the weight of tradition is not so heavy as to prevent innovation and unexpected insight, as the history of religion amply demonstrates⁴⁷¹.

3.3.2 The Process of Revelation as a New Apologetics

Given this dynamic of the influence of determinations and the persistence of freedom, Schwager's new apologetic must show that Christianity proclaims something

⁴⁶⁹ "Er rührte an jenes Vipernest von Problemen, das heute mit der Theorie der gesellschaftlichen Konstruktion der Wirklichkeit umschrieben wird. Wie diese Theorie, so konnte auch der gut erklären, weshalb Menschen sich von einer Glaubenshaltung rational überzeugen können. Er vermochte aber nicht mehr befriedende zu rechtfertigen sich grundsätzlich von anderen »Lichtern« unterscheiden soll". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, pp 283-284.

⁴⁷⁰ "Doch wenn schon alles in den Sog des Relativismus hineinzugeraten droht, dann läßt sich genau die Theorie, die alles relativiert, ihrerseits relativieren. Damit wird nicht der Strudel des Relativismus noch vergrößert oder das Denken gar nicht lähmt. Er erschließt sich vielmehr eine neue Möglichkeit geistiger Freiheit. Der Eindruck, alles sei relativ und nichts anderes als eine Welt der tanzenden Bilder, kann ja nur dort entstehen, wo man die verscheidenden Religionen von einem rein äußeren Standpunkt her miteinander vergleicht". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 285.

⁴⁷¹ "Gerade auch die Tatsache, daß es eine Vielfalt von Religionen gibt, bestärkt diesen Gedanken". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 285.

utterly new, not merely another religion or ideology. This apologetic must refer to more than the content of revelation, which may be explained away as an inner projection or a remembered tradition; it must refer to the entire *Offenbarungsvorgang* (process of revelation) since, in Schwager's view, a revelation process is true when it purifies itself knowingly and consciously of the prejudices from social and personal determinations that falsify it, rendering a false image of God: "Only the 'process of revelation' itself may be accurately traced. From this alone the decisive answer emerges"⁴⁷². If Christian claims are true, then Jesus of Nazareth must embody and model this dramatic revelation process as a path of purification, free from all socially and personally determined prejudices that would reduce it to another human invention. In his third book, Schwager elaborates this insight in terms of global history *aus der Zusammenschau des ganze dramatischen Prozesses der Offenbarung* (out of a survey of the whole dramatic interplay of the process of revelation)⁴⁷³.

3.3.2.1 Jesus as the Process of Revelation

Retracing the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus as a revelation process provides the best evidence for the Christian claim because it demonstrates Jesus' freedom from the determinations that influence human beings. Jesus transcended the ordinary boundaries and roles from the Law, history, tradition, group identification and even death, and sought to share this freedom with others. Jesus drew strength for this freedom from his intimate knowledge of the Father's love for him. He even surrenders any distortion of the image of the Father at Gethsemane because he transforms his death into a gift to God the Father.

⁴⁷² "Nur der »Offenbarungsvorgang« selbst ist möglichst getreu nachzuzeichnen. Allein daraus hat sich die entscheidende Antwort zu ergeben". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, pp. 287-288.

⁴⁷³ R. Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, Mainz, Matthias Grünewald Verlag, 1976, p. 71.

Even the Father, who had abandoned him, still empowered him to transform death from an involuntary doom to become an act of self-offering. “Father, in your hands I commend my spirit” (Lk. 23:46): human life obtained a new meaning⁴⁷⁴.

In death, Jesus is not passive, but active. He understands his life as a revelation of the true God in the sense of not in any way being colored by his personal experience, culture, or religion.

3.3.2.2 Authority of God as the Basis for the Faith of Jesus

In contrast to other religious founders, who renew or reform a tradition, Jesus’ experience of God’s authority not only freed him from all other influences – family, people, powerful groups, authorities, the Law, even his own feelings and trusted opinions – but created him anew, not as a renewal, but as something truly and decisively different from anything that came before:

The authority of his Father, through which his [Jesus’] life was powerfully led, did not clarify predetermined authority, but exploded all of them. It [the Father’s authority] proved itself to be a fundamentally new reality and made Jesus free – not in a playful way, but in a deadly event – from every conceivable tradition. The Father empowered him [Jesus] to transform the blind fate of death into an act of offering, thereby revealing Himself not as a new, sublime idea, but as a powerful reality⁴⁷⁵.

3.3.2.3 Jesus Redefines Death and Life

Schwager claims that this revelation from and through the event of Jesus’ self-offering on the Cross is not just another idea of God, but the revelation of a new, powerful, and effective reality; this reality is not a new claim about God which could be compared with other religious claims, but a revelatory event that is radically divorced from every other authority:

⁴⁷⁴ “Selbst der Vater, der ihn verlassen hatte, ermächtigte ihn noch, den Tod als ein widerwilliges Geschick in eine Tat der Hingabe zu verwandeln: »Vater, in deinen Hände empfehle ich meinen Geist« (Lk. 23,46): Das ganze menschliche Leben erhielt damit einen neuen Sinn”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 293.

⁴⁷⁵ “Die Autorität seines Vaters, durch die sein Leben kraftvoll geführt wurde, verklärte nicht irgendeine vorgegebene Autorität, sondern sprengte sie alle. Sie erwies sich als eine grundsätzlich neue Wirklichkeit und machte Jesus – nicht auf spielerische Weise, sondern in einem tödlichen Geschehen – von allem denkbaren Überlieferungen frei. Da der Vater ihn sogar ermächtigte, das blind Schicksal des Todes in eine Tat der Hingabe zu verwandeln, offenbarte er sich nicht als neue sublime Idee, sondern als kraftvolle Wirklichkeit”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 294.

What Jesus revealed, cannot therefore be classified in the domain of comparative religions. He did not raise a claim. The revelation event, in whose center he [Jesus] stood active and suffering, was itself a process of a radical, that is deadly, separation from every other authority⁴⁷⁶.

The transmission of this revelation of a new reality (not an idea, but an event), however, requires the resurrection of Jesus, because through his resurrection, Jesus is able to explain the meaning of his death as self-offering on the Cross to his disciples.

3.3.2.4 The Risen Jesus Communicates this New Reality to the Disciples

As a result, the disciples undergo a sudden transformation as they come to experience the true meaning of Jesus' death as a definitive living from a new reality – living from God – rather than from all the determinations that shape human beings. Schwager then addresses objections to the reliability of the resurrection accounts considering linguistic structuralism:

The decisive question is therefore: Can the resurrection faith be deduced from an unconscious linguistic structure of Jesus' disciples, or the reverse, did an event, which is designated as resurrection, become the point of departure for a new vision of reality?⁴⁷⁷

First, he draws upon C. Levi-Strauss' structuralist theory of language, which holds that every statement is enclosed in a frame of reference (a specific language) that results from the unconscious activity of the human spirit. This activity produces language, myth and fundamental social phenomena, leading Levi-Strauss to observe that "humanity is more thought than he himself thinks"⁴⁷⁸. In this light, Schwager proposes,

⁴⁷⁶ "Was Jesus geoffenbart hat, kann darum nicht in den Umkreis anderer Religionen eingeordnet werden. Er hat nicht irgendeinen Anspruch erhoben. Das Offenbarungsgeschehen, in dessen Zentrum er wirkend und leidend stand, war selbst ein Prozeß radikaler – nämlich tödlicher – Scheidung von allen anderen möglichen Autoritäten". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, pp. 294-295.

⁴⁷⁷ "Die entscheidende Frage lautet deshalb: Kann der Auferstehungsglaube aus den unbewußten Sprachstrukturen der Jünger Jesu hergeleitet werden, oder ist umgekehrt ein Ereignis, das als Auferstehung bezeichnet wird, zum Ausgangspunkt ihrer neuen Wirklichkeitssicht geworden?" Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 302.

⁴⁷⁸ "Nach ihm [Levi-Strauss] wird er Mensch mehr gedacht als er selber denkt". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 303.

In contrast with other religions, a distinctive feature at the origin of the Christian religion may lie in the fact that besides Jesus himself, some of his other disciples has also been powerful and creative people according to their own psychic structures⁶⁴. The Christian religion with its singular wealth of tensions [*Spannungsreichtum*] may have originated through the wonderful encounter of such exceptional people and the linking of their fates within an intensive, collective expectation⁴⁷⁹.

In the accompanying footnote (64) from the citation above, Schwager cites the examples of the Johannine and Pauline corpora, as well as the transformative event of Paul's conversion, as evidence of powerful and creative individuals: "It is not merely a claim that strong interior tensions [*innere Spannungen*] can suddenly change into an opposite belief, but a well-founded theory"⁴⁸⁰.

3.3.2.5 Contrasting The Accounts of the Resurrection in the Canonical Gospels and the Apocryphal Acts of John

Second, Schwager wants to verify the reliability of the transformation of the disciples through an indirect experiment that tries to show a putative understanding of the Paschal Mystery without this fundamental psychic transformation. He seeks to determine whether a falsified pre-Easter life of Jesus could be the source of a falsified resurrection account. Schwager contends that the disciples must have also undergone this transformative event akin to the experience of Jesus on the Cross, which freed them from every false or human tradition-bound image of God.

Schwager demonstrates this thesis by a comparison with the apocryphal *Acts of John*, which he judges to be evidence of what it would have been like if the new Christian faith was in fact a product of a hidden mechanism or subconscious process of a psychological or linguistic structure. On the one hand, the apocryphal text reinterprets

⁴⁷⁹ "Das Besondere am Ursprung der christlichen Religion – gegenüber anderen Religionen – liege darin, daß neben Jesus selbst auch einige seiner Jünger ihrer psychischen Strukturen nach äußert kraftvolle und schöpferische Menschen gewesen seien. Durch die wunderbaren Zusammentreffen von solch außerordentlichen Menschen und durch die Verkettung ihrer Schicksal innerhalb einer intensiven kollektiven Erwartung sie die christliche Religion mit ihrem wohl einmaligen Spannungsreichtum entstanden". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 304.

⁴⁸⁰ "Daß starke innere Spannungen in eine gegenseitige Überzeugung umschlagen können, ist keine bloße Behauptung, sondern eine gut begründete Theorie". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 305.

the Passion by separating the crucified Jesus from a spiritual Word and Lord on a Cross of light. The canonical Gospels, on the other hand, hold the exact opposite view by their conviction that Jesus, who truly suffered and died on the Cross, at the same time overcame every imaginable determination. The Gospels do not gloss over his death or explain it away. They do this without any knowledge of hidden mechanisms or linguistic structures (which should have led to something like the apocryphal account above). Schwager concludes that the evangelists did not falsify the pre-Easter life of Jesus of Nazareth.

One can with complete clarity respond that Jesus is not depicted as a product of subconscious mechanisms or laws. On the contrary, the Gospels recount how his own family, his own people, how the pious and the revolutionaries, how the economic, political, and religious powers rejected Jesus. These powers found themselves in direct opposition to that Father, who empowered Jesus to make his offering⁴⁸¹.

On the way to the Cross, Jesus shows his freedom vis-à-vis all the roles, groups, expectations, even in himself, up to death. So too through the resurrection experiences did the disciples share this experience of freedom. He concludes that the uniqueness of the Easter experience is plausible when the isolated facts come to be recognized in their proper frame of reference (recalling Roussetot's claim that facts find their credibility in their proper framework or Gregory of Nyssa's use of ἀκολουθία).

In this approach, Schwager seeks to place the resurrection within the proper historical constellation that emerges from Jesus' singular claim, and the reaction, rejection, and judgment against him due to that singular claim:

⁴⁸¹ "Darauf kann nun mit völliger Klarheit geantwortet werden, daß Jesus nicht als Produkt unterbewußter Mechanismen und Gesetzen Schwager, dargestellt wird. Im Gegenteil, die Evangelien erzählen, wie die eigene Familie und das eigene Volk, wie die Frommen und die Revolutionäre, wie die wirtschaftlichen, politischen und religiösen Mächte Jesus abgelehnt haben. Diese Kräfte befanden sich in eindeutigem Gegensatz zu jedem Vater, der ich zu seiner Hingabe ermächtigt hat". *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 310.

Therefore, the method for our approach: as witness to an isolated, external fact, the Easter narratives were denied a genuine conclusiveness at the beginning. But placed within the context of Jesus' proclamation and fate, a real probability for the resurrection could be worked out. This approach no longer touched on a distant comparison, but emphatically in a singular, historical constellation⁴⁸².

This singular claim as it took shape in the early Christian confession occupies the next chapter.

3.3.3 Jesus as Son of God

Schwager assembles evidence for an authentic Christology that eliminates the grounds for various objections that have emerged from false Christologies. Schwager agrees with Martin Hengel, that through all his words and deeds (preaching, teaching, exorcism and eating with sinners), Jesus manifests a unique and incomparable *unerhörtes Selbstbewußtsein* ("incredible self-awareness" or "unprecedented self-consciousness").

Not with the title of Jesus as "rabbi" nor "sage" nor prophet does one do justice to this unprecedented self-consciousness, which breaks through every analogue known to us from the Judaism of his day⁴⁸³.

Although Jesus does not call himself God as such, he behaved as if he shared the same place as God, manifesting in his words and deeds a singular consciousness. Walter Kasper observed that "the unheard-of claim of the earthly Jesus leads immediately over to the statement of the fourth Gospel, I and Father are one (Jn. 10:30)"⁴⁸⁴.

⁴⁸² From footnote 82, "Daraus die Methode für unser Vorgehen: Als einem Zeugnis von einem isolierten äußeren Faktum wurde den Osterbreichten am Anfang eine echte Beweiskraft abgesprochen. Dann wurde die Verkündigung und das Schicksal Jesu aufgezeigt, und in diesem Zusammenhang konnte eine echte Wahrscheinlichkeit der Auferstehung erarbeitet werden. Dieses Vorgehen berührte aber nicht mehr auf einem distanzierten Vergleich, sondern auf einem Einfühlen in eine einmalige historische Konstellation". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, pp. 311-312.

⁴⁸³ "Weder mit der Bezeichnung Jesu als >Rabbi< noch als Weisheitslehrer noch als Prophet wird man diesem *unerhörtes Selbstbewußtsein* gerecht, daß alle religionsgeschichtlichen Analogien, die uns aus dem zeitgenössischen Judentum bekannt sind, durchbricht". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 324.

⁴⁸⁴ "Selbst ein vorsichtiger Theologe wie Walter Kasper kann darum schreiben: »Der unerhörte Anspruch des irdischen Jesus führt unmittelbar hinüber zu der Aussage des vierten Evangeliums: >Ich und der Vater sind eins< « (Joh 10,30)". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 325.

3.3.3.1 *Jesus Redefines the Kingdom of God*

The Christian reinterpretation of the title, Son of God, relies on Jesus' own reinterpretation of Israel's expectations about the Kingdom of God. Jesus shifts the kingdom from a concrete and national understanding of the kingdom to a spiritual and interior understanding. In his public ministry, Jesus comes to know increasingly in his human nature, however, that his message will not succeed until he becomes the message itself through the Paschal Mystery; his whole life must embody a radical obedience to the will of God⁴⁸⁵. Having purified the kingdom of its worldly connotations, Jesus demythologizes the kingdom, revealing it to be the convergence and alignment of the divine and human wills⁴⁸⁶. This process of purification of the kingdom and the external signs that proclaim its presence coincided with Jesus: "finally, only his offering and the Father's 'yes', which empowered and confirmed such an offering, remain"⁴⁸⁷.

This identification of the Kingdom of God with the person of Jesus and with his self-offering gave both a new meaning. The resurrection no longer refers to worldwide, national apocalypse (at that time, at least) but now refers to a message from God that the disciples must bring to humanity⁴⁸⁸. No longer merely a national god, God is now a gift to all humanity. This revelation purifies human beings of those determinations which prevent them from knowing the true God.

⁴⁸⁵ "Als die Ereignisse nicht nach seiner ersten Erwartung verliefen, wurde seien innerste Gewißheit dadurch keineswegs erschüttert, sondern er reagierte darauf mit einer noch radikaleren Hingabe an den Willen des Vaters". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, 326.

⁴⁸⁶ "Erst, das, was er gegen sein spontanes Wollen und Empfinden zu erleiden hatte, offenbarte ganz, daß der zentrale Punkt des Reiches in der Einigung zwischen dem menschlichen und göttlichen Willen lag". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, 327.

⁴⁸⁷ "Im letzten bleiben nur seine Hingabe und das Ja des Vaters, daß eine solche Hingabe ermächtigte und bestätigt". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 328.

⁴⁸⁸ "Die Jünger wurden weder in einen unterbewußten noch in einen kosmischen Prozeß hineingezogen, sondern in ihrer Freiheit angesprochen. Sie empfingen ein Wort, eine Mitteilung, eine Gabe". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 330.

3.3.3.2 *The Son of God is the Kingdom of God*

The resurrection transforms the first believers' ways of talking and thinking about the reciprocal relationship between Father and Jesus with respect to the inauguration of the Kingdom of God,

which was the Father's work [*Tat*] in response to the Obedient One just as it was Jesus' offering to the Father. The Risen One is shown to be the 'excellent work [*Tat*] of God'. It is no longer a matter of a thing, but a person. The Kingdom of God has become the Son of God⁴⁸⁹.

This confession of Jesus as the Son of God brought challenges to the early Church inasmuch as it could seem to be a defection from Jewish monotheism and a lapsing into polytheism. Schwager traces the Church's response through a history of the dialectic of the development of the Chalcedonian definition like Moingt's approach. By holding the polarity of Jesus as true God and true man, the Church avoids heresy by not choosing one truth and denying the other. This dialectical approach safeguarded the truth revealed in Jesus by setting the framework in which the doctrine could authentically unfold.

3.3.3.3 *Explaining Jesus as Son of God*

Christological dogma emerged in conflicting political, theological, and cultural contexts through the efforts of the schools of Alexandria and Antioch. Whilst both agreed that Jesus was the Eternal Logos, they adopted different strategies to protect the true humanity of Jesus, which in turn relied on divergent philosophical concepts. The Chalcedonian definition of Jesus in whom there is "no confusion, no change, no division, no separation" was therefore open to more than one reading due to the ambiguity of the key terms, person, and nature⁴⁹⁰. Schwager concludes that since both Nestorius and Cyril

⁴⁸⁹ "Reich Gottes war nun sowohl die Tat des Vaters am Gehorsamen wie auch die Hingabe Jesu an diesen Vater. Der Auferstandene erwies sich als die »ausgezeichnete Tat Gottes«. Es ging nicht mehr um eine Sache, sondern um eine Person. Das Reich Gottes war zum Sohn Gottes geworden". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p 332.

⁴⁹⁰ "Das Wort »Hypostase«, mit dem die eine Person bezeichnet wurde, war vorher für viele Bischöfe gleichbedeutend mit Natur gewesen". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 343.

contributed to Chalcedonian language, neither one of them alone can be the key to proper understanding⁴⁹¹, thereby requiring a further clarification.

3.3.3.4 *Consciousness Christology*

Schwager proposes an answer to who and what is Jesus by use of a consciousness Christology, which, resting on the post-Chalcedonian developments up to Constantinople II (553), he later critically revised⁴⁹². Here he starts with an analysis of the complex reality of human consciousness as constituted by a mysterious I (*ich*) or by the subject (*Subjekt*), both of which elude any observation or investigation as neither can be an object:

In the end a consciousness is still something completely different than that which happens in it. It is centered on a subject [*Subjekt*], an I (*ich*). All thinking, willing and feeling comes out of this ultimate I. Human activity is directed always towards an opposite, an object [*Gegenstand*]. But this action is at the same time brought to a different pole by a subject. Hence, the object and the I are not the same pole. An object is directly comprehensible. The I however remains always in the background. Even if one wants to explore the consciousness, the I will never be grasped. If one explores oneself, the I simply becomes an object. The actual I is not in this object, but it again escapes into the background of this research⁴⁹³.

Actions and the body express the I, but they are not the I. Everything that we know about consciousness, whether by reflection or by different scientific disciplines, only tells us about an object. It does not tell us about the I or the subject. It tells us what we are (object), but not who we are (I/subject), which remains beyond the reach of thinking.

⁴⁹¹ Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 340.

⁴⁹² Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 426, footnote F.

⁴⁹³“Im letzten ist aber ein Bewußtsein noch etwas ganz anderes als das, was in ihm geschieht. Es besteht wesentlich darin, daß es auf ein Subjekt, ein Ich, zentriert. Alles Denken, Wollen und Fühlen geht von einem letzten Ich aus. Zwar richtet sich das menschliche Tun immer auf ein Gegenüber, einen Gegenstand. Aber dieses Tun wird gleichzeitig am andern Pol von einem Subjekt getragen. Dabei sind Gegenstand und Ich keine gleichartigen Pole. Ein Gegenstand ist direkt zu erfassen. Das Ich beleibt immer im Hintergrund. Man mag das Bewußtsein noch so durchforschen, das Ich bekommt man nie direkt in den Griff. Wenn einer sich selbst erforscht, macht er sich zu einem Gegenstand. Das eigentliche Ich ist dann nicht in diesem Gegenstand, sondern es trägt gerade nochmals hintergründig diese Forschertätigkeit”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 344.

3.3.3.5 *Who and What - the Divine Person with a Divine and a Human Nature*

Applying this line of thought to Jesus, Schwager returns to the structural distinction between what and who Jesus is. The Chalcedonian definition explains Jesus as an object – what he is – in the hypostatic union of the divine and human natures, where there is “no confusion, no change, no division, no separation,” and at the same time, who Jesus is as the I, that is, the Eternal Logos; hence, he is a Divine Person/hypostasis. The polarity between Jesus and Son of God illuminates the definition: Jesus refers at the same time to a unique human being from Nazareth and to his divine I; the Son of God, born of Mary (theotokos) and who died on the Cross, was present in Jesus, his mysterious I/subject as the background and ultimate unity of his whole human life. “The divine was only present as the I, which means as the final ground for unity, which clearly stands apart from everything else it carries”⁴⁹⁴.

3.3.3.6 *Maintaining the Mystery*

It is essential to Christian discipleship to get right the full humanity of Jesus, according to Schwager, lest one ascribe to him divine knowledge and power as a human being as many theologians have, even Thomas Aquinas, who maintained that Jesus was omniscient as man because he was God based on the Chalcedonian teaching⁴⁹⁵. This difficulty emerges from the long and frustrating attempt to define the trinitarian relationship of the one God in three persons (starting at Nicaea), and then to articulate properly the relationships between the natures of the one person, the divine Son, at Chalcedon. Schwager identifies a non-biblical, Greek philosophical definition of immutability as changelessness, as the cause of the misapplication of divine properties

⁴⁹⁴ “Das Göttliche war nur gegenwärtig als ein Ich, das heißt als allerletzter Einheitsgrund, der sich von allem, was er trug, klar erhob”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 346.

⁴⁹⁵ “Sogar Thomas von Aquin, der in der katholischen Kirche während Jahrhunderten als >Engelgleicher< Lehrer verehrt wurde, vertraut unter der Herrschaft solcher Vorstellungen die Ansicht, Jesus hätte als Mensch während seines irdischen Lebens alles erkannt »was je gesagt, getan und erkannt« worden war (Summa theol. III, qu. 10, a. 2)”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 353.

to Jesus' human nature. This misunderstanding led to centuries of strife over how immutability as changelessness can be reconciled with the saving actions of God in Jesus.

Since Jesus is divine, then it means, logically, that he must continue know as God knows, even when he became incarnate. In Schwager's view, this philosophical understanding of immutability is incompatible with the full humanity of Christ. However, if one shifts to a biblical definition of immutability, then the questions of the knowledge of Christ can be pursued by another route. Immutability should be understood, rather, in the scriptural sense, where it denotes that "God is always faithful to himself and that he grounds all saving deeds in his eternal plan"⁴⁹⁶. Even though the Church strenuously contested Greek philosophy, in this conflict the latter still influenced the Church's language, thought and concepts, as the subsequent history of the Chalcedonian definition demonstrates. From the foregoing consideration, Schwager draws this general conclusion: "The indirect hollowing out of Jesus' true humanity suggests that the faith can always be confused with concepts, from which it must be constantly purified"⁴⁹⁷.

If faith can be confused with concepts, Schwager adds that it can also be confused with feelings and desires. Modern critics of Christianity, such as Feuerbach, Marx, Nietzsche, Freud, et al, reduced faith from its supernatural and personal character as an act of assent of the will and intellect to divine revelation in which one simultaneously responds to God's grace with a corresponding love and devotion, to a

⁴⁹⁶ "Das fast unlösbare Problem entstand, als die Glaubensaussagen über Jesus als Mensch und als Sohn mit der griechischen Idee von der Unveränderlichkeit Gottes in Zusammenhang gebracht wurden. Zwar kannte auch die biblische Überlieferung eine Unveränderlichkeit Gottes, aber in dem Sinne, daß sich der Vater immer treu bleibt und daß alle Heilstaten in seinem ewigen Ratschluß gründen". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 350.

⁴⁹⁷ "Die indirekten Aushöhlungen des wahren Menschseins Jesu weisen aber darauf hin, wie der Glaube sich immer wieder mit Vorstellungen vermischen kann, von denen er sich ständig neu zu reinigen hat". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 354.

secularized and non-rational character as wish-fulfillment and compensation for psychological or emotional need. Responding to such critiques, Schwager counters that

Jesus' I only becomes accessible to that person, who gives up dreams, even the dream of the Kingdom of God on earth, and instead engages the claim that comes from this I⁴⁹⁸.

Jesus preached the urgency of conversion; he did not promise to satisfy emotional needs. By word and deed, Jesus disclosed the I, whose full revelation only takes place on the Cross. Precisely in his rejection of all dreams, and his overcoming of the existing powers and the most deeply held beliefs of the Judaism of his day, Jesus is revealed at his crucifixion, paradoxically, as the victor⁴⁹⁹. Despite Jesus' condemnation, christological controversies and the imperial temptation to imagine the Son of God according to the sacred (to use Girard's term for the unconscious and mundane product of the Scapegoat Mechanism which humans misrecognize as God), the fundamental intention of the Chalcedonian definition not to confuse, separate, divide or mix the divine nature with the human successfully safeguarded the truth about Jesus⁵⁰⁰.

3.3.4 Redefining Faith as Practices or Dispositions

Schwager begins with the teaching from *Dei Filius*⁵⁰¹ that states the faith does not depend on human reason or on human effort, but rests on the authority of God and lives

⁴⁹⁸ "Das Ich Jesu erschließt sich nur dem, der Träume und selbst den Traum vom Reich Gottes auf Erden fahren läßt und dafür auf den Anspruch eingeht, der von diesem Ich ausgeht". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 356.

⁴⁹⁹"Die volle Offenbarung wurde aber erst durch seine Verurteilung eingeleitet. In dem sein Anspruch von aller bestehenden Autorität abgelehnt wurde und er selbst zu den sublimsten Vorstellungen der jüdischen Religion in Gegensatz geriet, trat sein eigentliches Geheimnis zutage. Sein verborgenes Ich offenbarte sich, indem er sich als Sieger gerade über alle jene Kräfte erwies, die religiöse Vorstellungen produziert hatten, ihn aber nicht als einen der ihren erkennen wollen". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, pp. 356-357.

⁵⁰⁰ "Indem man aber den Menschen Jesus nicht mit einer göttlichen Natur vermischte, blieb die grundsätzliche Intention des Glaubens bewahrt". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 358.

⁵⁰¹ "Since man is wholly dependent on God as his Creator and Lord, and since created reason is completely subject to uncreated truth, we are bound by faith to give full obedience of intellect and will to God who reveals [can. 1]. But the Catholic Church professes that this faith, which 'is the beginning of human salvation' [cf. n. 801], is a supernatural virtue by which we, with the aid and inspiration of the grace of God, believe that the things revealed by Him are true, not because the intrinsic truth of the revealed things has been perceived by the natural light of reason, but because of the authority of God Himself who reveals

from the light and power of the Holy Spirit⁵⁰². Schwager, therefore, needs to explain how it is possible for a person of his day to experience immediately the authority of God, when Jesus lives so far away in time and space. His argument consists of an analysis of faith in terms of five dispositions or practices (rather than a confession of beliefs): (1) following Jesus, (2) a share in the resurrection, (3) hope, (4) graciousness of love and (5) the fruit of the Holy Spirit. In this strategy, Schwager assumes the priority of action over thought as was already seen in his dissertation.

3.3.4.1 Faith as Following Jesus

First, “faith as following Jesus” refers to the faith *of* Jesus (his faith) in contrast to faith *in* Jesus. Christians should seek to share Jesus’ own experience of faith in God. Schwager places the emphasis on praxis, rather than on theory, as a surer route to a life based on God’s authority.

With use only of the reflective mind one can go no further. It stays within its own limits and does not fully comprehend the concept. The authority of God is not in this way provable. In trying to do this one would have to rely more on the authority of one's own reason. It is true that external objections against the testimony of the New Testament writings can be invalidated with the help of reason. However, reason reaches a depth that cannot be proven, but only evaluated. Only those who get involved in the message can evaluate whether it keeps its promises. The question of God’s authority cannot therefore be finally resolved in the theoretical area alone. It needs to be put into practice⁵⁰³.

them, who can neither deceive nor be deceived [can. 2]. For, ‘faith is,’ as the Apostle testifies, ‘the substance of things to be hoped for, the evidence of things that appear not’ (Hb. 11,1)”. Denzinger, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, 1789/3008.

⁵⁰² “Das Erste Vatikanische Konzil hat gelehrt, der Glaube stütze sich weder auf die Einsicht der Vernunft noch auf eine menschliche Kraft, sondern er gründe in der Autorität Gottes und lebe aus dem Licht und der Kraft des Heiligen Geistes”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 364.

⁵⁰³ “Nur mit dem reflektierenden Verstand ist hier nicht weiterzukommen. Dieser bleibt innerhalb seiner eigenen Grenzen, und er bekommt sich selbst nicht voll in den Begriff. Die Autorität Gottes ist nicht auf diese Weise zu beweisen. Beim Versuch, dies zu tun, müßte man sich noch vermehrt auf die Autorität der eigenen Vernunft stützen. Zwar können mit ihrer Hilfe äußere Einwände dagegen das Zeugnis der neutestamentlichen Schriften entkräftet werden. Es selbst reicht aber in eine Tiefe, die nicht zu beweisen, sondern nur zu erproben ist. Allein wer sich auf die Botschaft einläßt, kann prüfen, ob sie hält, was sie verspricht. Die Frage nach der Autorität Gottes ist deshalb im theoretischen Bereich allein nicht endgültig zu lösen. Es braucht den Schritt in die Praxis”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 364.

Following Jesus means that, by sharing in the hardships of his life, culminating in the Paschal Mystery, and trusting him completely, his disciples become able to testify to him credibly by their own life and death considering the hope of resurrection.

This testimony consists of following (*nachfolgen*) Jesus by risking to do what Jesus had done: to build one's entire life on God⁵⁰⁴. Following Jesus does not, therefore, entail imitating (*nachahmen*) him – the meticulous copying of every detail of Jesus' life and death – but a life that is shaped from the practice of doing as Jesus did. Resting upon God's authority, the disciples lead a new kind of life, in which everything is altered considering their experience of Jesus. Schwager's claim is that only through the experiences from following (*praxis*) can one find faith, not from a general human reason. Faith as following Jesus, moreover, answers contemporary concerns about justice and love, as well as man's place in the universe. If the Christian claim about God, which is founded on Jesus' actions, is true, then "one cannot reasonably pass by indifferently such a proclamation, which issues so crucial and sweeping a call"⁵⁰⁵.

3.3.4.2 Faith as Participation in the Resurrection of Jesus

Second, Schwager explains that faith also means a participation in the resurrection of Jesus, conferring a share in Jesus' freedom. This freedom brings about a conversion of the spontaneous human drives akin to the experience of Ignatius and the origin purpose of the *Spiritual Exercises*. Humans strongly desire recognition, fulfilment, power, and love because with these, one feels alive and growing, whereas without them, one feels powerless, alone, abandoned and on the edge of death. By contrast, however,

⁵⁰⁴ "Es ging auch nicht darum, sein ehemaliges Verhalten äußerlich nachzuahmen oder gar zu kopieren. Durch den Wandel in der Vorstellung vom Reiche Gottes war der Sinn der Jüngerschaft entsprechend erneuert und vertieft worden. Glaube als Nachfolge bedeutete von nun an das Wagnis, im Blick auf Jesus so radikal auf Gott zu bauen, wie er es selbst getan hatte. Nachfolge meinte den Mut, Ablehnungen zu riskieren, wie er sie selbst ertragen hat". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 363.

⁵⁰⁵ "An einer Verkündigung, die einen so entscheidenden und weitreichenden Anruf ergehen läßt, kann man vernünftigerweise nicht unbeteiligt vorübergehen". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 367.

faith breaks through the self-evident polarity of fulfillment and emptiness because “the faith knows the possibility to experience fullness and life in emptiness and powerlessness”⁵⁰⁶. In general, people lean on society’s expectations about life, which also strongly influence the faculty of reason through social and unconscious sources. Faith, on the other hand, builds its life possibilities on an entirely different foundation:

The innermost fulfillment of emptiness and powerlessness does not lie in the realm of human possibilities, it can only be given by that reality from which man himself comes from. The new possibility of life coming from God is also the ultimate reason and the actual authority of faith⁵⁰⁷.

Jesus offers this new kind of life to others when he invites them to reproduce his own self-sacrifice and resurrection in their lives. Since this new life is free from self-interest, it is also free from need to resort to violence to overcome resistance. Rather, the emotional experience of fear and powerlessness becomes the very place of the deepening of faith, manifesting the central dialectic of faith about which Paul wrote: “when I am weak, then I am strong (cf. 2 Cor. 12:10)”⁵⁰⁸. Consequently, the experience of the opponent or enemy becomes an indispensable help to one becoming like Jesus, that is, free⁵⁰⁹.

Schwager foresees an inevitable, even salutary, conflict between faith and reason, but not in the usual polemical terms of the ‘war between religion and science’. Rather, faith unmasks the social norms and myths, which rationalize and justify the drive for esteem and honor.

⁵⁰⁶ “Der Glaube weiß um die Möglichkeit, Fülle und Leben gerade in der Leere und Ohnmacht zu erfahren”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 367.

⁵⁰⁷ “Innerste Erfüllung aus Leere und Ohnmacht liegt nicht im Bereich der menschlichen Möglichkeiten, sie kann nur von jener Wirklichkeit geschenkt werden, von der der Mensch selbst herkommt. Die von Gott kommende neue Lebensmöglichkeit ist der auch letzte Grund und die eigentliche Autorität des Glaubens”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 370.

⁵⁰⁸ “Die gefühlshafte Schwäche und Ohnmacht, die man bei starken Bedrohungen spürt, ist gerade der bevorzugte Raum, von dem her sich der Glaube neu selber gewinnen kann. Die Schwäche des Glaubens wird so zu seiner Stärke”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 370.

⁵⁰⁹ “Er erlebte die umstürzende Einsicht, daß gerade seine Gegner ihm in besonderer Weise helfen, er selbst zu werden. Daraus entspringt die Freiheit des Glaubens”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, pp. 370-371.

Rather, through the freedom of faith, it becomes clear on which conditions all knowledge is based. The pre-understanding that precedes all knowledge and that cannot be fully caught up by any reflection reveals itself as a preliminary decision, namely a decision that does not arise from freedom, but from the immediate urge for self-preservation. Pre-understanding and pre-judgement are therefore entirely conditioned by those social norms and myths that correspond to the drive for self-preservation and the urge for respect and recognition⁵¹⁰.

Even reason's appeals to argumentation and evidence are brought into question because these too are pre-understood and pre-judged as far as what qualifies as reasonable, sensible, and proper is already self-selected, and therefore, pre-determines the acceptable range of outcomes. This critique of reason applies equally to individuals and groups.

Schwager's recognition of these influences here will later converge with Girard's theory, in which mimetic desire strongly and unconsciously influences human reason, instrumentalizing it to justify the objects of desire⁵¹¹. Reason, therefore, is neither independent nor autonomous because it always relies on assumptions about reality (pre-judgments): what appeals to one generation spontaneously becomes a self-evident second nature in the next⁵¹². On the other hand, standing on and under God's authority, faith progressively purifies reason from these hidden influences.

⁵¹⁰ "Durch die Freiheit des Glaubens wird vielmehr klar, auf welchen Voraussetzungen alles Wissen beruht. Das Vorverständnis, das allem Erkennen vorausgeht und das durch keine Reflexion voll einzuholen ist, enthüllt sich als Vorentscheidung, und zwar eine Entscheidung, die keineswegs der Freiheit, sondern dem unmittelbaren Drang nach Selbsterhaltung entspringt. Vorverständnis und Vorentscheidung werden deshalb ganz von jenen gesellschaftlichen Normen und Mythen bedingt, die Selberhaltungstreib und dem Drang nach Achtung und Ankerkennung entsprechen". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 371.

⁵¹¹ Girard argues that Modernity represents a new phase of this polarity between mimetic desire and reason because of the elimination of external mediation, by which he means a sufficient distance between the subject and his model, who possesses the desired object, could limit mimetic desire (as the object was unattainable). With the breakdown of boundaries, the distance becomes too close (hence, internal mediation), and mimetic desire overwhelms reason as nothing appears unattainable anymore: "on the one hand, the model has an opposing meaning depending on whether it is mimetic or rational, and on the other hand, in the era of internal mediation that we have entered, the mimetic model will always prevail over the rational model...Antiquity and its sacrosanct respect for transcendent models ended in the Eighteenth Century. The *exempla* no longer exist in the modern world. We will soon see how Clausewitz's rational model was powerless to resist the Napoleonic model". Girard, *Battling to the End*, p. 132.

⁵¹² "Sie [Vereinbarungen] geschehen, indem bei einzelnen Völkern und in einzelnen Epochen je andere Ideen und Lebenseinstellungen spontan Anklang finden und sich in großem Maße durchsetzen. Was auf diese Weise allgemeine Anerkennung findet, wird für die nachfolgende Generation rasch selbstverständlich und zu einer zweiten Natur". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 372.

Faith, however, which adheres to Jesus and lives in his following, frees itself to a progressive degree from these hidden anchors. It undermines naturalness or matter-of-factness. Just as Jesus withstood the tacit agreement of all authoritative forces in his people, so the freedom of faith dares to break all those unspoken agreements on which human knowledge rests⁵¹³.

Christian faith follows Jesus' own path of resisting the assumptions on which the powers of his day rested and relied. Faith in this sense is first a practice, a way of living, more than it is a body of knowledge (theory). Faith as a way of life struggles to free itself from these traditions (pre-judgments/assumptions about reality) upon which every kind of argumentation depends. Since faith does not and may not draw upon existing assumptions about the world, but only on God's authority, its persuasiveness does not come from argumentation, but from its commitment to weakness and humility, which include new possibilities of living⁵¹⁴.

Participating in the resurrection also evinces a faith that only uses those means of conflict which belong to Jesus, who resisted the powers of his day through the choice of self-offering (*Hingabe*). In the face of danger and threat, the believer experiences weakness, which is the place where one also paradoxically becomes strong. This courage and strength rests on God's authority, which one trusts more confidently than one's own reason, and which sets one free from the seduction of rationalization and self-justification.

⁵¹³ "Der Glaube hingegen, der sich an Jesus hält und in seiner Nachfolge lebt, befreit sich in einem fortschreitenden Maße von diesen verborgenen Ankern. Er untergräbt Selbstverständlichkeiten. Wie Jesus der stillschweigenden Vereinbarung aller maßgeblichen Kräfte in seinem Volke standhielt, so wagt die Freiheit des Glaubens all jene unausgesprochenen Übereinkünfte zu durchbrechen, auf denen das menschliche Wissen ruht". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 372.

⁵¹⁴ "Wenn er folglich nicht aus der Macht einer Tradition argumentieren kann, so wird er doch darin erprobt, ob sich aus der Schwäche tatsächlich eine neue Lebensmöglichkeit erschließt". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 373.

It [faith] invites you to learn by means of the threat to surrender fully. It then shows itself to be truly victorious when the threat and difficulties do not lead to discouragement and resignation, but result in a certainty, which is more profound to the believer than his own reason, which grants a freedom, that finally detaches him from the essential arguments of reason. That then is participation in the resurrection of Jesus. Where it is experienced, there the individual's faith is based on the authority of God⁵¹⁵.

In sum, this comprehensive freedom from all the arguments of reason (which are irrational due to hidden influences on reason) constitutes the second disposition of faith as the participation in the resurrection.

3.3.4.3 Faith as Hope before the Provisional Nature of Life before Death

Third, Schwager considers faith as hope, namely, the power to live in the open-endedness of human existence. God's authority – manifested definitively in the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus – radically demystifies all human institutions⁵¹⁶. For individuals, this is a lifelong and demanding process that only reaches its definitive conclusion in death, which is always beyond our immediate experience. For this reason, believers must hope in the face of worldly threats and violence since it is only in death that one arrives at the ultimate moment of self-offering and the concomitant revelation of God the Father.

Modern critics of religion, such as Feuerbach, Marx, and Nietzsche, strongly criticize hope as a symptom of emotional immaturity, wishful thinking, or a slave mentality. Schwager contends that these critiques misunderstand the specific nature of Christian hope as the source of light and strength to follow Jesus in this life through a

⁵¹⁵ “Sie lädt ein, aus der Bedrohung die volle Hingabe zu lernen, und sie zeigt sich dann als wahrhaft sieghaft, wenn Bedrohung und Schwierigkeiten nicht zu Mutlosigkeit und Resignation führen, sondern wenn gerade daraus eine Gewißheit entsteht, die dem Gläubigen innerlicher ist als seine eigene Vernunft, wenn sie eine Freiheit schenkt, die ihn ein für allemal von den vitalen Argumenten der Vernunft löst. Das ist dann die Teilnahme an der Auferstehung Jesu. Wo sie erfahren wird, dort stützt sich der Glaube des einzelnen tatsächlich auf die Autorität Gottes”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 374.

⁵¹⁶ Girard later extensively develops this perspective in his understanding of history in R. Girard, *I See Satan Fall Like Lightning*, pp. 154-193 and in *Battling to the End*.

similar self-offering in death rather than a reward in the afterlife⁵¹⁷. As such, faith has nothing to do with wishful thinking or a slave mentality, which are better understood as products of rationalization. This becomes clear, in his view, when one compares the ways in which faith and reason behave in the face of challenges. This difference emerges in Schwager's consideration of claims to objectivity. As reason becomes more neutral and objective, the knowledge it furnishes becomes contentless and insufficient⁵¹⁸.

By contrast, faith does not seek distance or neutrality, for if it were to do so, it would lose itself; rather, it hopes based on God's authority, which sets into motion the process of purification necessary to overcome the threat in freedom. Faith trusts God against God, Schwager notes, as recounted in the Book of Job. As he already argued in chapter five of his dissertation, faith trusts in the ever greater and ever more mysterious God as the one who purifies the believer from every idol, which arises from rationalization. Conflicts, therefore, cannot be resolved in objectivity, expressed in distance or neutrality, but by the purification from one's subjective opinions, which have replaced the living God with ideas or images of God.

Christian life, therefore, cannot be a second nature; rather, following Jesus is a practice and a process that brings forth a new language of faith. As one follows Jesus, one experiences Jesus' filial relationship with his Father. In this process, the older language of faith, which was drawn from ordinary life, gradually gives way to a new language of faith. In so doing, these words do not report a distant reality, but the opposite: a hidden and present reality now gives these old words new meaning⁵¹⁹.

⁵¹⁷ "Die echte christliche Hoffnung besteht nicht im Warten auf eine Belohnung nach dem Tod...Der christliche Glaube hebt sich jedoch im tiefsten eindeutig von solchen Erwartungen ab, in dem er sich als Nachfolge der Gekreuzigten und damit als reine Hingabe versteht". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 375.

⁵¹⁸ "So gilt schließlich: je objektiver die Vernunft wird, um so inhaltsleerer und nichtssagender werden ihre Erkenntnis". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 376.

⁵¹⁹"Die Worte des Glaubens sind somit voll der Hoffnung. Sie sagen nicht nur etwas, sondern verheißen zugleich stets Neues. Darin zeigt sich die unmittelbare Gegenwart des göttlichen Wirkens. Die Worte

Believers come to relate to God as Father because of the boundless hope they come to possess in faith, whose transformative effect demands a lifelong process.

The real power of divine authority therefore lies in the fact that it can overcome even the primeval human desire for so-called infallible anchor points. Its majesty appears wherever it gives people the courage not only to forego their spontaneous need for security, but even to master the urge for an emotional and living experience of God's work⁵²⁰.

Hope confers on believers freedom from the need for security, even from the need to experience God in a satisfying way, following Jesus to the silence of the Cross.

3.3.4.4 Faith as the Gratuity and Graciousness of Love

Fourth, Schwager describes faith as the *umsonst* of love, which consists of freedom, feasting and generosity; *umsonst* ambivalently means vain or useless as well as free or purposeless⁵²¹. Against the search for emotionally laden security, disciples live from faith's certitude, which conveys freedom. The freedom originates in the experience of generosity and gratuity, which, beyond words or concepts, dwells in the deepest core of each person:

The certainty of faith stands out clearly from an emotional certainty. It does not live in any superficial areas of the human being but permeates him from his innermost core. It cannot be grasped and brought under control directly through reflection. All talk about it inevitably remains helpless and never fully satisfies the need for conceptual clarity. One cannot hold onto the certainty of faith, but one can live entirely from it. In this way, despite its incomprehensibility, it creates an outward form. The act of offering is its visible expression⁵²².

berichten nicht über eine ferne Wirklichkeit, sondern die verborgen-anwesende Wirklichkeit gibt eine umgekehrt den äußeren Worten erst ihren Sinn". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 380.

⁵²⁰ "Das eigentliche Machtvolle der göttlichen Autorität liegt deshalb darin, daß sie selbst das urmenschliche Verlangen nach sogenannten untrüglichen Ankerspunkten nochmals zu überwinden vermag. Ihre Hoheit scheint dort auf, wo sie Menschen den Mut gibt, nicht nur auf ihr spontanes Sicherheitsverlangen zu verzichten, sondern sogar den Trieb nach einer gefühlhaft-vitalen Erfahrung des Wirkens Gottes zu meistern". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 382.

⁵²¹ "Das isolierte Wort »umsonst« ist tatsächlich zweideutig. Es kann vergeblich, nutzlos bedeuten und auch gratis, kostenlos, zweckfrei". *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 386.

⁵²² "Die Glaubensgewißheit hebt sich eindeutig von einer gefühlhaften Sicherheit ab. Sie lebt nicht in irgendwelchen oberflächlichen Bereichen des Menschen, sondern durchwirkt ihn von seinem innersten Personkern her. Sie ist durch keine Reflexion direkt zu fassen und in den Griff zu bekommen. Alles Reden über sie bleibt notgedrungen hilflos und befriedigt nie voll das Verlangen nach begrifflich faßbarer Klarheit. An die Glaubensgewißheit kann man sich nicht halten, wohl aber ganz aus ihr heraus leben. So schafft sie sich trotz ihrer Unfaßbarkeit eine äußere Gestalt. Die Tat der Hingabe ist ihr sichtbarer Ausdruck". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 382.

And this visible expression is seen in Jesus, whose mysterious I manifests itself publicly and visibly through his self-offering (*Hingabe*). The self-offering refers to the entire process of the self-emptying of the Eternal Word from the incarnation to his death on the Cross. Since Jesus is the “the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of all creation” (Col. 1:15), Schwager’s reason for citing Jürgen Moltmann’s statement that “the certitude of faith creates ‘the first liberated people of creation’” becomes clear: following Jesus confers the certainty of faith and becomes visible in a self-offering, which gives serenity (*Gelassenheit*) because one is set free from direct dependence on earthly goods⁵²³.

Schwager wonders, however, if the gratuity (*umsonst*) of Jesus’ offering, which confers freedom and feasting on his disciples, conceals a hidden agenda as Satan in his accusation against Job stated – if religion is really concealed self-interest. Satan’s charge is not without foundation, however, as the danger of instrumentalizing God for selfish ends is a pervasive feature of human existence. Rationalizations conceal the secret agenda of self-interest. Jesus overcomes this temptation because he receives his self-offering as a free and gracious calling from God, rather than something that he himself conceives or achieves of his own power and effort. Neither for an idea nor a duty, but out of the gratuity of love – the ultimate source of his being as the Son – did Jesus give himself freely away in death⁵²⁴.

Jesus shares this gracious call with his disciples through his proclamation and miracles. Through his preaching, he did not invite his disciples to try harder through

⁵²³ “Die Glaubensgewißheit schafft »die ersten Freigelassen der Schöpfung«. Der tierische Ernst fällt ab. Auch in bedrängenden Fragen bleibt eine gelöste Heiterkeit. Die Hingabe schenkt Gelassenheit, und sie befreit den Menschen von der unmittelbaren Abhängigkeit von irdischen Gütern”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 383.

⁵²⁴ “Er starb nicht für eine Idee oder eine Pflicht, sondern »umsonst«”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 385.

their own efforts, but he told them not to throw away the gifts which God was now presently bestowing on them. Likewise, Jesus dared those who asked for healing or other miracles to worry about something more than themselves and their circumstances. As they were attracted to Jesus, they experienced miraculous healings and liberation, and thereby Jesus awakened in them a new freedom. These miracles were signs and fruits of Jesus' self-offering and an invitation to follow the same way⁵²⁵.

3.3.4.5 Faith as the Fruit of the Holy Spirit

Fifth and last, Schwager describes faith as the fruit of the Holy Spirit because simply remembering Jesus is inadequate for an authentic discipleship.

In the course of time, it would either degenerate into an outward and slavish imitation or, despite all alleged loyalty, would secretly break away from its origin. The mere memory could also only awaken possibilities that lie dormant in man himself. At best it could uncover a deeper reason in himself, but it could never bring the authority of God close to him. The decisive discipleship therefore does not occur through memory, but through the power of the Holy Spirit⁵²⁶.

The Spirit adds nothing new to the message from Jesus but safeguards Christian discipleship from the perennial danger of reducing the new life in Christ to a "deadly system of moral instruction" that, in truth, squelches the Spirit (cf. 2 Cor. 3:6)⁵²⁷. When faith is a fruit of the Spirit, then it will manifest itself in its participation in the resurrection, in hope and in gracious self-offering, which allow the believer to recognize that one's life rests on God's authority.

⁵²⁵ "Die Wunder wollen deshalb nicht danach befragt werden, was nach den Gesetzen der Natur möglich ist und was nicht. Sie sind vielmehr Zeichen und Früchte der Glaubenshingabe und Einladungen, auf diesen Weg zu folgen". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 388.

⁵²⁶ "Die würde diese Weise mit der Zeit entweder zu einer äußerlichen und sklavischen Nachahmung degenerieren oder sich trotz aller vermeintlichen Treue heimlich von ihrem Ursprung lösen. Die bloße Erinnerung könnte auch nur Möglichkeiten erwecken, die im Menschen selbst schlummern. Sie vermöchte höchstens einen tieferen Grund in ihm selbst aufzudecken, könnte ihm aber nie die Autorität Gottes unmittelbar nahebringen. Die entscheidende Nachfolge geschieht daher nicht durch die Erinnerung, sondern in der Kraft des Heiligen Geistes". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 390.

⁵²⁷ "Der Geist fügt der ursprünglichen Botschaft nichts hinzu. Wohl aber bewirkt er, daß aus dem grundsätzlich neuen Leben nicht wieder ein tötendes System moralischer Anweisungen wird, das nur noch trügerisch vorgibt, Leben zu wecken, aber gerade alle feinen neuen Impulse rechtzeitig abwürgt". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 390.

He does not have to defend his self-conceived goal in life against his own life's destiny. On the contrary, he can interpret even disturbing and incomprehensible events as signs and clues for that path in life, which arises from a new source. Whoever experiences this, it is clear to him beyond all reflection that also – as in Jesus – the divine authority is at work in him⁵²⁸.

3.3.5 The Necessity and the Ambivalence of the Community of Believers

Schwager argues that five dispositions of faith for the individual believer need a community to achieve their aim. Since “the faith is accomplished in self-offering, which breaks the last thrall of one's own self”, it is necessary to live in a community of believers because “the faith is never just lived by an individual. It originates from and develops in a community of believers”⁵²⁹. As faith is always a gift, it is comparable with love, which can never be definitively acquired, but must be constantly renewed.

Therefore, it is essential to faith that the proclamation as a renewed call and the eucharistic celebration as a thankful representation of what once happened goes on and on. This requires a community in which one speaks the word of the proclamation to the other. A common thanksgiving celebration is required so that it becomes sensibly clear that the gratitude is not secretly intended for oneself, and thus degenerates into a subtle form of self-sufficiency, but really is intended for the author of the faith⁵³⁰.

Only in a genuinely eucharistic community does one learn the practice of self-offering (*Hingabe*) by observing it from others. Following Jesus, therefore, requires a communal practice of following others on the same path. Yet, in the context of mimesis as well as the perennial problems of hidden agendas, it is sometimes difficult to discern when faith

⁵²⁸ “Er hat nicht sein selbst erdachtes Lebensziel gegen sein eigenes Lebensgeschick zu verteidigen. Im Gegenteil, selbst störende und unbegreifliche Widerfahrnisse vermag er als Zeichen und Hinweis für jenen Lebensweg zu deuten, der aus einem neuen Quell entspringt. Wer dies erfährt, für den ist jenseits aller Reflexion klar, daß – wie in Jesus – so auch in ihm die göttliche Autorität am Wirken ist”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 391.

⁵²⁹ “Der Glaube vollendet sich in der Hingabe. Durch sie wird der letzte Bann des eigenen Ichs gebrochen...Der Glaube wird ja nie von einem einzelnen gelebt. Er entsteht und entfaltet sich in einer Gemeinschaft von Gläubigen”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 392.

⁵³⁰ “Zum Glauben gehört also unabdingbar, daß die Verkündigung als erneuter Anruf und die Eucharistische Feier als dankende Vergegenwärtigung des einmal Geschehen immer weitergehen. Dazu braucht es eine Gemeinschaft, in der einer dem andern das Wort der Verkündigung entgegenspricht. Es bedarf der gemeinsamen Dankesfeier, damit sinnhaft deutlich wird, daß der Danke nicht heimlich sich selbst gilt und so zu einer subtilen Form der Selbstgenügsamkeit entartet, sondern wirklich den Urheber des Glaubens meint”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 393.

is true self-offering rather than covert self-interest. For this reason, lifelong process of purification to clarify faith happens optimally in a community.

3.3.5.1 The Danger of a Plausibility Structure where Faith Ought to Be

But Schwager raises the question whether the faith of the community can rest on a foundation other than faith itself when it becomes socially widespread, becoming self-evident, a second nature, due to plausibility structure or a sociological mechanism:

In such conditions, the Christian conviction imposes itself as if by itself. Whoever follows the power relationship of his or her society is led to it [the Christian conviction]. Those who accommodate themselves to the example of other people in a Christian society and rely entirely on their authority become “believers”. But is this still actually a Christian faith?⁵³¹

Rather than drawing its life from the mysterious authority of God (which was the source of Jesus’ faith), this kind of faith rests on a social foundation that can and will be lost when these foundations shift or collapse.

In his analysis, the collapse of the Church in the West suggests the confusion between faith as following Jesus and faith as the pressure to social conformity. Indeed, from his vantage point in Europe in 1973, he argues that social pressure no longer compels faith, but rather, this same social pressure compels the opposite, namely, its rejection on account of a newer and superior plausibility structure. Secularization has shaken the plausibility structure of the Christian faith, giving rise to new patterns of believing without belonging and belonging without believing⁵³². Abandoning the

⁵³¹ “Die christliche Überzeugung drängt sich in solchen gesellschaftlichen Verhältnissen wie von selbst auf. Wer den öffentlichen Kräfteverhältnissen folgt, wird zu ihr geführt. Wer sich in einer christlichen Gesellschaft den Menschen anpaßt und sich ganz auf ihre Autorität stützt, wird >gläubig<. Ist dies aber tatsächlich noch ein christlicher Glaube?” Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 395.

⁵³² In the sociology of religion, this remains a disputed point because there are many versions of secularization as well as ways of assessing religious practice, belief and belonging. There is also much disagreement about the proper definition of religion that distinguishes it adequately from other forms of human organization, thought and activity. Furthermore, while specific practices, beliefs or organization may be experience decline, it does not necessarily follow that Atheism is the only beneficiary. The appearance of self-described ‘nones’ – as in ‘none of the above’ on questionnaires about religious belief and practice – is open to multiple interpretations. Finally, broad generalizations regarding comparison

community, whether to believe without belonging or to cease believing altogether, Schwager argues, inevitably becomes a surrender to human authority and the total abandonment of faith as gift in favor of faith as self-assertion (one does as one wills).

The decision to free oneself from the religious community would be equivalent to the claim that from now on one would have sole control of one's faith. It would then be viewed as one's own possession and lose its character as a gift which is always new when it arrives. One would quickly become self-empowered and therefore also a blind follower of religious beliefs. The external community is the permanent and visible sign that faith, although it wants to reach the individual in his innermost, nonetheless, comes from outside. Where one lapses, faith does not become pure⁵³³.

Leaving the community from which the faith originally came (both logically and chronologically) will not make faith more pure or mature Schwager claims. On the contrary, it denies one of the necessary sources of support and care that the community provides. In opposition to abandonment of the community, Schwager affirms the need to remain engaged despite its flaws and ambivalence⁵³⁴.

3.3.5.2 The Community of Flawed Believers

Since leaving the community of believers is not a sound option, Schwager must grapple with the problem of the ambivalence of the Church's members, who exhibit a split-mindedness with respect to the influence which the world exerts on them, even while exercising their commitment to following Jesus. Worse, the members of the Church are sinners. Yet, their weaknesses do not relieve the Church of its mandate to confront the world as Jesus did and commanded his followers to do. Schwager discerns

between the present and the past with respect to religion are as tendentious as those that fail to account for local variety as well as credible forms of evidence.

⁵³³ "Der Entschluß, sich von der Glaubensgemeinschaft frei zu machen, käme dem Anspruch gleiche, von nun an allein über seinen Glauben zu verfügen. Er würde damit als eigener Besitz betrachtet und verlöre seinen Charakter als Geschenk, das stets neu in Ankommen ist. Er würde rasch zu einem selbstmächtigen und deshalb auch blinden Anhängen an irgendwelche religiösen Vorstellungen. Die äußere Gemeinschaft ist ja das dauernde und sichtbare Zeichen dafür, daß der Glaube, obwohl er den einzelnen im Innersten treffen will, trotzdem von außen kommt. Wo sie verlorengelht, wird der Glaube nicht rein". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 399.

⁵³⁴ "Wenn die Trennung von der sichtbaren Kirche kein echter Weg für den Glauben ist, so bleiben doch die obenerwähnten Schwierigkeiten gegen diese Gemeinschaft vorläufig weiter bestehen. Nur wenn für sie eine befriedigende Lösung gefunden wird, kann die Autorität Gottes, auf die sich der christliche Glaube stützt, mit genügender Deutlichkeit zutage treten". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 399.

the influence of the Holy Spirit on the Church in the example of believers who, following Jesus as he described in the previous chapter of this same work, transcend the usual human opinions, and confront the powers and principalities, which both dominate society and influence the Church. The Christian must recognize and embrace the confrontation between the world and Jesus and his community of disciples. By his example, Jesus shows his disciples a new way to counter the hostility from the world. He does not reciprocate it but responds to it in a way free from violence.

Jesus did not respond with counter-pressure to rejection, and he did not stiffen into a reactive attitude [*Antihaltung*] when there were difficulties. Such behavior presupposes the experience of a fundamentally new way of life. The life of the Church is also to be measured against it⁵³⁵.

Schwager weighs the claim that the Church has always met these challenges – even if imperfectly – because its doctrine never surrendered fully to the *Zeitgeist* but indeed often resisted it. Following the Spirit’s promptings, the Church has worked to transform the world, rather than merely fighting it. But there are challenges to this claim both then and now because believers have not always remained true to Christ’s example, preferring their own traditions or conforming to the dominant values of a specific epoch.

3.3.5.3 The Prophetic and Evangelical Spirit of Criticism

Despite these evident failings, it remains the case that the Church never fully reduced itself to either of these internal or external deviations from following Jesus, and therefore, Schwager argues, remained a perennial source of (self-) criticism and new possibilities for itself and the world.

⁵³⁵ “Jesus hat auf Ablehnung nicht mit Gegendruck geantwortet und sich bei Schwierigkeiten nicht in eine Antihaltung versteift. Ein solches Verhalten setzt die Erfahrung einer grundsätzlich neuen Lebensmöglichkeit voraus. An ihm ist auch das Leben der Kirche zu messen”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 400.

Yet despite these great inadequacies and mistakes, the Church has never simply given itself over to the weight of Western society. It has always functioned as a critical leaven in it. It broke through that which was taken to be self-evident and helped something new to emerge⁵³⁶.

This prophetic service to society necessarily functions in the Church. Founded on God's authority, faith stimulated self-criticism, as seen in the uncompromising men and women who led the Church to reform and renewal, which saved the Church from becoming just another purely human creation.

They have lived a prophetic task, albeit often with humility. Their lives became a lesser or a greater reminder for the average Christian. They testified that in addition to the always deceptive instinctive security within human society, there is also a certainty that comes from God alone. Due to the contradiction that they had to experience in one way or another, they were led to purify and deepen their own faith-offering [*Glaubenshingabe*]⁵³⁷.

These men and women challenged the mediocrity of believers in all states of life by responding to the Spirit's urging to keep the Church faithful to Christ's mandate. The prophetic criticism, certainly unsettling in its demands for repentance, nevertheless redirected believers to the true foundation of peace, God, rather than to knowledge or social arrangements. Just as God's authority purifies the individual of selfish agendas, so too must the community be likewise under constant purification of self-referential agendas that distract or hinder the fulfilment of Christ's mandate⁵³⁸.

⁵³⁶ "Doch trotz dieser großen Unzulänglichkeiten und Fehler hat sich die Kirche nie einfach dem Schwergewicht der abendländlichen Gesellschaft überlassen. Sie hat in ihr immer wieder als kritisches Ferment gewirkt. Sie hat Selbstverständlichkeiten gesprengt und Neuem zum Durchbruch verholfen". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 402.

⁵³⁷ "Sie haben – wenn auch oft in aller Bescheidenheit – eine prophetische Aufgabe gelebt. Ihre Leben wurde zu einem kleineren oder größeren Mahnzeichen für die durchschnittlichen Christen. Sie haben bezeugt, daß es neben der immer trügerischen instinktiven Sicherheit innerhalb der menschlichen Gesellschaft eine Gewißheit gibt, die allein von Gott kommt. Durch den Widerspruch, den sie deswegen in der einen oder andern Weise erfahren mußten, wurden sie dazu geführt, ihre eigene Glaubenshingabe zu reinigen und zu vertiefen". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, pp. 402-403.

⁵³⁸ Pope Francis returns to the temptation to self-referentiality often in the context of spiritual worldliness. See for example, S. Wood, "Pope Francis and the Ecclesiology of Henri de Lubac" in B. Lee and T. Knoebel (eds.), *Discovering Pope Francis*, Collegeville, Liturgical Press, 2019, pp. 144-148.

3.3.5.4 *The Specific Burdens of Leadership*

Also sharing this task of the prophetic spirit is the hierarchy, who can never understand themselves simply as spokesmen for the ecclesial community or as an expression of intra-ecclesial power relationships; rather, they must be a permanent sign that the Christian message takes precedence over the willfulness of the Church community⁵³⁹. Like the saints, the hierarchy must at times remind the average Christian of the authentic source of discipleship, i.e., following Jesus' example of faith, which can be received as painful or distressing since this always demands conversion.

At the same time, however, the hierarchy must recognize certain dangers arising from the nature of leadership. Since unlimited and comprehensive responsibility is impossible for an individual, leadership offices unburden individuals of some of their responsibility to make it possible to lead. Yet, this tendency to unburden can become a generalized irresponsibility and blame-shifting.

Through its very existence church office triggers similar sociological mechanisms. It can therefore easily tempt Christians to give it the actual act of faith and thus to relieve them of the risk of faith. There is no faith without personal risks. No one can let himself be dispensed from this demand. Therefore, if church officials do not continually work against this tendency, which is inherent in every office, or if they praise it as a positive Christian attitude even as it promotes a hidden pretense to power, then the church office loses its function on behalf of the faith. It no longer acts as a provocation but creates a herd mentality⁵⁴⁰.

Office holders must resist the tendency to diminish responsibility for themselves and for believers, thereby depriving them of their dignity. Faith demands risks. When a herd

⁵³⁹ "Eine ähnliche Aufgabe hat – grundsätzlich gesehen – auch das kirchliche Amt erfüllt. Es verstand sich nie als bloßen Sprecher der kirchlichen Gemeinschaft und als Ausdruck des innerkirchlichen Kräfteverhältnisses...Das Glaubensamt steht deshalb als eines der Zeichen da, daß die christliche Botschaft den Eigenwillen der kirchlichen Gemeinschaft übersteigt", Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 403.

⁵⁴⁰ "Das kirchliche Amt löst allein durch seine Existenz ähnliche soziologische Mechanismen aus. Es kann deshalb die Christen leicht dazu verleiten, ihm die eigentliche Glaubensentscheidung zu überlassen und sie so vom Glaubenswagnis zu entlasten. Doch gibt es keinen Glauben ohne das persönliche Wagnis. Von diesem kannsch niemand dispensieren lassen. Wenn daher kirchliche Amtsträger nicht dauernd jener Tendenz, die mit jedem Amt von selbst gegeben ist, entgegenarbeiten oder wenn sie sogar aus einem undurchschauten Machtanspruch heraus diese fördern und sie als positive christliche Haltung preisen, dann verliert es seine Glaubensfunktion. Es wirkt dann nicht mehr als Herausforderung, sondern erzeugt eine Herdenmentalität". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 404.

mentality prevails, then people forfeit responsibility and freedom, which are both conditions of the act of faith. Believers come to rely on sociological mechanism for their faith, rather than placing their faith in God's authority as Jesus had.

Schwager examines this problematic more closely considering his earlier exegesis of Matthew 16 in his article *Raubgut*. He interprets Jesus' rebuke of Peter as Satan (Mt. 16:23) as applying to the same reality in two aspects (Peter or Satan) rather than an opposition between them (Peter versus Satan)⁵⁴¹. In this reading, Simon can be either: Peter when his office is rightly executed or Satan when it is wrongly executed. The former rests on God's authority, the latter on human ways of thinking and acting independent of God's authority (even when it believes it is acting from and on God's authority; cf. Mt 16:23). Jesus allowed human authorities to judge him because he trusted in the Father's plan. In so doing, his life and death criticize the nature of all human authorities, raising questions about the nature and scope of obedience to these same authorities, including the Church, a theme already treated in Schwager's dissertation.

The ecclesiastical office is therefore to be obeyed neither out of fear nor out of habit. Where this happens, the herd mentality arises. Moreover, if one adheres to the office only out of the general understanding that every office comes from God, and therefore obedience is to be given to it, then obedience is based on this insight alone, and because of this, it is no longer the obedience of faith⁵⁴².

Obedience motivated by fear, habit or custom, or simply for the sake of keeping group cohesion, fails to meet Jesus' own understanding of his obedience to his Father. Church leaders and the obedience that they legitimately command from believers have one purpose: to empower believers to overcome those interior and exterior obstacles

⁵⁴¹ Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 405-406.

⁵⁴² "Dem kirchlichen Amt ist daher weder aus Furcht noch aus Gewohnheit zu gehorchen. Wo dies geschieht, wird Herdengeist erzeugt. Hält man sich aber an das Amt nur aus der allgemeinen Einsicht heraus, daß jedes Amt von Gott komme und ihm deshalb Gehorsam zu leisten sei, dann stützt sich der Gehorsam letztlich auf diese Einsicht und gerade dadurch ist er kein Glaubensgehorsam mehr". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 405.

that prevent them from making their self-offering to God⁵⁴³. When this occurs rightly, the relationship between church office and God's authority is clear; just as Jesus did not proclaim himself but the Kingdom of God, so too must the Church not proclaim itself but – exactly as the Holy Spirit does – Jesus.

Jesus' self-forgetting offering must characterize the way church leaders exercise their authority to reveal the God the Father.

The hierarchy must make present God's authority only in this way. It is not God's representative as a self-referential social institution but points out this God and his hidden authority through its self-effacing service to the faith. But should it succumb to the temptation to bring into play moral and legal means of coercion, which are available to it as a visible institution, then it would harm that very faith that it allegedly wants to serve⁵⁴⁴.

This means great caution must be taken with the institutional features of any human group, which can be used as coercive means and lead to condemnation, just as human authorities in God's Name condemned Jesus. The power of church office holders – whom Jesus designates as servants after his example (Mt. 23:1-12) – must be drawn from God's authority, not from the threat of human judgments according to the means at the disposal of any state's legal apparatus. Resorting to worldly means of compliance by physical or psychological coercion would mean adopting the way of Satan rather than Peter. Adhering to the necessity to share Jesus' way of handling conflict not only sets the Church apart from other human communities, but it also delivers Christians from the delusion that the Church on earth can ever be a community of the perfect⁵⁴⁵. These

⁵⁴³ “Das kirchliche Amt erfüllt folglich nur dort eine Aufgabe, wo es in dienender Stellung und ohne sich selbst direkt in Spiel zu bringen, die Menschen zu einem mutigen Glauben und zu einer alleinigen Hingabe an Gott herausfordert”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 405.

⁵⁴⁴ “Das kirchliche Amt auf keine andere Weise die göttliche Autorität gegenwärtig setzen. Es ist nicht als in sich ruhende soziale Institution Stellvertreter Gottes, sondern weist durch seinen selbstvergessenen Dienst am Glauben machtvoll auf diesen Gott und seine verborgene Vollmacht hin. Verfällt es aber der Versuchung, eher moralischen und rechtlichen Druckmittel, über die es als sichtbare Institution auch verfügt, ins Spiel zu bringen, dann schade jedem Glauben, dem es angeblich dienen will”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 407.

⁵⁴⁵ “Da die kirchliche Glaubensgemeinschaft in der Nachfolge des schwachen und verurteilten Jesus steht, wäre die Erwartung, daß auf Erden je zu einer reinen Gemeinde der Heiligen werde, töricht”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 408.

weaknesses – the refusal to use any means of coercion and appealing only to the authority of God, as well as the acceptance of the imperfection of the community of believers – is where the Church finds its strength, because in this weakness the Church can avoid the temptation of self-adulation and to place its hope in God.

The weaknesses of the Church are insurmountable, even necessary for the benefit of the faith. Nevertheless, this faith is inextricably linked with the hope that the hidden work of God will repeatedly prove to be victorious to the outside world and will produce the corresponding visible fruits⁵⁴⁶.

Fruits, Schwager adds, that should be understood to be witnesses to God's activity rather than to human achievements.

Schwager wonders if church leaders can be understood to be accomplices with those who condemned Jesus because they have in the course of history condemned others with their human judgments, and Jesus never condemned anyone in a strictly legal sense, even if he did criticize and reproach them severely. It seems opportune for the Church to examine historical condemnations to determine which elements do not or should not belong to earlier doctrinal judgments. Acknowledging such errors or failures could, therefore, benefit the Church's credibility.

The highly un-Christian opinion – that this (an admission of failures) would damage the credibility of the Church – must be overcome. At the very least, it would debunk the deceitful illusion, which secretly seeks to confuse divine authority with hierarchy. In fact, the Church cannot do anything better, because through such official confessions it can testify that it does not grant itself any divine authority, but believes and dares to build upon this reality, which is fundamentally different from it⁵⁴⁷.

⁵⁴⁶ “Die Schwächen der Kirche sind unüberwindbar, ja im Interesse des Glaubens sogar notwendig. Trotzdem ist dieser Glaube untrennbar mit der Hoffnung verbunden, das sich das verborgene Wirken Gottes immer wieder auch nach außen als sieghaft erweisen und die entsprechenden sichtbaren Früchte zeitigen werde”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 409.

⁵⁴⁷ “Die höchst unchristliche Meinung, die Glaubwürdigkeit der Kirche würde dadurch Schade erleiden, ist entschieden zu überwinden. Getroffen werden mag höchstens jener trügerische Nimbus, der göttliche und kirchliche Autorität heimlich ineinander verwischen will. Tatsächlich kann die Kirche durch nichts besser, denn durch solch offizielle Bekenntnisse bezeugen, daß sie sich selbst keine göttliche Autorität zuschanzt, sondern selber glaubend und wagend auf diese von ihr grundlegend unterscheidende Wirklichkeit baut”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, pp. 411-412.

Such a humble confession would be a precious fruit of the Holy Spirit⁵⁴⁸. Throughout his theological career, Schwager saw the rehabilitation of Nestorius as an example of rectifying a historical failure⁵⁴⁹.

3.3.6 The Celebration of the Condemned One

Schwager concludes this book with a consideration of the Eucharist as “The Celebration of the Condemned One”. The Eucharist is the source and summit of faith because it is not about feelings, or individuals or groups, but only about Jesus, condemned and crucified⁵⁵⁰. It paradoxically creates a community even as it simultaneously cuts every human bond – family, society and religion – just as Jesus did and taught. The Eucharist builds up the faith that both binds and tears; it is the holy place that tears down every other claimant to holiness (Schwager seems to have in mind a contrast that Girard uses to distinguish between the divine property, holiness, and the human counterfeit, the sacred) and builds the one place in which self-offering according to Jesus’ example can take place⁵⁵¹. To flourish, the faith needs both the living community and the holy place, which the Eucharist creates. At the same time, the emergence of cliques and factions threaten this same community and its holy place. In the interest of protecting the faith, therefore, Schwager argues, every human community and every holy place must be burst open, lest they become life taking, rather than life giving⁵⁵². Only in the celebration of the Eucharist can this reciprocal

⁵⁴⁸ Schwager strongly approved of Pope John Paul II’s public act of repentance for the sins of the members of the Church at the opening of the Jubilee 2000 AD. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, editorial comment g, pp. 426-427.

⁵⁴⁹ Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, editorial comment e, p. 426

⁵⁵⁰ “Sie feiert aber nicht in erster Linie sich selbst und ihr eigenes Gemeinschaftsgefühl, sondern Jesus, und zwar als Verurteilten und Gekreuzigten”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 419.

⁵⁵¹ Schwager, *Heilsdrama*, p. 420.

⁵⁵² Schwager’s proposal seems to find a parallel in Pope Francis’ famous command to the participants at World Youth Day in Río de Janeiro in 2013, “Hagan lío” (make a mess or make a ruckus). Two years later, during his apostolic visit to Paraguay at a meeting with youth on 12 July 2015, he elaborated on his famous statement: “El otro día, un cura en broma me dijo: “Sí, usted siga haciéndole... aconsejando a los jóvenes

requirement of the faith – tearing down and binding up – work justly, because the Eucharist as a feast unifies and at the same time, as a feast of the Condemned One, bursts open.

No human being but the divine spirit can bind the opposing demands of faith into a viable unity. At least in its fundamental nature, however, the eucharistic celebration, as a celebration of the condemned, represents this tension [*Spannungseinheit*] in a living and effective way⁵⁵³.

Schwager borrows the exact term, *Spannungseinheit*, from the writings of the Silesian Jesuit Erich Przywara to describe how the Holy Spirit spans the tensions, which the Eucharist accurately and vividly represent, between the individual and the community of disciples, giving the dramatic hue to following Jesus.

3.4 Summary

Schwager's fundamental theology as presented in his dissertation and in *Jesus-Nachfolge* reflects their specific intellectual milieu, where the sociological and psychological critiques of religion were in the forefront and the diffusion of postmodernism beyond literary criticism raised serious epistemological questions about the plausibility of Modernity⁵⁵⁴. The intellectual landscape has changed, as the ensuing conflict between postmodernism in the humanities and scientism in the natural sciences, now appears to favor the latter over the former.

que hagan lío. Siga, siga. Pero después, los líos que hacen los jóvenes los tenemos que arreglar nosotros". ¡Hagan lío! Pero también ayuden a arreglar y a organizar el lío que hacen. Las dos cosas Hagan lío y organicenlo bien –exhortó el Santo Padre–. Un lío que nos dé un corazón libre, un lío que nos dé solidaridad, un lío que nos dé esperanza, un lío que nazca de haber conocido a Jesús y de saber que Dios a quien conocí es mi fortaleza. Ese es, debe ser, el lío que hagan" (The other day, a priest jokingly said to me: "Yes, keep telling young people to make a ruckus. But afterwards, we are the ones who have to clear it up". So make a ruckus! But also help in cleaning it up. Two things: make a ruckus, but do a good job of it! A ruckus that brings a free heart, a ruckus that brings solidarity, a ruckus that brings us hope, a ruckus that comes from knowing Jesus and knowing that God, once I know him, is my strength. That is the kind of ruckus which you should make.), www.vatican.va/content/francesco/en/speeches/2015/july/documents/papafrancesco_20150712_paraguay-giovani.html (accessed on 22 March 2021).

⁵⁵³ "Kein Mensch, sondern nur der göttliche Geist vermag ja die entgegengesetzten Forderungen des Glaubens in eine lebensfähige Einheit zu binden. Wenigstens ihrem grundlegenden Wesen nach stellt jedoch die Eucharistische Feier als Feier der Verurteilten diese Spannungseinheit lebendig und wirksam dar". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 421.

⁵⁵⁴ Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, pp. 32-33.

Through his academic career, Schwager never ceased to engage challenges to Christianity⁵⁵⁵. Moosbrugger observes that Schwager's early efforts still serve as a valuable reference.

Whoever – in view of the dissolution of old religious certainties in the upheavals at the transition to the Third Millennium – is concerned with the question of the possibility of a fundamental theological argumentation for the legitimacy of the serious claim of the Christian faith without fundamentalist reductionism and spiritualistic esotericism, but with a direct reference to life, will find something of value here⁵⁵⁶.

Even if some of Schwager's arguments here ceased to play a role in his subsequent thought, such as his interaction with psychology or the putting aside of consciousness Christology, his considerations on the contours and tensions of following Jesus not only clarify his evolving understanding of drama but also remain relevant to similar challenges decades later.

4. GLAUBE DER DIE WELT VERWANDELT

In 1976, Schwager published his third book, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, to expand the scope of following Jesus in the light of his recent discovery of Girard's *La violence et le sacré* and their mutual appreciation of "the efficacy of Christianity"⁵⁵⁷ in terms of its world-historical effects. Schwager, however, soon found that there was little interest in Girard's Mimetic Theory and its anthropological implications in the

⁵⁵⁵ For example, almost foreseeing the emergence of the rise of the new Atheism's reliance on neo-darwinian evolutionary theory, Schwager some years earlier treated in 1997 original sin and evolutionary theory, which appeared in English posthumously as R. Schwager, *Banished from Eden*, trans. J. Williams, Herefordshire, Gracewing, 2006.

⁵⁵⁶ "Wen angesichts der Auflösung alter religiöser Gewissheiten in den Umbrüchen am Übergang zum 3. Jahrtausend die Frage nach der Möglichkeit einer fundamentaltheologischen Argumentation für die Legitimität des hohen Anspruchs des christlichen Glaubens ohne fundamentalistische Engführungen und spiritualistische Esoterik, aber mit ums direktem Lebensbezug umtreibt, wird hier ebenfalls fündig". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 33.

⁵⁵⁷ "Your reflections on the efficacy of Christianity are very much in line with my own thinking. This is perhaps why I was so well disposed to liking your books". R. Girard and R. Schwager, *Correspondence 1974-1991*, p. 16.

German-speaking world at that time⁵⁵⁸. This lack of interest in Girard did not discourage Schwager but motivated him to show through his own writings the importance of Girard's thought. Whereas the explicit inclusion of Girard's thought in his third book is significant, it would be inaccurate and unfair to reduce Schwager to the role of a commentator or imitator of Girard as this dissertation has thus far shown. Although Girard and Schwager did enrich each other's works immensely in the years that followed, their insights emerged and developed along distinct paths, reaching a degree of coherence and integrity before 1973.

4.1 Aim

Starting with their existential situation, Schwager questions whether Christians presently suffer from an inferiority complex⁵⁵⁹. There are signs that this is the case, Schwager observes, requiring, therefore, a reply that takes the shape of his third book about how faith transforms the world. Schwager means faith primarily as a way of acting – the five dispositions from *Jesus-Nachfolge* – rather than a set of beliefs, a lifelong path, more than a requirement for embarking on this path. This faith, Jesus' singular experience of God, resting on the authority or omnipotence of God and supporting Christian discipleship (*Jesus-Nachfolge*), has changed the trajectory of the world through a drama of conflict and reconciliation during the last two thousand years. This shift to church history is the novelty of *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*.

⁵⁵⁸ He could not even find a publisher willing to publish *Violence and Sacred* despite his vigorous efforts. (It appeared only fifteen years later in German in translation in 1987, ten years after the English translation; the same year that the English translation of Schwager's *Brauchen Wir Einen Sündenbock?* appeared.)

⁵⁵⁹ "Haben Christen besondere Minderwertigkeitsgefühle?" Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 6.

From the background of church history, the idea is then developed that the Christian faith can only successfully meet the challenges posed by the secularized and pluralistic world if it finds its way back to its self-certainty in a living way⁵⁶⁰.

The revelation of truth in Jesus unfolds in the subsequent generations of Christian disciples through a history of conflict with delusions, falsehoods and violence that demands decisive choices to accept or reject this same truth. Faith, therefore, means choosing to follow Jesus through repeated experiences of passion, death, and resurrection in the life of a disciple and in the history of the world. Through trust in the Word of God, disciples confront the delusions that arise from the psychological and social mechanisms that govern human existence (echoing Girard's anthropology stemming from Mimetic Theory). In this overcoming of these delusions, faith has transformed the world demonstrably in the history of the West.

Even the rise of criticism of Christianity in the Enlightenment – in Schwager's analysis – served the deeper purpose of the Gospel, namely, the laying bare of the hidden structures of human existence the way in which violence shapes and constrains humanity. (This is also a concern which he shares with Girard.) While Schwager readily acknowledges the significance of the scientific method and critical thinking – as he stated already in *Jesus-Nachfolge* – he contends that the Enlightenment's optimistic confidence in progress and rationality make it as a way of thinking and acting too weak to overcome the psychological and social drives of self-love that constitute various species of false consciousness, e.g., Marx's economic variety, Nietzsche's version from the will to power, or Freud's from sexual desire. Again, this doubt about rationality's capacity to overcome irrational or pre-rational influences, already present in his dissertation and *Jesus-Nachfolge*, finds strong agreement in Girard.

⁵⁶⁰ “Vom kirchengeschichtlichen Hintergrund her wird dann der Gedanke entwickelt, daß der christliche Glaube den Herausforderungen durch die säkularisierte und pluralistische Welt nur erfolgreich begegnen kann, wenn er in lebendiger Weise zu seiner Selbstgewißheit zurückfindet”. Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, pp.7-8.

Schwager not only maintains the indispensable place of the Gospel in the demystification of these social and psychological structures, but also its contribution to personal and social transformation. The Gospel, therefore, does not solely focus on an otherworldly or postmortem redemption of the individual, but also on the transformation of creation through the Kingdom of God. Such a movement requires personal and social (ecclesial) levels of faith that help to evaluate and correct each other in terms of their fidelity to the Gospel. Schwager's analysis differs from Girard in *Violence and the Sacred* because Schwager traces the history of the Gospel's influence on the West through the history of Western thought, whereas Girard provides evidence for the plausibility of Schwager's argument from his treatment of other non-biblical sources in *Violence and the Sacred* and his other contemporary writings.

4.2 Structure

Schwager organizes the work into four chapters that closely follow *Jesus-Nachfolge*, except for Chapter Four, where Schwager expands his argument to consider the historical ramifications of following Jesus. Chapter One, "Faith as a Participation in the Omnipotence of God", reprises and develops his arguments in Chapter One of *Jesus-Nachfolge*. Chapter Two, "Jesus as the Son of God and the Experience of Faith", shifts away from the history of the development of the Chalcedonian definition (in Chapter Two of *Jesus-Nachfolge*) to biblical exegesis in light of Girard's Mimetic Theory. Chapter Three, "Powerful Life of Faith in a Pluralistic World", offers biblical and historical evidence for the powerful transformation wrought by practicing the faith of Jesus in the lives of individuals and in the life of the Church (thus, a deepening of Chapters Three and Four of *Jesus-Nachfolge*). In Chapter Four, Schwager presents new material in terms of the influence of following Jesus on the development of the West.

4.3 Content

As with *Jesus-Nachfolge*, Schwager starts with the real-world crisis of faith as a point of departure. Whilst conceding the power and attractiveness of Modernity vis-à-vis Christianity, he also notes the rise of doubts about the modern myth of progress (a subject already introduced in *Jesus-Nachfolge*).

Overall, as these various experiences suggest, Christians do not seem to have been particularly creative or confident over the past few centuries. Where was that faith that everything is possible, and where was that power that has overcome the world? This question will be pursued in the following arguments. It is examined whether those dimensions and possibilities of the Christian faith, which would be decisive for a successful confrontation with modern challenges, have not been left sitting idle⁵⁶¹.

Believing that the life of Jesus is the point of reference for a proper understanding of faith, Schwager wants to reinvigorate the Christian sense of Jesus as the Son of God by delivering it from the dangers of abstraction and distance from real life and restoring an authentic sense of the power that Jesus offers to his disciples. Schwager aims to demonstrate that when the faith has been rightly understood, it has dramatically transformed not only individuals but the world. He strongly argues that Christianity is more important than often thought, even when it was valued in the past, and more strikingly, that in the future its true importance will be recognized.

4.3.1 Competing Understandings of Faith

At the conclusion of *Jesus-Nachfolge*, Schwager defined faith in eucharistic terms synchronically as “the Feast of the Condemned One” by which believers also die and rise with Jesus through the ongoing purification of themselves and their community, being demolished and built anew over and over. Schwager now adds the diachronic

⁵⁶¹ “Wie diese verschiedenen Erfahrungen nahelegen, scheinen die Christen -- aufs Ganze gesehen -- während der letzten Jahrhunderte nicht besonders schöpferisch und zuversichtlich gewesen zu sein. Wo blieb jener Glaube, dem alles möglich ist, und wo blieb jene Kraft, die die Welt überwunden hat? Dieser Frage soll in den kommenden Ausführungen nachgegangen werden. Dabei wird vor allem untersucht, ob nicht gerade jene Dimensionen und Möglichkeiten des christlichen Glaubens brach liegengeblieben sind, die für eine erfolgreiche Konfrontation mit den modernen Herausforderungen entscheidend wären”. Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 7.

dimension, as the faith travels through history on the long, hard, patient way (for it cannot be rushed) to know the work of the Holy Spirit. Schwager's analysis of faith commences with two conflicting understandings of faith as consent to truth expressed in obedience and humility (from Thomas á Kempis) and faith as an act of believing (in the contemporary sense of spiritual maturity). In his view, both approaches endanger the proper understanding of the faith:

Does the reason for this weakness not lie in the fact that the great claim of Christian truth was once only made abstractly and too little supported by a corresponding experience for individual believers, whereas today the experience is too little rooted in the revealed truth? The proper ordering of experience and revealed truth will keep us busy in the coming reflections⁵⁶².

The answer to the problem lies in the polarity between experience and revealed truth, between the individual and the community of believers.

Schwager returns to his understanding of faith from *Jesus-Nachfolge* (M. Hengel's term, *unerhörtes Bewußtsein*) with a new term, Jesus' supreme self-awareness or consciousness (*das hohe Selbstbewußtsein Jesu*). By his words and deeds, Jesus demonstrated his profound awareness of who he was in relation to God as the Son of God. His proclamation of the kingdom in parables, for example, revealed the immediacy of the Kingdom of God in ordinary life, setting the context for his urgent call to repentance and to live according to God's will alone. As "his unheard-of claims were the prerequisite for his demanding claims for his disciples"⁵⁶³, Jesus believed that he had the authority to command his disciples to give up everything, including family and even the Law itself. Schwager cites Jesus' command, "Let the dead bury the dead" as an

⁵⁶² "Legt die Ursache für diese Schwäche nicht darin, daß der hohe Anspruch für die christliche Wahrheit einst nur abstrakt erhoben und zu wenig von einer entsprechenden Erfahrung bei den einzelnen Gläubigen getragen wurde, während heute die Erfahrung zu wenig in der geoffenbarten Wahrheit verwurzelt ist? Die Zuordnung von Erfahrung und geoffenbarter Wahrheit wird uns in den kommenden Überlegungen ständig beschäftigen". Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 9.

⁵⁶³ "Sein unerhörter Anspruch war die Voraussetzung für den anspruchsvollen Ruf an seine Jünger". Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 15.

illustration whereby he at the same time seems to transcend the customary understanding of the Law regarding burying the dead (Lv. 21:1-3) as well as asserting that following him takes precedence even over family, whether those family members are living or dead, as the phrase in the Gospels (Mt. 8:21-22 and Lk. 9:59-60) allows both readings.

4.3.1.1 Universal Call to Follow Jesus

Schwager finds no scriptural basis to distinguish the rigors of discipleship as a restricted call from a more general call to faith. Rather, from the same evidence, Schwager argues that following Jesus is more than believing in him, or a special kind of service or role, or even imitating him, but is a general and universal call to enter Jesus' own self-awareness of who he is, which then becomes foundation of one's own self-awareness. Considering Hebrews 12:2, "Jesus, the leader and perfecter of faith", Schwager contends "faith means not simply assenting to revealed truths, but – as the Synoptic Gospels conceive of discipleship – the pursuit of that way, which Jesus had opened"⁵⁶⁴. Jesus, the truth and the life (Jn. 14:6), embodies faith in his total obedience to the Father⁵⁶⁵. Concluding his summary of the New Testament witness, Schwager incorporates Kasper's description of Paul's definition of faith into his own:

Faith consists in "being let into" Jesus' innermost attitude towards the Father. His unique relationship with God, moreover, established his unheard-of claims and supreme self-consciousness. Therefore, this "being let into" Jesus' supreme self-consciousness belongs to faith⁵⁶⁶.

It is through this experience of being submerged, being let into the experience of Jesus' relationship to the Father – the language and meaning is reminiscent of a Baptism in the

⁵⁶⁴ "Glaube meint nicht bloß die Bejahung von geoffenbarten Wahrheiten, sondern – wie der synoptische Gedanke der Nachfolge – die Verfolgung jenes Weges, den Jesus eröffnet hat". Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 17.

⁵⁶⁵ "Auch dort ist Jesus zugleich die Wahrheit und der Weg (14,6). Der Glaube bezieht sich auf ihn, weil er ganz Gehorsam gegenüber dem Vater gelebt hat". Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 17.

⁵⁶⁶ "Der Glaube besteht in 'Eingelassenwerden in Jesu innerste Haltung gegenüber dem Vater'. Seine einmalige Beziehung zu Gott begründete aber seinen unerhörten Anspruch und sein hohes Selbstbewußtsein. Also gehört zum Glauben auch das 'Eingelassenwerden' in das hohe Selbstbewußtsein Jesu". Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 17.

Holy Spirit – that one gains the right understanding of the picking up of one’s own cross.

For Jesus, the cross is the decisive context for his experience of God.

The cross, however, is anything but surrender to suffering, or just the price that would have to be paid to enter the other world. Rather, it is the form under which the Kingdom of God is already present on this earth. However, this presence is not perceivable for everyone, but only for those who accept the outrageous proclamation of an already present salvation...The “being let into” Jesus’ supreme disposition [towards the Father] therefore belongs unconditionally to carrying the cross.⁵⁶⁷

Jesus’ resurrection ratifies the kingdom’s presence through the victorious overcoming of death (*Todesverfallenheit*), an overcoming in which the disciples participate. Their belief in their own overcoming of death in Jesus – manifest in various writings of the New Testament – could only come about if their view of the world had drastically and simultaneously changed through their encounter with the Risen One as both victor over death and as life-giving Spirit⁵⁶⁸. This transformation may not be simply understood as an assent to some added information or truth about reality, but an utterly new way of seeing the world and oneself.

The situation changed with Easter. The faith in the Risen One consisted of nothing more than a whole new encounter with him. Jesus no longer manifested himself to the disciples in an external form but became the principal reason for their own existence. The supreme self-consciousness of the pre-Easter Jesus became as the life-giving Spirit of the “Resurrected One” a constitutive part of the consciousness of the believing followers, or rather, better said, they were incorporated into him⁵⁶⁹.

⁵⁶⁷ “Das Kreuz ist jedoch alles andere als Kapitulation vor dem Leid oder bloß der Preis, der für den Eintritt in die andere Welt zu zahlen wäre. Es ist vielmehr die Form, unter der das Reich Gottes bereits jetzt auf dieser Erde gegenwärtig ist. Diese Gegenwart ist jedoch nicht für jedermann wahrnehmbar, sondern nur für jene, die sich auf den unerhörten Anspruch der Verkündigung vom schon gegenwärtigen Heil einlassen...Zur Kreuzesnachfolge gehört deshalb unbedingt das Eingelassenwerden in die hoheitsvolle Haltung Jesu”. Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 19.

⁵⁶⁸ “Der Reich Gottes ist nur Reich Gottes, und die Überwindung des Todes ist nur real, wenn die gegebene Welt durch entscheidend verändert und neugestaltet wird”. Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 22.

⁵⁶⁹ “Mit Ostern änderte sich die Situation. Der Glaube an den Auferstandenen beinhaltete nichts anderes als eine ganz neue Begegnung mit Ihm. Jesus erwies sich nicht mehr als eine den Jüngern äußere Gestalt, sondern wurde zum tragenden Grund ihre eigene Existenz. Das hohe Selbstbewußtsein des vorösterlichen Jesus wurde als lebenspendender Geist des Auferstandenen zum integrierenden Bestandteil des Bewußtseins der gläubigen Nachfolger, oder besser gesagt, diese wurden in ihn aufgenommen”. Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 23.

4.3.1.2 Following Jesus as a Motive of Credibility for Faith

With access to the same style of life as Jesus through a faith founded on God's power (or authority as in *Jesus-Nachfolge*), his disciples should exhibit freedom from the powers and forces that influence and direct human behavior, whether psychological or sociological in origin. This freedom gives a credible witness to the faith because it is free from the temptations to use violence to achieve human longings.

The power of faith thus proves to be freedom from and above violence. It provides evidence that talking about faith as overcoming death is more than mere talk. Where violence is not broken, then the proclamation that the passage from death to life has already happened acts as an empty assertion⁵⁷⁰.

For Schwager, therefore, the faith demonstrates its truth when it renders violence powerless. This must not only be true of individual believers but also the entire community of believers, the Church.

4.3.1.3 The Community of Believers

The proper unfolding of this understanding of faith requires a new community, which Jesus fashions by relativizing all previous human bonds – familial, social, national – in favor of the new unity, whose bonds emerge from the inner logic of the love of God and love of neighbor. As the Gospel records, the gathering of this new community provoked at the same time a counter-grouping of various disaffected parties who took issue with Jesus' words and deeds and his new community. This counter-grouping unified around the common enemy, Jesus, even believing that it was doing God's work when they condemned and crucified Jesus and scattered his community.

The resurrection, however, reversed this scattering because believers no longer only experienced Jesus from without (when he walked with them), but also experienced

⁵⁷⁰ "Die Macht des Glaubens erweist sich so als Freiheit von der Gewalt und über die Gewalt. Sie liefert den Nachweis, daß die Rede vom Glauben als Überwindung des Todes mehr ist als bloße Gerede. Wo die Gewalt nicht gebrochen wird, wirkt die Verkündigung, der Schritt vom Tod zum Leben sei schon geschehen, als leere Behauptung". Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 29.

him as a powerful presence within (through the life-giving Spirit). Schwager does not intend to deny the objective nature of Christ's bodily resurrection but show the interiorization of Jesus' presence through his resurrection that leads to the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in his disciples. The inner unity of the experience of the Risen One (the Risen One is the same Jesus of Nazareth) led to new external bonds that result from the commemoration of the Risen One with others (the Eucharist as "the Celebration of the Condemned One" in *Jesus-Nachfolge*); thus, the entire community becomes the point of unity with Jesus as its center. The eyewitnesses of Jesus before and after his resurrection, the apostles, establish the external criterion for discerning the inner experience of the Risen One as authentic as opposed to a subjective disposition. (This is reminiscent of Ignatius' method of discernment to coordinate internal and external criteria⁵⁷¹.)

4.3.1.4 The Ambivalent Witness of the Community of Believers

The Christian faith, therefore, consists necessarily of both the inner experience of the Spirit and the external apostolic witness, which explains the necessity and ambivalence of the visible and external community of disciples, as Schwager observed in *Jesus-Nachfolge*⁵⁷². Seen historically, it is evident that Christians have succumbed at times to the temptation to treat non-Christians arrogantly because of the belief of possessing the truth about God; and now they have succumbed, observes Schwager, based on this ambivalent legacy, to the opposite temptation to level all differences among religions.

⁵⁷¹ "Das apostolische Zeugnis ist nötig. Nur mit seiner Hilfe und in seinem Licht kann im eigenen Inneren zwischen subjektiver Stimmung und Gegenwart des lebenspendenden Geistes unterschieden werden". Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, pp. 31-32.

⁵⁷² Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, pp. 392-397.

The conviction that one possesses a truth that has come from God can lead not only to elitist consciousness but also to collective arrogance. Christians have all too often succumbed to this temptation and have viewed non-Christians as lost pagans for centuries. Today this arrogant attitude has receded, but there is a growing tendency to level the differences between the religions⁵⁷³.

Both of these extreme positions fail to appreciate authentic faith, which comes in specific actions of God – not from general human experience or in abstract and timeless propositions – and communicates these actions through the experience of the Risen One.

4.3.1.5 The Necessary Open-endedness of the Journey of the Community of Believers

The Christian faith is thus best understood as a way – rather than an essence – that grows and develops through its long pre-history in Israel, the life, death and resurrection of Jesus, and the subsequent history of the community of disciples as the Church. It is consequently a difficult and confusing way, requiring one to question how boundaries should be set, if at all:

What is decisive is the theological insight that faith can only be lived at all as a long and often confused way, and that for this reason, the boundaries of the community of faith must be open. Psychologically, it is not easy to endure this openness. It is precisely in enduring this difficulty that the faith demonstrates that it is God's work, rather than just a group ideology⁵⁷⁴.

4.3.2 Son of God as Understood through Key Witnesses

Schwager reviews the Church's experience of faith considering its coming to understand Jesus as the Son of God -- a subject he previously treated in *Jesus-Nachfolge* according to the history of the Chalcedonian definition -- but here focusing

⁵⁷³ “Die Überzeugung, eine von Gott gekommene Wahrheit zu besitzen, kann nicht nur zu elitären Bewußtsein, sondern auch zu kollektiver Überheblichkeit führen. Die Christen sind dieser Versuchung nur zu oft verfallen und haben während Jahrhunderten die Nicht-Christen als verlorene Heiden betrachtet. Heute hat sich diese überhebliche Haltung weitgehend zurückgebildet, dafür breitet sich die Tendenz aus, die Unterschiede zwischen den Religionen einzuebnen”. Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 33.

⁵⁷⁴ “Entscheidend ist die theologische Einsicht, daß der Glaube überhaupt nur als langer und oft verworrener Glaubensweg gelebt werden kann und daß deswegen die Grenzen der Glaubensgemeinschaft offen sein müssen. Diese Offenheit zu ertragen ist psychologisch nicht leicht. Gerade im Aushalten dieser Schwierigkeit hat sich aber zu zeigen, ob der Glaube tatsächlich im Wirken Gottes gründet oder nur Gruppenideologie ist”. Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 35.

primarily on the biblical evidence in Chapter Two and then on church history in Chapter Three. The problem before Schwager emerges from the dangers of two christological misunderstandings that collapse the mystery of the hypostatic union. The first gives rise to the danger of relativizing the mystery of Jesus by placing it within the general laws of history (*Gesetzmäßigkeiten der Geschichte*), reducing him to a symbol of a general human experience or the high point of an inner worldly process. The second risks rendering Jesus so alien to human experience that the words used to describe him no longer communicate anything meaningful, imprisoning believers in fantastic or mythological images⁵⁷⁵. Through his treatment of the biblical sources, Schwager suggests that following Jesus best avoids both erroneous tendencies in seeking to understand him correctly as the Son of God.

The question arises as to whether the specific experiences on the path of discipleship offer the most suitable background for understanding the person of Jesus in such a way that, on the one hand, he is not leveled into a general law and, on the other hand, is not singled out as a mythological figure by incomprehensible and meaningless vocabulary⁵⁷⁶.

The transignification of the term Son of God from the Bible does not occur through conceptualization, but within the process of dramatic revelation, consisting of the interaction of Jesus, his disciples, his opponents and the first generation of the Church.

What is meant by the term Son of God, understood in the Christian sense, cannot therefore be simply determined with the help of a series of other terms. Its meaning is only revealed by looking at the whole dramatic process of revelation as it was briefly sketched⁵⁷⁷.

⁵⁷⁵ “Jesus als der Sohn Gottes darf nicht so in die Gesetzmäßigkeiten der Geschichte eingeordnet werden, daß dabei das unableitbare Geheimnis seiner Person verschwindet und er zum Symbol einer allgemeinen menschlichen Erfahrung oder zum bloßen Höhepunkt eines innerweltlichen Prozesses wird. Andererseits darf er nicht so herausgehoben werden, daß die Worte über ihn nicht mehr auf eine menschliche Erfahrung treffen, inhaltsleer werden und damit als Haftpunkt für beliebige Phantasiebilder dienen”. Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 37.

⁵⁷⁶ “Die Frage liegt nahe, ob nicht die spezifischen Erfahrungen auf dem Weg der Nachfolge den geeignetsten Hintergrund bieten, um die Person Jesu so zu verstehen, daß sie einerseits nicht in eine allgemeine Gesetzmäßigkeit eingeebnet und andererseits nicht durch unverständliche und inhaltsleere Vokabeln als mythologische Gestalt ausgesondert wird”. Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 38.

⁵⁷⁷ “Was mit dem im christlichen Sinne verstandenen Ausdruck Sohn Gottes gemeint ist, kann folglich nicht bloß mit Hilfe einer Reihe anderer Begriffe eindeutig bestimmt werden. Sein Sinn erschließt sich nur aus der Zusammenschau des ganzen dramatischen Prozesses der Offenbarung, wie er kurz gezeichnet wurde”. Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 71.

As the Son of God, Jesus brings together the earlier messianic expectation with his self-offering (*Hingabe*) on the Cross, the result of which reveals God's oneness as not being alone (thus, the Holy Trinity) and his complete and total commitment to humanity. In this revelation, Jesus' followers discover the power to follow Jesus' example of self-offering, free from violence (*gewaltfrei*) in the face of confrontations with enemies. This conduct cannot be reduced to an ethical standard or an abstract truth but flows out of the conviction that one lives from the power of another (as he argued in *Jesus-Nachfolge*). This conviction is true faith, which does not evince itself in a deferential attitude toward the law or authority, both of which depend on the letter (as opposed to the spirit – again, cf. 2 Cor. 6), but in the following of Jesus.

True faith therefore does not consist in a servile bow to the letter, or an authority based on the letter, but in a discipleship that is understood as entering the supreme self-consciousness of Jesus, as participation in the power of the resurrection and as readiness for the cross⁵⁷⁸.

To evaluate this proposition regarding faith, Schwager draws examples from the history of the Church, including Paul, the community of John the Evangelist, the early martyrs, the theology of divinization, mysticism, church office, schismatic tendencies among Christians, and finally, the postconciliar polarization within in the Church, which also motivated his analysis in *Jesus-Nachfolge*, especially in Chapter Four.

4.3.2.1 Paul

From the first generation of Christians, Schwager treats Paul and the community around John the Evangelist as examples of those who lived powerfully out of Jesus,

⁵⁷⁸ “Der wahre Glaube besteht deshalb nicht in einer knechtischen Verbeugung vor dem Buchstaben noch vor einer Autorität, die sich auf den Buchstaben stützt, sondern in einer Nachfolge, die verstanden wird als Eintreten in das hohe Selbstbewußtsein Jesu, als Teilhabe an der Macht der Auferstehung und als Bereitschaft zum Kreuz”. Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 76.

crucified and risen. Schwager presents Paul's discipleship in explicitly dramatic terms, referring to the climax of Paul's 'I' becoming 'we':

This becomes particularly clear when, at the critical climax, he goes over to depicting the events between God and man even as a drama of his own self (Rm. 7:7-7:25): "Miserable one that I am! Who will deliver me from this mortal body?" (Rm. 7:24). Since he has entered the path of Jesus and has taken part in the powerful life of the Risen One, his ego – within the framework of the we – receives a theological dimension and becomes a place where the surprising ways of God's action can be read⁵⁷⁹.

Paul gives an explicit insight to other believers about the way God and the believer act together, not as one imposing his will on the other, but as two agents acting together in concert.

4.3.2.2 The Community of John

Schwager views John's Gospel as the faith experience of a community of believers, who dared to report the Gospel in light of their own experiences:

On the contrary, the Johannine communities had the audacious courage to put innovative words into the mouth of even those who had known the Son of God. They must have acted out of the conviction that the full truth is not proclaimed by the mere repetition of received accounts, but that it is to be expressed in a language that is indeed linked to the words of the earthly Jesus, but at the same time also considers the changed situation and their own spiritual experience⁵⁸⁰.

Consequently, he contends, that they placed their experiences on the lips of Jesus and others because these experiences truly communicate what was really happening in them because of their new life in Christ. They believed that their account was not only true to the historical words and deeds of Jesus before the resurrection, but also true because they

⁵⁷⁹ "Besonders deutlich wird dies, wenn er auf dem kritischen Höhepunkt dazu übergeht, das Geschehen zwischen Gott und Mensch sogar als Drama seines eigenen Ichs darzustellen (Röm 7,7 -7,25): 'Ich unglücklicher Mensch! Wer wird mich aus diesem Todesleib erretten?' (Röm 7,24). Da er auf den Weg Jesu eingetreten ist und am machtvollen Leben des Auferstandenen Anteil gewonnen hat, bekommt sein Ich – im Rahmen des Wir – eine theologische Dimension und wird zum Ort, an dem die überraschenden Wege des Handelns Gottes abgelesen werden können". Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 79.

⁵⁸⁰ "Die johanneischen Gemeinden hatten vielmehr den unerhörten Mut, sogar jenem, sie als Sohn Gottes bekannten, bewußt neue Worte in den Mund zu legen. Sie mußten aus der Überzeugung heraus gehandelt haben, daß die volle Wahrheit nicht durch die bloße Wiederholung überlieferter Sätze verkündet wird, sondern daß sie in einer Sprache auszusagen ist, die zwar an den Worten des irdischen Jesus anknüpft, zugleich aber auch der veränderten Situation und der eigenen Geisterfahrung Rechnung trägt". Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 80.

experienced the fulfilment of Jesus' promise to send the Spirit to bring them to the whole truth (cf. Jn. 16:13-15⁵⁸¹).

4.3.2.3 The Early Martyrs

The early martyrs, such as Polycarp and Ignatius, demonstrate the power of the faith in its supreme embodied expression of self-offering in the face of persecution, state terror and mass violence. Christian martyrdom, following the example of Jesus, who neither sought martyrdom nor hated his executioners when the outcome was no longer in doubt, distinguishes itself from other forms of martyrdom, in which the martyr expresses hate and contempt towards his enemies. There is no fanaticism, promising vengeance or making threats, but prayers for forgiveness and the supreme free act of self-offering (*Hingabe*).

The joyful confidence with which many believers would go to their deaths clearly shows that they did not blindly rage against other people and advance an oppositional attitude within themselves, but wanted to bear witness to them, to that which they knew they were called. So alive was this supreme "faith-consciousness" in them that, as Jesus promised his disciples, they were freed from worrying about their own lives and were able to follow him on his way to the end⁵⁸².

4.3.2.4 The Theology of Divinization

Contrasting with the deeds of the martyrs are the words of the theologians regarding divinization, which grasped the dignity with which the faith held the believer. Through the wonderful exchange God became man so that man could become God. In working out this mystery – Schwager cites Irenaeus and Athanasius as sources – ideas

⁵⁸¹ "But when he comes, the Spirit of truth, he will guide you to all truth. He will not speak on his own, but he will speak what he hears, and will declare to you the things that are coming. He will glorify me, because he will take from what is mine and declare it to you. Everything that the Father has is mine; for this reason, I told you that he will take from what is mine and declare it to you".

⁵⁸² "Auch die frohe Zuversicht, mit der viele Gläubige in den Tod gingen, zeigt deutlich, daß sie nicht gegen andere Menschen blinden kämpfen und eine Antihaltung in sich nähern, sondern für jenen Zeugnis ablegen wollten, von dem sie sich gerufen wußten. Das hohe Glaubensbewußtsein war in ihnen so lebendig, daß sie, wie Jesus seinen Jüngern verheißt hat, von der Sorge um ihr eigenes Leben frei wurden, und ihm auf seinem Weg bis zum Ende folgen konnten". Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 85.

crept into theology that inadvertently weakened discipleship. These tended to focus on aspects of the mystery that downplayed discipleship as such (Irenaeus) or that the new life in Christ was only brought to fulfilment after death (Athanasius)⁵⁸³.

The theological focus on the incarnation and the static contemplation of the person of Christ also had grave consequences. They led to the start of a gradual separation of theology from discipleship, and knowledge from the life of faith⁵⁸⁴.

Even though the theology of divinization gradually came to place more emphasis on faith as an intentional act of assenting to truth rather than faith as practice of discipleship, it nevertheless makes clear the extent to which Christians held their dignity and election in high regard and the kinds of expectations from which they lived⁵⁸⁵.

4.3.2.5 Mysticism

The narrowing of the focus of theology on knowledge resulted in the privileging of the letter (science) over spirit (discipleship), or the reversing of the priority of practice over theory. Theology as a science developed by using propositions and counterpropositions but lost lived experience as a source and a critique of its growing body of knowledge. Consequently, mysticism emerged as a response to reconcile theology as science to theology as experience. Due to the influence of Neoplatonism, the experience of God was considered rare and extraordinary. Yet saints such as Francis of Assisi and Ignatius of Loyola, presented a challenge to theology as science, which could not come to terms with their experiences of God.

⁵⁸³ Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, pp. 83-85.

⁵⁸⁴ “Die theologische Ausrichtung auf die Menschwerdung und die statische Betrachtung der Person Christi hatten allerdings auch bedenkliche Folgen. Sie führten dazu, daß die Theologie von der Nachfolge und die Wissenschaft vom Glaubensleben langsam zu trennen begannen”. Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 85.

⁵⁸⁵ “Die Theologie von der Vergöttlichung des Menschen ist deshalb trotz ihrer späteren Einseitigkeiten ein deutliches Zeichen, wie hoch die Christen von ihrer Würde und Auserwählung tatsächlich dachten und welche Erwartungen ihnen lebendig waren”. Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 85.

By their following of Jesus and through the experiences which they received, Francis of Assisi and Ignatius of Loyola became those powerful figures, who influenced history in a lasting way. However, they lived their mysticism of discipleship in a Church that did not yet reflexively ask itself the question from which experiences the truth of faith can be correctly understood⁵⁸⁶.

Their experience of discipleship fundamentally altered their self-understanding, resulting in dramatically changed trajectories for their lives and for those who wished to imitate them. But it did not directly alter the Church's theology and proclamation, which remained constrained to its more intellectual understanding of faith.

4.3.2.6 Church Office

In contrast to the indirect influence of mysticism, “the most direct and clear expression was created in the self-understanding of the Church officials by the supreme Christian faith-consciousness”⁵⁸⁷. The evolution of the episcopate and patriarchate as self-aware office holders takes place within conflicts among themselves and with the temporal authorities, especially the emperors, over time, each in part defining who they are in the confrontation with each other. Much of the credibility of these offices as spiritual authorities diminished as their temporal power grew. In the late Medieval conflicts (Avignon papacy, the Western Schism, Council of Konstanz/Constance), however, the papacy never lost its self-consciousness as an authority; later at Vatican One, this authority received a conciliar recognition. The shrinking self-understanding of the Church's authority in legal terms, however, led to a diminished expectation about discipleship in general.

However, the less the office thought that it was tied to the life of faith of the Christian people, the less its contribution to promoting an elevated level of faith became. Most of

⁵⁸⁶ “Durch die Nachfolge Jesu und die ihnen dabei geschenkten Erfahrungen wurden Franz von Assisi und Ignatius von Loyola zu jener machtvollen Gestalt, die auf nachhaltige Weise die Geschichte beeinflusst haben. Sie lebten ihre Mystik der Nachfolge allerdings in einer Kirche, die sich die Frage noch nicht reflex stellte, von welchen Erfahrungen her Glaubenswahrheit richtig verstanden werden können”. Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 88.

⁵⁸⁷ “Den direktesten und deutlichsten Ausdruck schuf sich das hohe christliche Glaubensbewußtsein im Selbstverständnis der kirchlichen Amtsträger”. Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 88.

the time, it no longer patiently tried to lead the baptized to a mature faith, but instead appeared to them with the demand for submission and was very satisfied when it found obedience⁵⁸⁸.

4.3.2.7 The Church of Piety versus the Church of Power

These long historical developments place in clear relief the tension between the ideal of holiness in following Jesus with the weakness of his disciples, which brought forth both various movements dissatisfied with this compromise. Schwager's foregoing observation fits well with the work of American sociologist of religion Rodney Stark, who characterizes this struggle as a conflict between the "church of power" or "church of laxity" and the "church of piety"⁵⁸⁹. The Bible gave rise to the self-consciousness of the Church as an authoritative institution as well as the conscience of the reformers, who saw their critique of the Church as an expression of their loyalty to Christ. Although the Church exists in a variety of times and places, what remains constant across time and space is the following of Jesus and concurrently the sinfulness of its members. This paradox lays bare the great patience and care with which Christ and the Holy Spirit handle humanity, never compelling, always proposing, the following of Jesus through a long, difficult historical journey.

History recounts occasions whereby those who wished to safeguard the faith often betrayed that same faith because they succumbed to hatred and violence. Interpreting these tragic outcomes in the light of the Gospel reveals them to be the work of delusional mechanisms, which remain a perennial danger to human beings, Christian or otherwise. Schwager argues that just as Jesus overcame this danger through his self-

⁵⁸⁸ "Je weniger sich jedoch das Amt an das Glaubensleben des christlichen Volkes zurückgebunden wußte, desto geringer wurde sein Beitrag zur Förderung des hohen Glaubensbewußtseins. Es versuchte meistens nicht mehr, die Getauften langsam zu einem mündigen Glauben zu führen, sondern trat ihnen gegenüber mit der Forderung nach Unterwerfung auf und war sehr zufrieden, wenn es Gehorsam fand". Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 90.

⁵⁸⁹ R. Stark, *The One True God*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2001, pp. 117-119; R. Stark, *Discovering God: The Origins of Great Religions and the Evolution of Belief*, New York, HarperOne, 2007, pp. 159-160.

offering on the Cross, which eliminated the ambivalence of the historically conditioned images he used to explain the Kingdom of God, “Similarly, every believer has to reckon with the certainty that his understanding of faith must be cleansed of ambiguous and false elements through future painful experiences”⁵⁹⁰.

4.3.3 The Polarity of the Gospel and the Faustian Soul of the West

In the fourth and concluding chapter, Schwager is ready to present evidence for his thesis that Christianity has played a surprising and irreplaceable role in making the West. Schwager considers Oswald Spengler’s classification of the West as possessing a Faustian soul; the adjective “Faustian”, as well as much of the inspiration for *Der Untergang des Abendlandes (The Decline of the West)* comes from Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. Spengler’s philosophy of history analogizes cultures as organisms with life cycles. The Faustian soul – Spengler refers to other cultures with different souls – animates the Western self’s or I’s boundless drive for freedom, knowledge, and power. Under the influence of Christian belief and practice, the Faustian soul evolved in unexpected ways giving rise the Western sense of the individual, which is a cause, not an effect of Modernity⁵⁹¹. Schwager lists some of the practices⁵⁹¹ that shaped the Faustian soul into the modern individual.

Paul’s and Augustine’s experience of the restlessness of the heart, the thought of the omnipotence and freedom of the divine will, the self-understanding of man as the image of God, the experience of that I who takes responsibility and tries to convert, these and similar elements have not only shaped religious life, but also influenced the culture of the Western world through lengthy and underground processes⁵⁹².

⁵⁹⁰ “Ähnlich hat jeder Gläubige gerade aus der Gewißheit seines Glaubens heraus damit zu rechnen, daß sein Glaubensverständnis durch kommende leidvolle Erfahrungen von zweideutigen und falschen Elementen gereinigt werden muß”. Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 99.

⁵⁹¹ For a presentation of this argument, see, L. Siedentop, *Inventing the Individual: The Origin of Western Liberalism*, London, Allen Lane, 2014.

⁵⁹² “Die paulinische und augustinische Erfahrung von der Unruhe des Herzens, der Gedanke von der Allmacht und Freiheit des göttlichen Willens, das Selbstverständnis des Menschen als Ebenbild Gottes, die Erfahrung jenes Ich, das die Schuld persönlich auf sich nimmt und sich um Umkehr bemüht, diese und ähnliche Elemente haben nicht nur das religiöse Leben geprägt, sondern über langwierige und

However, with the arrival of Modernity, new tensions came into play, Under the influence of Francis Bacon, the Faustian soul reasserted itself with the priority of action, dropping the antecedent receptivity as in Nadal's "contemplative in action" about which Schwager wrote in his first book on Ignatius and the *Spiritual Exercises*.

The much-celebrated English thinker and writer understood knowledge no longer as a humble opening to the larger and more comprehensive reality and as patient listening to the workings of the spirit, but as power over things. The human mind would have to dominate everything, and it would, as it were, must create things anew by machines⁵⁹³.

This redefinition of knowledge and the social transformation that followed in its wake caused an anthropological shift, fraught with its own peculiar polarity between an anthropocentric view of reality (against the earlier theocentric view) and the withering criticism of the seeming arrogance and foolishness of this modern view considering subsequent discoveries from history and the natural sciences.

The anthropocentric turn with its confidence in human reason and its faith in inevitable progress appeared increasingly implausible in the light of the unimaginable vastness of the universe, the seeming randomness of evolution and the incomprehensibility of many human choices. This criticism, in Schwager's view, bears witness to the enduring influence of Christianity on Europe, drawing its inspiration variously from Augustine, the Medieval conflict between Church and the Empire, the ongoing urge of the Church of piety to reform the Church of power (to use Stark's terms) and the powerful example of St Francis, all of which drew their inspiration from Jesus' invitation to repent and believe the Gospel.

untergründige Prozesse und auch die Kultur der westlichen Welt eingewirkt". *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 113.

⁵⁹³ "Der vielgefeierte englische Denker und Schriftsteller verstand da Erkennen nicht mehr als demütiges Sich-Öffnen gegenüber der größeren und umfassenderen Wirklichkeit und als geduldiges Horchen auf das Wirken des Geistes, sondern als Macht über Dinge. Der menschliche Geist müsse alles beherrschen, und er habe die Dinge gleichsam wie durch Maschinen neu zu schaffen". Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 112.

The origin of the western critical spirit does not lie in extra-Christian experiences, but in the message of the New Testament itself, which showed itself so powerfully that it was able to question the forms of life that arose from it again of its own accord. The criticism began as Christian self-criticism; it is therefore ultimately based on the prophetic call to conversion and repentance⁵⁹⁴.

Schwager advances this argument by explaining the way in which the understanding of the world also changed the understanding of God, as new questions arose about the nature and scope of human knowing. Modern science replaced Christian theology with Greek philosophy for its world-picture (*Weltbild*), leading to a change in the image of God (*Gottesbild*), in which God was increasingly misidentified with nature itself. Responses to this tremendous change in the visions of the world and of God ensued, often entailing the rejection of this god of the scholars, whether by adoption of Deism, Agnosticism, Atheism or a personal and experiential Christianity. Underlying these responses, Schwager argues, one finds nevertheless the imprint of Christian revelation. The Christian faith seeks God in profligate and limitless love in contrast to the Greek preference for measure and boundary.

Until the early Twentieth Century, modern thinkers were able to replace God with the idea of infinity, born as it was of Christian faith, but bereft of the Christian image of God (*Gottesbild*). Their concept of boundlessness, however, focused on time and space; time was understood to be eternal and the universe without boundaries. Then discoveries in cosmology in the Twentieth Century utterly undermined the belief in an eternal and infinite universe. Now the universe had a beginning from which both space and time came. From a human perspective, the quantities of time and space feel innumerable. Yet, although they are unimaginably large, they are nevertheless finite.

⁵⁹⁴ “Der Ursprung des abendländischen kritischen Geistes liegt nicht in außerchristlichen Erfahrungen, sondern in der neutestamentlichen Botschaft selbst, die sich so machtvoll zeigte, das sie Lebensformen, die aus ihr entstanden waren, aus eigenem Antrieb wieder in Frage stellen konnte. Die Kritik begann als christliche Selbstkritik; sie gründet deshalb allerletztlich im prophetischen Aufruf zu Umkehr und Buße”. Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, pp. 113-119.

The loss of the infinite in terms of time and space led, in Schwager's view, to the curious rediscovery of the boundlessness of human behavior, at least in terms of thinking – an acknowledgement, Schwager argues, of Christianity's influence.

Here, surprisingly, there is a certain return to Christian ideas. According to Christian conviction, the infinite was never something naturally given, an allegedly infinite space or an infinite time, but a reality that was revealed to the believer through his own actions and – this must be added – above all through his experience and suffering. The modern deduction of the idea of infinity from human activity consequently leads to a certain approximation of Christian thought and indicates that the idea of the limitless as something positive cannot exist in the long run without its origin. Even if it served the struggle for godlessness for a while, it was subconsciously nourished by impulses which came from the Christian tradition and which were even at work under a completely hidden form⁵⁹⁵.

As has been seen, Schwager argues that Jesus in his message and deeds is the unexpected source of critical thinking that characterizes the West. Tracing the history of modern philosophy, starting with Bacon's definition of knowledge as domination over nature, and then summarizing the modern philosophy of consciousness from Descartes to Kant, Hegel, Marx, Freud and Nietzsche, Schwager arrives at the heart of the crisis of epistemology, a suspicion that access to reality and truth is forever thwarted. Since human beings cannot know objects in themselves (*noumena*), they only know what they think about them (*phenomena*), which, in fact, just consists of the interests, values, and drives of the viewing subject. Put another way, human beings only know what they think about reality, but not reality itself. False consciousness, that is, this confusion of ideas about reality with reality itself, leads finally to a misidentification of reality with one's selfish desires.

⁵⁹⁵ "Hier zeigt sich überraschenderweise eine gewisse Rückkehr zu christlichen Gedanken. Das Unendliche war nach christlicher Überzeugung nie etwas naturhaft Gegebenes, ein vermeintlich unendlicher Raum oder eine unendliche Zeit, sondern eine Wirklichkeit, die sich dem Gläubigen durch dessen eigenes Tun und – dies muß hinzugefügt werden – vor allem durch dessen Erfahren und Erleiden erschloß. Die moderne Ableitung der Unendlichkeitsvorstellung aus dem Tun des Menschen führt folglich zu einer gewissen Annäherung an christliches Gedankengut und deutet an, daß die Idee des Grenzenlosen als etwas Positivem auf die Dauer nicht ohne ihren Ursprung bestehen kann. Selbst wenn sie eine Zeitlang dem Kampf für die Gottlosigkeit gedient hat, wurde sie unbewußt von Impulsen genährt, die aus der christlichen Tradition kamen und sogar noch unter einer völlig verdeckten Gestalt wirksam waren". Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p.130.

4.3.3.1 Ricoeur

Drawing upon the work of Paul Ricoeur and René Girard in particular, Schwager seeks to find a way out of this epistemological cul-de-sac by arguing that a demanding struggle with the falsifying influences can and does give access to truth and reality. He shares Ricoeur's caution about the capacity for Descartes' cogito to overcome narcissistic drives. Drawing from Freud, Ricoeur argues that the cogito, the thinking subject, has at its center a drive (*Treib*) that influences and dominates weaker human reason. The victory over this self-love/egotism, therefore, cannot be won solely through knowledge since this drive occupies the heart of reason. Since reason falls under the influence of compulsions, something more is required.

Despite the unmistakable certainty of "I think, therefore I am", true human knowledge only occurs in the constant struggle against the deeply working narcissism. A purely intellectual perception is not enough. One needs a constant confrontation with instincts, as well as with individual and collective self-love⁵⁹⁶.

Schwager notes approvingly that modern science, in the spirit of prophetic and evangelical criticism from Christianity, has rebuked man for his narcissism in cosmology, biology and psychology, demonstrating, at least, that he is not the center of the universe.

4.3.3.2 Girard

Here for the first time, Schwager introduces Girard directly into his text. While Ricoeur diagnoses the fundamental metaphysical problem of humanity, namely, its radical poverty of being, or in theological terms, its creatureliness, it is Girard who proposes to explain the mechanisms by which it functions.

⁵⁹⁶ "Trotz der untrüglichen Gewißheit des ‚Ich denke, also bin ich‘ geschieht die wahre Erkenntnis des Menschen nur im dauernden Kampf gegen den zutiefst in ihm wirkenden Narzißmus. Ein rein intellektuelles Wahrnehmen genügt nicht. Er braucht die ständige Auseinandersetzung mit dem Trieb, mit der individuellen und der besonders schwer durchschauenden kollektiven Eigenliebe". Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 135.

All problems of false consciousness become transparent to an original falsification [*Urverfälschung*]. The human being turns out to be a being who has great difficulty recognizing the absolute other as such. He is constantly tempted not to turn away from him freely, but to take control of him to fill his own emptiness. Objectification of the absolute as objects, institutions, and forces in religions and as forms in the cultural world reveal themselves as attempts to gain power over the wholly other. Ricoeur does not go into detail about how man strives to take control of the absolute and how the mechanism of objectification works. This is exactly where the analysis of René Girard come in, who in his work pushes the self-criticism of Western thought the furthest⁵⁹⁷.

Agreeing that the cogito comes under the domination of a drive that creates false consciousness – specifically, the self-deception arising from mimetic rivalry and violence, and the communal illusion, the sacred, that arises from the remedy for violence, the Scapegoat Mechanism – Girard contends that human drives are not fixed on a specific object, but mobile and open. Desires are acquired from other human beings, often unknowingly; hence, they are mimetic. These mimetic desires inevitably cause envy, rivalries and conflicts that escalate to violence that consumes and destroys the community unless they can be diverted. Through the unconscious process Girard calls the Scapegoat Mechanism, limited violence (the expulsion or murder of the scapegoat) curtails and contains the peril of unlimited violence through a series of transferences of conflicts until there is an effective polarization of all against one. The scapegoat is not chosen deliberately or rationally, but the community and the victim experience the polarization as a mysterious process, the fruit of which, for the community at least, is peace and reconciliation.

⁵⁹⁷ “Alle Problematik des falschen Bewußtseins wird auf eine Urverfälschung hin transparent. Der Mensch erweist sich als ein Wesen, das größten Mühe hat, das Absolut-Andere als solches anzuerkennen. Er ist ständig der Versuchung ausgesetzt, nicht sich von ihm offen abzuwenden, wohl aber sich seiner zu bemächtigen, um damit die eigene Leere zu füllen. Objektivierung des Absoluten als Objekte, Institutionen und Kräfte der Religionen und als Gestalten der Kulturwelt enthüllen sich als Versuche, Macht über das ganz Andere zu bekommen. Auf welche Weise der Mensch sich des Absoluten zu bemächtigen, strebt und wie der Mechanismus der Objektivation genau funktioniert, darauf geht Ricoeur nicht näher ein. Genau hier setzen die Analysen von Rene Girard ein, der in sein Werk die Selbstkritik des abendländischen Denkens wohl am weitesten vorantreibt”. Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 137.

Drawing from multiple texts, Schwager notes that Girard's description of social and religious processes matches exactly those recorded in the life of Jesus, but with one significant difference: Jesus was not a chance victim. Jesus was not a scapegoat, a sacrificial victim in Girard's sense at that time. (Later Girard revised his view of sacrifices considering discussions between him and Schwager). Jesus gave himself freely in his self-offering, which sets into motion the evangelical spirit of criticism. Thanks to the influence that this critical spirit has exerted on the West, it is possible to recognize the tremendous power of the Bible; its contents no longer need be judged as myths but as an accurate account of social and psychological violence.

In the past, many statements in the Gospels about the fate of Jesus could be regarded as irrelevant details or purely "mystical" truths, whereas today, against the background of Western criticism, which is itself an indirect product of the Christian message, these details and "mystical" truths begin to be arranged in a clear whole and the biblical writings prove to be a comprehensive socio- and psychoanalysis of violence⁵⁹⁸.

This gradual and demanding process of maturation required much time (two thousand years) and practice (faith as lived experience, not just truth claims – following Jesus in Schwager's terms), which also further clarifies Jesus' sometimes enigmatic teachings, such as the new wine and old wine skins, or Paul's dichotomy between the spirit and letter of the law (2 Cor. 3:6)⁵⁹⁹, as well as highlights the need in Schwager's view to replace the ambivalent term *Opfer* (ultimately from the Latin, *offero* (to offer), which in German can mean sacrifice and victim) with the German equivalent, *Hingabe* (to give over).

⁵⁹⁸ "So konnte man früher viele Aussagen der Evangelien über das Schicksal Jesu für belanglose Einzelheiten oder für rein ‚mystischen‘ Wahrheiten halten, während heute auf dem Hintergrund der abendländischen Kritik, die ihrerseits ein indirektes Produkt der christlichen Botschaft ist, sich diese Einzelheiten und ‚mystischen‘ Wahrheiten zu einem klaren Ganzen zu ordnen beginnen und die biblischen Schriften sich als eine umfassende Sozio- und Psychoanalyse der Gewalt erweisen". Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 141.

⁵⁹⁹ "God, who has indeed qualified us as ministers of a new covenant, not of letter but of spirit; for the letter brings death, but the Spirit gives life".

Schwager ends his consideration with how the Christian faith changes the world with an eye to the future of the humanity under the ongoing influence of the evangelical spirit of criticism. Jesus' proclamation of the Kingdom of God and the resurrection as eternal joy caused the West to seek the boundless (against the Greek measure). Even in its secularized form, the drive for the boundless continues in the naïve faith in inevitable progress, whereby the created Child of God becomes Lord of the World through science and technology's promise of heaven on earth. While observing multiplying doubts about the veracity of this myth of progress from the evidence of the destructive side of progress, Schwager focuses his criticism on the ethical question of responsibility for oneself and others.

4.3.3.3 Co-responsibility

In the Christian past, as with other worldviews, Schwager notes, that while self-responsibility was strongly emphasized, less attention was paid to the question of responsibility for one's people or for the whole human race. He contrasts this shrinking to self-responsibility with the prophetic tradition, which not only correlated human behavior with natural and national catastrophes, but attributed wars and natural disasters to Israel's communal sins. Jesus preaches similarly about the social and global consequences of failing to recognize the imminent presence of the Kingdom of God. Despite this clear biblical witness, even Christians find attractive the temptation to shift responsibility to providence or fate, whereby God or someone else is held responsible.

Despite the "little faith" of many of its followers, the Christian message helped in a centuries-long process through unexpected detours to the insight that people in a comprehensive sense bear responsibility for one another. Care for the well-being of humanity can no longer be cheaply shifted to Providence, and even less to blind fate⁶⁰⁰.

⁶⁰⁰ "Die christlicher Botschaft verhalf trotz Kleinglaubens vieler ihrer Anhänger in einen jahrhundertelangen Prozeß über unerwartete Umwege der Einsicht zum Durchbruch, daß die Menschen im umfassenden Sinne füreinander Verantwortung tragen. Die Sorge für das Wohl der Menschheit kann nicht

Through a return to the often-neglected apocalyptic texts, Schwager finds in Jesus' own example a way out of this temptation. Schwager wants to reconcile the claims of the loving, merciful God with the statements about divine anger and judgment. As Schwager may have learned in Fourvière in his class on the Paul's Letter to the Romans⁶⁰¹, rather than God punishing the evildoer, God allows them to suffer a self-condemnation with social and global effects according to Paul's understanding of divine wrath as explained in Rm. 1:18-32⁶⁰².

In contrast to such grim threatening speeches [of Ezekiel], Paul sees anger as God allowing the godless to surrender to their own thoughts and actions. The inevitable consequence of this is the reversal and destruction of interpersonal relationships⁶⁰³.

Jesus' teaching is no different from Paul's because both Jesus and Paul teach that love of God and love of neighbor are directly correlated and cannot be detached from one another. Indeed, love of neighbor, or the least of Jesus' brothers and sisters, becomes the only criterion for judgment between the sheep and the goats (Mt. 25:31-46), thereby

mehr in billiger Weise auf die Vorsehung und noch weniger auf ein blindes Geschick abgeschoben werden". Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 148.

⁶⁰¹ X. Léon-Dufour, « L'Épître aux Romains » [lecture notes], Lyon Collection, Archives françaises de la Compagnie de Jésus (Archives de la Province de France), Vanves, 1970, Q Ly 561 – 304.

⁶⁰² "18 The wrath of God is indeed being revealed from heaven against every impiety and wickedness of those who suppress the truth by their wickedness. 19 For what can be known about God is evident to them, because God made it evident to them. 20 Ever since the creation of the world, his invisible attributes of eternal power and divinity have been able to be understood and perceived in what he has made. As a result, they have no excuse; 21 for although they knew God they did not accord him glory as God or give him thanks. Instead, they became vain in their reasoning, and their senseless minds were darkened. 22 While claiming to be wise, they became fools 23 exchanged the glory of the immortal God for the likeness of an image of mortal man or of birds or of four-legged animals or of snakes. 24 Therefore, God handed them over to impurity through the lusts of their hearts for the mutual degradation of their bodies. 25 They exchanged the truth of God for a lie and revered and worshiped the creature rather than the creator, who is blessed forever. Amen. 26 Therefore, God handed them over to degrading passions. Their females exchanged natural relations for unnatural, 27 and the males likewise gave up natural relations with females and burned with lust for one another. Males did shameful things with males and thus received in their own persons the due penalty for their perversity. 28 And since they did not see fit to acknowledge God, God handed them over to their undiscerning mind to do what is improper. 29 They are filled with every form of wickedness, evil, greed, and malice; full of envy, murder, rivalry, treachery, and spite. They are gossips 30 and scandalmongers and they hate God. They are insolent, haughty, boastful, ingenious in their wickedness, and rebellious toward their parents. 31 They are senseless, faithless, heartless, ruthless. 32 Although they know the just decree of God that all who practice such things deserve death, they not only do them but give approval to those who practice them".

⁶⁰³ "Im Gegensatz zu so grimmigen Drohreden sieht Paulus die Wirkung des Zornes darin, daß Gott die gottlösen Menschen ihrem eigenen Gedanken und ihrem eigenen Tun überläßt. Die unweigerliche Folge davon ist die Verkehrung und Zerstörung der zwischenmenschlichen Beziehungen". Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, pp. 152-153.

strongly emphasizing the priority of action (works of mercy), without mentioning, at least in this context, faith as beliefs.

The apocalyptic texts more fully capture the reality of the choices facing humanity than the modern myth of progress, which too often fails to account for its dangerous and destructive side, which science and technology – which ironically were supposed to free humanity from superstition, prejudice, and myth – have made possible.

During this intellectual revolution, however, by means of the methodical procedure of the sciences, which “has something murderous about it” when it is no longer clear about its own questionability, Western civilization has created destructive means of power on such a scale that precisely those texts which the great Enlightenment thinkers regarded as completely mythological, can be better recognized today in their realism.⁶⁰⁴

The Christian faith confesses that the lordship of Jesus has brought humanity through a long historical process to a point of decision in its relationship with God and its fellow human beings, and the future of those relationships. Since divine revelation takes place in the ongoing story of humanity’s interaction with God and itself, Schwager concludes that the Spirit has been active in the history of the world as well as in the individual lives of believers.

Today, however, world history has reached a point at which the supreme consciousness of faith cannot only rest in the individual experience of the life-giving Spirit, but also on the historically founded conviction that this same Spirit was acting by ordering and guiding [*scheidend und richtend*] the world before any individual experience⁶⁰⁵.

Schwager’s closing words about the Spirit’s activity (*scheidend und richtend wirksam war*) are difficult to translate, but if they are taken to harken back to Genesis 1, they can be understood as the Spirit’s role in creation as guiding (*richtend*, leading, orienting)

⁶⁰⁴ “Im Zuge dieser geistigen Revolution hat die abendländische Zivilisation aber mittels des methodischen Verfahrens der Wissenschaften, das ‘etwas Mörderisches an sich hat’, wenn es sich über seine eigene Fragwürdigkeit nicht mehr klar ist, zerstörerische Machtmittel solchen Ausmaßes geschaffen, daß heute gerade jene Texte, die den großen Aufklärern als völlig mythologisch galten, in ihren Realismus besser erkannt werden können”. Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 155.

⁶⁰⁵ “Heute ist die Weltgeschichte aber an einem Punkt angelangt, an dem das hohe Glaubensbewußtsein sich nicht nur die individuelle Erfahrung des lebenspendenden Geistes, sondern ebenso auf die geschichtlich begründete Überzeugung stützen kann, daß derselbe Geist längst vor jeder eigene Erfahrung auf vielfältige Weise in der Welt scheidend und richtend wirksam war”. Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 156.

those distinctions (*scheidend*, parting, separating) that create, peacefully and without any hint of violence, a cosmos of order and meaning out of the chaos of uniformity and undifferentiation.

4.4 Summary

The title *Glaube, der die Welt verwandelt* summarizes Schwager's aim and effort in this third work. Defining faith in *Jesus-Nachfolge* primarily in terms of action, synchronically consisting of following Jesus, a share in the resurrection, hope, the graciousness of love and the fruit of the Holy Spirit, here Schwager illuminates that definition diachronically, evaluating the interplay of faith (as he defined it in *Jesus-Nachfolge*) with the history of the West, and the contemporary challenges facing the entire world. The drama of following Jesus becomes the drama of the world on the edge of a decisive choice in favor of life or death, of self-offering or murder. Thanks to the Christian faith, much of what was once hidden or mysterious has been revealed and explained. Even when this critical spirit has at the same time held Christianity as the enemy, it has nevertheless, in Schwager's view, also served the ultimate purpose of evangelical demystification. The result of this clarification of the hidden psychological and sociological structures that shape human choice is the possibility of freedom and responsibility to face that which threatens humanity and the earth.

The faith that changes the world is historical in the sense that its influence can be discerned in the history of those places where the Gospel spread and interacted with other cultures. This process should not be confused with a triumph of the Church or Christianity in any worldly sense, as the spirit of evangelical criticism often sustained reform movements within the Church as well as covertly inspired movements critical of the Church from without. Indeed, much of the conflict reviewed in the first two chapters of this present inquiry converges with this claim.

But the surprising and at times paradoxical role of the faith in changing the world is not restricted to the past. Schwager strongly argues that its influence continues today – even when it is denied, ridiculed, or rejected – in the form of the apocalypse. Through the unveiling of this apocalyptic movement, humanity comes to be seen as the dire result of human choices rather than the direct intervention of a vengeful god. Thanks to ideological stances as well as scientific and technological advances, the extent and lethality of this judgment warrants the term apocalypse because, for the first time in the history of the world, humanity possesses the capability to destroy everything, by intention or by accident. The revelation of the hidden structures that have shepherded human culture opens a new moment for humanity. This knowledge calls forth human co-responsibility for the fate of the world. Schwager leaves the question open whether humanity will rise to, or is even able to rise to, this challenge.

5. CONCLUSION

The careful study of Schwager's first three major texts in this chapter complement the earlier biographical study to furnish a fuller account of the origin and evolution of Schwager's concept of drama before his momentous encounter with the writings of Girard. In these three successive books, Schwager broadened his scope from following Jesus as an individual (Ignatius of Loyola), to following him as a community of disciples (the Church), to the history of this community's interaction with the world (especially the influence of the Gospel on the West). Through these writings, Schwager deepened his understanding of conflict in terms of drama and associated terms. These considerations lay the foundation for Dramatic Theology, in which Schwager includes the actions of and reactions to Jesus in his lifetime as well as in the subsequent generations of disciples as contributing to the unfolding of divine revelation as a process (*aus der Zusammenschau des ganze dramatischen Prozesses der Offenbarung*). These

discoveries also counter the disenchantment of the world and secularization because they subsume those movements against the Gospel into the spread of the Gospel. Further, the unfolding of revelation in the drama of Christian discipleship strongly affirms the ongoing presence and action of God in the person of the Holy Spirit in the world today.

In conclusion, these three works testify to Schwager's rich and extensive reflection on the meaning of the faith of Jesus in the contemporary world. Furthermore, these three chapters demonstrate the significance of Schwager's early major works and his biography for his understanding of drama and for his later research program at Innsbruck. Finally, this exposition of these early major works prove that Schwager had already conceived in his own idiom many of the key claims of Girard's Mimetic Theory because it was truly already in him.

Chapter Four – „Es war schon in mir“

This chapter gives an accounting for Schwager's claim that "It was already in me" in four steps. First, it explains the genealogy of Schwager's concept of drama; second, it compares Schwager's first version of the structure of a drama with the dramatic pyramid of Gustav Freytag; third, it situates Schwager's drama within a twentieth-century Jesuit perspective on dialectics, and fourth, it summarizes from his biography and early writings his main observations about conflict in the Church, which bears a prophetic and innovative profile.

1. THE GENEALOGY OF DRAMA

Published in the watershed year of 1989, twenty years after he earned his doctorate and twelve years after his appointment to Innsbruck, Schwager took note of the longevity of his project in the prologue to *Jesus im Heildrama*:

...on the other hand, it continues a modest attempt at a Dramatic Theology which I first broached in *Das dramatische Kirchenverständnis bei Ignatius von Loyola* (1970) (Ignatius of Loyola's Dramatic Understanding of the Church)⁶⁰⁶.

He explained in a letter that same year that Dramatic Theology emerged from his research on the history of doctrine, whereupon he concluded that theology must not only reflect on the Gospel in the light of reason and its practical relevance to the Church and the general public, but also address the way in which people respond to the Gospel, positively or negatively.

This is based on the conviction that theology must consider not only the theoretical power of the Gospel before the forum of reason and not only its practical relevance in view of the ecclesiastical and social public. But it is its duty to make it understandable how people were moved and are still moved in the encounter with Jesus and his Gospel⁶⁰⁷.

⁶⁰⁶ Schwager, *Jesus in the Drama of Salvation*, ix-x.

⁶⁰⁷ "Dahin steht die Überzeugung, dass Theologie nicht nur die theoretische Kraft des Evangeliums vor dem Forum der Vernunft und nicht nur dessen praktische Relevanz angesichts der kirchlichen und

Schwager summarizes his three major concerns for theology: (1) adherence to sound academic standards from both the theological tradition and from the scientific method, (2) caution about abstraction and concern for nearness to life (he calls this *Lebensrelevanz* elsewhere), and (3) attention to the effect of encounters with Jesus, in Jesus' lifetime and, subsequently, through the interactions between believers and the world. The last concern conveys the specifically dramatic hue of Schwager's theology as an account placing emphasis on action.

1.1 The Debt to Ignatius and Fessard

In his dissertation, Schwager applies drama to French Jesuit theologian Gaston Fessard's summary of the aim of the *Spiritual Exercises* because a drama recounts the story and actions that join objective, saving truths (divine revelation) with subjective, religious experiences (personal response to divine revelation) together⁶⁰⁸. This polarity or field of tension creates the conditions of possibility for human freedom, which, in Ignatian terms, means indifference or the freedom to use or not to use created goods to reach one's purpose from the Principle and Foundation, namely, to praise, revere and serve God, and thereby attain salvation⁶⁰⁹. The reordering of the intellectual, volitional, and affective elements of the person takes place in the oscillation between the objective and subjective poles. Reason alone is not sufficient to perceive truth and make good

gesellschaftlichen Öffentlichkeit bedenken muss. Sie steht aber in der Pflicht, nachvollziehbar zu machen, wie Menschen in der Begegnung mit Jesus und seinem Evangelium bewegt worden sind und noch immer bewegt werden". M. Moosbrugger, „Nimm Dir, Herr, and übernahm meine ganze Freiheit“ in J. Niewiadowski (ed.), *Das Drama der Freiheit in Disput*, Freiburg, Herder, 2017, p. 21.

⁶⁰⁸ “Es bleibt das Verdienst G. Fessards, diese Struktur in den Exerzitien aufgezeigt zu haben“, Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 175.

⁶⁰⁹ “Human beings are created to praise, reverence, and serve God our Lord, and by means of doing this to save their souls. The other things on the face of the earth are created for the (sic) human beings, to help them in the pursuit of the end for which they are created. From this it follows that we ought to use these things to the extent that they help us toward our end, and free ourselves from them to the extent that they hinder us from it. To attain this it is necessary to make ourselves indifferent to created things, in regard to everything which is left to our free will and is not forbidden”. From the Principle and Foundation, 23, Ignatius of Loyola, *Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius*, p. 32.

choices because disordered affections influence and thereby deceive reason. Hence, for Ignatius, there must be a purification of the volitional and affective as well as the rational faculties to achieve freedom, for they must work in concert to work well. Through the mystical experience of transformation and the practice of following of Jesus, one grows in freedom.

The exercise of this freedom occurs in time, and thus becomes history, a story of the interaction between the subject and its relationship to God, the self, others, and the world. Since sin has disordered all four of these fundamental relationships, the subject must reorder them. However, the individual alone is incapable to do so due to the fallen state; disorder has become the order of humanity. The Christian understanding of this reordering depends therefore on the intervention of one who, being true God and true man, can achieve this reordering (salvation, healing, reconciliation) and offer it to others as a gift and a task. The acceptance of this invitation means following Jesus, the way, the truth, and the life; Schwager described this reordering of the individual believer as well as the community of believers in *Jesus-Nachfolge* and the ongoing but not yet complete reordering of the world historically through the mutual interaction of the Church and the world in *Glaube, der die Welt verwandelt*.

Drama safeguards the content of divine revelation because it affirms at the same time the social and the personal, the global and the local, the public and the private, the external and the internal, the determined and the undetermined, and the historical and the eschatological. It does not try to resolve or suppress either side of these polarities but accepts each pole as necessary, but not sufficient, and deserving of appreciation, for each pole together with its opposite furnishes the tensions that drive human possibilities. It further acknowledges that at any given point divine revelation's affirmation of the polarities often transcends human reason (supra-rational, not

irrational), thus leading to personal frustration and social distortions, both of which have roots in the affective and volitional sides of humanity. The impatience with this tension and the will to impose – rather than receive – peace and order ironically causes further disorder rather than achieving order and reconciliation. Drama, therefore, proposes a hope that expects an eschatological consummation of reconciliation in which God may be all in all (1 Cor. 15:28), rather than an inner-worldly and historical resolution of this tension. With such a sweeping vision of drama, it will be useful to consider the literary origin of the term.

1.2 The Debt to Barthes and Bataille

At its publication, Schwager revised the title of his dissertation from *Ignatius und seine Exerzitien im Wandel der Kirche* to *Das dramatische Kirchenverständnis Ignatius von Loyola*. While the original title used the term *Wandel* to refer to the transformation and change of context due to Vatican Two, Schwager's new title focused more sharply on Ignatius' dramatic experience of the Church in his day to offer a perspective on the Church in Schwager's day. Schwager added dramatic to the title of his first publication, even if the term itself is only infrequently used in the text itself and does not even appear as an entry in the index of Volume One of his *Collective Works*⁶¹⁰.

The structure of the dissertation and its argumentation suggest that dramatic encompasses the step-by-step process of the formation of the *Spiritual Exercises*. Schwager treats Ignatius' experience with the hierarchy (*Amtskirche*) as a drama by which the saint gradually discerns God's will through conflict and tension with church authorities. Schwager observes a polarity between the Church in the *Spiritual Exercises*, where Ignatius expresses a specific view regarding authority and obedience,

⁶¹⁰ Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 449.

and in Ignatius' life, where he, on the other hand, showed a complex and multifaceted interaction that diverges at times from the view put forth in the *Spiritual Exercises*.

Perhaps because dialectic already carried a heavy Hegelian overtone in the German-speaking world, Schwager instead chose drama. He first uses it – without definition or attribution – in the introduction, observing that Ignatius' concrete behavior vis-à-vis the Church possesses *eine dramatische Spannungsdichte* (a dramatic tension-density, or more freely, a suspenseful drama): “it will be shown that Ignatius' concrete behavior towards the Church discloses a suspenseful drama that his texts never suggest”⁶¹¹. *Spannungsdichte* faintly echoes Przywara's *Spannungseinheit*, a term that Schwager does use explicitly as was already seen to conclude *Jesus-Nachfolge*:

Not any human being, but only the Holy Spirit is able to bind together the opposing requirements of the faith into a living unity. At least the eucharistic celebration as the Celebration of the Condemned One represents in a living and effective manner this unity of opposing tensions [*Spannungseinheit*] according to its fundamental nature⁶¹².

Although Schwager later acknowledged his indebtedness to Balthasar for Dramatic Theology, he does not cite him in the dissertation as his source. The *Theodramatik* did not exist at that time; the first volume only appeared in 1973. The source for the term lays elsewhere.

Schwager gives his literary source on page 175 in footnote 178 and then again on page 249 in footnote 18. The first citation occurs in Chapter Three, “The *Exercises* as a Way to Inner Unity and Liberation”, in Section D), “The Participation of the Ignatian Method in the Life-Process of the Church”. The chapter and section suggest a context: as a part of the ecclesial tradition, which necessarily stands under the law of dying and

⁶¹¹ “Es wird sich nämlich zeigen, daß das konkrete Verhalten des Ignatius zur Kirche eine dramatische Spannungsdichte besaß, die seine Texte nie vermuten lassen”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 43.

⁶¹² “Ein Mensch, sondern nur der göttliche Geist vermag ja die entgegengesetzten Forderungen des Glaubens in eine lebensfähige Einheit zu binden. Wenigstens ihrem grundlegenden Wesen nach stellt jedoch die Eucharistische Feier als Feier der Verurteilten diese Spannungseinheit lebendig und wirksam dar”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 421.

rising, one needs to distinguish the historically contingent elements of the method of the *Spiritual Exercises* from the perennially valid, spiritual goal of the method.

However, since the Christian life never develops in a purely linear and continuous growth, but stands under the law of dying and rising, the ecclesial tradition, and with it the *Exercises*, must also remain entirely shaped by this law⁶¹³.

As seen above, the goal for which Ignatius fashioned the *Spiritual Exercises* – summarizing Fessard – was to bring together objective, saving truths (divine revelation) with subjective, religious experiences (personal response to divine revelation) to achieve freedom (indifference to created goods) through a proper reordering of intellectual, volitional, and affective elements of the retreatant. By the word dramatic Schwager encapsulates Ignatius’ goal as Fessard formulated it in terms of a formation in freedom. In the footnote 179, Schwager observes that Fessard’s synthesis finds concurring judgments from Bataille and Barthes, whom Schwager then cites:

“It is now four centuries since Ignatius Loyola – the founder of the order which has done the most for rhetoric – left in his *Spiritual Exercises* the model of a dramatized discourse, which has been the subject to an influence other than that of syllogism or abstraction, as Georges Bataille in his perspicuity did not fail to bring our attention”⁶¹⁴.

[Schwager quotes a German translation; here is the original in French:
Il y a quatre siècles, déjà, le fondateur de l’ordre qui a le plus fait pour la rhétorique, Ignace de Loyola, laissait dans ses Exercices spirituels le modèle d’un discours dramatisé, exposé à une autre force que celle du syllogisme ou de l’abstraction, comme la perspicacité de Georges Bataille n’a pas manqué de le relever⁶¹⁵.]

The second citation in footnote 18 on page 249 occurs in the context of Schwager’s consideration of the challenges to the unity of the Church in his own day in Section C) “The Effects of the Holy Spirit in the People of God and the ‘Dramatic’

⁶¹³ “Da jedoch das christliche Leben sich nie al ein rein lineares und kontinuierliches Waschen vollzieht, sonder unter dem Gesetz des Sterbens und Auferwecktenwerden steht, müssen auch die kirchliche Tradition und mit ihr die Exerzietien ganz von diems Gesetz geprägt bleiben”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 175.

⁶¹⁴ “Schon vor vier Jahrhunderten hat Ignatius von Loyola, der Begründer des Ordens, der wahrscheinlich am meisten für die Rhetorik getan hat, in seinen Geistlichen Übungen das Modell eines dramatisierten Diskurses aufgestellt, der andern Kräften ausgesetzt ist als dem Syllogismus oder der Abstraktion, wie dem schafsinnigen Georges Bataille nicht entgangen ist“, Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 175.

⁶¹⁵ R. Barthes, *Critique et Vérité*, Paris, Éditions du Seul, 1966, p. 34.

Conduct of Individuals in the Church” in Chapter Six, “The Meaning of the Ignatian Experience for the Today”.

From the perspective of contemporary linguistics, the language of the *Exercises* is characterized as dramatic because in its discourse it is not only rational, but also integrates emotional and volitional elements, R. Barthes, *Critique and Truth*, p. 59⁶¹⁶.

Barthes took interest in Ignatius of Loyola during this phase of his career as his 1971 book, *Sade, Fourier, Loyola*, attests, but Schwager quotes Barthes from the earlier *Critique et Vérité* (Criticism and Truth), a literary analysis attentive to the questions raised by linguistic structuralism regarding speech and discourse.

Barthes attributes the discovery of Ignatius’ dramatized discourse to Georges Bataille’s First Volume of *La Somme athéologique* (“The A-theological Summa” – a play on Aquinas’ *Summa Theologica*), *L’Expérience intérieure* (The Inner Experience):

With respect to this, it is a classic error to assign St. Ignatius’ (sic) *Exercises* to discursive method: they rely on discourse which regulates everything, but in the dramatic mode. Discourse exhorts: imagine the place, the characters of the drama, and remain there as one among them; dissipate – extend for that reason your will – the absence, the dazed state, to which words are inclined. The truth is that the *Exercises*, in absolute horror of discourse (of absence), try to cope with it through the tension of discourse, and this artifice often fails. (On the other hand, the object of contemplation which they propose is no doubt drama, but engaged in the historical categories of discourse, far from the God without form and without mode of the Carmelites, more eager than the Jesuits for inner experience)⁶¹⁷.

Barthes and Bataille agree that Ignatius’ *discours dramatisé* (dramatized discourse) represents a significant variant to a solely rational discourse (“subject to an influence other than that of syllogism or abstraction”) by returning to rhetoric as an alternative

⁶¹⁶ “Von der heutigen Linguistik her wird die Sprache der Exerzitionen als dramatisch bezeichnet, weil sie in ihren Diskurs nicht bloß rationale, sondern auch affektive und willensmäßige Elemente integriert. R. Barthes, *Kritik und Wahrheit*, S. 59”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 249.

⁶¹⁷ G. Bataille, *The Inner Experience*, trans. L.A. Boldt, Albany, SUNY Press, 1988, pp. 13-14. The original text states, « A ce sujet, c’est une erreur classique d’assigner les Exercices de saint Ignace à la méthode discursive : ils s’en remettent au discours qui règle tout mais sur le mode dramatique. Le discours exhorte : représente-toi, dit-il, le lieu, les personnages du drame, et tiens-toi là comme l’un d’entre eux ; dissipe – tends pour cela ta volonté – l’hébétéude, l’absence auxquelles les paroles inclinent. La vérité est que les Exercices, horreur tout entière du discours (de l’absence), essayent d’y remédier par la tension du discours, et que souvent l’artifice échoue (d’autre part, l’objet de contemplation qu’ils proposent est le drame sans doute, mais engagé dans les catégories historiques du discours, loin du Dieu sans forme et sans mode des Carmes, plus que les Jésuites assoiffés d’expérience intérieure) ». G. Bataille, *L’Expérience intérieure*, Paris, Gallimard, 1978, p. 20.

to philosophy. Their common fascination, the Jesuit mystique, may reflect the observation of Stierli, who noted the oscillation between fawning admiration and unquestioning hostility toward the Jesuits⁶¹⁸. Since Bataille's texts are notoriously obscure, it seems an odd source for Schwager.

Situating Bataille and Barthes in modern French literary criticism may help to clarify Schwager's peculiar choice. Nineteenth-century romanticism asserted a place for discovering truth beyond the hegemonic confines of rationalism and positivism. The highly influential founder of the Symbolist movement, Stéphane Mallarmé contended that the interior world of the imagination was as real as the exterior world of the senses (a claim that resonates with Bataille's pursuit of the interior experience). Inspired by Edgar Allen Poe, Mallarmé believed that the poet does not describe the thing itself, but the effect it produces⁶¹⁹. The importance of the effect of the experience or image on the recipient rather than a description of the event or experience itself finds kinship in Schwager's desire to write a Dramatic Theology that considers the effect Jesus produced on others (without, however, denying that the thing itself – in this case the person of Christ – is also real and wishes to reveal himself). The mythic *avant-garde* rebel, Arthur Rimbaud, embodied his poetry in his eccentric lifestyle. His quest for inner vision to access the unknown through the “long, difficult, rational derangement of the senses”⁶²⁰ reverberates in Bataille's systematic derangement of words to access truth beyond words through the inner experience. Lastly, Marcel Proust's *À la recherche du temps perdu* –

⁶¹⁸ Four hundred years of pro- and anti-Jesuit mythology must bear on both Barthes and Bataille. How should one understand Barthes' claim that the Jesuits have done the most for rhetoric? Is this a positive assessment, or does it suggest something sinister as well, as the Jesuits held an influential role in French education?

⁶¹⁹ R. Lloyd, *Mallarmé: The Poet and His Circle*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1999, pp. 43-48.

⁶²⁰ « Le Poète se fait voyant par un long, immense et raisonné dérèglement de tous les sens », Lettre du Voyant, à Paul Demeny, 15 mai 1871, <https://www.bacdefrancais.net/lettre-du-voyant-rimbaud.php> (accessed on 1 April 2021).

an epochal exploration of time, memory, interiority, and solitude – tremendously influenced twentieth-century literature.

Their struggles against an overweening positivism, exploring the frontiers of language and giving the non-rational side of human beings its due, even if their trajectories differ from Schwager's, nevertheless suggest perhaps a point of sympathy that may have disposed Schwager to French literary thought – to Barthes, from whom he learned of Bataille's unexpected appreciation for Ignatius' 'dramatized discourse', and perhaps, also, to Girard.

Sudbrack addresses Bataille's insight on drama in his 1990 contribution to *Ignatianisch - Eigenart und Methode der Gesellschaft Jesu* (Ignatian – Nature and Method of the Society of Jesus), titled "Die »Anwendung der Sinne« als Angelpunkt der Exerzitien" (The "Application of the Senses" as the Fulcrum for the *Spiritual Exercises*), in which he traced the origins, loss and recovery of the use of the senses and their constituent experiences of feelings and emotions in the Jesuit practice of the *Spiritual Exercises*. It is unknown whether it was Sudbrack – who was Schwager's second reader for his dissertation – who brought Barthes or Bataille to Schwager's attention, or if it was the other way around. (Twenty years separate Schwager's dissertation and Sudbrack's contribution here cited.) In any case, translating the same passage that Schwager cited from Barthes, Sudbrack clarifies Bataille's text⁶²¹, here translated into English according to Sudbrack's rendering (which is exceedingly difficult to render in any case):

⁶²¹ "Es ist ein klassischer Irrtum, den Exerzitien des heiligen Ignatius die diskursive Meditationsmethode zu unterstellen: sie beziehen sich (zwar) auf einen Diskurs; dieser stellt aber alles in "dramatischer" Weise dar (und nicht logisch-verstandesgemäß). Er weist an: stelle dir den Ort, die Personen der Handlung vor und versetze dich in die Szene als einer unter ihnen. Verjage mit deinem Willen - die bequeme Unbeweglichkeit, die (distanzierte) Abwesenheit (von der Szene), wozu (reine) Worte hinneigen. Die Wahrheit also ist, daß die Exerzitien, die den Diskurs der (distanzierten) Abwesenheit verabscheuen, dies (die Distanz) durch eine (zeitliche, dramatische) Spannung zu heilen versuchen (also durch die Entfaltung der Meditation in einen geschichtlichen Vorgang hinein), was allerdings oft scheitert. Der Gegenstand der Exerzitien-Kontemplation ist zweifelsohne ein Drama, aber (nicht eines auf der Bühne, sondern eines, das) vorgestellt (wird) in geschichtlichen Kategorien eines Diskurses. Damit sind sie weit entfernt von dem

He (Ignatius) directs: imagine the place, the persons of the action and place yourself in the scene as one among them. Chases away with your will – the comfortable immobility, the (aloof) absence (from the scene), to which (mere) words tend towards. The truth therefore is that the *Exercises*, which loathe the discourse of aloof absence, try to heal this (the aloofness) through a (timely, dramatic) tension (that is, within the unfolding of meditation in a historical process), which, however, often fails. The subject of the *Exercises*/contemplation is doubtless a drama, but (not one of the stage, but one which is) imagined in historical categories of a discourse. Thereby it is far away from the God without form or manner of the Carmelites, who thirst even more for inner experience than the Jesuits.

Bataille reckons the *Spiritual Exercises* to use a dramatic rather than a discursive (that is, limited to the use of reason, *logisch-verstandesgemäß*) manner of meditation. Bataille describes the dramatic manner as broader than a discursive meditation because Ignatius appreciated the imagination and the senses (“imagine the place, the characters of the drama, and remain there as one among them”) and recommended the method of *compositio loci*, with which your will chases away “the comfortable immobility, the (aloof) absence (from the scene), to which (mere) words tend towards”. Bataille’s suspicion about words is central to his ruminations in *L’Expérience intérieure*. Bataille wants to experience and not just to talk about something; he wants to feel beyond what words name or describe (the echo of Rimbaud). But this beyond is not God, transcending words into ineffability and mysticism, but the crossing of boundaries within the self; hence, Bataille’s inner experience is not-theological because at the bottom of oneself is nothing more than oneself – a vastly different interior experience than Girard’s, for whom the other is always at the bottom⁶²².

Gott ohne Form und Weise der Karmeliten, die durstiger nach innerer Erfahrung sind als die Jesuiten”. Sudbrack, “Die »Anwendung der Sinne« als Angelpunkt der Exerzitien”, in *Ignatianisch - Eigenart und Methode der Gesellschaft Jesu*, p. 105.

⁶²² Quoting Pascal approvingly, Girard goes on to say, “We absolutely need Pascal. He saw and immediately understood the ‘abysses’ of foundation. He considered Descartes to be ‘useless and uncertain’ precisely because he thought he could base something on the *cogito* and ‘deduce’ the heavens and the stars. Yet no one ever begins anything, except by grace. To sin means to think that one can begin something *oneself*. We never start anything. We always respond. The other has always decided for me and forces me to answer. The group always decides before the individual. This is the law of religion. What is ‘modern’ exists only in the obstinate rejection of this obvious social truth”. Girard, *Battling to the End*, p. 22.

Ignatius, on the other hand, experienced God and set forth the *Spiritual Exercises* to help others to do the same. The actions of intellect, affect, senses and imagination give the biblical scenes the texture of time and place, mood and feeling, that bridge between these scenes and personal experience, permitting Sudbrack to conclude:

In any case, it is now important to consider the *Exercises*, to be understood as a process, as a “drama” (according to G. Bataille) that allows one to empathize with the “drama” of the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ⁶²³.

This insight not only structures Schwager’s early works, but it is also precisely the context in which Schwager first cites Barthes with respect to the life cycles of ecclesial tradition. For Sudbrack and Schwager, dramatic discourse presents more fully, and therefore more accurately, the existential interplay of personal and interpersonal actions in human life and in salvation history, leaving intact human freedom, despite still acknowledging various determinations that bear on the actors’ freedom.

2. THE STRUCTURE OF DRAMA

Schwager borrowed *discours dramatisé* from Barthes but did not rely on him or Bataille (who is not cited in the bibliography of the dissertation) for its meaning. Rather, their insight about the innovative nature of Ignatius’ approach serves as a point of departure by distinguishing the discursive or rational discourse from the dramatic. The discovery of the dramatic can also be seen as part of a larger movement among Jesuit theologians to recover the role of the senses in the *Spiritual Exercises* and restore them to their principal place after a long rationalizing phase⁶²⁴. Appreciating and sharing Fessard’s dialectical perspective on the *Spiritual Exercises*, Schwager unfolds his sense

⁶²³ “(3) In jedem Fall aber ist es wichtig, die Exerzitien nun tatsächlich als einen Prozeß, als ein (nach G. Bataille) »Drama«, das einfühlen läßt in das »Drama« von Tod und Auferstehung Jesu Christi”. Sudbrack, “Die »Anwendung der Sinne« als Angelpunkt der Exerzitien”, in *Ignatianisch - Eigenart und Methode der Gesellschaft Jesu*, p. 119.

⁶²⁴ Sudbrack, “Die »Anwendung der Sinne« als Angelpunkt der Exerzitien”, in *Ignatianisch - Eigenart und Methode der Gesellschaft Jesu*, p. 96ff.

of the term through his early works, reaching the mature form of Dramatic Theology. In order to appreciate Schwager's earliest draft of Dramatic Theology, what follows is an analysis of drama as a sequence of actions and then a comparison with Freytag's classic work on drama.

2.1 Drama - a Sequence of Actions

The *Spiritual Exercises* impose a specific structure on the retreatant in terms of routines of prayer and ascetical practices as one progresses sequentially through the weeks. The structure is integral because Ignatius aims for the retreatant to come to a transformative experience of God's action. The *Spiritual Exercises* as a sequence of words and deeds shows the similarity between it and drama in general, and Schwager's description of following Jesus as a sequence of actions, ordered and coherent, governed by a logos, namely, adopting Jesus' faith in God as one's own through a life according to the five dispositions.

From one of the classical Greek verbs for "to do" or "to act", drama denotes action and connotes excitement, tension, conflict. and possibilities. Aristotle's *Poetics* (literally, things that are made) became the point of departure for subsequent thinking about drama. For Aristotle, drama – action – is a mimesis, that is, a representation by means of art. But mimesis also refers to imitation and to copying, which makes someone or something present again. "τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν" ("Do this in remembrance of me") commands Jesus at the Last Supper (Lk 22:19, cf. 1 Cor. 11:24); by this action, this doing, Jesus instructs his disciples to make present again (re-present) those actions to which the Eucharist points, namely, his sacrificial offering at Calvary on the following day and his definitive triumph over death in the resurrection on the third day (the Paschal Mystery). At the heart of the Christian faith is the celebration of Jesus' action, his drama of salvation, which is the origin and end of the Christian

life⁶²⁵. Schwager likewise placed the Eucharist at the center as the Celebration of the Condemned One.

Drama, for Schwager, refers to the tensions between what Ignatius wrote and how he behaved *vis-à-vis* church authorities to show that one could not reduce Ignatius to one extreme (his text) or another (his conduct *vis-à-vis* church authorities) as if he were a hypocrite who said one thing but did another. Rather, through their mutual interaction, each one assesses and corrects the other. Ignatius emerges as the protagonist who makes his choices based on his intentions expressed in his writings and his manner of reaching these intentions in the concrete encounters with church authorities.

Considering this attempt to describe Ignatius, Schwager takes his first steps in formulating his future Dramatic Theology. If Dramatic Theology is a discourse (logos) on the actions (drama) of God (theos), then it is also a history and a story told in actions, in words and deeds⁶²⁶. These mutually interconnecting actions of words and deeds reveal God to humanity, making him known through this historical process (*Offenbarungsvorgang*), which consists of innumerable stories of God's relationship to individual believers, their communities, and finally, the whole world, encompassing believers and non-believers alike, now and in the future (*aus der Zusammenschau des ganze dramatischen Prozesses der Offenbarung*); more mysteriously, these stories disclose a glimpse of the inner life of God. Schwager's life and early writings also express this very process as they unfold what was already in him.

⁶²⁵ *Lumen Gentium* §11.

⁶²⁶ *Dei Verbum* §2, §14.

2.2 Drama – a Comparison between Freytag and Schwager

When Schwager first drafted a six-part structure of drama in his dissertation, he drew up the dramatic tradition going back to Aristotle's *Poetics*⁶²⁷, of which only a portion is extant. Schwager's proposal closely aligns with Gustav Freytag's classic eight-part dramatic pyramid as laid out in his 1863 work *Die Technik des Dramas*⁶²⁸. While both are indebted to Aristotle, sharing much in common, they draw divergent conclusions regarding the appropriate outcome of a drama as either *Katastrophe* (overturning or ruin) or *Versöhnung* (reconciliation).

Freytag investigates the creative process of writing a drama according to its technique with reference to Aristotle's *Poetics* and in light of the example of Sophocles, Shakespeare, Lessing, Goethe and Schiller. Freytag defines dramatic as "the passion that leads to action":

An action, in itself, is not dramatic. Passionate feeling, in itself, is not dramatic. Not the presentation of the passion for itself, but of a passion which leads to action is the business of dramatic art; not the presentation of an event for itself, but for its effect on a human soul is the dramatist's mission. The exposition of passionate emotions as such, is in the province of the lyric poet; the depicting of thrilling events is the task of the epic poet⁶²⁹.

Freytag unites the emotional (lyric) and the momentous (epic) in action, thereby identifying that which is proper and distinctive to drama. Dramatic art presents the effect (*Einwirkung*) of an event (epic) on the human soul (lyric); the consequence of this conception ineluctably leads to Freytag's claim that the destruction of the hero is necessary for the drama to purge its audience (work on their souls).

⁶²⁷ All citations from Aristotle's works use the Bekker citation system unless otherwise indicated.

⁶²⁸ When Freytag published *The Technique of Drama*, he was already a famous social realist novelist due to the popularity of *Soll und Haben (Debt and Credit)*, a novel which purported to tell the story of the ideals of hard work and thrift of the aspiring German middle class against its class and ethnic rivals. As a playwright and journalist from Silesia, Freytag espoused Prussian/German Liberal Nationalism.

⁶²⁹ Freytag, *Freytag's Technique of the Drama*, trans. E. McEwan, Chicago, Scott, Foresman and Co., 1900, p. 19.

Freytag argues that this dramatic effect first takes place in the poet's soul, who, having experienced this effect, is able to devise it dramatically as an action.

But the characters which are brought forward by poetry and her accessory arts, can evince their inner life only as participants in an event or occurrence, the course and internal connection of which becomes apparent to the spectator through the dramatic process in the soul of the poet. This course of events, when it is arranged according to the demands of dramatic art, is called the *action*⁶³⁰.

Freytag wants to account for the creativity of the poet that gives birth to the action, which structures and guides the drama or tragedy, whose aim is the catharsis of the audience. Similarly, Aristotle defines tragedy as a representation of action – as opposed to a mere narration of momentous events (epic poetry) – that purges pity and fear from the audience through a cathartic experience of the same emotions (touching on the domain of the lyrical)⁶³¹:

Tragedy is, then, a representation of an action that is heroic and complete and of a certain magnitude – by means of language enriched with all kinds of ornament, each used separately in the distinct parts of the play: it represents men in action and does not use narrative, and through pity and fear it effects relief to these and similar emotions⁶³².

A drama, therefore, enacts, and does not merely retell, the tensions between the soul and the world. For the drama to succeed, it must follow a plot, that is, a unity of action (a sequence), because the purpose of tragedy, according to Aristotle, is the representation of action, not the representation of the character's qualities⁶³³. Citing Aristotle on this point, Freytag argues that the action is the primary source of the drama; the characters are

⁶³⁰ Freytag, *Freytag's Technique of the Drama*, p. 22.

⁶³¹ “ἔστιν οὖν τραγωδία μίμησις πράξεως σπουδαίας καὶ τελείας μέγεθος ἐχούσης, ἡδυσμένῳ λόγῳ χωρὶς ἐκάστῳ τῶν εἰδῶν ἐν τοῖς μορίοις, δρώντων καὶ οὐ δι’ ἀπαγγελίας, δι’ ἐλέου καὶ φόβου περαίνουσα τὴν τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν”. Aristotle, *Aristotle's Ars Poetica*, R. Kassel (ed.), Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1966, 1449b.25-30.

⁶³² Aristotle, *Aristotle's Ars Poetica*, 1449b.25-30.

⁶³³ “The most important of these is the arrangement of the incidents, for tragedy is not a representation of men but of a piece of action, of life, of happiness and unhappiness, which come under the head of action, and the end aimed at is the representation not of qualities of character but of some action”. Aristotle, *Aristotle's Ars Poetica*, 1450a.15-20.

secondary⁶³⁴. Girard makes a similar observation about the secondary role of characters for the novelist⁶³⁵.

Freytag defines action (*Handlung*) as “an event or occurrence, arranged according to a controlling idea, and having its meaning made apparent by the characters”⁶³⁶. The poet creates an action as a complete unity, by which a sequence of events becomes unified through logical causation and is disclosed through the characters:

The task of the poet was not to present the facts to us on the stage, but to make them perceptible in the feeling, desire, and action of the persons, to make them more evident, to develop them in accordance with probability and reason⁶³⁷.

Thus, the action, which drama unfolds plausibly to the spectators through circumstances and choices, reveals the drives, feelings and desires. Aristotle holds that one’s exercise of choice (will, προαίρεσις) discloses moral worth (character, ἦθος) by the adoption of a specific course of action in response to circumstances where the path is not clear, and therefore, open to noble or ignoble possibilities of sufficient importance:

Character is that which reveals choice, shows what sort of thing a man chooses or avoids in circumstances where the choice is not obvious, so those speeches convey no character in which there is nothing whatever which the speaker chooses or avoids⁶³⁸.

The action, which structures the drama, must, therefore, appear to the audience to be probable, important, and momentous⁶³⁹; and, furthermore, for the action to be tragic, it must stem from the protagonist’s flawed exercise of choice (missing the mark, ἀμαρτία).

As Aristotle explains,

⁶³⁴Freytag, *Freytag’s Technique of the Drama*, p. 36.

⁶³⁵ “The novelist’s fundamental concern is not the creation of characters but the revelation of metaphysical desire”. R. Girard, *Deceit, Desire and the Novel*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1966, p. 164. Freytag and Girard agree that drama and novels seek to disclose a hidden reality through the tensions and conflicts which the characters manifest and express. Girard juxtaposes the romantic and novelistic truth as serving different purposes: the romantic truth asserts the radical difference between the protagonist and everyone else (hence, he is set apart), whereas novelistic truth results from the protagonist’s conversion from the pursuit of this radical difference between the self and others to the recognition that they are fundamentally similar because they share a common plight.

⁶³⁶ Freytag, *Freytag’s Technique of the Drama*, p. 27.

⁶³⁷ Freytag, *Freytag’s Technique of the Drama*, p. 31.

⁶³⁸ Aristotle, *Aristotle’s Ars Poetica*, 1450b.8-9.

⁶³⁹ Freytag, *Freytag’s Technique of the Drama*, p. 95.

This is the sort of man who is not pre-eminently virtuous and just, and yet it is through no badness or villainy of his own that he falls into the fortune, but rather through some flaw in him, he, being one of those who are in high station and good fortune, like Oedipus and Thyestes and the famous men of such families as those. The successful plot must then have a single and not, as some say, a double issue; and the change must be not to good fortune from bad but, on the contrary, from good to bad fortune, and it must not be due to villainy but to some great flaw in such a man as we have described, or of one who is better rather than worse⁶⁴⁰.

Drama is not, therefore, mere entertainment – Freytag restricts drama to tragedy and does not treat comedy – because it intends to provoke an intense experience of pity and fear:

Aristotle has sharply observed the special influence of dramatic effects on the life of the spectators and understood them to be a characteristic property of the drama; so that he has included them in his celebrated definition of tragedy⁶⁴¹. This explanation, “tragedy is artistic remodeling of a worthy, undivided, complete event, which has magnitude”, and so forth, closes with the words, “and effects through pity and fear the purification of such passions”⁶⁴².

For this purgative effect to succeed, the tragic force must have dire consequences for the protagonist, must be unexpected, but also – from the perspective of the audience – must be the logical outcome of earlier circumstances and choices⁶⁴³. Preceded by a recognition scene (ἀναγνώρισις) that turns everything upside down, the tragic force of the drama reaches its climax in the reversal (περιπέτεια)⁶⁴⁴. In this revolution or reversal, the protagonist realizes that his earlier perceptions entirely missed the mark (ἄμαρτία).

Aristotle divides the action before and after the climax between (1) the complication (δέσις, tying, binding together, interweaving) and (2) the dénouement

⁶⁴⁰ Aristotle, *Aristotle's Ars Poetica*, 1453a.7-17.

⁶⁴¹ This “celebrated definition of tragedy” is to be found in Aristotle, *Aristotle's Ars Poetica*, 1449b.21–29.

⁶⁴² Freytag, *Freytag's Technique of the Drama*, pp. 86-87.

⁶⁴³ “This tragic force must possess the following qualities: (1) it must be important and of serious consequence to the hero; (2) it must occur unexpectedly; (3) it must, to the mind of the spectator, stand in a visible chain of accessory representations, in rational connection with the earlier parts of the action”. Freytag, *Freytag's Technique of the Drama*, p. 95.

⁶⁴⁴ “Revolution (Peripeteia) is the name given by the Greeks to the tragic force which by the sudden intrusion of an event, unforeseen and overwhelming but already grounded in the plan of the action, impels the volition of the hero, and with it the action itself in a direction entirely different from that of the beginning...This force of the ancient action is distinguished from the corresponding newer only in this, that it does not necessarily indicate a turning toward the disastrous, because the tragedy of the ancients did not always have a sad ending, but sometimes the sudden reversal to the better”. Freytag, *Freytag's Technique of the Drama*, p., 101; cf. Aristotle, *Aristotle's Ars Poetica*, 1450a.34-35.

(λύσις, untying, unraveling, loosing)⁶⁴⁵. Freytag expands and articulates Aristotle's division into the eight components of the dramatic pyramid. There are five parts: *Einleitung* (introduction), *Steigerung* (rise), *Höhepunkt* (climax), *Fall oder Umkehr* (fall or return), and *Katastrophe* (overturning or ruin) – which are punctuated by three dramatic crises (moments of choice) – the exciting moment, the tragic moment, and the moment of final suspense (*Spannung* –thus, suspense in the sense of tension, excitement, thrill)⁶⁴⁶. While the climax is essential to the success of the drama as a tragedy, the *Katastrophe* must be of sufficient magnitude to achieve the desired catharsis (to release the final tension). Freytag splits Aristotle's loosing or dénouement into four parts: (1) the tragic moment (because of the climax), (2) the return, (3) the force of the suspenseful tension and (4) the *Katastrophe* (Freytag's term, not Aristotle's).

Freytag strongly advises against sentimentality (*Weichherzigkeit*) because the destruction of the hero is necessary for the success of the tragedy, and reference to the positive reviving effects of the hero's destruction “shall not and cannot” be represented:

And the warning must be given here, that the poet should not allow himself to be misled by the modern tender-heartedness, to spare the life of the hero on stage. The drama must present an action, including within itself all its parts, excluding all else, perfectly complete; if the struggle of a hero has in fact, taken hold of his entire life, it is not ancient tradition, but inherent necessity, that the poet shall make the complete ruin of that life impressive. That to the modern mind, a life not weak, may, under certain circumstances, survive mortal conflicts, does not change anything for the drama, in this matter. As for the power and vitality of an existence which lies after the action of the piece, the innumerable reconciling and reviving circumstances which may consecrate a new life, these the drama shall not and cannot represent; and a reference to them will never afford to the audience the satisfaction of a definite conclusion⁶⁴⁷.

⁶⁴⁵ “In every tragedy there is a complication and a denouement. The incidents outside the plot and some of those in it usually form the complication, the rest is the denouement. I mean this, that the complication is the part from the beginning up to the point which immediately precedes the occurrence of a change from bad to good fortune or from good fortune to bad; the denouement is from the beginning of the change down to the end”. Aristotle, *Aristotle's Ars Poetica*, 1455b.23-28. Presumably complication and denouement come into English by way of French and Latin translations of the original Greek terms, δέσις, and λύσις.

⁶⁴⁶ Freytag, *Freytag's Technique of the Drama*, pp. 114-115.

⁶⁴⁷ Freytag, *Freytag's Technique of the Drama*, pp. 137-138.

Here a resemblance between Freytag's idea of *Katastrophe* and Girard's Scapegoat Mechanism emerges. Both note the inexorable and mysterious necessity of the expulsion of the hero/victim as the precondition for the catharsis and the subsequent renewal. Neither the audience in Freytag's view nor the community in Girard's can know what is really going on if they are to be beneficiaries of the catharsis. The tragedy cannot in any way refer to the positive effects of the catharsis on the audience according to Freytag. Girard similarly argues that the salutary effects of the Scapegoat Mechanism depend on the community's *méconnaissance*, the misunderstanding of the community, by which it believes honestly that the scapegoat is truly guilty of the crimes of which it is accused and for which it is punished; any doubt prevents the cathartic release of the tensions, and the mimetic crisis continues.

Therefore, while the *Katastrophe* (ruin of the hero) and the Scapegoat Mechanism succeed at the necessary price of the destruction of the hero, they differ in how this information is managed *vis-à-vis* the community/spectators. The Scapegoat Mechanism produces beneficial social goods if the community believes naively in the guilt of the victim, whereas the tragedy purges the spectators as long as they do not acknowledge the social benefits of the protagonist's destruction, the renewal of life (including the outcome of the catharsis). In the former, the experience of the benefits may lead to the recognition of the scapegoat as a Janus-faced divine being who directs the entire process (destruction and revival), whereas in the latter, the social benefits must be hidden, lest their discovery mitigate the tragic effect of the hero's death, and thereby deprive the audience of its cathartic release.

Schwager's schematization of drama appears parenthetically in his dissertation, when he analogizes between drama and the way in which unity with the Church emerges in the encounter of human beings:

It would be made clear that unity with the Church takes place in the encounter of human beings, among which, as in a drama – development, conflict, tension, crisis, defeat and reconciliation – all moments are able to be played, even must be played⁶⁴⁸.

While Freytag and Schwager follow the same sequence for drama, although they articulate differently, they diverge on the meaning of the final act: ruin versus reconciliation.

Freytag	Schwager
<i>Einleitung</i> (introduction)	<i>Entwicklung</i> (development)
<i>das erregende Moment</i> (the exciting moment)	<i>Auseinandersetzung</i> (conflict)
<i>Steigerung</i> (rise)	<i>Spannung</i> (tension)
<i>Höhepunkt</i> (climax)	<i>Krise</i> (crisis)
<i>das tragische Moment</i> (the tragic moment)	
<i>Fall oder Umkehr</i> (fall or return)	<i>Niederlage</i> (defeat)
<i>das Moment der letzten Spannung</i> (moment of final tension)	
<i>Katastrophe</i> (overturning or ruin)	<i>Versöhnung</i> (reconciliation)

For Schwager, the hopeful yet strenuous resolution of a drama in reconciliation stands in stark contrast to Freytag’s tragedy, which ends in the hero’s destruction and the necessary concealment of its benefits on the audience, who are its true recipients. The tragedy, therefore, may not even make a reference to the revival and reconciliation that eventually comes through the catharsis. The difference is telling since both schemata relieve the tension of the conflict, but they do so in diverse ways: Freytag’s tragedy ends with ruin, often the death of the protagonist, whereas in Schwager’s model, even though it maintains its necessity, defeat does not have the last word; reconciliation does. The revival brought about by the catharsis does not, in his view, detract from the overall efficacy of the drama to transform human beings. In fact, it is in light of the reconciliation that the ruin may be reevaluated, revealing its fuller and deeper meaning as something altogether unexpected, wonderful, and surprising:

⁶⁴⁸ “Es würde klargemacht, daß die Einheit mit der Kirche sich in der Begegnung von Menschen vollzieht, zwischen denen alle Momente wie in einem Drama – Entwicklung, Auseinandersetzung, Spannung, Krise, Niederlage, und letztlich Versöhnung – spielen können, ja sogar spielen müssen”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, pp. 249-50. In *Jesus in the Drama of Salvation*, Schwager presents a five-act sequence.

The stone the builders rejected has become the cornerstone. By the LORD has this been done; it is wonderful in our eyes. This is the day the LORD has made; let us rejoice in it and be glad. (Ps. 118:22-24).

While his early writings and biography address drama in a variety of settings and related subjects, no systematic presentation was made until *Jesus in the Drama of Salvation* and the accompanying novel, *Jesus of Nazareth*.

3. DRAMA IN THE JESUIT PERSPECTIVE ON DIALECTICS

Schwager's understanding of drama can be further appreciated from the perspective of its place within the context of the twentieth-century Jesuit theology of dialectics. Briefly, the twentieth-century perspective on dialectics – though not exclusively from Jesuit authors⁶⁴⁹ – originates in the tensions of Ignatius's own spirituality and theology, which placed great trust in the reconciliation made possible by an “ever greater God”⁶⁵⁰. This personal perspective becomes a characteristic of the Jesuit vocation because it emerges, on the one hand, out of the individual's experience of grace and freedom in the *Spiritual Exercises*, and, on the other, his response to God's call within the community framework which finds its definitive expression in obedience to his superiors. The ever-greater God creates from this encounter of grace and freedom, community and obedience, the Jesuit vocation, a following of Jesus with a logic, an order, and a coherence as a companion among other companions of Christ.

While the tensions of the Jesuit vocation contribute to the microcontext of the theologians developing this perspective, the macrocontext, namely, the dogmatic foundation, lay with the traditional use of analogy in Catholic theology, which received a

⁶⁴⁹ For example, see the work of Italo-German theologian, Roman Guardini.

⁶⁵⁰ “The root of the polar tension reflect the spirituality and theology of Ignatius, a dynamic thought that places great trust in reconciliation, the work of the ‘ever greater God’”, M. Borghesi, *The Mind of Pope Francis*, Collegeville, Liturgical Press Academic, 2018, p. 68.

conciliar approbation at Lateran Four (1215)⁶⁵¹ and was reaffirmed by the Vatican One (1870)⁶⁵², protecting the mysteries of God from any rationalizing tendency that fails to concede the provisional character of human knowledge and recognize its necessarily eschatological fulfilment. The American theologian David Tracy underscores the significance of Vatican One's teaching on analogy by affirming the real understanding (*intelligentia*) that analogy confers with respect to the mysteries of God, and at the same time, avoids the falsifying tendencies of rationalism and semi-rationalism (deductive proofs of mystery in a Cartesian mode) on the one hand, and fideism and traditionalism (no analogous understanding) on the other⁶⁵³.

⁶⁵¹ From Lateran Four's teaching on the errors of Abbot Joachim, "because between the Creator and the creature so great a likeness cannot be noted without the necessity of noting a greater dissimilarity between them/Quia inter creatorem et creatura non potest tanta similitudo notari, quin inter eos maior dissimilitudo notanda", H. Denzinger, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, P. Hünermann (ed.), Bologna, Grafiche Dehoniane, 1996, 806.

⁶⁵² From Chapter Four on faith and reason in the Dogmatic Constitution, *Dei Filius*: "And, indeed, reason illustrated by faith, when it zealously, piously, and soberly seeks, attains with the help of God some understanding of the mysteries, and that a most profitable one, not only from the analogy of those things which it knows naturally, but also from the connection of the mysteries among themselves and with the last end of man; nevertheless, it is never capable of perceiving those mysteries in the way it does the truths which constitute its own proper object. For, divine mysteries by their nature exceed the created intellect so much that, even when handed down by revelation and accepted by faith, they nevertheless remain covered by the veil of faith itself, and wrapped in a certain mist, as it were, as long as in this mortal life, 'we are absent from the Lord: for we walk by faith and not by sight'" [2 Cor. 5:6 f.]

That Latin reads, "Ac ratio quidem, fide illustrata, cum sedulo, pie et sobrie quaerit, aliquam Deo dante mysteriorum intelligentiam eamque frutuossissimam assequitur tum ex eorum, quae naturaliter cognoscit, analogia, tum e mysteriorum ipsorum nexu inter se et cum fine hominis ultimo; numquam tamen idonea redditur ad ea perspiciedna instar veritatum, quae proprium ipsius obiectum constituunt. Divina enim mysteria suapte natura intellectum creatum sic excidunt, ut etiam revelatione tradita et fide suscepta ipsius tamen fidei velamine contexta et quadam quasi caligine obvoluta maneat, quamdiu in hac mortali vita «peregrinamur a Domino: per fidem enim ambulamus et non per speciem» [2Cor 5,6s]", Denzinger, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, 3016

⁶⁵³ "The key to understanding how liberating this model for theology was in its time is to note that theology is clearly distanced from any attempt at deductive proof of mysteries (so favored by the Cartesian scholastics of the day). Instead, after proper tributes to Anselm and Aquinas, theology is described as consisting of analogous but real understanding (*intelligentia*) of those mysteries. Moreover, this passage is placed in the wider typological context of the document wherein two alternative types described as rationalism and semi-rationalism (proofs of the mystery) on the one hand, and fideism and traditionalism (no analogous understanding) on the other are declared inadequate theological models", Tracy, "The Analogical Imagination in Catholic Theology" in *Talking About God: Doing Theology in the Context of Modern Pluralism*, from <https://www.religion-online.org/book-chapter/chapter-2-the-analogical-imagination-in-Catholic-theology-by-david-tracy> (accessed on 14 December 2020).

3.1 Erich Przywara

As has been seen already, Schwager drew upon Przywara. He used Przywara's concept of the unity of tension to explain how the Holy Spirit maintained the unity of tensions between the individual and the community of believers as represented in the Celebration of the Condemned One at the end of *Jesus-Nachfolge*. Schwager likewise coined a related term *Spannungsdichte* (tension density) in the opening of his first book to refer to the Ignatius' dramatic interactions with church authorities. The Silesian Jesuit published various works, culminating in his *Analogia Entis* (1932), in which he explored analogy and contrasted the *Spannungseinheit* (unity of the opposites⁶⁵⁴, but also translated as unity of tension) with Hegel's dialectic polarity. Przywara positively evaluates polarity as the dynamic tension oscillating between poles. Rather than escaping from the tension as a desirable outcome, Przywara recognized the value of the tension's creative energy.

3.2 Gaston Fessard

The next contributor to this perspective, Gaston Fessard, is one of the important inspirations for Schwager's treatment of the *Spiritual Exercises* and his adoption of drama. The Jesuit philosopher, theologian and first editor of *Cahiers du Témoignage chrétien*, which opposed the German occupation of France and the Nazi ideology as *résistants chrétiens* (Christians resisters), Fessard wrote two important but less well-known works (neither exists in English), *La dialectique des « Exercices spirituels » de saint Ignace de Loyola* (1956) and *De l'actualité historique* (1960), that strongly inform this perspective and to which Schwager had recourse, as we have seen.

⁶⁵⁴ In his discussion of the influence of Przywara on Pope Francis' conception of polarity, Borghesi cites a passage from Przywara's "Gottgeheimnis der Welt" (in Przywara's 1962 *Religions-philosophische Schriften*, vol. 2, p. 215) without indicating the source of the translation of *Spannungseinheit* as unity of the opposites, Borghesi, *The Mind of Pope Francis*, p. 72.

Fessard argues that the *Spiritual Exercises* recount the story of freedom because the life of faith is the life of freedom; what one believes about Christ is a life of freedom, of the dialectic of election and response, a choosing to follow Christ as a disciple or not. Fessard elaborated this story of the individual in global terms when he wrote his theology of history in *De l'actualité historique*. Three irreducible dialectics or polarities – man and woman, master (free) and slave, and Jew and Gentile (Gal. 3:28) – fundamentally shape human history. The incarnate Word alone reconciles these three sets of dialectics in an eschatological manner that brings about a unity without uniformity. Only if human history remains open to God's plan for humanity can man hope to find sufficient meaning and purpose.

Fessard always maintained the priority of freedom over any determinism in history⁶⁵⁵. Even if these dialectics constrain human choice, they do not necessarily lead to a specific outcome. By adding the social and political dimensions to his treatment of the interplay of divine and human freedom through his theory of history, Fessard proposed the Catholic alternative to Liberalism, on the one hand, and on the other hand, to the totalitarian reactions to Liberalism's hyper-individualism in Communism and in the varieties of National Socialism. Since the Catholic alternative is chronologically prior to Liberalism and anti-Liberalism, both may represent a loss of the analogical in favor of the dialectical, because each overexaggerates an intrinsic Catholic value to the exclusion of another value. Liberalism goes to the extreme of individualism as an expression of subsidiarity (the Catholic social principle that prefers decision making on the most local level possible), and anti-Liberalism overreacts, producing an extreme of communitarianism as an expression of solidarity (the Catholic social principle that

⁶⁵⁵ R. Barron, "Gaston Fessard and Pope Francis" in B. Lee and T. Knoebel (eds.), *Discovering Pope Francis*, Collegeville, Liturgical Press, 2019, p. 118.

recognizes a range of duties and obligations arise from the universal destination of the goods of the world). Without the proper polarity of subsidiarity and solidarity, human flourishing collapses into an extreme ideological parody whereby one principle is sacrificed for the benefit of the other.

3.3 Henri de Lubac

A prominent resident at Fourvière when Schwager was pursuing his studies, Henri de Lubac, who also responded to the call of the *résistants chrétiens* in Lyon with Fessard emphasized this dynamic tension when he defines the Church in *Paradoxe et Mystère de l'Église* (1967) as a *complexio oppositorum* in which the "...resounding clash of the opposites hides the unity of the *complexio*"⁶⁵⁶. Writing in the immediate wake of Vatican Two, this polarity consists of opposites – not in the sense of enemies or rivals, but nevertheless admitting of difference and tension on the one hand, but also, on the other hand, of unity through a *complexio* or combination that joins the two together without obliterating either of them.

3.4 Joseph Moingt

A student of de Lubac at Fourvière in the 1940s and then Jean Daniélou at *l'Institut catholique*, Joseph Moingt is better known for his later contributions to systematic theology⁶⁵⁷. But as Schwager's instructor on the sacraments of initiation, original sin, creation and grace, Moingt modelled a theological method of a return to the sources in which he sought to uncover the dialectical process out of which doctrines developed. He tried to show the integration of the first reflection on Christ (New

⁶⁵⁶ H. de Lubac, *The Church: Paradox and Mystery*, trans. James R. Dunne, Staten Island, Alba House, 1969, p. 55.

⁶⁵⁷ B. Knorn, *Jesuits in Systematic Theology: A Historiographical Essay in Jesuit Historiography Online*, at https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/jesuit-historiography-online/jesuits-in-systematic-theology-a-historiographical-essay-COM_196256 (accessed on 15 December 2020).

Testament exegesis) with the subsequent appearance and correction of heresies through the application of reason and the promulgation of these corrections through the councils. Bringing together Scripture, Tradition and the Magisterium, the key to his approach was his recognition of the role of opposition or conflict in the process of doctrinal development. This method, for example, is very noticeable in Schwager's treatment of the development of the Chalcedonian definition of Christ in *Jesus-Nachfolge*.

3.3 Josef Stierli

As has been seen in Chapter Two, Schwager's first novice master, Stierli, wrote two books which may have significantly influenced Schwager. In *Die Jesuiten* (The Jesuits) Stierli describes the Jesuit vocation right from the start in clearly dialectical terms. He contended that what was lacking in the escalation to the extremes of adulation of and animosity towards the Jesuits was the critical distance that could allow one to judge them justly. Stierli attempted to conduct just such a fair and accurate assessment of the Jesuits from this perspective.

Stierli also employed polarities as a way overcoming a lingering Rationalism in spirituality in his contribution to *Cor Salvatoris*, which may have influenced Schwager's eventual choice of dramatized discourse from Barthes and Bataille. With reference to the Thirteenth Rule of discernment of spirits from the *Spiritual Exercises*, Stierli also argued that Holy Spirit joins together the common external guidelines and practices of the Church to the unique personal relationship between Jesus and each believer. Schwager did likewise as he development the drama of following Jesus in his early major works; the Holy Spirit not only united the individual believer to the community of believers, but also, as was seen in his third book, enabled Schwager to coordinate the community of believers and the rest of the human race through the action of the Holy Spirit.

3.4 Hans Urs von Balthasar

Finally, von Balthasar – a frequent visitor to Fourvière in Schwager’s time despite having left the Jesuits in 1950 – made significant use of polarities or tensions throughout his corpus. His *Theodrama* (1973-1983) considers the goodness of God and humanity’s response, especially reflecting on the Paschal Mystery and its significance for the various branches of theology in the light of drama or theatre. Dialectics, which placed the emphasis on the *complexio oppositorum* (a dynamic unity in polarity), a *Spannungseinheit*, (unity in tension), now becomes drama, which supplies a richer metaphor for the polarity between uncreated and created freedom, between God and man, and its resolution in the concrete universal, Jesus Christ.

In his *Theology of History* (1959)⁶⁵⁸ as well as in the *Theodrama*, Vol. 3. (1978)⁶⁵⁹, von Balthasar refers to Christ as the concrete universal, the reconciliation of the polarities which Paul listed in Gal. 3:28 and which Fessard adverted in this theology of history above. Von Balthasar gives a profoundly attractive context for addressing dialectics in the *Theodrama* by which he can place the story of man within the story of God, appealing to the versatility of drama as a way of describing the mysterious relationship between divine and human freedom.

Lastly, in *Was dürfen wir hoffen?* (1986)⁶⁶⁰, von Balthasar analyzes the tension between divine justice and divine mercy and asks whether hope can resolve this intractable problem whereby both are given their due accordingly. For, von Balthasar contends, this polarity arises from two sets of biblical texts that speak of, on the one hand, divine justice and judgment to heaven or hell, and on the other hand, divine mercy

⁶⁵⁸ H. U. von Balthasar, *A Theology of History*, New York, Sheed and Ward, 1963, pp. 10-21.

⁶⁵⁹ H. U. von Balthasar, *Theo-Drama: Theological Dramatic Theory 3: Dramatis Personae: Persons in Christ*, trans. G. Harrison, San Francisco, Ignatius, 1992, pp. 220-29.

⁶⁶⁰ English translation found in *Dare We Hope That All Men Be Saved?*

and universal salvation. He argues that authentic fidelity to divine revelation requires that both sets of texts be held unflinchingly to arrive at the truth of what God wills and wishes to accomplish in the mystery of salvation.

3.5 Raymund Schwager

Schwager's pursuit of drama places him firmly in this perspective. As has been seen, he shares a significant spiritual kinship with both Fessard and von Balthasar. Sharing their common Ignatian background, Schwager likewise opposes epic theology to lyrical theology, the former marked by abstraction and the latter by the concrete engagement with freedom⁶⁶¹. The concern for the concrete and the caution about abstraction explicitly shapes Schwager's entire theological project. Moreover, early Schwager takes up the themes of freedom and determination, also beginning with the *Spiritual Exercises*, and places them within a world-historical framework in his first three books in a manner strongly reminiscent of Fessard's works. Situating Schwager within this twentieth-century Jesuit tradition on dialectics casts further light on the significance of his self-disclosure, "It was already in me". His eventual Dramatic Theology represents a mature presentation of those matters with which he wrestled in his pre-Innsbruck phase, at the heart of which was his analysis of conflict in the Church.

⁶⁶¹ Barron, "Gaston Fessard and Pope Francis" in *Discovering Pope Francis*, p. 123.

4. CONFLICT IN THE CHURCH

As has been seen, Schwager's drama joins Przywara's *Spannungseinheit*, De Lubac's *complexio oppositorum*, Fessard's *dialectique*, von Balthasar's *Theodramatik* and the other Jesuit reflections on dialectics as an engagement with attempts to honor the dogma of God's transcendence and otherness as well as to recognize that language and experience mediate the way in which human beings know God. This knowing of God from within being human (experience and language) implies necessarily history and the possibility of development and growth as well as loss and death. Additionally, given the always-at-the-moment tentative nature of knowing God from within being human, definitive knowledge about God (dogma) must be treated with great care and caution even while it may not be excluded as such. God can and does reveal himself, the most decisive moment of which is the incarnate Word, who at a particular time and in a particular place entered the human story from without (pre-existent Word). God clarifies the proper interpretation of earlier divine revelation in the story of Israel in the light of the events of words and deeds of the incarnate Word, Jesus of Nazareth, who likewise constitutes a community of witnesses, to which he entrusted his message, and endowed with the necessary means to make this message known to the world in a reliable and trustworthy manner even when the members of the community themselves, the messengers, failed to bear a coherent and convincing witness. For these epistemological reasons, differences among members of the Church easily arise, bringing the problem of conflict into focus.

Through following Jesus (*Jesus-Nachfolge*), believers advance in holiness by making choices that indicate that they are living more and more from God's authority, and less and less from hidden psychological, social, or cultural mechanisms. This is profoundly revealed in the way in which the believers interact with violence. In *Jesus-*

Nachfolge, Schwager aimed to fashion a new fundamental theology based on the mark of the holiness of the Church. If believers can confront violence and conflict as Jesus did, then they can attract others to him and his faith in God. Thus, Schwager's extensive reflection on and engagement with the problem of violence in his life and early writings furnish sources for both Schwager's own Dramatic Theology as well as contemporary theologians. Drawn from his life and writings prior to Innsbruck, these sources are classified in terms of Schwager's consideration of the challenges that arise from the nature of the Church as a community of believers, the role of the Holy Spirit in guiding the community in the midst of confusion and conflict, and the aspiration for a discipleship that is uncontaminated by violence (*Gewaltfreiheit*).

4.1 Pluralism

Although a word of recent origin, Schwager adopts pluralism to describe the nature of Church as a community of believers. Pluralism therefore resists the temptation towards a monolithic vision that would eventually fail to honor the implications of the revelation of God as the Trinity and of humanity's creation, male and female, *ad imaginem Dei*. It captures, moreover, the intention to understand the Church, firstly, as the People of God, understood as a community of believers united in its universal sacramental characteristics (baptized, confirmed and communicated with the Eucharist), yet diverse in its expressions in states of life, vocations and charismatic gifts, which are all ordered to the same universal call to holiness.

Schwager further argues for the priority of Church because it is ontologically, chronologically, and logically prior to each believer. This priority of the community, however, does not require passivity for the individual, but on the contrary, the receptive appropriation of the grace, so that each believer can help others do the same. The reciprocal relationship between receiving and giving, being served and serving, shapes

the pluralism that not only acknowledges different states of life but also the stages of life, with their needs and capacities. This pluralism is not only a matter of diverse points of view, as important as that is; it also seeks to accommodate, in the widest frame possible, the variety of human experience, creativity and expression. Pluralism is bounded, lest it descend into formlessness and emptiness; but within its purview, and even along its borders, it strains to include and invite, with necessary conditions, every human being.

Schwager grounds pluralism epistemologically in the theological claim that the ever-greater God is always beyond human concepts and words. This divine ineffability corresponds to the Ignatian criterion of greater fruits for discernment because both assume and require the recognition of the provisional or tentative nature of human knowledge and judgment; there is always something more. Consequently, there must be admitted and sustained a time and place where plurality not only endures and is tolerated but is also safeguarded and allowed to flourish: the community of believers.

4.1.1 The Church as a Community of Believers

Following Jesus is a terrestrial journey shaped in anticipation of the postmortem, face-to-face encounter with God. Whereas believers make the final passage as an individual, no one is ever entirely alone, even in death, as the community, which precedes them, also accompanies them, and prepares the way. The priority of the community over the individual, therefore, confers on the individual believer a pastoral care that draws upon the breath, depth and scope of the community's history and experience of discipleship, which, in a supernatural sense, also bridges heaven and earth in the communion of saints. This care consists of an ongoing opportunity of purification for the individual, who in turn may return this care to the terrestrial and purgatorial bodies of this community in their striving for holiness.

Together, both the community and the individual stand under God as the ultimate source of purification, for the authority of God chastises and heals, commends and recommends, as necessary. This universal judgment assists the community by drawing attention to the gap between what is and what ought to be through a prophetic spirit of self-criticism, conducted in a variety of ways, as Schwager records in his early writings. The saints denote those members of the community who stand ready to share in the divine life. Believers who have not yet completed this transformation will necessarily encounter experiences whose ultimate evaluation will only become definitive and clear at the end of their sanctification; much of what is qualified as suffering, or even evil, will take on a different cast or meaning considering the accomplishment of holiness as Schwager's vision of drama gives reconciliation, not destruction, the final word.

The recognition of failings and shortcomings as well as opposing deliberations over competing goods may cause conflict within the terrestrial community, even when good faith reigns among its members. One must consequently learn to endure conflict, and even come to appreciate what is offered in these stressful situations, because the alternatives to putting up with a measure of differences of opinions and approaches on the one hand, and the unwillingness to act decisively in the presence of sin and disorder in the community on the other hand, is often more dangerous.

This necessary and beneficial polarity between the community and the individual creates a field of dramatic tension (akin to Przywara's *Spannungseinheit*) that exhibits both flexibility and stability to avoid the extremes of dissolution into relativism (formlessness) or an ossification into totalitarianism (uniformity) through pluralism (pluriformity). Since in Schwager's view pluralism is the optimal condition for following Jesus in the terrestrial community, there must also be safeguards to prevent pluralism from the escalation to extremes of relativism or totalitarianism, even if these conditions

are, by definition, not perfect, as the mature form of the human being as holy can only be attained securely and perpetually in death. The problem of disorder in a world on the way to order requires an acknowledgment of the necessary and even at times ambiguous role of authority.

4.1.2 Authority

Jesus called his listeners to conversion from the start of his public ministry⁶⁶². Those who responded changed their lives and their ways of thinking and became his disciples. Within this community, Jesus instituted roles of authority and articulated its exercise by the hierarchy within the People of God in terms of service and humility (as Schwager argued in his second article, “Unterwegs zur einen toleranten Kirche”). When it is so exercised, it is praiseworthy; when not, it is condemnable, as it destabilizes and endangers the community. Thus, within the history of the community of believers, holy men and women have exercised a corresponding role of leadership (sometimes within the hierarchy as clergy, sometimes without as religious or laity), who, by virtue of their holiness, carry out a ministry to persuade the community and its leaders, the hierarchy, – through encouraging good and right choices before they are taken, and praising or condemning subsequently – to return to authentic discipleship as Schwager showed in *Jesus-Nachfolge* and *Glaube, der die Welt Verwandelt*.

Leaders must not only tolerate the inevitable conflicts and stresses of community life (drama or the dramatic) and fraternal and filial correction from members of the community (Paul corrected Peter); they must also recognize that genuine reconciliation cannot be forced or rushed (an insight that runs throughout Schwager’s theological

⁶⁶² “This is the time of fulfillment. The Kingdom of God is at hand. Repent, and believe in the Gospel” (Mk. 1:15).

career in practice, as his patient engagement with Bishop Rusch indicated in Chapter Three, as well as in his later texts⁶⁶³):

However, where the courage for this drama is lacking and reconciliation is sought quickly, the all-encompassing spirit should no longer be at work, but rather an idolatrous absolutizing of visible structures⁶⁶⁴.

The absolutizing of the visible structures – institutions, law, rules – threatens to collapse the dynamic relationship of the Kingdom of God and the Church, which joins them together without identifying them as the same:

Likewise, one may not separate the Kingdom from the Church. It is true that the Church is not an end unto herself, since she is ordered toward the Kingdom of God of which she is the seed, sign and instrument⁶⁶⁵.

The community of believers and their leaders follow Jesus properly in self-effacing service, not in the self-referential worldliness that may lead to community-shattering scandal.

4.1.3 Scandal

Observance of these proper distinctions between the Kingdom and the Church, the People of God and the hierarchy, and others, as well as Jesus' demanding standards of servant leadership, do not easily occur, even under the best of circumstances. While the community is necessary for each disciple's growth and purification, the very nature of leadership within the community poses unavoidable perils. Beside the problems that arise from office-holding (as a way of transferring personal responsibility

⁶⁶³ R. Schwager, Vortrag beim Fakultäten Treffen (1 May 1989), RSA-I.7.2/2.; R. Schwager, „Kontraproduktive Folgen? -- Gefahren beim Streben nach einem schnellen Konsens“, *Theologisch-Praktische Quartalschrift*, vol. 142, no. 1, 1994, pp. 23-31.

⁶⁶⁴ “Wo jedoch der Mut zu dieser Dramatik fehlt und die Versöhnung vorschnell gesucht wird, dort dürfte nicht mehr der allumfassende Geist am Wirken sein, sondern eher einen götzenhafte Verabsolutierung sichtbarer Strukturen sich abzeichnen”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 250.

⁶⁶⁵ In *Redemptoris Missio*, Pope John Paul II describes the Church as seed, sign and instrument, thereby underscoring the need for the Church to appreciate its pattern of existence, which recapitulates Jesus' relationship to the Father as a dying to self (“unless a grain of wheat falls to the ground...”, Jn. 12:24-25), as a bearer of another's identity (“Have I been with you for so long a time and you still do not know me, Philip? Whoever has seen me has seen the Father”, Jn. 14:9) and as a means to achieving that end (“I am the way, the truth and the life. No one comes to the Father except through me”, Jn. 14:6). CDF, Declaration “Dominus Iesus”, §4,18, quoting from John Paul II, *Redemptoris Missio*, §18.

to bureaucratic structures and routines on the one hand and to the encouragement of a herd mentality of blame-shifting and shirking of responsibility on the other), Schwager's exegesis of Jesus' action vis-à-vis Simon in Mt. 16 places this danger of eroded leadership in even starker terms of scandal.

Jesus establishes Simon as Peter (rock) to be the stable foundation of the Church against which even the powers of death cannot prevail, who exercises the power of the keys to bind and loose (Mt.16:18-19) because his confession of faith rests on God's authority, not on flesh and blood, i.e., human authority (Mt. 16:17). However, when Simon thinks as human beings do and not as God does regarding the Paschal Mystery, Jesus rebukes him as Satan. Schwager interprets Jesus' rebuke of Simon Peter as Satan (Mt. 16:23) not as an apostrophe (that is, an exclamatory passage in a speech or poem addressed to a person, typically one who is dead or absent, or thing, typically one that is personified) in which Peter stands in for the absent Satan, who seeks to deter Jesus from his mission, but rather that Simon can be either Peter (the rock) or Satan (the accuser); this entirely depends on whether Simon sees as God does (Peter) or as human beings do (Satan):

A contradiction has often been felt between the rock word and the Satan word. This feeling may have helped that the Satan word has remained meaningless in the Catholic tradition. On the other hand, one appealed all the more eagerly to the rock word. An opposition between the two words can only exist where one understands the office of faith according to the model of some other office. This is precisely where a fundamental misunderstanding, however, lies⁶⁶⁶.

Schwager argues that Simon's fault comes from this confusion that arises when church authority models itself on other human authorities ("seeing as human beings do") rather

⁶⁶⁶ "Zwischen dem Felsen-Wort und dem Satans-Wort wurde oft ein Widerspruch empfunden. Dieses Gefühl dürfte mitgeholfen haben, daß in der katholischen Tradition das Satans-Wort praktisch bedeutungslos geblieben ist. Dagegen berief man sich um so eifriger auf das Felsen-Wort. Ein Gegensatz zwischen beiden Worten kann aber nur dort vorliegen, wo man das Glaubensamt nach dem Modell irgendeines Modell andern Amtes versteht. Gerade darin liegt aber ein fundamentales Mißverständnis". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 405.

than solely on the authority of God. Church office holders need to consider the human authorities who condemned Jesus in order to avoid their example:

Jesus himself showed, however, that divine authority can never be found in the extension or transfiguration, the exaltation or deepening of any human authority. Even the ecclesiastical office must – if it wants to remain true to Jesus – not blur this fact. There is no discoverable unity between ecclesiastical and divine authority. Even with subtle dialectics, such a claim would be questionable⁶⁶⁷.

With these strong words, Schwager does not intend to deny the role of the Magisterium as the guardian of divine revelation, but to underscore its roles as servant, humble and aware of its limited competence⁶⁶⁸. Moreover, if this alternative between Peter and Satan endangers Simon (and this may also be the point of the Gospel's recounting his thrice-fold denial in the Passion narrative: the temptation to deny Jesus was even too powerful for the rock to resist as long as he thought as human beings do and not as God does), then it endangers all leadership in the community, whenever it relies on any authority other than God's.

Schwager worries about the scandal that church leaders give when they act from a source other than God's authority. While Schwager addresses the problem of scandal for the hierarchy, it would be wrong to define church leaders too narrowly because influential and powerful laity as well as religious likewise cause scandal when they act from an authority other than God's. The recognition of the sinfulness of the entire community of believers and the ways in which leadership magnifies the severity of the harm that scandal visits upon the community within and the world without underscores the need the wisdom and the charity necessary to conduct fraternal correction.

⁶⁶⁷ "Jesus selbst hat jedoch damit gezeigt, daß die göttliche Autorität nie in der Verlängerung oder Verklärung, in der Überhöhung oder Vertiefung irgendeiner menschlichen Autorität gefunden werden kann. Auch das kirchliche Amt darf – wenn es Jesus treu bleiben will – diese Tatsache nicht verwischen. Zwischen kirchlichen und der göttlichen Autorität gibt es keine vorfindbare Einheit. Selber mit subtiler Dialektik läßt sich kein Bogen spannen, der fraglos tragen würde". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 405.

⁶⁶⁸ For example, the charism of infallibility assures the faithful that what the Magisterium proposes for belief will not lead them into err or separate them from truth that sets them free. The Magisterium is a servant of the truth, not its legislator or sovereign. It lacks the competence to amend or delete elements of divine revelation.

4.1.4 Fraternal Correction

Surveying the post-conciliar period, Schwager noted that many believers reacted with despair and resignation to the tensions between the Church and the world on the one hand, and inner-ecclesial conflict on the other, and thereupon drew the conclusion that the only plausible paths forward for the Church was either a return to the cultural ghetto or an embrace of secularization. Schwager rejected both, as the former succumbs to a flight from the world and the latter surrenders to the world; the former protects that Church's truth claims, but at the cost of its mission, whereas the latter submerges the Church into a sea of relativism, thereby dissolving its unique message and undermining its mission. In effect, both renounce the burdens of following Jesus.

Beyond these dangers, Schwager also casts doubt on a stance of critical loyalty because, even if it is necessary for believers living from the authority of God to challenge church authorities and their judgments, even risking their own condemnation, he warns that one should not be easily convinced that one is following Jesus when one does so:

However, the bravery to condemn does not always come from following Jesus. The decisive factor in Jesus' behavior was that he did not allow himself to be maneuvered into an oppositional attitude by persecution. He spoke no counter-judgments and did not curse his enemies⁶⁶⁹.

Desires to resist and to condemn others effortlessly arise from motivations other than God, especially from desires for vengeance and retaliation, which may result from perceived or real experiences of injustice.

Any resistance that is authentically prophetic and genuinely faithful to following the example of Jesus must, therefore, affirm the Church as a whole, even while

⁶⁶⁹ "Längst nicht jeder Mut zur Verurteilung wächst jedoch aus der Nachfolge Jesu. Das Entscheidende im Verhalten Jesu lag darin, daß er sich durch die Verfolgung nicht in eine Antihaltung hineinmanövrieren ließ. Er hat nicht Gegenurteile gesprochen und seine Feind nicht verflucht". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 417.

contesting specific judgments. Love alone is the proper context in which fraternal correction and even prophetic criticism rightly occur. One must trust as Jesus did, leaving judgment to God, who vindicates Jesus in the resurrection and makes him the eschatological judge. Such circumstances demonstrate the urgency of the ongoing purification of believers from every kind of human support for the faith in favor of the faith that rests in tranquil freedom on God's authority. Consequently, as difficult and stressful as such situations inevitably are, they present a *kairos* (καίρος), analogous to the hour of which Jesus' speaks, namely, the fitting time for self-offering by following Jesus⁶⁷⁰.

Schwager argues that Jesus offers a better approach to this crisis. Having resisted the dominant culture and ideological forces of his day, Jesus shows that the process of the revelation of the Word of God brings into light the truth that uncovers the social construction of words and every truth claim:

The message of Jesus and his call to discipleship by no means claim that the mechanisms and human behavior described by the sociology of knowledge do not exist or are irrelevant. On the contrary, their powerful effect is recognized. However, the message and fate of Jesus show that they have been overcome, at least on a fundamental level⁶⁷¹.

Under the impulse of the Holy Spirit, Christ and those following him can discover the hidden mechanisms that shape human society, and thereby overcome these falsehoods.

⁶⁷⁰ The theme of the hour frames Jesus' ministry in John's Gospel, starting with the miracle at Cana, when he said, "My hour has not yet come" (2:4). Twice in Jn. 7:30 and 8:20, Jesus indicates that that the hour has still not come. Finally, after the arrival in Jerusalem, Jesus recognizes "The hour has come for the Son of Man to be glorified" (12:23). After giving the teaching on the necessity of the grain of wheat to die in order to bear much fruit, Jesus says, "I am troubled now. Yet what should I say? 'Father, save me from this hour'? But it was for this purpose that I came to this hour" (12:27). John reports from before Jesus gave his example of service to testify to a new commandment: "Before the feast of Passover, Jesus knew that his hour had come to pass from this world to the Father. He loved his own in the world and he loved them to the end" (13:1); and then during the Last Supper, after having delivered his farewell discourse: "When Jesus had said this, he raised his eyes to heaven and said, 'Father, the hour has come. Give glory to your son, so that your son may glorify you'" (17:1). The self-offering would give glory to God, and God would in turn glorify him in the resurrection.

⁶⁷¹ "Durch die Botschaft Jesu und durch seinen Aufruf zur Nachfolge wird keineswegs behauptet, die von der Wissenssoziologie umschriebenen Mechanismen und menschlichen Verhaltensweisen würden nicht existieren oder belanglos. Ihre machtvolle Wirkung wird im Gegenteil anerkannt. Die Botschaft und die Geschick Jesu zeigen jedoch, daß sie – wenigstens auf grundsätzlicher Ebene – überwunden wurden". Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 104.

For Schwager, the alternatives – the cultural ghetto (representing all forms of withdrawal from the world) and the *Geist* (Holy Spirit) – cannot be reconciled because of their vastly different relationships to violence:

Nourished by strong emotional force from the polarization against the enemy [*Feindbild* literally, image of the enemy], the ghetto mentality arises in smaller, manageable groups. On account of this main function of the enemy image in the ghetto attitude, it readies the group for acts of violence, at least indirectly. The Christian impulse for truth, on the other hand, is not built on natural affectivity, and it aims to overcome violence as the most obvious expression of sin⁶⁷².

The ghetto mentality comes from powerful emotions (parallel with the natural affectivity which he contrasts with the Gospel impulse for truth) that form groups through scapegoating or through the polarization of the many against one. Therefore, at the very least cultural ghettos tolerate violence as the acceptable price of group solidarity (us versus them). Schwager understands violence (*Gewalt*, which means might, power, force and violence) as not only as actual acts of aggression but also the entire process to construct the enemy (*Feindbild*) using images, concepts and words.

By contrast, the Gospel evaluates violence not as some neutral fact of life but an expression of sin. As Jesus revealed these hidden mechanisms, so the Spirit guides believers to question critically whether their community is faithful to Jesus' own example, or it is relying on the ghetto to sustain its social cohesion.

The decision stands on which forces Christianity and the churches want to build. Do they trust in the often-inconspicuous effectiveness of God's Word or in mechanisms that can be described sociologically? If this fundamental question is not seen, then one can easily lock oneself into the new ghetto of some modern intellectual current under the pretext of overcoming a ghetto mentality⁶⁷³.

⁶⁷² “Die Getto-Mentalität vertraut auf jene starken affektiven Kräfte, die in kleineren überschaubaren Gruppen entstehen und durch die Polarisierung auf ein Feindbild genährt werden. Wegen der zentralen Funktion des Feindbildes in der Getto-Haltung bereitet diese mindestens indirekt Gewalttätigkeiten vor. Der christliche Wahrheitsimpuls hingegen baut gerade nicht auf die naturhafte Affektivität, und er zielt darauf, die Gewalt als offenkundigsten Ausdruck der Sünde zu überwinden”. Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p.105.

⁶⁷³ “Zur Entscheidung steht, auf welch Kräfte das Christentum und die Kirchen letztlich bauen wollen. Vertrauen sie auf die zwar oft unscheinbare Wirksamkeit des Wortes Gottes oder auf soziologisch umschreibbare Mechanismen? Wird diese auf Grundfrage nicht gesehen, kann man sich leicht unter dem Vorwand, eine Getto-Mentalität zu überwinden, nur in das neue Getto irgendeiner modernen intellektuellen Strömung einschließen”. Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p.105.

In the end, Schwager reiterates his central contention that the Church in every age must seek to live from its reliance and trust in the Word of God or God's authority as Jesus did, not from hidden sociological mechanisms that produce the false alternative between an openness that leads to self-dissolution in its crusade to overcome an earlier cultural ghetto and a flight from the world that loses itself since it is no longer true to its mission as a community of believers at the price of survival.

In both cases it would be about self-annihilation, only with the difference that in the first case we are dealing with an open and honest downfall and in the latter with a secret and unacknowledged self-perversion⁶⁷⁴.

Since neither a surrender to secularization or to sectarianism pose legitimate options for believers during conflict, then another basis must be discovered, one which avoids turning opponents into enemies and refuses to consort with violence as a licit means of group solidarity. This alternative provides the assurance that the world need not be divided between enemy camps, but that there is something, or rather someone, who is able even in the face of division to unify: the Holy Spirit.

4.2 Holy Spirit

The Spirit answers this need because the Spirit plays the leading role in coordinating not only the relationship between the individual and the community of believers, but the coordination between the Church and the world. Both claims rely on Schwager's application of Ignatius' Thirteenth Rule for *sentire cum ecclesia* ("the same Spirit acts in the Church and in the individual"). Ignatius' sense is clear: the Spirit operates in both the individual believer and the community of believers (the Church). But Ignatius did not intend this in a restrictive sense as Schwager and other Jesuit

⁶⁷⁴ "In beiden Fällen ginge es um eine Selbstvernichtung, nur mit dem Unterscheid, das wir es im ersten Fall mit einem offenen und ehrlichen Untergang und im letzteren mit eine heimlichen und uneingestandene Selbstperversion zu tun hätten". Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p.105.

theologians, such as Hugo Rahner, have argued, “To sum up. All the theological considerations proposed by Ignatius and his disciples coincide in one single point: that there can be no contradiction between the Spirit at work in the world and the Church which is built up by that same Spirit”⁶⁷⁵.

If the Spirit does act in individuals, in the community of believers and in history (which is synonymous with the world), then the process of demythologization of social and individual structures of delusion takes place through this *gegenseitige Ergänzung* (reciprocal complementarity) between following Jesus as an individual believer and history as a collective or social way of faith, which avoids two errors arising simply from one pole or the other:

If one were only to speak of discipleship, the misunderstanding would always be obvious that divine life only works within the soul. However, if one were to focus solely on history, it would be easy to dream of larger contexts. The divine work would no longer be perceived as a call for the individual to make a decision, and thinking would not have a clear target point at which to orient itself in the face of the confusing variety of historical phenomena. In the mutual complementarity between discipleship as an individual and history as a collective social way of belief, however, these possible misunderstandings are corrected⁶⁷⁶.

The two levels of responding to the Gospel – personal and social – purify each other. This, moreover, gives Schwager’s theology its specifically dramatic character as the history of responses to Jesus’ call to follow him in the midst of the personal and social conflicts that inevitably result from this choice to follow him or not, a history first recounted in the Bible.

⁶⁷⁵ Rahner, *Ignatius the Theologian*, p. 238.

⁶⁷⁶ “Würde man nur von der *Nachfolge* reden, läge stets das Mißverständnis nahe, das göttliche Leben wirke sich nur im innerseelischen Bereich. Würde man den Blick aber einzig auf die *Geschichte* richten, ließe sich leicht von großen Zusammenhängen träumen. Das göttliche Wirken würde aber nicht mehr als Entscheidungsruf an den einzelnen wahrgenommen, und das Denken hätte keinen klaren Zielpunkt, an dem angesichts der verwirrenden Vielfalt geschichtlicher Phänomene sich orientieren könnte. In er gegenseitigen Ergänzung zwischen Nachfolge als individuellem und Geschichte als kollektiven Glaubensweg werden diese möglich Mißverständnissen jedoch korrigiert”. Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 156.

4.2.1 The Bible

The Holy Spirit coordinates the actions of the individual and the community and the individual and the world, all of which takes place interiorly. This interior action, however, should not be reduced to emotions or sentiments; it also includes patterns of thought and speech, which are, by their very nature, not only interior and individual but also exterior and social. The Spirit not only acts in the person but also in the world, in speech and in text: the Spirit inspired sacred writers who wrote the texts that the Church recognizes as the canonical Scriptures, the Bible.

Schwager's education exposed him to divergent poles of biblical exegesis and interpretation: historical-critical and patristic. He appreciated the former's clarity and insights but found it wanting because its lack of an interpretative center left the Scriptures without an integrity or unity, reducing it to a collection of disparate texts. This lack of center finds a constructive proposal in patristic exegesis, by which the New Testament offers a dogmatic center to help interpret the Old Testament and give unity to Scriptures⁶⁷⁷.

Schwager subsequently developed his understanding of the Old Testament as a *Mischtext* (mixed-text) whereby human and divine elements appear side-by-side in the text and therefore are liable to be misunderstood without a dogmatic center – the revelation of Jesus – to clarify them one from another⁶⁷⁸. Schwager's interpretation of the Bible does not only emerge from a dogmatic center but also from practice of reading the Bible, which he names *mitverfolgen*.

⁶⁷⁷ The roots to the solution to this problem may lay as far back as Schwager's course with Baumgartner on the sources of faith in which the problem of the inspiration of the Old Testament was addressed according to Rahner's proposal on inspiration first appearing in the *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* in 1956 and then published in the series *Quaestiones Disputatae*. Rahner addresses there the dynamic interaction between Jesus' establishing the Church as an authority, which heretofore had not existed in Israel, and its competence to define and canonize the Sacred Scriptures in light of what it had received from Jesus. K. Rahner, *Über die Schriftinspiration*, Herder, Freiburg, 1958, p. 57.

⁶⁷⁸ R. Schwager, "Biblische Texte als >Mischtexte<," *Katechetischer Blätter*, vol. 119, 1994, pp. 698-703

4.2.2 Interpreting the Bible – *mitverfolgen*

Schwager worried often about the danger of the text becoming a dead letter as opposed to the living Spirit. For this reason, he argued that the Spirit refreshes the hardening of the text into a dead letter through genuine impulse of reform (conflict in the Church therefore can be reevaluated in a positive light). Illuminated by the Spirit in their reading of the Bible, men and women throughout the history of the Church have pressed for greater fidelity to Christ in the face of mediocrity and decadence, as well as the hardening of the letter into human customs and traditions. The appearance of such reformers suggests, moreover, a latent meaning within the text, one requiring an activation that coordinates the interior promptings of the Spirit to the emergence of new historical circumstances.

In his participation in the Swiss synodal process, Schwager argued that through the working groups, the synod could produce intelligible and relevant documents if one recognized that “texts are generally only fully understandable, when one not only reads them, but when they are *mitverfolgt*”⁶⁷⁹. According to *Duden*, *mitverfolgt*, which is rare, means “*gemeinsam mit anderen verfolgen*”, that is, ‘to pursue (something) with others together’. While the *mit* (with) confers the “with others together”, the root verb, *verfolgen*, not only connotes a relatively benign meaning (striving to reach a goal) but, surprisingly, also more sinister meanings (harassing, threatening and persecuting). Since Schwager chose this word rather than the more common *folgen*, it makes sense that he had a purpose in mind.

The field of meaning for *mitverfolgen* implies that the search for the understanding of texts is not only a matter of excavating something waiting to be found,

⁶⁷⁹ “Texte sind meisten nur dann voll verständlich, wenn man sie nicht bloß einmal liest, sondern ihr werden mitverfolgt”. Schwager, « *Zweck, Ziel und Aufgabe der Synode 72* », August 21, 1971, RSA-VIII 2a.

but demands, moreover, exertions undertaken in conjunction with others. Neither the texts nor the readers are strictly passive. The straining towards understanding brings both texts and readers into a hermeneutic circle as the readers' perspectives expand and deepen through the encounter with the text and with one another (which of course happens in history, conveying new possibilities). The polarity between text and reader, and then among readers (who continue to refer to the text as well as to each other), is the proper context in which the interpretation of texts properly emerges.

If this is the case, then Schwager's method of reading texts either precedes or parallels Girard's. Describing the Hebrew Bible as a "text in travail", Girard adds that "literary criticism is not a chronologically progressive process, but a struggle that advances and retreats"⁶⁸⁰. Girard rejects the myth of inevitable progress in favor of the biblical account of history as the interplay of light and darkness, grace and sin, freedom and its misuse. Moreover, his phrase "text in travail" benefits from the double meaning in both English and French of 'travail' as 'labor', referring to both 'toil' and 'birth'.

A text is in travail because only through the strenuous labors of the readers is the full meaning of the text revealed or born. Moreover, *verfolgen* is one translation for *travailler*, the French verb from which travail comes. *Travailler* originally retained the sense of its vulgar Latin ancestor, *tripaliare*⁶⁸¹, to torture or trouble. The field of meanings conveys, therefore, the sense that reading a text is neither straightforward nor obvious, but an uncertain path with cul-de-sacs and dead ends as well as revelations

⁶⁸⁰ "In the Hebrew Bible, there is clearly a dynamic that moves in the direction of the rehabilitation of the victims, but it is not cut and dried thing. Rather it is a process under way, a text in travail; it is not a chronologically progressive process, but a struggle, which advances and retreats. I see the Gospels as a climatic achievement of that trend, and therefore as the essential text in the cultural upheaval of the modern world". W. Burkert, R. Girard, R., & J. Z. Smith, *Violent Origins*. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1987, p. 141.

⁶⁸¹ The hypothesized reconstruction, but lacking literary attestation, *tripaliare*, likely comes from *tripalium* (an instrument of torture).

and epiphanies. The search for understanding is arduous and demanding, but the result can be liberating, exhilarating and transformative.

The Bible is, as it were, a “text in travail”, giving birth to a new understanding of human existence. As Israel emerges out of the nations, so this new vision gradually emerges out of the tradition of revelation. We find this vision by looking at what is a distinctive sustained vision of *Anthropos*, of *adam*, of human being⁶⁸².

In this, too, there is kinship with Barthes, who, in his short essay *La mort de l'auteur* (*The Death of the Author*) published in 1967, contends that advances in linguistics have killed the author, the critic and criticism – all of which represent a specific historical world-view – leaving behind texts, which have no deeper secret to reveal, but rather are for the reader to construct and even with which to play. The choice of ‘revelation’ is key because in denying the author, Barthes’ ultimate target is the original author, namely, God (at least as Barthes imagines) or a reflection hereof, e.g., reason, science, the law. The author, reduced to a scriptor (“one who writes” appears to parody, even if inadvertently, the dictation theory of divine inspiration of Scriptures⁶⁸³), only “performs” writing, in which diverse and diffuse meanings come together in the reader:

⁶⁸² J. Williams, “In the Light of René Girard” in S. Goodhart, et al. (eds), *For René Girard - Essays in Friendship and Truth*, East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2009, p. 162.

⁶⁸³ “We have seen that God is the sole author of revelation and that the books of Sacred Scripture, which serve to transmit divine revelation, are inspired by Him. God is “author” of these books (DV, n. 16), but through men whom He has chosen. These men do not write according to dictation, but are “true authors” (DV, n. 11) who employ their proper faculties and capacities. *Dei Verbum*, n. 11 does not specify in detail what this relationship between God and man is, even if in its notes (18-20) it refers to a traditional explanation based on primary and secondary (instrumental) causality” (author’s translation); “Abbiamo visto che Dio è l’unico autore della rivelazione e che i libri della Sacra Scrittura, che servono alla trasmissione della rivelazione divina, sono ispirati da Lui. Dio è “autore” di questi libri (DV, n. 16), ma attraverso uomini che Egli ha scelto. Questi non scrivono sotto dettatura, ma sono “veri autori” (DV, n. 11) che adoperano le loro proprie facoltà e capacità. La *Dei Verbum*, n. 11 non specifica nei particolari quale sia questo rapporto fra gli uomini e Dio, anche se nelle sue note (18-20) rinvia a una spiegazione tradizionale basata sulla causalità principale e strumentale”. Pontifical Biblical Commission, *Ispirazione e Verità della Sacra Scrittura*, § 6.

In this way is revealed the whole being of writing: a text consists of multiple writings, issuing from several cultures and entering into dialogue with each other, into parody, into contestation; but there is one place where this multiplicity is collected, united, and this place is not the author, as we have hitherto said it was, but the reader: the reader is the very space in which are inscribed, without any being lost, all the citations a writing consists of; the unity of a text is not in its origin, it is in its destination; but this destination can no longer be personal: the reader is a man without history, without biography, without psychology; he is only that someone who holds gathered into a single field all the paths of which the text is constituted⁶⁸⁴.

The oscillation of ‘dialogues among cultures’ finds its unity in the reader, who is ‘a single field’ where ‘all the paths of which the text is constituted’ are gathered together. The language is reminiscent of Przywara’s *Spannungseinheit*. Schwager’s *mitverfolgen* and Girard’s ‘text in travail’ expect a text to interact with its readers, not only as individuals but as whole groups of readers, reading together. While neither Schwager nor Girard deny the author as Barthes does, they assign immense value to the reader, or rather to a community of readers. This community reads texts from a dogmatic center, Christ, under the guidance of the Spirit, an action that Schwager calls synodality.

4.2.3 Synodality

Schwager described the reading of synodal draft texts as *mitverfolgen* (the pursuit of something with others together), an exercise in the communal discernment of the Spirit in the life of the community of believers; this indicates that synodality may be understood to have an analogous sense as the word “Church”, which refers superficially to the building, but essentially to those gathered within. While a synod may be an event along the path, synodality refers to the process of communal discernment beyond any assembly or meeting. While synodality is not a theme per se in his early major writings, his reflections on conflict coincide with the Swiss synodal process in which he partook and about which he wrote. Thus, both his life and his texts make evident the reciprocal complementarity from which his Dramatic Theology emerges.

⁶⁸⁴ Barthes, “The Death of the Author”, *Aspen*, 5+6, 1967, item 3.

Writing in 1970 about the possibility of Synod '72, Schwager notes the urgency of finding a way to overcome ever-deeper inner-ecclesial divisions:

The traditional parishes are slowly disappearing. Many Christians deny this. Nonetheless, it remains true that the parish's activity is increasingly limited to the liturgy. Mass attendance decreases. The influence of churches on everyday life is constantly decreasing. The catechists have similar experiences. Especially with vocational school students and high school students, it is exceedingly difficult for them to talk about so-called religious topics. Young people have other concerns. It is hardly any different in the scientific world. Thinkers and researchers who work from a consciously Christian attitude are becoming increasingly rare. Methodical Atheism and practical Deism largely dominate the field. In the field of politics, there are still powerful Christian parties in Europe. There is also no lack of concerns that would be worthy of a truly Christian commitment. But hardly any great creative impulses come from these parties. There is little to be felt of that Christian freedom that should enable us to see the many questions at hand more holistically and to dare to seek innovative solutions more courageously⁶⁸⁵.

For a genuine consensus to emerge, the synod needs to follow the example of Jesus and how he drew his listeners into a new reality that could move them, whether for or against him. Consequently, the synod must learn a Christian speech that reaches the depths of the person, touching on the conflicts that trouble each person, and does not merely settle for the superficial or the harmless. The implicit motivation for the efforts that synodality demands is the renewal of the Church's mission of evangelization.

As blunt instruments, polling and questionnaires are not able to reach the emotional heart of opposing groups; therefore, they are incapable of promoting mutual growth and understanding. A nexus is needed, rather, to bring people together to make the synod effective to achieving authentic reconciliation. For these reasons, Schwager

⁶⁸⁵ "Die traditionellen Pfarreien lösen sich langsam auf. Von vielen Christen wird dies zwar bestritten. Trotzdem bleibt wahr, daß sich die Aktivität der Pfarreien immer mehr auf die Liturgie beschränkt. Dabei nimmt die Zahl der Gottesdienstbesucher ab. Der Einfluß des Gotteshauses auf den Alltag geht ständig zurück. - Die Katecheten machen ähnliche Erfahrungen. Besonders bei Berufsschülern und Gymnasiasten können sie nur noch sehr schwer über sogenannte religiöse Themen sprechen. Andere Anliegen bewegen die jungen Leute. - In der wissenschaftlichen Welt steht es kaum anders. Denker und Forscher, die aus einer bewußt christlichen Haltung heraus arbeiten, werden immer rarer. Methodischer Atheismus und praktischer Deismus beherrschen weitgehend das Feld. - Im Bereich der Politik gibt es in Europa zwar noch mächtige christliche Parteien. Es fehlt auch nicht an Anliegen, die eines echt christlichen Einsatzes würdig wären. Von diesen Parteien gehen aber kaum große schöpferische Impulse aus. Es ist wenig zu spüren von jener christlichen Freiheit, die befähigen sollte, die vielen anstehenden Fragen heilsichtiger zu sehen und mit mehr Mut zum Wagnis neue Lösungen zu versuchen". Schwager, "Drehscheibe", *Orientierung*, p. 129.

and others launched a newsletter called *Drehscheibe* (meaning a hub, or the center of, for example, a potter's wheel, but idiomatically, a nerve center), whereby the opposing groups in the Church could openly discuss their concerns and positions:

For active cooperation, it is above all necessary that many individuals get the conviction that their commitment is worthwhile. To do this, they need to know the efforts of others who think alike. Therefore, there needs to be a place that can serve like a "hub" between groups who want to work together. Consequently, this hub is intended to be as independent as possible, and at the same time recognized by as many as possible as unofficial. It should be led by people who only have one concern: to bring as many as possible in contact with as many others as possible⁶⁸⁶.

The newsletter sought among other things to help crystallize points so that discussion could take place that might help to overcome the opposing positions, to encourage participation in the discussion and to allow counterarguments to address emerging trends. This process not only aimed to clarify the theoretical, but also to mature the emotional background to these positions, because with mutual understanding, sympathy also arises.

When this process happened properly, Schwager argues, it would furnish a persuasive motive of credibility for the Church as properly something distinctive from and other than a political party consisting of factions because its faith enabled it to overcome its divisions. Thus, the example of common struggle to consensus would show to the world the power of the faith to transform hearts. This consensus – thinking and feeling with one another – harkens back to Ignatius' *sentire cum ecclesia*. It is not a matter of opinion polls or elections, but rather a sincere personal and ecclesial conversion to God. The *Drehscheibe* and synodality, therefore, embody a distinctive ethos – patterns of acting, speaking and thinking – that allows arguments to persuade and

⁶⁸⁶ "Für eine aktive Mitarbeit ist vor allem nötig, daß die vielen einzelnen die Überzeugung bekommen, ihr Einsatz lohne sich. Dazu müssen sie die Anstrengungen anderer kennen, die ähnlich denken. Es braucht folglich eine Stelle, die gleichsam als <Drehscheibe > zwischen allen Gruppen, die mitarbeiten wollen, dienen kann. Dabei ist an eine Stelle gedacht, die möglichst unabhängig und zugleich von möglichst vielen inoffiziell anerkannt ist. Sie sollte von Leuten geleitet werden, die nur das eine Anliegen haben: möglichst viele mit möglichst vielen im Kontakt zu bringen". Schwager, "Drehscheibe", *Orientierung*, p. 131.

emotions to mature through mutual discussion (*mitverfolgen*) and patient tolerance of the tensions (pluralism).

His observation about the synod also expresses well his attitude toward the need to allow conflict to run its legitimate course, within proper *gewaltfrei* (free of violence) boundaries, to arrive at judgments that are neither premature nor imposed. The reason for accepting the role of discussion, competition and conflict in a contentious matter is that the recognition of the truth by all parties takes time because human beings must overcome powerful psychological and social forces that distort their vision of truth. Discussion can, when undertaken with the common spirit of dedication to the truth, clarify the nature of the conflict and open the way to peaceful solution. Only when the truth is discovered, only when pragmatic self-interests are laid aside can the truth be discovered, and then reconciliation can occur. Jesus' call to repentance, therefore, remains urgently relevant to every generation, a call that also includes a deeper analysis of violence in the light of the Paschal Mystery, which can sustain freedom from violence.

4.3 *Gewaltfreiheit* – Freedom from Violence

In a world deeply influenced by violence, Jesus presents a human life that is ultimately free from violence, *Gewaltfreiheit*⁶⁸⁷. Schwager's analysis of the problem of violence (*Gewalt*), enriched by Mimetic Theory, led him to prefer the *Gewaltfreiheit* over the more common *Gewaltlosigkeit*, that is freedom from violence rather than non-violence (literally, violence-less-ness). He discerned in the dialectic between violence and non-violence a mimetic struggle that contaminated non-violence with violence.

⁶⁸⁷ After Schwager's passing, his friend, Herwig Büchele, SJ, outlined a violence-free ethics drawn from Schwager. H. Büchele, *Gewaltfrei Leben*, Regensburg, Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 2010, p. 7.

Girard's observations about pacificism's relationship to warmongering strike a similar note⁶⁸⁸.

In *Glaube, der die Welt verwandelt*, Schwager recognizes this problem from the juxtaposition of martyrdom in terms of similarity of the action – the exercise of state terror and violence on the martyr – and the dissimilarity between the one who hates his or her persecutors and the one who loves them. The former reacts to the violence with violence, threats of vengeance and hatred, while the latter reacts with pity and forgiveness, free from violence⁶⁸⁹. Violence is not a natural part of human existence, but a sinful intrusion that the Church needs to resist through its adherence to an ethos free from violence. The Church must contend with the demands of following Jesus and concurrently with the sinfulness of its members. This paradox reveals the patience with which Christ and the Holy Spirit treat the human race – never compelling, but rather proposing – which supports the following of Jesus through a long, difficult historical journey, whose consummation is eschatological.

The temptation to take short cuts or complete God's plan through any other means other than this following of Jesus leads inexorably to violence, which is emphatically alien to Gospel sensibilities, even if, at times, the members of the Church and its leaders have succumbed to the influence of the world in its response to threats and fears. In imitation of Christ, the Church must resist the allure of worldly means of coercion and control through the exercise of physical and psychological force to compel compliance, especially such force exercised in the name of God and his salvific plan for humanity. When the community of believers and its members enter the emotional

⁶⁸⁸ “The trend to extremes thus seems to unfold like fate. It is in this sense that warmongering and pacificism are mimetic doubles: they complement each other quite well. If two adversaries want war at the same time, they can neutralize each other: an example of this is nuclear deterrence. However, if one of the two *wants war more than the other*, the other may also have the tendency to *reject it all the more*”. Girard, *Battling to the End*, p. 183.

⁶⁸⁹ Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, pp. 81-83.

experience of fear and powerlessness by the renunciation of worldly means and routines to establish justice and peace, they arrive at the very place of profound faith, manifesting Paul's dialectic of faith: "when I am weak, then I am strong" (cf. 2 Cor. 12:10)⁶⁹⁰.

The paradox of divine strength in human weakness surprisingly corresponds, Schwager claims, to Jesus' teaching that "whoever believes, can do all" (Mk. 9:23). In daily life, the believer often experiences the opposite: the promise of the power of faith to move mountains reveals instead the lack of faith, the lack of living in Christ. This tension, however, is critical for the evangelical critique of the myth of human autonomy, so precious to Modernity's anthropology. Human beings are acting subjects with talents and gifts, yet, at the same time, they experience limits on their acting. In the myth of autonomy, these limits scandalize and enrage as if they should not exist at all. In Christianity, by way of contrast, the human being as the acting subject receives a much broader and comprehensive frame of reference for life as a participation in God's authority:

Faith understands the comprehensive fate, from which everyone is sustained, neither as a blind fate nor as an anonymous structural process but experiences it as the presence of the all-active God and his Kingdom that is already breaking in⁶⁹¹.

In this frame, the Cross reveals the paradox of the coming of eternal life that transforms the ultimate expression of powerlessness, death, into an act of human choice in imitation of Jesus.

Faith anticipates this ultimate experience of death as a participation in God's omnipotence so that the believer can accept that everything that happens is under divine providence:

⁶⁹⁰ Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 370.

⁶⁹¹ "Der Glaube versteht das umfassende Geschick, von dem jeder einzelne getragen wird, weder als blindes Schicksal noch als anonymen strukturellen Prozeß, sondern erfährt es als Gegenwart des alleswirkenden Gottes und seines schon anbrechenden Reiches". Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 24.

Faith as participation in the omnipotence of God does not mean that one can at will dispose of events as in a wonderland, but that all events are ultimately guided by that will of God, which has become one's own as a life-giving Spirit⁶⁹².

Schwager brings together his variation on Ignatius' Thirteenth Rule for *sentire cum ecclesia*, that "the same spirit acts in individuals and in history", with his understanding in *Jesus-Nachfolge* that the Kingdom of God is the convergence and agreement of the human will with the divine will. "Only when he [Jesus] had to suffer against his spontaneous willing and emotions was the crucial point of the Kingdom as the union between the human and divine will fully revealed"⁶⁹³. If the Holy Spirit becomes one's own, then the divine will and the human will are truly one, and the Kingdom of God is made present through the believers living according to the dispositions of faith.

4.3.1 Dispositions of Faith as Motives of Credibility

When one follows Jesus in the reciprocal complementarity of the individual and the community, within the framework of the divine plan (salvation history), then one should expect to find evidence that faith liberates one from the structures and influences of the world. By accepting his death, Schwager argues, Jesus demonstrated his freedom from internal and external forces, thereby defining the meaning of his death as a self-offering (*Hingabe*). For his disciples, the same freedom must be exhibited to show the credibility of the Christian faith as the decisive victory over death, injustice and violence.

This demonstration requires Jesus' disciples to rely entirely on God in the conduct of their lives. In Schwager's view, this comes about when a disciple breaks through ordinary or daily life to experience God in the ordinary (the coming of the

⁶⁹² "Glaube als Teilhabe an der Allmacht Gottes meint nicht, daß man über das Geschehen wie in einem Wunderland beliebig verfügen könne, sondern daß alle Ereignisse letztlich von jenem Willen Gottes geleitet werden, der als lebenspendender Geist zum eigenen geworden ist". Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p 25.

⁶⁹³ "Erst, das, was er gegen sein spontanes Wollen und Empfinden zu erleiden hatte, offenbarte ganz, daß der zentrale Punkt des Reiches in der Einigung zwischen dem menschlichen und göttlichen Willen lag". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 327.

Kingdom as Jesus preached). The faith flowing from this encounter proves its power through freedom from violence (not strictly the same as non-violence, which is trapped in reciprocity):

The power of faith thus proves to be freedom from and above violence. It provides evidence that talking about faith as overcoming death is more than mere talk. Where violence is not broken, then the proclamation that the passage from death to life has already happened, acts as an empty assertion⁶⁹⁴.

Arguing the priority of action over thought, Schwager in *Jesus-Nachfolge*, imitating the Sermon on the Mount and the Beatitudes, articulates faith as five dispositions or practices rather than a confession of beliefs: (1) following Jesus, (2) a share in the resurrection, (3) hope, (4) graciousness of love, and (5) the fruit of the Holy Spirit. Each proposes a disposition or practice that simultaneously creates and sustains freedom from violence. Thus, faith as Schwager defines it is not a logical sequence of premises and conclusions, but habits for individuals who are on the way to faith.

Following Jesus means putting on the mind of Christ as an entering into his experience of the Father (cf. Kasper terms this, *Eingelassenwerden in Jesu*). Following Jesus results in the liberation from psychological, sociological, and spiritual influences because one bases one's life entirely on God's authority. This freedom – indifference in Ignatian language – prepares one for the ultimate act of self-offering (*Hingabe*) that redefines death from an experience of passivity and powerlessness to an act of self-donation and anticipation of the resurrection. This participation in the future resurrection draws the believer to traverse fear, doubt, and weakness with the confidence to hope in the present.

⁶⁹⁴ “Die Macht des Glaubens erweist sich so als Freiheit von der Gewalt und über die Gewalt. Sie liefert den Nachweis, daß die Rede vom Glauben als Überwindung des Todes mehr ist als bloße Gerede. Wo die Gewalt nicht gebrochen wird, wirkt die Verkündigung, der Schritt vom Tod zum Leben sei schon geschehen, als leere Behauptung”. Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 29.

Schwager further contrasts the role of expectations for reason and for faith. Humans live by expectations, which rest on previous experiences. Whereas reason depends on the known and the predicable, hope accepts that God's ways are unknown, surprising, and transcending of human calculation. For this reason, therefore, hope may not be confused with or reduced to the modern myth of progress. Rather, converging with Paul's paradox of strength in weakness, hope grows and deepens in the unexpected, even during the destruction of one's own plans. The unexpected is, moreover, the decisive quality of the newness of the New Testament because it remains, even after two thousand years, surprising:

The revealed authority of God remains an uncontrollable gift always and may never be possessed. Therefore, humans can only even seek after it. Only those who reach out to the future can achieve what happened in the past⁶⁹⁵.

What sets, therefore, Christian tradition apart from other religious traditions is not that it may create a second nature in believers, but that despite this, it nevertheless seeks to put the believer in contact with this newness, that is, a new basis for life that through hope draws strength from the future resurrection.

This surprising God, who is always greater and more mysterious, calls forth a faith from the experience of love's profligate gratuity (*umsonst*), which consists of freedom, feasting and generosity. This fourth disposition finds its supreme expression in the Eucharist, which combines presence, thankful remembrance, and the promise of a new future. The Eucharist sacramentally presents the eternal generation of the Son, who, as a Divine Person, receives all that he is and has from the Father, and in perfect imitation of his Father, returns it to him. In the joyful communion of persons brought

⁶⁹⁵ "Die geoffenbarte Autorität Gottes bleibt stets ein unverfügbares Geschenk und wird nie eigener Besitz. Der Mensch kann deshalb immer nur auf sie zu gehen. Nur wer sich ganz in die Zukunft austreckt, erreicht tatsächlich, was in der Vergangenheit geschah". Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 378.

together around Jesus the Eucharist as a feast participates mystically in this eternal exchange of persons.

This feasting, Schwager suggests, depends on the power of beauty to attract by drawing one out of isolation and self-preoccupation into communion with others. This ecstatic movement, away from the self, occurs in encounters with beauty.

Only through fascination is the person called out of himself completely, and through this, the powerful divine work can fully penetrate him in order to become the full basis of his own faith. The most diverse creatures can be a cause for fascination. However, there is a unique and fascinating mystery for the Christian faith: the profound self in Jesus⁶⁹⁶.

Through this dialectic of encounter with Jesus, who's mysterious I attracts and withdraws to lead the other deeper into the mystery, one becomes capable of fascination or the contemplation of the I of the other. Through this encounter, the two persons come face to face, as it were, presenting the similar but strikingly different image of opposition: contemplation rather than conflict.

Finally, the last disposition of faith is a fruit of the Holy Spirit – the bond of love between the Father and the Son, the greatest gift of the risen Christ to believers, the extravagance of love for sinners – who integrates imitation/mimesis with following/*akoloutheo/akolouthia*. As the Spirit is light and strength, these transform perceptions of daily life, which can be seen when comparing a Spirit-led person with one who is not. The person who is without the Spirit acts in accord with a clear sense of who and what one wants to be, and how one intends to achieve these goals. Defense mechanisms arise to manage surprises, which are qualified as obstacles to be overcome. Conversely, the person who is with the Spirit is free from certainties about who and what one is or at least aims to be. For this reason, surprises are not necessarily obstacles or

⁶⁹⁶ “Erst durch die Faszination wird der Mensch ganz aus sich herausgerufen, und dadurch kann das machtvolle göttliche Wirken ganz in ihn eindringen, um so zum vollen Grund des eigenen Glaubens zu werden. Die verschiedensten Geschöpfe können Anlaß zur Faszination sein. Für den christlichen Glauben gibt es jedoch ein einmaliges, faszinierendes Geheimnis: das abgründige Ich in Jesus”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 384.

disturbances, but reveal opportunities heretofore unknown. Even when one does encounter irritating or incomprehensible experiences, one is able to see that “beyond all reflection, it is clear that the divine authority is at work – as it was in Jesus – so also in him”⁶⁹⁷. Faith as a fruit of the Spirit therefore confers the possibility to respond dramatically to the urgency and authority of Jesus’ proclamation by acting coherently and logically according to his example and following him through the Paschal Mystery because he has a new perception of time.

4.3.2 Time

Stierli observed that many of the difficulties that the Jesuits encountered during their history arose from the absence of a calm attitude to the question of growth (*an geduldigem Wachsenlassen*); ultimately, it is a question of time as both a quantity and a quality. It is worth recalling that Schwager redefined Ignatius’ understanding of the greater fruit in terms of quality rather than quantity. The fruit – which is the product of a mature plant to seed the next generation of that species – is both the end of a life (its purpose) and its beginning (origin). The fruit is the *telos* of the adult plant; it is also its genesis. Early Schwager found wisdom in plant lifecycles for human action because growth takes time. This is the diachronic dimension. Lifecycles are temporary and historical; they cannot be rushed. Although a good gardener can aid the plant (Parable of the Vinedresser), he cannot make it grow. Furthermore, while the overall pattern of growth from conception to death is similar for living things, each individual, group, and indeed the world does not follow these stages concurrently. This simultaneity of life – the synchronic dimension – creates a complex web of interrelationship that inexorably

⁶⁹⁷ “Wer dies erfährt, für den ist jenseits aller Reflexion klar, daß – wie in Jesus – so auch in ihm die göttliche Autorität am Wirken ist”. Schwager, *Frühe Hauptwerke*, p. 391.

leads to competition and conflict on the one hand, and the possibility of cooperation and community on the other.

The awareness of time diachronically as history and as lifecycles gained increasing salience with the rise of the natural or positive sciences in recent centuries. While the mainstream of contemporary thought on these matters gathers around forms of Darwinian evolutionary thinking, alternative accounts have arisen that attempt to go beyond the boundaries that positivism imposed on the sciences. Already in the Nineteenth Century, philosophers such as Friedrich Nietzsche, Henri Bergson and others criticized these rationalistic accounts as inadequate representations of the world. Schwager's early writings portray sympathy for this criticism and its aspiration for a fuller account of reality. Schwager's engagement with *The Decline of the West* in *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt* at least implies familiarity with Spengler's *Lebensphilosophie* (life philosophy), a critique of Positivism and an attempt to integrate the polarity of the rational and non-rational sides of human existence in the whole of life itself. Schwager's drama corresponds to these concerns, even if its origin and destination is otherwise different from Spengler.

Schwager's use of the analogy of the lifecycle of plants – already in his second article⁶⁹⁸ – presents a diachronic context for addressing conflict. A lifecycle describes a sequence of stages, a structure consisting of determined and undetermined aspects from conception/birth to death within the broader genealogy and with a general teleology to reproduce itself. The analogy recognizes maturity as the goal of growth, namely, when reproduction is possible for the adult to become a parent. It underscores the precedence of time over space – one of Pope Francis' governing principles – as the mode in which

⁶⁹⁸ Schwager, "Unterwegs zu einer toleranten Kirche".

conflict can be most soundly resolved. Time translates therefore into the practice of patience.

4.3.3 Patience

Jesus' Parable of the Wheat and Tares – a parable about plant lifecycles – encapsulates Jesus' teachings about the limits of human judgment due to the provisional character of human knowledge. The temptation to take shortcuts or complete God's plan through any other means other than following Jesus leads unavoidably to violence and the destruction of oneself and others:

There are seemingly very pious and Christian ways which succumb to this temptation: martyrdom, to push oneself to do it on one's own authority; a mysticism, which does violence to oneself and others; a theology, which in the final analysis only rests on concepts and propositions; an understanding of church office, which finds its sufficiency in legal authority; a reform spirit, which pushes human beings to do good, even if it must force them⁶⁹⁹.

The alternative to all these errors is the cultivation of patience as a carrying of the cross and the authentic sense of tolerance as forbearance with others (and even oneself). The ethical implications of allowing God's plan to run its course even amid obscurity leads to the concrete actions of a life free from violence, a willingness to embrace pluralism as the optimal expression of human society and a proper care for the reciprocity of the spirit and letter to avoid subjectivism and legalism.

Thanks to following Jesus, one can act patiently, as the origin and end of one's life is properly ordered to God rather than to idols, the worship of which brings sadness and frustration, as they can never fulfill satisfyingly mimetic desire, which is mobile and insatiable. Patience, therefore, is an expression of the right distance between spontaneous emotions and actions, between neighbors who ought to be friends,

⁶⁹⁹ "Es gibt sehr fromme und christlich scheinende Weisen, dieser Versuchung zu erliegen: das Martyrium, zu dem einer sich eigenmächtig vordrängt; eine Mystik, die sich and anderen Gewalt antut; eine Theologie, die letztlich nur auf Begriffen und Sätzen ruht; ein Amtsbewußtsein, das seine Genüge in rechtlichen Vollmachten findet; ein Reformgeist, der die Menschen zum Guten treiben, ja zwingen will", Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 97.

but somehow, even mysteriously, become enemies. Patience restrains one from vices, whether by excess or by deficiency, to promote virtues – not as the golden mean, which Schwager would see as an expression of the Greek philosophical preference for measure and limit in contrast to the biblical preference for the boundless and gratuitous, but rather as the *Spannungseinheit* (Przywara's term for the unity in tension). Through the patient forbearance with opposites, even more, a friendly accompaniment (*akolouthos*) with opponents, the believer follows Jesus with others, sharing co-responsibility for the world.

4.3.4 Co-responsibility

Schwager recognized the necessity of the believer to belong to a community to realize the full scope of following Jesus, even considering the ambivalence that arises from the nature of human leadership and the sinfulness of its members. Jesus proposed conversion as a new way of living. Such a choice, under the promptings of grace, nevertheless must be a free, personal act. As such, the proclamation of the Gospel requires a mutual freedom to give and receive Jesus. But individual liberty does not exhaust the meaning of human freedom because it must also account for other human beings in terms of responsibility.

The twentieth-century conflict between Liberals and anti-Liberals escalated to the extremes that visited violence and murder upon countless victims and brought into question the adequacy of any ethics that, on the one hand, only addresses individual freedom without considering responsibility for other human beings, or, on the other hand, justified the sacrifice of individuals or smaller groups for the sake of the whole. With accelerating advancements in science and technology, human violence is now capable of the annihilation of the entire human race, which Schwager contends rehabilitates the once-discarded biblical category of apocalypse.

Apocalyptic circumstances call forth a response, which recognizes that personal choices also have social and even global consequences, namely, co-responsibility. This discussion, moreover, presents the opposite face to the problem of the divine goodness and divine justice by showing the interconnectivity between the personal and the global. Differing from the Old Testament, Paul gives an important teaching on the wrath of God according to Rm. 1:18-32. Rather than God punishing the evildoer, God allows the godless to suffer the consequences of their own actions, a self-condemnation and self-destruction; the failure to act co-responsibly causes mutual harm⁷⁰⁰. Jesus and Paul's teachings concur according to Schwager, in that the New Testament apocalyptic texts "depict nothing other than that confusion, which enters, whenever human beings give themselves over to the drives of their hearts with the images of 'end times' terror"⁷⁰¹.

Further, whereas Paul describes the wrath of God for individuals (as domination under their drives, the *libido dominandi* of Augustine), the apocalyptic texts describe God's wrath for groups and the entire world as a consequence of apostasy from God (the drive to dominate that brings violence and war, a second sense of the *libido dominandi*)⁷⁰². Agreeing with Girard, Schwager argues that the New Testament apocalypse does not refer primarily to a cosmological or end time event, but the personal, the social, and the global destruction (now possible thanks to science and technology) that ensues from human beings who reject the demands of following Jesus in favor of surrendering to their drives. The possible negative outcome of human choice –

⁷⁰⁰ "Im Gegensatz zu so grimmigen Drohreden sieht Paulus die Wirkung des Zornes darin, daß Gott die gottlösen Menschen ihrem eigenen Gedanken und ihrem eigenen Tun überläßt. Die unweigerliche Folge davon ist die Verkehrung und Zerstörung der zwischenmenschlichen Beziehungen". Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, pp. 152-153.

⁷⁰¹ "Mit den Bildern von den endzeitlichen Schrecken wird nichts anderes als jene Verwirrung geschildert, die eintritt, wenn Menschen den Begierden ihres Herzens überlassen werden". Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, pp. 153-154.

⁷⁰² "Was Paulus auf individueller Ebene beschreibt, wird in den apokalyptischen Texten mit kollektiven Bildern dargestellt". Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 154.

apocalypse – conversely affirms the enormous responsibility of humanity and, moreover, shows that despite the *libido dominandi*, human freedom endures.

Yet Schwager wonders if psychological and sociological forces finally do overwhelm human responsibility, leading to the dilemma: “between resignation before the powers opposed to responsibility and a modest foresight of probable failure lies an abyss: The former hands us over to blind fate; the latter to struggle to a likely, if not certain, defeat⁷⁰³. Decades later, Girard echoes similar sentiments in his introduction to *Achever Clausewitz (Battling to the End)*⁷⁰⁴. Both sense the need to carry on despite the seemingly reasonable desire to retire from the struggle, even in the face of inevitable defeat (as it must have appeared to Jesus’ followers as he made his way to Calvary?), because this defeat will not have the last word⁷⁰⁵. Co-responsibility, therefore, is not simply an ethical standard, because humans are not the only actors who are co-responsible for the world. Schwager tried to demonstrate the ways in which Jesus and the Spirit act in the world through believers and the Church. This co-responsibility, which underscores the solemn responsibility of humanity to act justly and truthfully lest apocalypse ensue, encounters God, who is good and just.

⁷⁰³ “Zwischen der Resignation vor einer unlösbar scheinenden Aufgabe und der nüchternen Voraussicht eines möglichen, ja wahrscheinlichen Scheiterns liegt ein ganzer Abgrund. Die ungläubige Resignation lähmt das Verantwortungsbewußtsein und überläßt das Geschick der Menschheit blind wirkenden Kräften. Ein im Glauben begründeter Einsatz wirkt hingegen auch dann über viele unberechenbare Kanäle belebend und befriedend auf die Geschichte ein, wenn er äußerlich zunächst scheitert, ja scheitern muß”. Schwager, *Glaube der die Welt verwandelt*, p. 149.

⁷⁰⁴ “We are thus more at war than ever, at a time when war itself no longer exists. We have to fight a violence that can no longer be controlled or mastered. Yet what if triumph were not the most important thing? What if the battle were worth more than the victory? The primacy of victory is the triumph of the weak. The primacy of battle, by contrast, is the prelude to the only conversion that matters. This is the heroic attitude that we have sought to redefine. It alone can link violence and reconciliation, or, more precisely, make tangible both the possibility of the end of the world *and* reconciliation among all members of the humanity. We cannot escape this ambivalence. More than ever, I am convinced that history has a meaning, and that its meaning is terrifying. ‘But where danger threatens/That which saves from it also grows’”. Girard, *Battling to the End*, xvii.

⁷⁰⁵ “Actually I am a Christian, and indeed a Roman Catholic, so that I do not expect ‘history’ to be anything but a ‘long defeat’— though it contains (and in legend may contain more clearly and movingly) some samples or glimpses of final victory”. J.R.R. Tolkien, *The Letters of J.R.R. Tolkien*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1981, p. 255.

Conclusion

This dissertation has discovered the depths of the “it” of which Schwager spoke when he told his friend, Józef Niewiadomski, that Girard’s Mimetic Theory was already in him (“*Es war schon in mir*”). This dissertation has not only demonstrated that Schwager had already independently formulated key elements of Girard’s theory prior to reading *La violence et le sacré* in 1973, but that his early writings and biography indicate the inspiration and the sources for his own reflection on the problem of violence and conflict in the Church.

First, this dissertation synthesized a well-documented biography of Schwager’s pre-Innsbruck years in the first two chapters. It accomplished multiple goals concurrently including the exposition of the three background conflicts regarding location, confession and vocation that influenced the rare Jesuit from Thurgau, the examination of Schwager’s education in terms of institutions, curricula, teachers, and relationships as sources for his thought, his formation as a Jesuit from novice to doctor of theology, noting the influence of the his novice master’s vision of the vocation, and a survey of his pastoral and literary achievements.

Second, the dissertation further shows the coherence of Schwager’s early major writings as a progressive engagement with the problem of conflict and violence under the term of drama. Starting with his dissertation, he treats conflict in the life and writings of Ignatius of Loyola, then in the life of the Church in general in his second book, and then finally, in a global perceptive in terms of the encounter of the Gospel with the West in his third book. This line of thought from these three sources – and two early articles – eventually matured into the research program, Dramatic Theology.

Third, this dissertation explains the origin and meaning of drama for early Schwager. Tracing its genealogy from Fessard’s work on the *Spiritual Exercises* to

Barthes and Bataille's description of the *Spiritual Exercises* as a dramatized discourse, it concluded that though Schwager did borrow the term and its meaning from these French literary critics, he uses it for other purposes. Schwager's distinctive use of drama came into greater relief in the comparison between him and Freytag. While sharing much in common, they diverge on the significance of the final act of tragedy: ruin versus reconciliation. For Schwager, the hopeful resolution of a drama in reconciliation stands in stark contrast to Freytag's tragedy, which ends in the hero's destruction and the necessary concealment of its benefits on the audience, who are its true recipients. Schwager argues that the victory of reconciliation does not detract from the efficacy of the catharsis; the suffering and death of the hero is genuine. Nevertheless, Schwager proposes an evangelical alternative that achieves reconciliation and peacemaking without hiding the truth of the protagonist's sacrifice for the benefit of the audience. This dissertation also contextualized Schwager's perspective on drama by placing it within a twentieth-century Jesuit tradition of considerations on dialectics, showing Schwager's indebtedness to Przywara, Fessard, Moingt, Stierli and von Balthasar even as he developed his own distinctive theology.

Lastly, this dissertation drew sources from his life and early writings to summarize his observations on conflict within the Church in terms of drama. Schwager recognized that pluralism best described the way in which the community of believers should manage variety and difference. These result from sources including God's transcendence, limitations on human knowledge and the diachronic and synchronic aspects of the lifecycles of individuals, groups and the world. These differences necessarily lead to divergent perceptions of reality and the pursuit of goals that easily clash. This plurality of experiences, means and goals demands authorities to minimize disorder. However, since the authorities themselves are subject to the same limitations as

everyone else, they can also be the source of disorder, which gives rise to scandal and division as well as the urgency to address such failures in terms of fraternal correction.

For this to be successful, the Spirit must be the principal agent of this correction as the Spirit operates in individuals, the community of believers, and finally, the world. Synodality describes this process of communal discernment, which enables fraternal correction and conversion, through a common struggle to listen to Word of God anew, free from prejudgments and social conditioning, which leads to a consensus, a feeling and thinking together around God parallel to Ignatius' *sentire cum ecclesia*. Synodality furnishes motives of credibility because following Jesus authentically confirms the transformative power of the Gospel in the creation of saints, who need not resort to violence when obstacles and difficulties come. Instead, they act with wisdom and patience in caring for one another and the world.

This dissertation logically leaves many questions for future exploration; two deserve particular mention: (1) the completion of the biography and (2) the elaboration of a Dramatic Theological ethos of inner-ecclesial conflict. Ample sources both published and in archives are available for a companion biography of Schwager's Innsbruck period (1977-2004). Such a study could be schematized in three periods, punctuated by the fall of the Berlin wall (*Nach der Wende*) and the terrorist attacks of September 11th.

The geopolitical and ideological competition that dominated post-Second World War international relations supply the context of Schwager's thought giving birth to two, related scholarly lineages – engagement with Girard and nuclear disarmament – during this first period, 1978-89. His arrival at Innsbruck coincided with the publication of *Brauchen Wir einen Sündenbock?* Interdisciplinary in its approach, it did not find a welcome audience in Innsbruck. Reacting to the tepid interest in Innsbruck, Schwager

embarked on a deeper study of the history of the doctrine of redemption through, which resulted in a series of scholarly articles (1980-86) that were published together in *Der wunderbare Tausch: zur Geschichte und Deutung der Erlösungslehre* (The Marvelous Exchange: Towards the History and Meaning of the Doctrine of Redemption), republished in Volume Three of his Collected Works⁷⁰⁶

The second lineage during this first phase, and concurrent with Schwager's efforts to demonstrate his acumen and competence as an academic theologian, was his elaboration of a theological-political critique of the arms race. Schwager's encounters with Girard and his ideas had strengthened his resolve to confront the problem of war and peace, and to formulate credible arguments on behalf of *Gewaltfreiheit*. On the final page of *Brauchen wir einen Sündenbock?* Schwager connects the theme of the scapegoat to the arms race⁷⁰⁷.

Together with his friend, H. Büchele, SJ, they published a bestselling, controversial booklet in 1979, *Der Heilige Stuhl und die Abrüstung* (The Holy See and Disarmament). One side must be willing to start the process of disarmament by making a credible gesture – not complete disarmament that might invite attack – but a meaningful action, they argued. This strategy would put the brakes on the mimetic nature of the arms race and allow for disarmament to start. The success of their public critics, who accused them of Communist sympathies, being naïve, and a defeatist mentality, necessitated a response in the form of a short pamphlet in 1980. From this experience, Schwager identified the need to clarify the doctrine of redemption; only when God is revealed to be

⁷⁰⁶ Using Girard's Mimetic Theory, Schwager reread classic theological texts from Irenaeus and Marcion, Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa, Pelagius and Augustine, Maximus the Confessor, Anselm of Canterbury, Martin Luther, and lastly, the two great Zürich theologians, Karl Barth and Hans Urs von Balthasar R. Schwager, *Der wunderbare Tausch - Raymund Schwager Gesammelte Schriften* 4, N. Wandering (ed.), Freiburg, Herder, 2015. There is no English translation of this work at this time.

⁷⁰⁷ "It is no accident that the deeper insights into the scapegoat mechanism appeared at almost the same time that the church presented its uncompromising diagnosis of the arms race". R. Schwager *Must There be Scapegoats?* p. 234.

convincingly non-violent and divorced from human violence will it logically follow that the Gospel requires a new ethic, free from violence. The publications of *Der wunderbare Tausch* and *Für Frieden und Gerechtigkeit*, (For Peace and Justice) in 1986 testify to Schwager's vision of theology as both an academic and pastoral task.

The opening of the Brandenburg Gate of the Berlin Wall on November 10, 1989, the day before Schwager turned fifty-four, starts the second phase (1989-2001). *Nach der Wende* (after the turn), it appeared as if liberal democracy had not only triumphed over communism, but it even heralded the last stage of human development. In this middle period until September 11, 2001, it was possible to believe that humanity through technology and knowledge had escaped the mimetic cycles of violence and reconciliation. Given Schwager's Dramatic Theology, such a view could not be sustained. Although history is linear from a biblical point of view inasmuch it reports a story of creation to new creation, it also consists of innumerable cycles of life and death, creation and destruction.

Instead, Schwager and his collaborators in Innsbruck and abroad forged an international, interdisciplinary research project to advance Girard's Mimetic Theory in new directions. Three parallel developments occupy the second phase: 1) the evolution of Dramatic Theology, 2) Schwager amid the drama of obedience and conflict with the Magisterium, and lastly, 3) the ongoing reorganization of the faculty of the Catholic theology as an engagement with theology as a discipline and as a way of discipleship.

Schwager's mature exposition of Dramatic Theology appeared in 1990 when he published his third major theological work in relation to Girard, *Jesus im Heilsdrama: Entwurf einer biblischen Erlösungslehre*⁷⁰⁸. In this, Schwager sets up the problem of

⁷⁰⁸ R. Schwager, *Heilsdrama - Raymund Schwager Gesammelte Schriften* 4, J. Niewiadomski (ed.), Freiburg, Herder, 2015.

God's goodness and anger as a neuralgic point for the Enlightenment and the world that sprang from it. Schwager proposes Dramatic Theology as an approach to reading the Bible and a manner of theological reasoning that can indicate paths that lead out of this impasse. To accomplish this, one advances from historical-critical exegesis to systematic theology by means of a historical dramatic mediation.

Important subsequent milestone in the evolution of Dramatic Theology occurred at *Dramatische Erlösungslehre. Ein Symposium* (A Symposium on Dramatic Soteriology) at Innsbruck and was published in 1992⁷⁰⁹; Schwager's exposition of *Mischtext* – Schwager's interpretative key for distinguishing divine and human words – in "Biblische Texte als Mischtexte" in 1994⁷¹⁰; the launch of Dramatic Theology as research program in 1996 which led to numerous publications from a variety of scholars; and finally, his last major publication, an anthology entitled *Erbsünde und Heildrama: im Kontext von Evolution, Gentechnologie und Apokalyptik* (published in English as *Banished from Eden*) in 1997⁷¹¹.

Concurrently, tensions between academic theologians and the Magisterium on the ordination of women to the priesthood flared up. While Schwager expressed doubts about the arguments in favor of the reservation of priestly ordination to men alone and argued in favor of the ordination of woman, he believed that the increasing hostility toward the Magisterium was a dangerous and unhealthy development that required correction. On November 16, 1994, Schwager moderated a *Studientag: Ordination der Frau* (Study Day – Women's Ordination) and drafted a prologue to the book to be

⁷⁰⁹ *Dramatische Erlösungslehre. Ein Symposium*, J. Niewiadomski W. Palaver (eds.), Innsbruck, Tyrolia, 1992.

⁷¹⁰ R. Schwager, *Kirchliche, politische und theologische Zeitgenossenschaft - Raymund Schwager Gesammelte Schriften* 8, M. Moosbrugger (ed.), Freiburg, Herder, 2017, pp. 360-67,

⁷¹¹ Selections from this book are published in R. Schwager, *Beiträge zur Schöpfungslehre, Erbsündenlehre und zur Pneumatologie - Raymund Schwager Gesammelte Schriften* 7, N. Wandinger (ed.), Freiburg, Herder, 2018.

published on the proceedings, which he later deemed to be inopportune to publish; it appears now in Volume Eight of his *Collected Works*⁷¹². But more than this study day, it was the student pilgrimage to Rome, led by Schwager, that effectively communicated a far more nuanced and pluralistic view of the Church and the Magisterium. Schwager and Büchele tried to help the students form a Catholic vision of the Church in which they came to appreciate the Church's size and scope in terms of members, the diverse socio-economic and political conditions it faces throughout the world, and the sociological profiles that it must assume in these circumstances.

Parallel with the development of Dramatic Theology and his dramatic encounters with the Magisterium, Schwager took part in the governance and administration of the faculty and the university by serving on numerous committees, and twice holding in the office of dean in 1985-1985 and 1999-2003. He was recognized widely for his commitment to the faculty of Catholic theology as well as to the importance of interdisciplinary cooperation among the varied disciplines at the university. Tremendous changes were underway for theology.

Schwager always maintained that pluralism shaped postconciliar theology. The new freedom for method and for inquiry brought many advantages, such as appreciating the historical character of words and concepts and their variety of meanings across time and space. Yet, pluralism's strength came at the price of the diminishment of theology's scientific character as a unified, universal, rational discourse on God, becoming instead a babel of discourses. Each theologian or group of theologians invents new discourses, which demands translation. Theologians must not only learn to understand the other discourses of their contemporaries (synchronic translation) but also understand these

⁷¹² R. Schwager, *Kirchliche, politische und theologische Zeitgenossenschaft - Raymund Schwager Gesammelte Schriften* 8, M. Moosbrugger (ed.), Freiburg, Herder, 2017, pp. 368-387

contemporary discourses considering the tradition (diachronic translation). The arduous task of learning ever more theological languages meant that there is less and less time and energy to deepened theological insights. Worse still, as theology has disintegrated into peripheral concerns and conflicting opinions, it has not only lost its authority, but the Magisterium simply pays less attention to it. It is increasingly irrelevant to the conduct of the Church's mission because it has lost its ability to speak in the voice of the tradition, and intelligibly to the faithful. These observations inform Schwager's actions as dean of theology and the initiatives he put forth to adapt theology to its new environment.

Finally, though the last period of three years is brief, it may be seen as the point of departure for considering Schwager's legacy and influence. Indeed, his extensive library offers an apologetic potential to correct the intemperate and prejudicial characterization of religion as liable to violence following the specific event of September 11th. This apologetic potential reflects the maturation of his reflections on conflict over more than forty years, starting with his first writings in 1969. At the time of his death, Schwager also left a significant, but incomplete manuscript on the theology of Pope John Paul II.

The principal challenge to producing a corresponding biographical and theological account of later Schwager lay with the quantity of materials available for investigation. The Collected Works provides some orientation through a selection process by which the most significant texts have been arranged and published⁷¹³. Nevertheless, there remains not only articles but also archival materials and interviews as

⁷¹³ J. Niewiadomski „Theologie für dramatische Zeiten des religiösen Pluralismus“ in *Kirchliche, politische und theologische Zeitgenossenschaft - Raymund Schwager Gesammelte Schriften* 8, M. Moosbrugger (ed.), Freiburg, Herder, 2017, pp. 549-51.

well as research about his pastoral activities that would place the collected works into a fuller and more accurate light.

This second project, which logically follows from both this dissertation and from the foregoing biography of his Innsbruck period, would be the elaboration of a dramatic theological ethos of inner-ecclesial conflict. Drawing upon Schwager's pre-Innsbruck period, this dissertation identified conflict within the community of believers as a perennial concern of Schwager's. From his earliest texts, Schwager adopted drama as an analogue for conflict. The gradual refinement of his understanding of drama informed his central project of Dramatic Theology which brought together his wide-ranging theological research with the insights of Girard's Mimetic Theory. It also guided his practice of theology as a professor, dean, public intellectual and pastor.

From his entire life and his majors texts, one could derive resources to formulate a dramatic theological ethos of inner-ecclesial conflict. Such a proposal would first justify the need for such an ethos at all as human beings are created in the image of God. Following Schwager's understanding of the pluralistic nature of the Church, it logically follows to the conclusion that the particular character of creation in which conflict is a common feature only partially and obscurely reflects the inner life of God as the Trinity. This disjunction between God and creation requires a treatment of theological anthropology to explain why conflict exists at all since it has no place in the divine life. These answers must contend not only with the problem of sin, but also of time, development, and maturation of humanity as a species, groups, and persons (the distinction of *gratia sanans et elevans*).

As divine revelation provides answers to these questions, it will be necessary to consider God's response to the problem of human conflict, reaching its fulfillment in Jesus of Nazareth and his formation of a community of believers, which aims to

reconcile humanity to God. This leads to further Christological, pneumatological and ecclesiological considerations, which Schwager devised in his Dramatic Theology, his later writings and his professional and pastoral practice. In particular, more attention needs to be given to Schwager's way of reading the Bible as a mixed text (*Mischttext*) as it forms the bridge between biblical exegesis, on the one hand, and dogma and theology, on the other. It also proposes a solution to the seemingly irreconcilable problem of divine wrath and divine goodness.

This reflection on conflict extends from ecclesiology to moral theology as a dramatic theological ethos of inner-ecclesial conflict seeks to redefine conflict as constructive engagement and communal discernment rather than defensive reactions or aggressive advances. Schwager sought to recognize the centrality of the Eucharist as the source and ongoing event of purification and reconciliation for the Church and its members in the Celebration of the Condemned One. Consequently, a theological reflection on the role of grace communicated in the sacraments in overcoming conflict's negative potential in terms of rivalry, violence and destruction would follow from Schwager's treatment of the Eucharist. Furthermore, given the social nature of an ethos of inner-ecclesial conflict, any complete treatment would not only require a theology of history but also an eschatology.

These two avenues of further investigation pay tribute to Schwager's innovative and prophetic legacy. He devoted his considerable intellectual talent and spiritual effort to demonstrating that Jesus is the model for the attainment of peace founded on an adequate concept of justice that escapes from the endless cycle of grievance, accusation, and retribution. Jesus' willingness to suffer the sins of others to reveal a new vision of God as free from all human violence and to propose a new way of being human under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, the Church. To become human therefore means to

become like Christ, to live from the same faith from which he lived, whose foundation and source is trust in God's authority and power to do the unexpected, the surprising and the wonderful. The saints – the community of believers undergoing this transformation – therefore exemplify the definitive answer to sin and violence and, thereby, the only sound basis for peace: holiness, which means the courageous and selfless following of Jesus, crucified and risen, through the power of the Eucharist. This dissertation demonstrates that the drama of Schwager's life and texts offers a satisfying and accurate interpretation of his self-reflection on Mimetic Theory and his subsequent self-expression in which he claimed, "It was already in me".

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