

4-2018

# Virtues/Pāramitās: St. Ignatius Of Loyola and Sāntideva as Companions on the Way of Life

Tomislav Spiranec

Follow this and additional works at: [https://scholarcommons.scu.edu/jst\\_dissertations](https://scholarcommons.scu.edu/jst_dissertations)



Part of the [Religion Commons](#)

---

## Recommended Citation

Spiranec, Tomislav, "Virtues/Pāramitās: St. Ignatius Of Loyola and Sāntideva as Companions on the Way of Life" (2018). *Jesuit School of Theology Dissertations*. 17.

[https://scholarcommons.scu.edu/jst\\_dissertations/17](https://scholarcommons.scu.edu/jst_dissertations/17)

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Student Scholarship at Scholar Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Jesuit School of Theology Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Scholar Commons. For more information, please contact [rscroggin@scu.edu](mailto:rscroggin@scu.edu).

**VIRTUES/PĀRAMITĀS:  
ST. IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA AND ŚĀNTIDEVA AS COMPANIONS  
ON THE WAY OF LIFE**

A dissertation by

**Tomislav Spiranec, S.J.**

presented to

The Faculty of the

Jesuit School of Theology

of Santa Clara University

in partial fulfillment of the

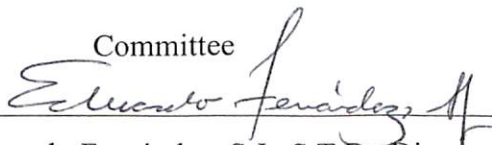
requirements for the degree of


Doctorate in Sacred Theology


Berkeley, California

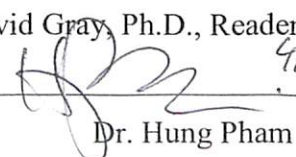
April, 2018

Committee

 4/19/18  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Dr. Eduardo Fernández, S.J., S.T.D., Director

 4/19/18  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Dr. Ronelle Alexander, Ph.D., Reader

 4/19/18  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Dr. David Gray, Ph.D., Reader

 4/19/18  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Dr. Hung Pham

*Abstract*  
**VIRTUES/PĀRAMITĀS:**  
**ST. IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA AND ŚĀNTIDEVA AS COMPANIONS ON THE**  
**WAY OF LIFE**  
**Tomislav Spiranec, S.J.**

This dissertation conducts a comparative study of the cultivation of the virtues in Catholic spiritual tradition and the perfections (*pāramitās*) in the Mahāyāna Buddhist traditions in view of the spiritual needs of contemporary Croatian young adults. The comparison is carried out through the exploration of two key texts: *The Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius of Loyola, a sixteenth-century Basque Catholic, and the founder of the Society of Jesus, and *The Way of the Bodhisattva* (*Bodhicaryāvatāra*) of Śāntideva, an eight-century Indian Mahāyāna monk.

The study links the central teachings of the Catholic faith to the daily life and identity of young Catholics through the cultivation of the virtues/ *pāramitās*, re-imagined for the modern sensibilities of today's Croatia. Such practice understands the cultivation of the virtues/pāramitās as intentional, deliberate, and cognitive behavioral activity through which one shapes one's life according to a particular vision of ultimate reality.

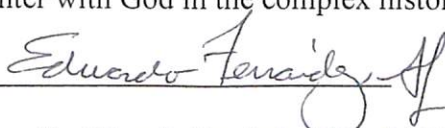
The primary objective of this study is to fill a vital need within the Catholic community in the small but culturally and religiously complex nation of Croatia. The general problem facing Croat Catholics today is the clash of Catholic pre-modernity with modern and post-modern ideas and institutions. In this encounter, pre-modern Catholic religious forms no longer satisfy the needs and expectations of modern young adults in a society increasingly marked by cultural and religious pluralism.

The immediate context of my study is the "3D Formation Program," a three-year-long systematic program for young adults organized by the University Students Catholic

Academic Center (SKAC), which belongs to the Jesuit university chaplaincy at Zagreb University. The name “3D” is an abbreviation of the Croatian words, *Duh*, *Duša*, and *Društvo*, meaning “Spirit, Soul and Society.” My study argues that a fruitful synthesis between Ignatius and Śāntideva with regard to the cultivation of virtues/pāramitās may contribute to a form of Catholic spirituality that is intellectually and behaviorally challenging, relevant, and compelling for today’s Croatian young adults.

Buddhism is attractive for Catholics because of its practicality, immediately pragmatic effects, monastic institutions, and ritual richness. It therefore serves as a good dialogue partner for Ignatian spirituality in the cultivation of a contextualized spiritual practice. Though the two traditions differ radically on the level of doctrinal assumptions and consequently, ultimate goals, they share a great deal on the level of the practice of virtues/pāramitās, which assumes a common, human, biological-intellectual substratum.

The theoretical framework of this study is the comparative theological method developed by Francis Clooney, complemented with Judith Berling’s interreligious learning. The reason for merging Clooney’s and Berling’s methods lies in the nature of my work, which involves studying each text in its own context (Clooney) as well as considering contemporary interpretations within “living” communities (Berling). The work is interdisciplinary in nature. In addition to comparative theology and interreligious learning, the study applies an historical and sociological framework to an analysis of the political, economic, ideological, religious, and cultural dimensions of the Croatian context. This analysis forms the foundation of a contextualized spiritual practice for young adults who are seeking genuine encounter with God in the complex historical reality of Croatia.



Dr. Eduardo Fernández, S.J., S.T.D., Director

## Contents

<b>Introduction</b> .....	<b>1</b>
Scope and nature.....	5
Methodology.....	10
Significance.....	13
Chapter Overview.....	14
<b>CHAPTER ONE: The Geographical/Historical Context</b> .....	<b>16</b>
Introduction.....	16
Spatial Location.....	17
Historical/ Geographical Development of Croatian Territory: A Small People between the Great Empires.....	21
Population: A Mosaic.....	29
Settlements: from the Rural to the Urban.....	34
Economy in Transition.....	34
Summary.....	35
<b>CHAPTER TWO: The Historical Development of Croatian National and Religious Identity</b> .....	<b>37</b>
Introduction.....	38
<b>The First Historical Period (7<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> Centuries): The Foundations of Identity Formation</b> .....	<b>39</b>
<b>The Second Historical Period (12<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> Centuries): Preservation of Identity</b> .....	<b>42</b>
<b>The Third Historical Period (19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> Centuries): Renewal or Recreation of Identity</b> .....	<b>49</b>
<b>The Fourth Historical Period (20<sup>th</sup> Century): Being Different among Similar Identities in a Multi-Slavic Community</b> .....	<b>52</b>
<i>Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1918-1941): Mixing Identity, Politics and Religion</i> .....	52
<i>The Second World War (1941-1945): Identity between the Black and Red Extremes</i> .....	55
<i>Communist Yugoslavia (1945-1990): National Identity in the Supranational State</i> .....	58
<b>The Fifth Historical Period: Post-Communist Croatia (1991-Present): A Mosaic of Many Identities</b> .....	<b>63</b>
Summary: Religion and Identity in Transition.....	69
<b>CHAPTER THREE: Croatian Young Adults</b> .....	<b>73</b>
<b>Introduction</b> .....	<b>73</b>

Overview.....	75
<b>The Sociological Profile of Croatian Young Adults.....</b>	<b>79</b>
<i>Demographics of Croatian Young Adults.....</i>	<i>79</i>
<i>Education of Croatian Young Adults.....</i>	<i>81</i>
<i>Economic Levels of Croatian Young Adults.....</i>	<i>83</i>
<i>Civil, Social, and Personal Behavior of Croatian Young Adults.....</i>	<i>84</i>
<i>Values of Croatian Young Adults.....</i>	<i>86</i>
Summary.....	98
<b>CHAPTER FOUR: Old Acquaintances—Jesuits and Buddhists.....</b>	<b>100</b>
Introduction.....	100
<b>Historical Contacts between the Jesuits and Buddhist Traditions.....</b>	<b>101</b>
<b>The Jesuits and the Bodhi Tree in Croatia.....</b>	<b>110</b>
<b>The Arlecchino Mechanism: The Jesuit Re-appropriation of the Buddhist Traditions.....</b>	<b>127</b>
Summary.....	133
<b>CHAPTER FIVE: The Cultivation of Virtue in the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola.....</b>	<b>135</b>
Introduction.....	135
<b>Part One: Mapping the Virtues in Christian Tradition before the 16<sup>th</sup> Century</b>	<b>137</b>
<i>The Foundation: Greco-Roman Culture and Scripture.....</i>	<i>137</i>
<i>Formation of Christian Virtues: Mingling New Testament and Hellenistic Categories (prior to the 5<sup>th</sup> century): Jesus as the Exemplar of all Virtues.....</i>	<i>143</i>
<i>Codification of the Virtue Tradition in the Medieval Period (5<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> century): Being Like Christ.....</i>	<i>146</i>
<b>Part Two: St. Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556) and the Cultivation of Virtues ....</b>	<b>149</b>
<i>Ignatius: Person and Writings.....</i>	<i>149</i>
<i>The Autobiography: He Desired to Cultivate Virtue.....</i>	<i>153</i>
<i>The Spiritual Exercises: From Humility to All Virtues.....</i>	<i>158</i>
<i>The Constitutions: The Lovers of Virtue.....</i>	<i>167</i>
<b>Part Three: Theology of the Cultivation of Virtue: From Creation to Salvation</b>	<b>170</b>
Summary.....	172
<b>CHAPTER SIX: The Cultivation of the Pāramitās in the <i>Bodhicaryāvatāra</i>.....</b>	<b>175</b>
Introduction.....	175
<b>Part One: Pāramitās in Buddhist Traditions prior to Śāntideva.....</b>	<b>176</b>

<i>The Foundation of Buddhist Tradition(s)</i> .....	176
<i>Brief Historical Overview of the Bodhisattva Ideal and the Pāramitās</i> .....	178
<b>Part Two: The Cultivation of the Pāramitās in the <i>Bodhicaryāvatāra</i></b> .....	185
<i>Śāntideva: Person and Writings</i> .....	186
<i>The Pāramitās in the Bodhicaryāvatāra</i> .....	189
<i>The Cultivation of the Pāramitās in the Bodhicaryāvatāra</i> .....	192
<b>Part Three: Doctrinal Background of the Practice of the Pāramitās</b> .....	203
Summary .....	206
<b>CHAPTER SEVEN: Synthesizing Ignatius and Śāntideva for a Christian Way of Living: Guidelines for the University Catholic Academic Center (SKAC) Program</b> .....	<b>209</b>
Introduction .....	209
<b>Part One: Comparison and Synthesis</b> .....	211
<i>Similarities</i> .....	212
<i>Differences</i> .....	216
<b>Part Two: Guidelines for the SKAC 3D formation Program</b> .....	226
<i>Neuroplasticity and the Cultivation of Virtue</i> .....	226
<i>The 3D Formation Program</i> .....	230
Summary .....	235
<b>General Conclusion</b> .....	<b>238</b>
<b>Bibliography</b> .....	<b>244</b>

## Introduction

This dissertation conducts a comparative study of the cultivation of the virtues in Catholic spiritual tradition and the perfections (*pāramitās*) in the Mahāyāna Buddhist traditions in view of the spiritual needs of contemporary Croatian young adults. The comparison will be carried out through the exploration of two key texts: *The Spiritual Exercises (Ejercicios Espirituales)* of Ignatius of Loyola, a sixteenth-century Basque Catholic, and the founder of the Society of Jesus, and *The Way of the Bodhisattva (Bodhicaryāvatāra)* of Śāntideva, an eight-century Indian Mahāyāna monk.

With the aim of bridging the gap among Christian identity, practice, and doctrine in everyday life, the study seeks to construct the contours of a spiritual practice for Croatian young adults. Such practice understands the cultivation of the virtues/*pāramitās* as intentional, deliberate, and cognitive behavioral activity through which one shapes one's life according to a particular vision of ultimate reality. It is my hope that the results will not only enrich the Christian understanding of the *Spiritual Exercises*, but also help to develop simple, clear, practical, and theologically sound instruction in the Christian way of life for Croatian Catholic young adults, who are today struggling with issues of faith and religio-cultural identity in the modern, post-Communist context of Croatia.

My interest in the development of a Christian way of life that attends to the needs and concerns of young adults, and the contributions of Buddhist thought to this endeavor, began to unfold in Croatia. I had been working with youth and young adults as a teacher at the elementary and high school levels, as a university chaplain, and as a professional coach of Tae Kwon Do. Living in Croatia, a country that is 90 percent Catholic, I know many Catholics who have been inspired by Asian spiritualities and have immersed



themselves in the various practices of these traditions. Observing the fruits of their spiritual endeavors and the way in which their own Catholic faith lives have been enriched by exposure to other spiritual paths, I have become aware of the potential for a fruitful synthesis of Christian and Buddhist traditions toward a spiritual practice for young adults.

I had encountered Asian thought indirectly through the practice of the martial arts, which enabled me to visit Korea; and directly through participation in interreligious conferences organized by the Society of Jesus in China and India, through practicing Zen mediation with Jesuits (notably Robert Kennedy), living with Buddhist monks in Japan, and studying with them in Nepal and Berkeley. These experiences disposed me to explore more deeply not only similarities and differences between Buddhist and Catholic spiritualities and daily practices, but also elucidated for me certain insights into the *Spiritual Exercises* that we may have previously taken for granted or which have gone unrecognized with regard to the practice of virtue in daily living.

The primary objective of this study is to fill a vital need within the Catholic community in the small but complex nation of Croatia. Croatia is a post-communist, post-war country located in the southern branch of Eastern Europe, incorporating the linguistic, religious, and cultural realities of the Roman, Byzantine, Habsburg and Ottoman empires. The general problem facing Croat Catholics today is the clash of Catholic pre-modernity with modern and post-modern ideas and institutions. In this encounter, pre-modern Catholic religious forms no longer satisfy the needs and expectations of modern young adults in a society aspiring to cultural and religious pluralism. Unmet needs and expectations of contemporary people in such a society lead

to inconsistencies of religiosity in two main areas: the gap between Catholic identity and the habits and behaviors of everyday life, and the emergence of a certain kind of religious eclectic.<sup>1</sup>

The religious profile of Croatian young adults shows the influence of modernity.<sup>2</sup> The 2013 study “Youth in the Time of Crisis,” states that while 94 percent of youth identify as Catholic and espouse religious belief, the majority accept Catholic teachings selectively.<sup>3</sup> Further, only 24 percent participate in religious services. The reason for this discrepancy, as suggested by the prominent sociologist Antonio Dragun, is that youth religiosity is “marked by a mixture of (late) modernity and tradition.”<sup>4</sup> He sees the dominance of modernity in their use of free time, value systems, and non-acceptance of core Church teaching. The influence of tradition remains dominant in the field of self-identification – confessional, national, and religious. According to Valentina Mandarić, a Catholic theologian specializing in the youth apostolate, young people want openness for

---

1. Krunoslav Nikodem and Sinisa Zrinščak, “Croatia’s Religious Story: The Coexistence of Institutionalized and Individual Religiosity,” in *The Social Significance of Religion in the Enlarged Europe*, ed. Detlef Pollack, Olaf Müller, and Gert Pickel (New York: Ashgate, 2012), 207-227; Gordan Črpić and Siniša Zrinščak, “Between Identity and Everyday Life: Religiosity in Croatian Society from the European Comparative Perspective,” in *In Search of Identity: A Comparative Study of Values: Croatia and Europe*, ed. Josip Baloban (Zagreb: Golden Marketing – Tehnička knjiga, 2005), 45-83.

2. According to Croatian standards, young adult Catholics are those from 18 to 35 years of age. This definition of “youth” is according to the Croatian Ministry of Social Policy and Youth in the National Program for Youth in the period 2014-2017. Accessed February 15, 2016, <http://www.mmh.hr/en/publications-and-documents/youth-policy-documents>.

3. The newest and the most extensive study of young people in Croatia is done by the Institute for Social Research and the German foundation Friedrich Ebert. The study *Youth in the Time of Crisis* is done annually since 2013 by Croatian sociologists Vlasta Ilišin, Dejana Bouillet, Anja Gvozdanović and Dunja Potočnik. For the results of 2013, see accessed April 15, 2016, on [http://www.idi.hr/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/mladi\\_uvk.pdf](http://www.idi.hr/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/mladi_uvk.pdf), for Friedrich Ebert Foundation see <http://www.fesdc.org/about/friedrich-ebert-stiftung/>, and for the Institute for Social Research and their projects see <http://www.idi.hr/en/mladi-u-vremenu-krize/>.

4. Antonio Dragun, “Religiosity of Secondary School Leavers in Zadar,” *Sociology and Space* 49, no.1 (April 2011): 105.

critical engagement with their faith and the freedom to explore and carry out new initiatives. Further, they desire small communities with authentic relationships, a shared responsibility for the community, acceptance of dialogue with other subjects in society, and most important, guidance in personal encounters with God.<sup>5</sup>

Despite the above-noted discrepancies, sociologists Zdravka Leutar and Ana Marija Josipović perceive a positive side to the situation, claiming that religiosity remains important for young adults, though they are not satisfied with traditional ways of deepening their religious knowledge and seek guidance in this regard.<sup>6</sup> Religious leaders recognize the need for change in religiosity among young adults, but not how to best approach it. My research will build on these studies, focusing on the spiritual needs of the Croatian Catholic young adult population with regard to a practice of everyday life that bridges the gap between late modern and traditional religious forms, and responds to their hunger for experiential encounter with God.

Having completed an institutionalized religious socialization (through the elementary and high school levels) that is largely passive and imitative, young adults generally adopt either a critical acceptance or a denial of religious values. Seeking a realistic vision of the Catholic faith, and often failing to find it, many have distanced themselves from the Church after receiving the sacrament of confirmation. Moreover, university students and young adults in Croatia have enough knowledge and experience to be critical toward the state and the Church and are therefore “the indicators of social

---

5. Valentina Mandarić, “Church in the Eyes of the Young,” *Bogoslovska Smotra* 71, no.4 (May 2002): 594.

6. Zdravka Leutar and Ana Marija Josipović, “Some Dimensions of Religiosity among Young People,” *New Presence: Review for Intellectual and Spiritual Questions* 6, no.3 (December 2008): 418.

and religious change.”<sup>7</sup>

This population has been studied continuously since the 1970s, so there is ample empirical data for a religious profile of Croatian young adults. In the near future, this generation will assume leading positions in the State and the Church in an increasingly complex society. This poses the crucial importance of a sound formation in the faith, one that is critically grounded, and rooted in their everyday lives and practices. The burden of this study, then, is how best to help the Croatian Church to realize its mission toward young adults in a post-communist, transitionally-pluralistic society: to lead them into authentic religious experience and practice, mediate the richness of the Church’s spiritual tradition, and promote respect for other subjects in society.

#### Scope and nature

How do I aim to accomplish this? I propose to link the central teachings of the Catholic faith to the daily life and identity of young Catholics through the cultivation of the virtues/ *pāramitās*, re-imagined for the modern sensibilities of today’s Croatia. I will investigate this link by exploring a tradition familiar to Catholics, namely the spirituality of Ignatius of Loyola, in conjunction with something less familiar but nonetheless present in Croatian society, the Mahāyāna Buddhist practice of cultivating the qualities of mind (*pāramitās*) in Śāntideva’s thought. I propose that such a synthesis may contribute to a form of Catholic spirituality that is intellectually and behaviorally challenging, relevant, and compelling for today’s young adults.

The engagement of Christians and Buddhists in Croatia finds its warrant in the

---

7. Siniša Zrinščak, "Ima neka tajna veza: religioznost mladih kao indikator društvenih i religijskih promjena," (There is a Secret Connection: Religiosity of Youth as an Indicator of Social and Religious Changes) *Društvena Istraživanja* no. 10 (2001):19-40.

Second Vatican Council's "Declaration on the Relation of the Church to non-Christian Religions" (*Nostra Aetate*). This document states that "Through dialogue and collaboration with the followers of other religions, carried out with prudence and love and in witness to the Christian faith and life, [Christians] recognize, preserve and promote the good things, spiritual and moral, as well as the socio-cultural values found among [them]."<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, the post-Vatican II documents reflect a development in the understanding of the exchange between Christianity and other religions, finding not only salvific dimensions in the religions themselves, but also elements in the religions that serve to enrich, clarify, and even enhance aspects of the Christian revelation.<sup>9</sup>

The reasons for choosing Buddhist tradition (and Śāntideva in particular) are numerous. Buddhist ideas, practices, practitioners, and institutions are present in Croatia. While it is true that their numbers are relatively small, their practices are simple, accessible, and satisfying, and are found in surprising places. Buddhist practices are a part of the New Age eclectic spirituality, hidden in secularized form as "mindfulness," and in secular sources of popular religious experience such as books and magazines about

---

8. Second Vatican Council, *Nostra Aetate* [Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions], Vatican website, accessed March 10, 2016, [http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist\\_councils/ii\\_vatican\\_council/documents/vat-ii\\_decl\\_19651028\\_nostra-aetate\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decl_19651028_nostra-aetate_en.html).

9. See *Redemption and Dialogue: Reading Redemptoris Missio and Dialogue and Proclamation*, ed. William R. Burrows (New York: Orbis Books, 1993), 98; Paul F. Knitter, *Introducing Theologies of Religions* (New York: Orbis Books, 2002); Secretariat for Non-Christians, *The Attitude of the Church Towards the Followers of Other Religions: Reflections and Orientations on Dialogue and Mission*, AAS 75 [1984]: 816-828; see also *Bulletin Secretariatus pro non-Christianis* 56, no. 13 (1984/2).

Asian spirituality printed by national publishing houses. They are also found in adaptations made by Christians for their contemplative needs.<sup>10</sup>

Buddhism is attractive for Catholics because of its practicality, immediately pragmatic effects, monastic institutions, and ritual richness. Buddhism, therefore, serves as a good dialogue partner for Ignatian spirituality in the cultivation of a contextualized spiritual practice. Though the two traditions differ radically on the level of doctrinal assumptions and consequently, ultimate goals, they share a great deal on the level of the practice of virtues/pāramitās, which assumes a common, human, biological-intellectual substratum (despite differences in religion, culture, gender, or age). Finally, judging from the context of Croatia, and the Buddhist presence in other EE countries, Buddhist influence will become increasingly prevalent.<sup>11</sup>

Ignatian spirituality provides a compelling Christian voice for a dialogical encounter between Buddhism and Christianity, and has been present in Croatia from the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Ignatius of Loyola offers a balanced presentation of the individual and ecclesiastical forms of religiosity and the instruction that leads one toward a personal experience of God in daily life. Since their arrival in Croatia, Jesuits have worked with youth. Moreover, Jesuits have enjoyed a special relationship with Buddhist traditions,

---

10. Zrinka Štimac, "Catholic Tradition and New Religious Movements: What is New in the Present Religious Landscape in Croatia?" in *Religion and the Conceptual Boundary in Central and Eastern Europe: Encounters of Faiths*, ed. Thomas Bremer (Basingstoke [England]: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 220.

11. About Buddhism in Europe, see accessed January 14, 2016, <http://europeanbuddhism.org/>, Buddhists in Croatia [http://www.buddhanet.info/wbd/country.php?country\\_id=97](http://www.buddhanet.info/wbd/country.php?country_id=97), for religious conditions in Croatia, see Gordan Črpić and Jakov Jukić, "Alternativna religioznost [Alternative Religiosity]," *Bogoslovska Smotra* 68, no.4 (April 1999): 616.

having introduced them to the West in the early modern period.<sup>12</sup> Finally, in Europe and elsewhere, the study of Buddhist thought and practice is becoming increasingly prominent in Jesuit higher education.

An organizing framework for the kind of comparison I wish to undertake is to view the virtues/pāramitās as dispositions that connect a conception of human nature with an end or *telos*—*eudaimonia* (human flourishing).<sup>13</sup> Buddhist pāramitās are different yet similar in some respects to the forward-pressing dynamic of Christian virtues. Both traditions, for example, view the virtues as a means of overcoming aspects of human nature that prevent us from achieving goodness and happiness. For Christians, the aim is to overcome dispositions toward self-centeredness and to foster right relationship with God, others, and the rest of creation. The relationship assumes an agent/self and ontological difference. Virtue directs us toward an eschatological life-relationship with God. For Buddhists, the key to achieving a life of flourishing is to overcome the illusion that we are permanent and ontologically separate from one another, and to overcome afflictive attachments. We must recognize that we are *no-self* and that all is emptiness. It is a difficult doctrine to comprehend, but Nirvāṇa is the end toward which Buddhist virtues/perfections direct us. We are enjoined to have compassion for ourselves and for others, and to seek to end the suffering of all beings. Despite their obvious differences, both traditions, through the cultivation of virtues/pāramitās, form positive dispositions to

---

12. Trent Pomplun, *Jesuit on the Roof of the World: Ippolito Desideri's Mission to Eighteenth-Century Tibet* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 92. Ippolito Desideri, Michael J. Sweet, and Leonard Zwilling, *Mission to Tibet: The Extraordinary Eighteenth-Century Account of Father Ippolito Desideri, S.J.* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2010), 718, 722. See notes 958, 1007.

13. Dr. Nancy Snow, email message to author, June 2016.

reach the end toward which we aspire, and seek to address the fundamental problems of human existence.

The social-empirical studies of youth religiosity yield a religious profile of Croatian youth, which offers a diagnosis but not the medicine. I am suggesting that such a remedy may be found, at least partially, in a spiritual practice that cultivates the virtues/pāramitās in a manner that challenges young adults holistically—intellectually, spiritually, and affectively—in daily living. However, the study of the *Spiritual Exercises* from the standpoint of the Christian virtues is rarely undertaken.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, a synthesis and cultivation of Ignatius’s and Śāntideva’s presentation of virtues/pāramitās, to my knowledge, does not exist. These lacunae raise the following questions: How do Ignatius and Śāntideva understand virtues and pāramitās, respectively? How may we cultivate them and to what end? Can Śāntideva help us understand St. Ignatius more deeply and develop conceptual and practical tools to help Croatian youth understand and practice their faith in daily life?

### Thesis Statement

This dissertation argues that a comparative study of the cultivation of the virtues in the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius of Loyola and the *pāramitās* in Śāntideva’s *Bodhicaryāvatāra* will yield new insights into connections between doctrine and ordinary life for young Catholics in Croatia. These insights will help those engaged in the youth

---

14. See James F. Keenan, “Catholic Moral Theology, Ignatian Spirituality, and Virtue Ethics: Strange Bedfellows,” *The Way* Supplement 88 (1997): 36-45; Barton T. Geger, “Hidden Theology in the ‘Autobiography of St. Ignatius,’” *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 46, no. 3 (2014); John M. McManamon, S.J., *The Text and Contexts of Ignatius Loyola’s ‘Autobiography’* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2013); Gerald M. Fagin, *Putting on the Heart of Christ: How the Spiritual Exercises Invite Us to a Virtuous Life* (Chicago: Loyola Press, 2010).



apostolate to develop a practical, clear and compelling narrative of the Christian way of life according to the needs and expectations of contemporary Croatian young adults.

## Methodology

I will employ Pierre Hadot's conceptualization of the relationship between doctrine and lived faith as the foundational organizing principle of this work. Hadot's concept of philosophy as 'a way of life' proposes that a function of doctrine is to articulate as clearly as possible basic 'principles' and their rationale for a specific understanding of reality (worldview), which are later interiorized.<sup>15</sup> The objective is to form a specific way of life, or in other words, a way of ordering our thoughts, perceptions, speech, and actions according to these basic principles. It is possible to teach these principles and practical ways of forming one's life to those who desire to learn. This task is complex, but practical, and cognitive as well as behavioral. It therefore provides a sound basis for a practice that cultivates the virtues/pāramitās.

The goal is not to produce a mere theory of thinking, speaking, or acting well. The concern, as Hadot says, is actually "speaking well, thinking well, acting well, being truly conscious of one's place in the cosmos."<sup>16</sup> The function of spiritual exercises is the interiorization of these dogmas/principles in daily living—in our judgments and in the

---

15. Pierre Hadot, *What is Ancient Philosophy?* (Cambridge Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004), 102; Pierre Hadot, *Philosophy as a Way of Life* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2104), 59. Simo Knuuttila, Martha C. Nussbaum and Richard Sorabji share the same view; see Simo Knuuttila, *Emotions in Ancient and Medieval Philosophy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), 1; Martha C. Nussbaum, *Therapy of Desire* (New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1994), 3; Richard Sorabji, *Emotion and Peace of Mind: from Stoic Agitation to Christian Temptation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1-3.

16. Pierre Hadot, "Philosophy, Philosophic Discourse, and Divisions of Philosophy According to the Stoics," *Revue Internationale de Philosophie* 45, no. 178 (1991): 212.

conduct we adopt toward others.<sup>17</sup> The role of virtues/pāramitās in this complex process is putting in order disordered passions and afflictions (or what contemporary psychology calls emotions) in order to create the conditions for a fully human life. The objective is liberation from the destructive impulses and mental states of anger, pain, despair, and fear in order to live a life of peace, right relationship, meaning and purpose, and authentic encounter with God. I propose that young adults in a turbulent period of life can find grounding and guidance in such a coherent presentation of a ‘way of life’ in Croatian secular society.

The theoretical framework of this study is the comparative theological method developed by Francis Clooney, complemented by Judith Berling’s interreligious learning. The reason for merging Clooney’s and Berling’s methods lies in the nature of my work, which involves studying each text in its own context (Clooney) as well as considering contemporary interpretations within “living” communities (Berling).<sup>18</sup>

According to Clooney, comparative theology is a “practical response to religious diversity,” and a “faith seeking understanding,” rooted in a home faith, but motivated to “venture into learning from other faith traditions for fresh theological insights.”<sup>19</sup> Claiming that “the foremost prospect for a fruitful comparative theology is the reading of texts,”<sup>20</sup> Clooney offers practical guidelines for inter-religious textual reading and

---

17. Pierre Hadot, *Philosophy as a Way of Life: Spiritual Exercises from Socrates to Foucault* (Wiley-Blackwell, 1995), 210.

18. Francis Clooney, *Comparative Theology: Deep Learning Across Religious Borders* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010); Judith A. Berling, *Understanding Other Religious Worlds: A Guide for Interreligious Education* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2004).

19. Clooney, *Comparative Theology*, 10, 69.

20. Clooney, *Comparative Theology*, 58.

interpretation. One major principle advanced by Clooney is to read the text “in its own integrity,” and on “in its own terms.” Thus, he urges the reader to be attentive to textual and historical context through the aid of commentators.<sup>21</sup> Berling extends these principles to include dialogue between and among living communities (which implies the fostering of relationships), and an attempt to interiorize the perspective of the other in order to arrive at a deeper understanding of that tradition. Taken together, these approaches provide a solid ground for grasping the wisdom of the tradition inscribed in the text.

This study presupposes Mark McIntosh’s synthetic understanding of the relationship between spirituality and theology. According to McIntosh, spirituality is “a new and transformative pattern of life engendered in people by their encounter with God.”<sup>22</sup> It is always oriented toward discovery, new perceptions, and new understandings of reality, and therefore related to theology and to concrete historical life. Thus, just as contemplation is not separated from the mind and body, spirituality is not separated from, but integrated with doctrine and concrete historical life.

The dissertation is interdisciplinary in nature. In addition to comparative theology and interreligious learning, the study applies an historical and sociological framework to an analysis of the political, economic, ideological, religious, and cultural dimensions of the Croatian context. This analysis will form the foundation of a contextualized spiritual

---

21. Clooney, *Comparative Theology*, 59-61.

22. Mark Allen McIntosh, *Mystical Theology: The Integrity of Spirituality and Theology* (Malden, Mass: Blackwell, 1998), 9.

practice for young adults who are seeking genuine encounter with God in the complex historical reality of Croatia.

### Significance

The immediate context of my study is the “3D Formation Program,” a three-year-long systematic program for young adults organized by the University Students Catholic Academic Center (SKAC), which belongs to the Jesuit university chaplaincy at Zagreb University.<sup>23</sup> The name “3D” is an abbreviation of the Croatian words, *Duh*, *Duša*, and *Društvo*, meaning “Spirit, Soul and Society.”

The program was established in 2011. It is structured around the three years of undergraduate university study. The first year focuses on learning about the self through the exploration of the virtues. The second year is devoted to making the Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius in daily life. The third year consists of preparation for service and concrete social projects to which the students return after finishing the program and their studies.

This dissertation has academic and pastoral significance. From the academic side, the study will provide new insights into the place the *Spiritual Exercises* holds within the Christian spiritual tradition from the perspective of the role of Christian virtues. Further, it seems that the Croatian case reveals a larger pattern present in other Catholic communities. Exploring it in more detail can help us to better understand the broader encounter of Catholic pre-modernity with modern ideas and institutions, and the needs and expectations of young adults everywhere. Comparison with the Buddhist tradition will help us to understand the principles of critical appropriation, and to affirm our

---

23. See SKAC web, accessed March 10, 2018, <http://skac.hr/>.

common ground. Exploration of the religiosity of the young adult population in Croatia will contribute to a better understanding of Croatia's complex reality and to the development of a new narrative of a Christian way of living.

From the pastoral side, I hope this study will help Croatian young adults to understand their own tradition, to live it with more understanding and intentionality, and to accommodate the practices of other religious traditions critically and respectfully. Furthermore, I hope that for all included in the pastoral care of young adults, this study will expand the religious imagination and inspire new approaches to faith formation and pedagogy.

#### Chapter Overview

This study consists of seven chapters. Chapter One introduces the geographical, historical, socio-political, and religio-cultural context of Croatia. Chapter Two delineates the historical development of Croatian national identity from the period prior to the arrival of the Croats in the 7<sup>th</sup> century CE to the present-day Republic of Croatia. Chapter Three constructs a sociological profile of young adults in Croatia, measuring demographics; education; economy; and civil, social, and personal behavior. Chapter Four provides an historical contextualization of the connections, relationships, and mutual understandings between Jesuits and Buddhists in general, and specifically in Croatia. Chapters Five and Six engage the Jesuit and Buddhist spiritual traditions, respectively, exploring ways of connecting religious identity to daily life through the cultivation of the virtues/ pāramitās. Chapter Seven compares Ignatius and Śāntideva with regard to the cultivation of virtues/pāramitās, synthesizes the two traditions, and

develops guidelines for improvement of the existing 3D formation program in view of the spiritual needs of contemporary Croatian young adults.

## CHAPTER ONE: The Geographical/Historical Context

### The Land between the Adriatic Sea, the Dinaric Mountains, and the Pannonian Plain

#### Introduction

My Jesuit collogue Ivica Musa, professor of Church history, asks how it is possible to say that Croatia is in Eastern Europe while Austria is in Central Europe given that Vienna, the Austrian capital, is further to the east than Zagreb, the capital of Croatia. A student in the Jesuit high school in Croatia where I teach once asked me: What does it mean that Croatia belongs to the “mysterious European sub-continent called the Balkan” given that Croatia is 2000 kilometers from the Balkan Mountain, whereas Greece, which is only 1000 kilometers from the Mountain, is not considered part of the Balkan? I told my students two things. The first is that the geographical terms (Balkan and Eastern Europe) are used not only in a geographical sense, but also in a historical, political, economic, and cultural sense, as markers of social identity and affiliation. The second thing I told them is that “Balkan” is not a region, but a problem.<sup>1</sup> It is complicated. With these answers, I only confused them further. It is not only the external, geographical position of Croatia that is confusing, but also its kaleidoscopic internal realities.

My paternal grandmother Marija was born in 1913, and remained her entire life within a 100 square-kilometer area in the most peaceful part of Croatia, near the

---

1. I borrow this idea from geographer André Blanc, *L'Économie des Balkans*, “*Que sais-je?*” no.1193, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1965, cited in Mirela Slukan Altić “Hrvatska kao zapadni Balkan-geografska stvarnost ili nametnuti identitet?” [Croatia as Western Balkan--Geographic Reality or Imposed Identity?] in *Društvena istraživanja* 20, no.2 (112): 405. Slukan Altić offers a valuable clarification of the historical development of geographical concepts and usage of cognates of the word “Balkan”: Balkan as singular, the Balkans as plural, the Balkan Peninsula, and the West Balkan. See Mirela Slukan Altić, “Hrvatska kao zapadni Balkan,” 409-410.

Hungarian border. Nevertheless, she was born in the Austro-Hungarian Empire; started elementary school in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes; bore her first child within the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the second two children in the Independent State of Croatia, and finally, my father, in the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (FPRY). My brother and I, her grandsons, were born in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY), while my sister, seventeen years my junior, was born in the Republic of Croatia.

This narrative helps to illustrate why for some people “Croatia” denotes “Eastern Europe,” while for others, “South-Central Europe,” and for yet others, that “mysterious European sub-continent called the ‘Balkan.’” Do these labels describe geographical realities or impose identity—or both?<sup>2</sup> What are the reasons that the members of my family changed citizenship seven times over the course of a century while remaining in the same area the entire time? Finally, where is that country today?

This chapter will introduce the geographical, historical, socio-political, and religio-cultural context of Croatia. It consists of a preliminary overview of the spatial location and geographical contours of Croatia as well as its very fluid historical/territorial development, population, settlements, and economy.

### Spatial Location

Croatia is a horseshoe-shaped, relatively small European country (roughly the size of Iowa or Illinois) located on the physical, geographical, and cultural crossroads of southern Europe. It is situated at the meeting point of the Mediterranean region, the

---

2. Slukan Altić, “Hrvatska kao zapadni Balkan,” 401.



Pannonian Plain, and the Dinaric Mountains.

The Dinaric Alps link four physical areas: the Mediterranean Sea and the Pannonian Plain, on the one hand, and the Alpine region in the northwest with the Balkans in the southeast, on the other.

The Mediterranean region is divided into the northern and southern littoral areas. It includes many islands, a coast, and a hinterland.

The terrain consists of karst topography, which

is good for wine and olive growing, and the

climate and location are good for tourism.

The climate is Mediterranean—warm and

humid with hot summers. This area

comprises 32% of Croatia's territory and

contains 31% of its population.<sup>3</sup>

The mountain region consists of a

series of high mountains. It is 50% forest

and has only 11% arable land for

agriculture. People in this region subsist on

traditional livestock farming. The climate is



Figure 1. Croatia's geographical regions.  
Source: Magas, *The Geography of Croatia*, 19.



Figure 2. Croatia's further division of geographical regions  
Source: <http://croatia.eu>

3. See more in Damir Magaš, *The Geography of Croatia* (Zadar; Samobor: University of Zadar, Department of Geography; Meridijani Publishing House, 2015), 154-217.

humid boreal with cool summers. This region serves as the crucial transport connection among all parts of Croatia. The mountain region covers 14% of Croatia's territory, and contains 3% of its population.<sup>4</sup>

The Pannonian region is divided into western and eastern parts. The eastern part is a plain, and the western part is hilly. The Pannonian region has more than 50% of Croatia's arable lands and its main oil and gas fields. The climate is moderate and continental. The Pannonian region occupies 54% of Croatia's territory and contains 67% of its population.<sup>5</sup>

Croatian geographer Josip Roglić divides the European geographical realm into six socio-cultural regions. The main geographical areas are Western Europe (Atlantic), Northern Europe (Scandinavia), Central Europe, Southern Europe (Mediterranean),

South-east Europe and Eastern Europe. The regions are defined by economic, political, cultural, and historical elements. Certain European countries, such as Norway, belong entirely to one region, while others, such as France, extend over more than one region. Croatia's physical regions correspond to three European



Figure 3. Croatia between European socio-cultural regions. Source: Magaš, *The Geography of Croatia*, 18.

---

4. See more in Magaš, *The Geography*, 142-53.

5. See more in Magaš, *The Geography*, 66, 105-41.

geographical/socio-cultural regions: the Southern (Mediterranean), the Central, and the South-Eastern.<sup>6</sup> These three regions are markedly different but nevertheless interconnected units. The three geographical areas coincide with three different European cultures and civilizations: Western European/Mediterranean, Central European, and Southeastern European. The first two belong to the European West, and in a broader sense, to the Roman Catholic and partially Protestant Reformation cultural worlds, and the third, the European Southeast, is a complex civilization dominated religiously and culturally by Eastern Orthodoxy and Islam. Within Croatian territory, these three cultures overlap.

The mentality of a culture often reflects the geographical features of its region. Because of the temperate weather, the culture of the Mediterranean area is open, with daily life taking place largely out-of-doors—in the streets and squares. In the mountains, harsh climate, combined with centuries of frontier existence and war, has given rise to an insular and patriarchal mentality. In the plains region, the life and mentality is that of Central Europe—urbane and culturally diverse.

Croatia is thus culturally and sociologically complex and multi-layered. The physical, geographical, and cultural meeting point that is Croatia may be described, in the words of geographer Harm de Blij, as a “classic example of a geographic shatter belt.”<sup>7</sup>

---

6. Josip Roglić, *Geografske regije Hrvatske i susjednih zemalja: geografske posebnosti i razvojni procesi* [Geographical Regions of Croatia and Neighboring Countries: Geographical Specificities and Developmental Processes] (Zagreb; Split: Školska knjiga; Geografsko društvo, 2006), 18-19. The European Union uses the following categories: Western, Southern, and Central-Eastern. See *The Territorial State and Perspectives of the European Union, 2011 Update, Background Document for the Territorial Agenda of the European Union 2020, The Informal Meeting of Ministers Responsible for Spatial Planning and Territorial Development* (Gödöllő: 2011), 58.

7. Harm de Blij, Peter O. Muller, and Jan Nijman, *Geography: Realms, Regions, and Concepts* (2014), 88; Robert C. Ostergren and John G. Rice, *The Europeans: A Geography of People, Culture, and Environment* (New York: Guilford Press, 2004), 31.

Croatia is part of the former Yugoslavia, and in a wider sense, the former Eastern European countries. Croatia has land borders with each of the following five countries: Slovenia, Hungary, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Montenegro, and a sea border with Italy.<sup>8</sup> Considering Croatia's affiliation with the former Eastern European countries, one thing must be emphasized. Though the former Yugoslavia was a communist federation of six republics, its communist government was not of the Soviet style, nor was it a member of the Warsaw Pact.<sup>9</sup> Croatia is located between or on the meeting point where the different regions overlap, setting the stage for a complex historical development to unfold.

#### Historical/ Geographical Development of Croatian Territory: A Small People between the Great Empires

The historical development of Croatian territory is complex. The historical development of Croatia may be divided into five main periods. The first, from the 7<sup>th</sup> to the early 12<sup>th</sup> century, is concerned with defining ethnic, political, territorial, and cultural fundamentals of national identity that “have remained essential right up to the present,” as suggested by Croatian historian Ivo Goldstein.<sup>10</sup> The second, from the 12<sup>th</sup> through the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, focuses on the preservation of the fundamentals of identity as a small people between large empires or within different political units. The third period,

---

8. Magaš, *The Geography*, 18-31.

9. Yugoslav communism was very open in comparison with the communism of the Soviet type governing the states of the Warsaw Pact. For example, Yugoslav citizens had the privilege of visiting or working in other European countries. The citizens of the Warsaw Pact could not leave their countries.

10. Ivo Goldstein, *Croatia: A History*, 2nd, 2011 ed. (Montréal-Québec: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), 20.

encompassing the years of 1848-1918, is a time of renewal, or more precisely, a creation of national identity inspired by Western European ideals of nationalism. The fourth period, spanning the years from 1918 to the early 1990s, is a fight for political independence within a state marked by interethnic or nationalist tensions, culminating in the achievement of that political independence. The fifth period, from independence to the present, involves a break with communism and the development of a democratic society. In what follows, I will examine briefly each of the five periods in turn, and their contribution to the socio-historical and geographical development of Croatia, in order to illustrate the complexity of the historical changes and the merging of national, religious and political elements into one inseparable, “shatter belt” reality. In Chapter Two, I will re-visit these five periods in my analysis of the formation of national identity and the formation of Croatian religious identity.

1) Regarding the first historical period (from the 7<sup>th</sup> to the early 12<sup>th</sup> century), Croatian society evolved in two phases. The first is the move from existence as decentralized clans in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries to organized principalities in the Dalmatian and Pannonian regions in the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries. The second is the union of the Dalmatian and Pannonian princedoms into a single kingdom in the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

Croats arrived in the present homeland around the 7<sup>th</sup> century. They settled in the disintegrated former Roman provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia. Society was organized in independent clans and families. In Dalmatia, newcomers merged with the Roman and Byzantine populations in the cities, and the Illyrians in the hinterland. In Pannonia, they merged with the Romans, Illyrians, and Franks. The culture thus became a blend of the preexisting and the newly arrived.

From the 9<sup>th</sup> century, the process of Christianization was initiated from Rome, Aquileia, Byzantium, and Salzburg, sparking social change. Trade developed. Building began, especially churches and monasteries in the Croatian pre-Romanesque style. The independent Croat principalities of Dalmatia and Pannonia fought successfully with the Venetians on the Adriatic, and the Bulgarians and Hungarians in Pannonia, respectively. Their rulers organized territories into counties. In the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the principalities of Dalmatia and Pannonia were unified into one kingdom. Culturally different regions slowly blended into an integrated Christian civilization with regional features, and the fundamentals of Croatian ethnic, political, territorial, and cultural identity were defined.

2) The second historical period begins with the disappearance of the Croatian king's dynasty in the early 12<sup>th</sup> century. It covers a six-centuries-long struggle to preserve identity, political independence, and territorial cohesiveness. This period may be divided into two main phases. From the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Croatia was aligned with the Hungarian kingdom. From the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Croatia was a part of the Habsburg/Austro-Hungarian Empire.

United Croatian territory, population and culture were divided into separate entities. In the Pannonian part, the Hungarians gradually transformed the traditional county organization into a feudal system. The Dalmatian part did not experience feudalism, but consisted of old cities with rich nobles, commoners, and free peasants. In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the Ottoman and Venetian conquests further divided Croatian territory and population into three politically separate entities, effectively obliterating all former links. The loss of territory led to a loss of economic and cultural integrity.

In search of protection, Croatian nobles entered into a new political alliance, this time with the Austrian Empire. Croatian political structure evolved in three main periods: as an equal kingdom in the Habsburg monarchy (1527-1740), as an absorbed member of the monarchy (1740-1881), and as a renewed Triune Kingdom of Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia (1881-1918).

From the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Croatian territory was divided into five different political entities ruled by various governments imposing diverse economies and cultural influences: Dalmatia, which was under Venetian governance; a large strip of Croatian territory under Viennese oversight, which consisted of a military border with the Ottoman Empire; the large south-central region under the Ottoman Empire itself; the Pannonian region of Slavonia under Hungary; and the relatively independent part of northwestern Croatia. The cultures were as diverse as the languages used by the people.

3) The third period is the renewal (or re-creation) of Croatian national identity.<sup>11</sup> It is a short but important phase. The liberation from the Ottomans and the Venetians had begun around 1760. The liberation was followed by the process of the integration of the Croatian territories. Under new political circumstances, Croatian intelligentsia educated in Western European universities initiated the development of a unified Croatian language as the precondition of cultural and national unification. The cultural movement became political. Though the economy was modernized, Croatia was still the least developed country of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. As the middle class developed, the

---

11. On the debate concerning renewal/recreation of a nation, see more in Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London; New York: Verso, 1991).

urban way of life began again. The liberation of territory, in addition to economic growth and the creation of a unifying language, helped to nurture ideals of a national state.

4) The fourth period involves a concerted effort to protect the ideal and reality of a national state within the states created after the dissolution of the Habsburg Empire and the end of the Second World War. This is the period with the strongest influence on the contemporary imagination and memory. It has three phases. The first is Croatia's existence within the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, later renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1918-1939). The second is during the Second World War, when the Independent State of Croatia (1941-1945) served as a Nazi German puppet ally. The third is within Communist Yugoslavia (1945-1990).

After the breakup of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Croatia moved from one set of political ties to another. Croatian politicians joined the Slovenes, Serbs, and

Montenegrins in the creation of the short-lived State of the Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs, which later in the same year became the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

In 1929, it was again renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The

various ethnic groups viewed the new state through the lenses of

their own perspectives. The Serbian

politicians saw it as an extension of the Serbian Kingdom, the Slovenes and Croats as



Figure 3. Croatia in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Source: Magas, *The Geography of Croatia*, 289.



a federation of equal constituents. The new kingdom started as a parliamentary entity (1921-1928) and ended as an authoritarian one (1929-1941). It changed its constitutions thrice—in 1921, 1929, and 1931. The central government fashioned a synthetic Yugoslav culture with the intention of imposing a new national identity and state unity.<sup>12</sup> Croats experienced the new state as a problem, not a solution for their goals.

During the Second World War, Croatia was immersed in civil and ethnic war. In Croatia, there were two totalitarian groups—on the right, the *Ustaše* and on the left, the *Partisans*; and three foreign armies—the Italians, Germans, and Russians—with sporadic engagement of the Croatian Home Guard and the Serbian *Četnici*. The *Ustaše* established a totalitarian regime (1941-1945), imposing a racist ideology and terror. The Italians were in power in Dalmatia, and the Germans in the rest of the country. The racist *Ustaše* and the communist Partisans flooded the culture with their propaganda. Toward the end of the War, the Partisans prevailed, establishing Communist Yugoslavia by brutal revenge against non-communists.

Communist Yugoslavia was a federation of six socialist republics and two autonomous regions within Serbia. The republics included Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia; the two regions were Vojvodina and Kosovo. In forty-five years, the Yugoslavian political structure evolved through three stages: as an orthodox member of the Soviet bloc (1945-1948), as a nonaligned communist dictatorship (1948-1980), and as a decentralized federation (1980-1990).

---

12. See more in Andrew Wachtel, *Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation: Literature and Cultural Politics in Yugoslavia* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998).

During the period of the communist regime, a supra-nationalist culture based on socialist values, with the slogan ‘brotherhood and unity’, was imposed.<sup>13</sup> During the period of decline (1968-1988), the Yugoslav supra-nationalist culture gradually collapsed, giving way to mild forms of non-communist cultural expressions combined with elements of Western consumer society.<sup>14</sup>

5) The fifth historical period is the post-communist Republic of Croatia (1991-present).<sup>15</sup> Soon after the beginning of the violent dissolution of Yugoslavia (1991-1995), the Republic of Croatia was recognized as an independent state: this occurred in 1991. During this period, Croatia has passed through two stages. The first is the shallow, formal, and violent transition from a communist regime to a parliamentary democracy (1989-2013). The second involves entrance into the European Union and harmonization with its laws, economy, and political



Figure 4. Croatia is a part of European Union from 2013. Source: Euro country list

---

13. Wachtel, *Making a Nation*, 128-73.

14. Such elements of Western consumer society include movies, TV shows, commercials, music, fashion, literature, technologies, and the freedom to travel abroad. See more in Goldstein, *Croatia*, 176.

15. The BBC educational web pages provide a simple overview in the form of geographical maps of political changes in the period from 1900 until 2003. See "The Shape of Yugoslavia," BBC, accessed September 20, 2016, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/english/static/map/yugoslavia/>.

standards. Twenty-five years after the break up with the communist regime, Croatia remains, in reality, a covertly communist-run country, though aspiring to a deep and radical transformation to a Western-style democracy and economy.<sup>16</sup>

During the fight for independence, the Croatian cultural politic had been focused on distinguishing Croatian national identity and culture from communist, Yugoslav, or Serbian culture. In this process, it simply neglected elements that Croatia held in common with the rest of Yugoslavia. In the post-conflict period, the political and cultural ethos, as well as the government, was in flux between nationalist and communist forces. As a result, contemporary Croatian culture is a mosaic of masked communist ideologies combined with different versions of nationalism in constant contact with Eastern and Western elements.<sup>17</sup>

Croatia's history is complex and violent, and continues to be hidden, silenced, and manipulated by the government. The events of the Second World War, and the oppression of the citizenry by the communist regime, are very fresh in Croatian experience and memory, but open discussion and access to archives are not allowed. Croats are trapped in a history that is interpreted and controlled by the government. In the face of a controlled media, imposed narratives, and severe unemployment, it is difficult to leave the past behind to focus on the present and future.<sup>18</sup>

---

16. About the conflict between western appearance and communist mentality see more in the interview with prominent Croatian philanthropist Nenad Bakić in the newspaper *Novi list* [The New Page] from July, 5 2017, accessed July 5, 2017, [http://novilist.hr/Vijesti/Hrvatska/NENAD-BAKIC-Hrvatsku-su-prestige-Bugarska-i-Rumunjska.-To-su-sad-za-nas-avioni?meta\\_refresh=true](http://novilist.hr/Vijesti/Hrvatska/NENAD-BAKIC-Hrvatsku-su-prestige-Bugarska-i-Rumunjska.-To-su-sad-za-nas-avioni?meta_refresh=true).

17. See more in Slaven Letica, "Tko smo, što smo, i kakvi smo zapravo mi Hrvati," ["What Kind of Croatians are We in Fact?"] in *Hrvatski identitet* [Croatian Identity] (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 2011), 25-52.

18. An example of the manipulation of history to block necessary reforms is the treatment of the prime minister Tihomir Orešković (2016). He entered politics as an independent candidate with rich

## Population: A Mosaic

Standard analysis of the Croatian population considers the factors of number, distribution, gender, age, ethnic diversity, educational levels, migrations, religious affiliations, languages, and sense of national identity. The population of Croatia grew steadily until recent years, when a decline gradually became evident (see Figure 5).

During the Middle Ages, the population of the region coterminous with Croatia's current borders was around 1.5 million, and today is around 4.28 million.<sup>19</sup>

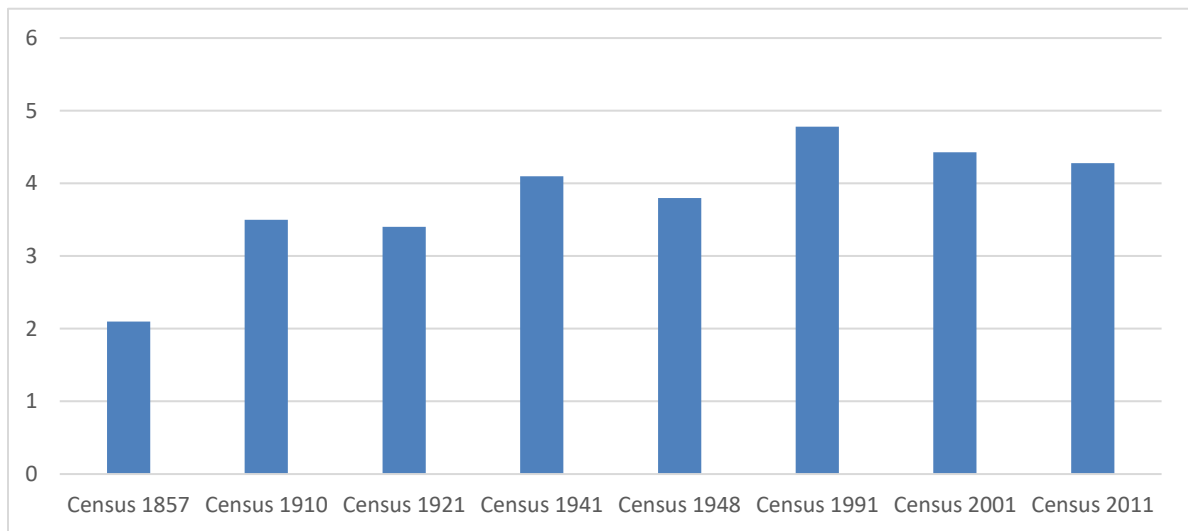


Figure 5. The population of Croatia according to Censuses 1857 -2011  
Source: Magas, *The Geography of Croatia*, 302-303.

---

experience in business, and presented a clear, understandable, and goal-oriented program. After six months, the leading democratic party on the right, the Croatian Democratic Community, which had invited Orešković into Croatian politics, and the major leftist party, the Social Democratic Party, together initiated his replacement. The media claimed that the reasons behind this move were because of his inclinations toward capitalist, not Croatian interests, and his attempts to influence the Croatian secret service, so as to become a dictator. The real reasons for his removal had more to do with his introduction of economic and structural reforms, and his rejection of private interest over the common good. For a taste of the passionate debate in this ironic situation see the presentation of his program along with his resignation (the source being the journal *Dnevnik*, accessed July 5, 2017, <http://dnevnik.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/tihomir-oreskovic-saboru-predstavlja-svoj-tim---423881.html>, from Croatian Public Radio and Television online service <http://vijesti.hrt.hr/339565/sabor-o-opozivu-premijera-tihomira-oreskovica>).

19. *Hrvatska u brojkama 2015* [Croatia in Figures 2015], by Edina Aranjoš Borovac (Zagreb: The Croatian Bureau of Statistics, 2015), 6; Magaš, 302-03.

The population distribution is uneven. In general, Northwest Croatia is significantly more populated than Pannonian and Adriatic Croatia. More specifically, the most populated areas are the urban zones of larger cities such as Zagreb and Osijek on the continent and of the cities such as Rijeka, Zadar, Split, on the Adriatic coast. The mountainous area is the least populated.

Croatia has more female than male citizens. Women comprise the majority in the older age groups (over 50), while men are the majority in the younger age groups (under 50). The aging population is increasing, and the younger decreasing. In 2011, 20.9% of the population was young (birth to 19 years), 55% mature (20-59), and 24.1% elderly (over 60).<sup>20</sup> The reasons for these current trends vary, and include such factors as increased longevity, decreasing birthrate, a stronger economy, and so forth. Younger people inhabit the larger cities, in large part because of the lack of employment, educational and cultural opportunities in the mountainous regions, the many islands, and the various parts of Pannonia.

Unemployment, for reasons which will be outlined later, is a serious problem. In 2014, Croatia had about 3.6 million working-age people. Of this number, 45% were employed and 20% unemployed and the remainder were high school and university students. The employed work in agriculture (13%), industry (45%), and the rest work in tourism, transportation, education, and healthcare administration. The number of unemployed fluctuates between 280,000 and 390,000, which amounts to about 25% of the population.<sup>21</sup>

---

20. *Hrvatska u brojkama 2015*, 8.

21. Magaš, *The Geography*, 315-17.

Education has been compulsory in Croatia for the last 120 years. In 2011, only 1.8% of the population was illiterate. Of the adult population, 10.2% have a university degree; 5.8% a college degree; 52.6% secondary or vocational school degrees; and 21.3% an elementary school degree.<sup>22</sup> Croatia has nine universities and 185,000 students; 11,702 Croats have doctorates and work in research institutions, either within or outside of Croatia. Essentially what this means for Croatia is the emigration of educated people. Young graduates must thus look for jobs outside of Croatia.

Migration happens within and from Croatia. Internal migration has two faces. The first is movement from the rural to the urban areas, mostly by the younger people. The second is immigration of political and economic refugees to Croatia, mostly from the neighboring countries. Croats emigrated across the Atlantic to North and South America between 1900-1914 because of the economy, in 1918-1919 because of the Spanish flu epidemic, and after the two world wars for political reasons. They emigrated to Western Europe from 1965-1975 because of the economy, from 1991-1995 because of the Serbian war, and in 2016, again, because of the economy.<sup>23</sup> The largest Croatian populations outside of Croatia are in Bosnia and Herzegovina, comprising 14.6% of their population. Migration has caused social, economic, intellectual and population losses.

Nationally, Croats are the majority, but there are minorities from neighboring countries. According to the 2011 census, 90.42% are Croats, 4.36% Serbs, 0.73 % Bosnian, 0.42 % Italian, 0.41 % Albanian, 0.40 % Roma, and less than 0.40% other

---

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid., 316.

minority ethnic groups.<sup>24</sup> The Serbs are the most prominent minority group, though they have decreased in number: in 1981 Serbs made up 11.5% of the population; in 2001, 4.5%; and in 2011, 4.4%. Bosnians increased in number from 0.5% in 2001 to 0.7% in 2011. The numbers of Italians, Albanians, Roma and others have remained relatively stable.<sup>25</sup>

The majority of Croatian citizens identify as Roman Catholic. According to the 2011 Census, 86.3 % identify as Catholic, 4.4% as Orthodox, 3.8% as non-religious or atheist, 2.2 % as non-declared, 1.5% as Muslim, 1.0% as others and unknown, and 0.8% as agnostic or skeptic. In comparison with the 2001 census, the number of Catholics has declined slightly from 87.97% to 86.28%, while the number of non-believers/atheists has increased from 2.22% to 3.81%, the number of agnostics and skeptics from 0.03% to 0.76%, and of Muslims from 1.28% to 1.47%.<sup>26</sup>

The official language is Croatian. According to the 2011 census, languages spoken include Croatian, Bosnian, Montenegrin, Serbian, and Serbo-Croatian. The names of the languages reflect the names of the surrounding countries of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Serbia. These languages in spoken form are immediately intelligible among all the groups because of their common grammatical structure and

---

24. See more in "Census of Population, Households, and Dwellings 2011, Population by Citizenship, Ethnicity, Religion, and Mother Tongue," Croatian Bureau of Statistic, accessed December 12, 2012, <http://www.dzs.hr/>.

25. The Croatian Bureau of Statistics, *Popis stanovništva, kućanstava, i stanova 2011. Stanovništvo prema državljanstvu, narodnosti, vjeri i materinskom jeziku* [Census of Population, Households, and Dwellings 2011, Population by Citizenship, Ethnicity, Religion, and Mother Tongue], by Ljiljana Ostroški (Zagreb The Croatian Bureau of Statistic, 2013), 11-13; Magaš, *The Geography*, 313-18.

26. See the detailed distribution in "Croatia in Figures 2015," accessed September 22, 2016, [http://www.dzs.hr/Eng/Publication/cro\\_in\\_fig.htm](http://www.dzs.hr/Eng/Publication/cro_in_fig.htm).

largely common lexical base, but individual standardized forms highlight symbolic and national differences.<sup>27</sup>

For Croatians, as well as for other countries of former Yugoslavia, the sense of national identity differs from a Western understanding. The Western European understanding of national identity is based on citizenship, while the Croatian one is based on ethnic belonging. Moreover, ethnic belonging intertwines religious, political, and national elements into a problematic mix. Of these, the two primary elements for building specific group and individual identity are denominational identification and symbolic differences in language. Croats are aligned with Roman Catholicism; Serbs and Montenegrins with Orthodoxy; and Bosniaks with Islam.<sup>28</sup> And though each group claims to speak its own “language,” all of these languages belong to the broader common linguistic base usually referred to as BCS. To further complicate these distinctions, not all Croats are Catholic, nor are all Serbs or Montenegrins Orthodox, nor all Bosnians Muslim. To complicate the matter yet further, adherents of each identity are passionate about their identification with this identity.<sup>29</sup>

---

27. Note that lexicon is where the greatest differentiation is, much greater than grammar. See more in Ronelle Alexander, "Language and Identity: The Fate of Serbo-Croatian," in *Entangled Histories of the Balkans Volume One: National Ideologies and Language Policies*, ed. Roumen Daskalov and Tchavdar Marinov (Boston Brill, 2013), 341-417. The Department of Slavic languages and Literatures of the University of California, Berkeley, calls the language Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian (BCS). Many other universities do the same. See more on <http://slavic.berkeley.edu/spring-2017/> accessed January 9, 2017.

28. There are many Bosnians who are not Muslim. Bosnians can align with all three; only Bosniaks are Muslim. While the vast majority of Croats, Serbs, and Montenegrins do identify with those religions, the same is not true of Bosnians.

29. See more in Alex J. Bellamy, *The Formation of Croatian National Identity: a Centuries-Old Dream?* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 2013); Keith Langston and Anita Peti-Stantić, "Language Planning and National Identity in Croatia," (2014); Miroslav Mavra and Lori McNeil, "Identity Formation and Music: A Case Study of Croatian Experience," *Human Architecture: Journal of the Sociology of Self-Knowledge* Vol. 5, no. 2 (2007).



### Settlements: from the Rural to the Urban

Of the Croatian population, 65% live in urban areas. The reason for this is higher probability of employment and access to education, culture, and healthcare resources. There has been rapid migration from villages to towns in the post-communist period, causing urban developmental problems and devastation of villages. The largest cities are Zagreb, with 800,000 inhabitants; Split, with 180,000; Rijeka, with 130,000; Osijek, with 110,000; and Zadar, with 75,000.<sup>30</sup> During the “Homeland War” (1991-1995), many towns and villages were destroyed and 46% of the territory was affected.

### Economy in Transition

From the Habsburg period until to the Second World War, the Croatian economy was defined by war and by Croatia’s subordinate position relative to the various empires surrounding it at any given moment. Before the 19<sup>th</sup> century, agriculture and pre-industrial craft were the main sources of income. The liberation from the Ottoman Empire led to the modernization of agriculture, the building of communications infrastructure, and the development of industry. The Austro-Hungarian Empire intentionally kept economic development low. After 1918, Croatia was exploited by the Serbian government. Although it was the least-developed Austro-Hungarian land, Croatia was the most developed member of the Yugoslav kingdom. During the Second World War, the economy was destroyed completely.

After the Second World War, Croatia’s economy was again the most developed and the strongest in Yugoslavia. Yugoslav economic development in the communist period mirrored the political changes. During membership in the Soviet bloc (1945-

---

30. Magaš, *The Geography*, 329-42.

1948), Yugoslavia followed a central planning system of the Soviet type. After breaking with the Soviet bloc, Yugoslavia developed a 'self-governed socialism,' and in the last stage, was a combination of "half market and contractual economy."<sup>31</sup> Throughout all the stages, the economy produced crisis and debt. Private property was nationalized.

During the breakup of the Yugoslav federation, many industries were destroyed. After that, the privatization of state property was organized under nontransparent circumstances. Today, 55% of the economy is based on tourism and services, 34% on industry, and 11% on agriculture.<sup>32</sup> The importance of entrepreneurship and informational technologies is increasingly being recognized, but entangled bureaucratic procedures, conflicted legislative processes, and widespread corruption prevent its development.

### Summary

Croatia is a small but complex country located between the European West and East. Croatian society might be described as post-communist, post-Yugoslav, and post-conflict, all of which are true enough, but do not ultimately capture its essential nature. Various levels of Croatian history are present visually in the architecture from the different periods, audibly in the different elements of music, and palatably in the flavors of the delicious regional dishes. The large number of Croats, the majority of whom are Catholics, masks the religious diversity (including among Catholics themselves) and the cultural complexity of Croatian reality. Of the population, 65% live in urban areas; significant portions of the population are unemployed; and all citizens are exposed to

---

31. John R. Lampe, *Yugoslavia as History: Twice There Was a Country* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 305-15.

32. Magaš, *The Geography*, 345.

political manipulation of their history and their present. Most, therefore, are seeking new value systems as they largely see their current one as bankrupt. The majority of the population experienced the communist totalitarian system, within which the only alternative reality was the Catholic Church. We turn now to consider the historical context of this Croatian Catholic Church and its relation to the formation of Croatian national and religious identity.

## CHAPTER TWO: The Historical Development of Croatian National and Religious Identity

In an interview with Radio Vatican on July 26, 2004, Msgr. Francisco-Javier Lozano, Apostolic Nuncio to Croatia (2003-2008), declared, "I believe I will not be mistaken if I say that Croatia is today the most Catholic country in Europe. I do not know any other country in which society and government pay such attention to what the Church has to say, especially about social issues."<sup>1</sup>

Thirteen years later, in a homily on June 25, 2017, Josip Bozanić, the archbishop of Zagreb, said,

It is confusing to hear in our public life claims of how the faith is backward, and the Church is the obstructor of progress. Such claims should certainly be put to the question: if the Church is such, how is it that the Church is a founder of schools, hospitals, orphanages, and scientific institutions; how is it possible that the Church has promoted literacy, taught people how to cultivate the earth and refine space, appreciate cultures, and facilitate the meeting of peoples?<sup>2</sup>

---

1. Lozano's words in Croatian: "Mislim da neću pogriješiti ako kažem da je Hrvatska danas najkatoličkija zemlja u Europi. Ja ne znam niti za jednu zemlju u kojoj društvo i vlada paze na to što Crkva ima za reći, osobito o socijalnim pitanjima." His statement was widely commented on in media and literature. See examples of Croatian media, accessed July 05, 2017, <http://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/hrvatska-najkatolickija-zemlja-europe-politicari-moraju-voditi-racuna-otome/215047.aspx>, and <http://arhiva.nacional.hr/clanak/7632/hrvatska-najkatolickija-zemlja-europe>, For an example in literature see Vjekoslav Perica, "The Most Catholic Country in Europe? Church, State, and Society in Contemporary Croatia," *Religion, State & Society* 34, no. 4 (December 2006): 311-346.

2. Archbishop Josip Bozanić, Homilija kardinala Bozanića na Misi za Domovinu prigodom Dana državnosti, June 25, 2017, accessed August 8, 2017, <http://kamenjar.com/homilija-kardinala-bozanic-na-misi-za-domovinu-prigodom-dana-drzavnosti/>. His statements were engaged extensively in the media. The following examples were accessed July, 5, 2017, [http://www.novolist.hr/Vijesti/Hrvatska/KAKO-CRKVA-VIDI-HRVATSKI-IDENTITET-Bozanic-pucio-vjernike-kako-da-p-ostanu-Hrvati?meta\\_refresh=true](http://www.novolist.hr/Vijesti/Hrvatska/KAKO-CRKVA-VIDI-HRVATSKI-IDENTITET-Bozanic-pucio-vjernike-kako-da-p-ostanu-Hrvati?meta_refresh=true), <https://www.tportal.hr/biznis/clanak/bozanic-nabrojao-deset-postulata-za-ocuvanje-hrvatskoga-identiteta-20170625>, <http://www.hkv.hr/izdvojeno/vai-prilozi/ostalo/prilozi-graana/27034-kardinal-josip-bozanic-deset-postulata-za-nas-krscanski-zivot-i-ocuvanje-duse-hrvatskog-identiteta.html>. Bozanić often spoke of Croatian national and religious identity. For example, see his homily on the Feast of All Saints, accessed July 05, 2017, <http://dnevnik.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/bozanic-hrvatski-sveci-opecatili-hrvatski-identitet---455558.html>.

The archbishop emphasizes that Catholicism is intrinsic to the Croatian soul, all the way from folk custom and architecture to literature and art. Catholicism is central to Croatian identity.<sup>3</sup> What does it mean to be “the most Catholic country in Europe”? How did Croatia earn this status, and is it still justified? Is Croatia still “the most Catholic country in Europe”?

### Introduction

The first chapter explored the geographical and historical context of Croatia, a small but complex country located at the intersection of three different European cultures and civilizations: Western European/Mediterranean, Central European, and Southeastern European. The chapter sought to demonstrate that the boundaries between these cultures are not sharp and clear, but blurred and overlapping. The majority of Croatia’s population is Catholic (at least officially), and its society is a transitional one with typical post-communist and post-war social and economic problems. The present chapter will delineate the historical development of Croatian national identity, focusing on a description of religious identity and affiliation in the five historical periods treated briefly in the previous chapter, ranging from the period prior to the arrival of the Croats in the 7<sup>th</sup> century CE to the present-day Republic of Croatia. The main claim I seek to substantiate is that Croatian national and religious identities are intertwined, complex, diverse, fluid, and dynamic. I will consider the relationship between the Catholic Church and the political government of Croatia in each period, the development of ecclesiastical

---

3. Ibid.

administration, and the role of the Catholic Church in the society. I will pay special attention to the contemporary situation.

### **The First Historical Period (7<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> Centuries): The Foundations of Identity Formation**

This first period covers three stages of the Church's presence in what is present-day Croatia: a) the period prior to the arrival of the Croats, b) the influx of the Croats from the sixth to ninth centuries, and c) the kingdoms of Croatia and Dalmatia from the 10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Until the fourth century, Western Illyricum—the Adriatic coast up to the River Drava—was politically organized in two Roman provinces, Dalmatia and Pannonia. Together they included today's Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, and Montenegro. Istria, in the northwest of Croatian territory, belonged to the Roman province of Italia and was located directly across the Adriatic from Venice.<sup>4</sup> Christianity began to spread throughout Illyricum in the third century.<sup>5</sup> In the fourth century, Christianity became the official religion of the Empire, and existing church communities became organized around the Salona Metropolitan Diocese in Dalmatia, and the metropolitan Diocese of Sirmium in Pannonia.<sup>6</sup> The Avars, a nomadic tribe of uncertain origins from central Asia, destroyed

---

4. George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1969), 35; Branka Magaš, *Croatia through History: The Making of a European State* (London: Saqi, 2007), 20.

5. Franjo Šanjek, *Kršćanstvo na hrvatskom prostoru: pregled religiozne povijesti Hrvata (7-20. st.)* [Christianity on Croatian Territory: An Overview of the Religious History of the Croats (7<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> Century)] (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1996), 27-34.

6. Hrvoje Gračanin, "Crkveni ustroj u kasnoantičkoj južnoj Panoniji [Ecclesiastical Organization in Late Antique South Pannonia]," *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 38, no.73 (2014): 1-12.

Roman civilization in Illyricum during the fifth and sixth centuries. Croats most likely arrived in waves as part of the Avar *khaganate* and later, as an elite class, were Frankish vassals in Illyricum during the sixth and seventh century.<sup>7</sup>

During the period from the sixth to the ninth centuries, culturally advanced urban communities and churches engaged with diverse, militarily stronger and politically emancipated Slavic ethnic groups. Illyricum was a mosaic of various ecclesiastical authorities and political units. From the ecclesial side, the coastal cities and most of the largest islands were in administrative and liturgical communion with Constantinople's patriarch. The rest of the coast, especially the large Croatian diocese of Nin, and the northern part of the Adriatic coast, were under the authority of Aquileia's patriarchate.<sup>8</sup> The coastal cities of Zadar, Trogir and Split had strong connections with Rome. From the political side, each church authority was aligned with a particular power, whether Byzantium, the Frankish Empire, or the Papal state. At the same time, the Pope tried without success to re-establish the old Roman ecclesiastical order across all these alliances.

From the 10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> centuries, the balance of power changed. Slavicized, but still clearly Roman and Byzantine Church communities, were equal partners with Croatian

---

7. See more in Danijel Dzino, *"Becoming Slav, Becoming Croat: Identity Transformations in Post-Roman and Early Medieval Dalmatia"* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010). Denis E. Alimov provides an excellent analysis of Croatian identity in that period; in Denis Eugenievich Alimov, "Хорватская идентичность в раннее Средневековье: проблема интерпретации" [The Croat Identity in the Early Middle Ages: The Problem of Interpretation], in *Studia Slavica et Balcanica Petropolitana* no. 4 (2, 2013): 99-109.

8. Zvezdan Stirka, "Početci i razvoj ninske Crkve do dolaska franačkih misionara u hrvatske krajeve [The Beginnings and Development of the Church in Nin prior to the Settlement of the Frankish Missionaries in Croatian Territories]," *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru*, no. 53 (December 2011).

kings. The territory from the eastern Adriatic coast to the river Drava gradually became culturally and ethnically assimilated, which enabled political and ecclesiastical unification.<sup>9</sup> The Croatian population became a majority in the cities. Goldstein claims that 75% of the personal names in 10<sup>th</sup>-century Zadar within the upper classes were Croat or of Croat derivation.<sup>10</sup> Politically, the territory was a hybrid mix of independent Byzantine citadels and Frankish county systems under Croatian kings.

Ecclesiastical administration was a blend of Byzantine, Roman, and Slavic, but united under Rome. The bishop of the pre-Slavic Roman Metropolitan Diocese of Split was appointed as the metropolitan of all Croatia, and the bishops of Croatia and Aquileia became his suffrages.<sup>11</sup> The largest diocese, that of Nin, was absorbed into the administration of Split. The Latin Rite became the norm, and the language and script of the Slavic Rite were licit but restricted. The Pope imposed disciplinary reforms on the united administration.

The Church was the primary educator and carrier of culture during that period. The cathedrals, such as those in Split, had attached schools for clergy as well as for young people. From 1079, schools followed the medieval *artes liberales* program.<sup>12</sup> The first Benedictine monastery was built near Split in Riznice in the ninth century. Monks

---

9. Franjo Šanjek, "Uloga papinstva u afirmaciji Hrvatske u ranom srednjem vijeku (7.-12. st.) [The Role of the Papacy in the Affirmation of Croatia in the Early Middle Ages (7<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> Century)]," *Problemi sjevernog Jadrana*, no. 9 (December 2009).

10. Ivo Goldstein, *Hrvatski rani srednji vijek* [Croatian Early Middle Ages] (Zagreb: Zavod za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 1995), 331.

11. See more in Nada Klaić, "Historijska podloga hrvatskoga glagoljaštva u 10. i 11. stoljeću [The Historical Background of Croatian Glagolitic in the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> Centuries]," *Slovo: Journal of Old Church Slavonic Institute*, no. 15-16 (September 1965).

12. Mile Vidović, *Povijest Crkve u Hrvata* [A History of the Church among Croats] (Split: Crkva u svijetu, 1996), 104.



wrote in Latin and, from the tenth century onwards in the Glagolitic script (invented when Slavic was first committed to writing in the ninth century) and the Cyrillic (a later adaptation of the Glagolitic script using mostly Greek letters).<sup>13</sup> The oldest preserved Croatian text in the Glagolitic script is the tablet screen *Bašćanska ploča* from the 11<sup>th</sup> century, found in the church of St. Lucija in Jurandvor, on the island of Krk.<sup>14</sup> The largest scriptorium was in St. Kreševan Monastery in Zadar, established in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, and closed by the French army in 1807. The archive of St. Mary's monastery in Zadar still has the original inventory, called *Kartular*, from the 10<sup>th</sup> century.

### **The Second Historical Period (12<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> Centuries): Preservation of Identity**

The second historical period unfolds in three stages: union with the Hungarian Kingdom during the 12<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries; existence in the Habsburg Empire, or under Venetian and Ottoman occupation during the 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries; and liberation from the Ottomans and Venetians during the 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The first stage is marked by the gradual breakup of the political and ecclesiastical union of the Croatian and Dalmatian kingdoms. Venice took Dalmatia, except for Dubrovnik; Hungary took the Croatian-Pannonian territories; and, the kingdom of Bosnia arose in the territory between them. At the end of that period, the Ottoman Empire began

---

13. Eduard Hercigonja, *Tropismena i trojezična kultura hrvatskoga srednjovjekovlja* [The Triscriptual and Trilingual Culture of the Croatian Middle Ages] (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1994); Vidović, 105.

14. The tablet screen (*ploča*) is a part of the partition that separates the people from the monks in the old churches. See more in Lujo Margetić, "O nekim osnovnim problemima Bašćanske ploče [On some Basic Problems of the Baska Tablet Screen]," *Croatica Christiana periodica* 31, no. 60 (2007); Milan Moguš, "Kako pročitati Bašćansku Ploču [How to Read the Baska Tablet Screen]," *The Anthology of Senj: Contributions to Geography, Ethnology, Economy, History and Culture* 37, no. 1 (2010).

occupying the eastern parts of the Kingdom of Croatia.

Church organization of the Croatian kingdom under the metropole of Split was restructured with new political borders. In the Pannonian part, the Hungarian King, Ladislav (1046-1095), in agreement with the antipope Honorius (1010-1072), established a new diocese in the small village of Gradec (today part of the capital city of Zagreb).<sup>15</sup> The new diocese was separated from Split and subordinated to the Hungarian Metropolitan Diocese of Kalosch. The Venetian senate simply incorporated the Dalmatian church into its own system. The bishops of the northern coastal cities and islands became subsidiaries of the Venetian patriarchate. Zadar was related to Venice, and Dubrovnik to Rome. In Bosnia, two parallel church organizations developed. One was the local "Bosnian church," whose members were called "*kristijani*" by insiders, or "*patarens*" by outsiders.<sup>16</sup> The other was the original institutional structure under the Diocese of Dubrovnik.

The Church was a crucial institution in terms of political administration, educational systems, economy, and culture. As the center of political power moved from Dalmatia to Pannonia, the bishop of Zagreb became the official ruler of the country. The Franciscans and Dominicans took over a network of Benedictine schools and abbeys, offering education for all.<sup>17</sup> The Dominican *studium generale* in Zadar, from 1495,

---

15. Today, Gradec constitutes the Old Town portion of Zagreb.

16. The Bosnian Church was a medieval Christian church which was considered heretical by both Catholics and Orthodox. Jaroslav Šidak, "Heretička "Crkva Bosanska" [The Heretical "Bosnian Church"]," *Slovo: časopis Staroslavenskoga instituta u Zagrebu*, no. 27 (1977): 149-185.

17. Ivan Ostojić, "Susreti između benediktinskog i dominikanskog Reda u Hrvatskoj [Encounters between the Benedictine and the Dominican Orders in Croatia]," *Ephemerides theologicae Zagrabienses* 36, no. 3-4 (April 1967); Ivan Ostojić, "Dodiri između Benediktinske i Franjevačke ustanove u Hrvatskoj

became the first institution in Croatia with the right to be called a university.<sup>18</sup> The newly arrived Cistercian abbeys, spread throughout Croatia and Slavonia, modernized agricultural methods.

A new form of pastoral care had been created. The lay fraternities, as well as the Franciscan or Dominican lay third orders, adjusted to the new conditions and demands of life in city communes and feudal society. In the cities, two thirds of the population belonged to the lay fraternities and third orders. The most famous was the fraternity of St. Nikola, a community of sailors and fisherman spread among the largest cities on the Adriatic coast.<sup>19</sup> Croatian fraternities were organized also in villages as well as in Croatian communities outside of Croatia, such as the fraternities of St. George and Triphone in Venice, or St. Jerome in Rome.<sup>20</sup> The spirituality of the secular branch of the Franciscan and Dominican orders promoted a new ideal of evangelical poverty, devotion to the rosary, and pilgrimage. In Bosnia, far from the centers of learning, and the Church's administration, the Kristijani followed a contextualized version of official devotions.

---

[The Contact between the Benedictine and Franciscan Institutions in Croatia]," *Church in the World* 1, no. 1 (February 1966).

18. Tomo Vereš, *Dominikansko opće učilište u Zadru: 1396-1807: prvo hrvatsko sveučilište* [Dominican General Institutes of Zadar: 1396-1807: The First Croatian University] (Zagreb: Globus, 1996).

19. Joško Bracanović, "Sv. Nikola i Hvar [St. Nikola and Hvar]," *Prilozi povijesti otoka Hvara* XII, no. 1 (2014).

20. Iva Mandušić, "Bibliografija radova o Bratovštini Sv. Jeronima u Rimu [A Bibliography of Works about the Fraternity of St. Jerome in Rome]," *Croatica Christiana periodica* 30, no. 57 (2006); Lovorka Čoralčić, "Iseljenici s otoka Visa i hrvatska Bratovština Sv. Jurja i Tripuna u Mlecima [Immigrants from the Island of Vis and Croatian Confraternity of St. George and Tryphon in Venice]," *Croatica Christiana periodica* 28, no. 54 (2004).

In the second stage, Croatia was a fragmented kingdom on the border between the Ottoman Empire and the Venetian Republic. The Croatian territory and people were divided among Venice and the Ottomans, the Austrian Military Border (Militärgrenze), and civil Croatia. Three quarters of the territory was at war, as well as 60% of the population. The regional Churches were controlled by different states and used for political purposes. Various ethnic groups migrated from Ottoman territory to the Military Border or from Croatia to southern Italy, Venice, and southern Austria.

The Church administration was regionalized, and in tension with Orthodox, Catholic-Uniate churches, Protestants, and Muslim organizations. The Dalmatian dioceses were under the Venetian patriarchate, or under Rome, as was the Republic of Dubrovnik.<sup>21</sup> The Franciscan apostolic vicars for Bosnia and Herzegovina, separated from the Bosnian diocese of Đakovo, shared Bosnia and Herzegovina under the Ottomans with the Orthodox patriarchate of Constantinople and the Muslims.<sup>22</sup> In the Military Border, three parallel church organizations—the Catholic, the Uniate,<sup>23</sup> and the Orthodox—coexisted in tension.<sup>24</sup>

---

21. Lovorka Čoralić, "U okrilju privede Mletačka Republika i hrvatski Jadran [The Venetian Republic and the Croatian Adriatic in the Shelter of Economy]," *Povijesni prilozi* 37, no. 37 (2009).

22. Members of the Bosnian church, the "Kristijani," either converted to Islam, became incorporated into the Franciscan organization, or moved out of Bosnia.

23. The Marčanska diocese was an idea and a project of the Austrian government, in cooperation with the Bishop of Zagreb, to convert Orthodox immigrants of different ethnic backgrounds in the Military Border to the Catholicism of the Byzantine Rite. Zlatko Kudelić, "Crkvene unije tijekom vladavine Leopolda I. i Josipa I. (1657.-1711.): ideje, planovi i dosezi [The Uniate Church during the Reign of Leopold I and Joseph I (1657-1711): Ideas, Plans and Achievements]," *Povijesni prilozi* 46, no. 46 (2014); *Ibid.*, "Isusovačko izvješće o krajiškim nemirima 1658. I 1666. godine i o marčanskom biskupu Gabrijelu Mijakiću (1663.-1670.) [Jesuit Reports about Unrest in the Krajina in 1658 and 1666 and the Marčanska Bishop Gabriel Mijakić (1663-1670)]," *Povijesni prilozi* 32, no. 32 (2007).

24. The Orthodox Eparchy of Peć joined the retreating Austrian army settling in the Military Border, accepted Habsburg authority, and became the Orthodox Diocese of Sremski Karlovci. See more in Zlatko Kudelić, "Katoličko-pravoslavni prijepori o crkvenoj uniji i grkokatoličkoj Marčanskoj biskupiji

The Roman Church organization was not only fragmented, but it was in fact destroyed. The number of parishes in the Zagreb Diocese decreased from 450 in 1334 to 206 in 1574, and regained the pre-Ottoman number only in 1994.<sup>25</sup> Split, the oldest diocese, which covered the whole of Dalmatia, was reduced to “the city of Split with Ottoman guards one hour outside of the city walls, a situation which endured for a period of one hundred and eleven years.”<sup>26</sup> In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Ottoman government used non-violent means such as heavy taxation or violent means such as the destruction of two hundred churches and thirty-eight monasteries, and the closure of all existing Franciscan schools.<sup>27</sup>

The Roman Church participated in government, but was controlled by the state. Empress Maria Teresa (1717-1780) established rules to limit the Church as an institution.<sup>28</sup> Her son Joseph II (1741-1790) developed these rules to a totalitarian level of control. Under this order, all monastic communities were abolished, the Monarchy organized the staff recruitment in parishes, prescribed the duties of pastors and the supervision of their administration, decreed government participation in each church meeting, and imposed six thousand decrees to limit the rights of the church.<sup>29</sup> In

---

tijekom 1737. i 1738. godine [Catholic-Orthodox Contentions over Church Union and a Greek Catholic Marča Diocese during 1737 and 1738],” *Historical Contributions* 27, no. 27 (2004).

25. Vidović, 116.

26. Ibid., 153.

27. Ibid., 308.

28. She started with the reforms of the Catholic calendar, reducing the number of feasts, and then decreed which would be the main Catholic feasts in the Habsburg Empire.

29. Alexander, 41-48.

Dalmatia, Venice required the use of the Italian language throughout all Church schools, and controlled virtually everything.

Political regionalization led to a regionalization of culture. While some areas were marked by cultural retrogression, other areas thrived. In the Military Border and the Ottoman territory, culture returned to a pre-feudal stage, with strong patriarchal and local overtones. In Dalmatian cities, notably Dubrovnik and civil Croatia, circles of Renaissance humanism were established. The most famous Croatian Renaissance writer was Marko Marulić (1450-1524), who wrote *De institutione bene vivendi per exempla sanctorum*, which was later translated into all the major European languages and published in fifty editions.<sup>30</sup> Goldstein summarizes the cultural fragmentation of that period by observing that “different parts of Croatia were exposed to different political, economic, and cultural influences which brought about a diverse and heterogeneous Croatian culture that exists today.”<sup>31</sup>

Pastoral care was also regionalized and splintered. In Dalmatia, ordinary people were engaged in fraternities and the Franciscan and Dominican third orders. They had been consumed with apocalyptic expectation caused by the destructiveness of the Ottomans. Under Venetian control, surviving monastic orders nurtured a rich monastic spirituality. The intellectual elite engaged in fresh *devotio moderna*.<sup>32</sup> In Croatia, pastoral

---

30. While in Asia, Francis Xavier carried with him two books, his breviary and Marulić's *Exempla*.

31. Goldstein, *Croatia: A History*, 32.

32. *Devotio moderna* is a late medieval religious reform movement that began in the Netherlands in the late fourteenth century. The movement originated under the impact of Geert Groote (1340-1384) of Deventer. Groote gathered a group of women who would become known as the Sisters of the Common Life, followed by the Brethren of the Common Life. They were oriented to inner devotion, the common life, and the imitation of Christ. The most famous member was Thomas Kempis, who wrote the *Imitation*

care was shaped by the Counter-Reformation. In the Military Border, the state-reformed parishes offered legalized sacramental life for all. In the Ottoman regions, pastoral care focused on sheer survival (both of people and the institution itself), and the nurturing of a devotional piety among ordinary, illiterate people. The lack of educated clergy, or clergy as such, combined with forced Islamization, created an environment for heterodox movements.<sup>33</sup>

The third stage is marked by liberation from the Ottomans and post-war problems. Croatian, Hungarian and Austrian political authorities clashed over the reintegration of liberated territories and borders. In Dalmatia and Istria, the Venetian government was replaced (briefly) by the Napoleonic regime, and after that by the Austrian government. Dalmatia was governed directly from Vienna, whose clear intention was to keep it separate from Croatia. Bosnia-Herzegovina was still under Ottoman control. The Military Border lost its purpose, but still existed. The Church was fully controlled by the monarchy.

The liberation of the various territories imitated the process of the church reorganization, but it was still too early to achieve significant change. The land was

---

*Christi*. See Otto Grundler, "Devotio Moderna" in *Christian Spirituality: High Middle Ages and Reformation*, ed. Jill Rait (New York: Crossroad, 1987), 176-194.

33. Regarding forced Islamization, the Ottoman Islamization in the western regions of the Ottoman Empire, which was populated with Croats (today Bosnia and Herzegovina), was deliberately carried out. On the one hand, it was a part of the political milieu of that time, and on the other, it was intentionally executed. About the means of peaceful and forced conversion, see differing interpretations in Nebojša Šavija-Valha, "Religijski identiteti i društvena struktura Bosne i Hercegovine" [Religious Identities and Social Structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina] *Migration and Ethnic Themes* 25, no. 1-2 (June 2009): 49-67; Pavo Živković, "Bosanskohercegovački Hrvati - njihove demografske i konfesionalne promjene kroz povijest," [Bosnian-Herzegovinian Croats- Their Demographic and Confessional Changes through History] *Povijesni zbornik: godišnjak za kulturu i povijesno naslijeđe* 1, no.1-2 (May 2007):221-232; Noel Malcolm, *Bosnia: A Short History* (Basingstoke; London: Pan Books, 2005:51-70.)

devastated and people were still in war mode. The main changes were those which happened in Dalmatia. The French dismantled the Venetian republic and imposed their own rule. In Dalmatia and Istria, the French administration (1806-1813) closed numerous monasteries, among them the Benedictine monastery of St. Kreševan in Zadar (which had functioned continuously since the tenth century), banned six hundred fraternities, confiscated all parish administration books, and forbade the filling of vacating bishops' seats. Properties, libraries, and art collections were also confiscated.

Cultural life of that period was limited by the need to recover from devastation. The people experienced the lack of a deeper monastic spirituality, the absence of Jesuit engagement with intellectuals, and the loss of the intensive religious life of the abolished fraternities. The only remaining sources of spiritual life were the largely administratively-oriented pastoral activities in the parishes.

### **The Third Historical Period (19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> Centuries): Renewal or Recreation of Identity**

The third historical period is short but critical. It covers the period from 1830 until the dissolution of the Habsburg Empire in 1918. That period was shaped by the processes of the reintegration of Croatian regions into a united territory and the development of a national movement that led to a renewal or recreation of Croatian linguistic, cultural, social, economic, and political unity.

The Catholic administration was organized inside four separate political units: Croatia proper, Dalmatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Kingdom of Montenegro (where many Croats lived). In Croatia proper, Zagreb became an archdiocese in 1852, and the center of political and ecclesial life in Croatia. To the Zagreb Diocese were added the whole of Slavonia, and part of Bosnia. In Dalmatia and Istria, Zadar became the



archdiocese, the center of political and ecclesial life. Administrative rule of Bosnia-Herzegovina was given to Austria in 1878.<sup>34</sup> Under this system, the Franciscan apostolic vicariates were abolished, and in 1881, were replaced with three new dioceses, those of Sarajevo, Banja Luka, and Mostar. The overlapping jurisdiction of Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant, and Muslim administrations in these political units caused considerable tension.<sup>35</sup>

The main challenge for the Catholic Church consisted of the strict control by the Emperor over all facets of Church life. Absolute imperial control over the Church was relaxed after 1860, but its consequences are felt still today. Though the clergy gained more freedom, their education under Joseph II's direction shaped them into state administrators.<sup>36</sup> The Catholic clerics were divided into two groups, which corresponded to the divergent currents of liberalism and nationalism.<sup>37</sup> The older generation partially accepted new ideas and actively participated in the changing society. Among these were the first rector of Zagreb University, a priest named Matija Mesić (1826-1878), and the first president of the Yugoslavian Academy of Science and Art in Zagreb, a priest named

---

34. The actual annexation happened in 1908.

35. Branka Magaš, *The Destruction of Yugoslavia: Tracking Yugoslavia's Break-up 1980-92* (London: Verso, 1993), 328-60; Zlatko Kudelić, "Srpska pravoslavna crkva u Bosni i Hercegovini tijekom austrougarske vladavine u novijoj domaćoj i inozemnoj historiografiji [The Serbian Orthodox Church in Bosnia-Herzegovina during Austro-Hungarian Rule in Recent Domestic and Foreign Historiography]," *Croatica Christiana periodica* 32, no. 62 (2008).

36. Vidović, 294-300.

37. The proposal of a small, urban, upper, well-educated class for liberal, secular, and cosmopolitan ideals was seen by the young clerics as being anti-traditional, anti-religious, and anti-national.

Franjo Rački (1828-1894).<sup>38</sup> The younger generation rejected any form of cooperation with modern society and actively fought against the “modern heresy” of liberalism, which tended to reject the primacy of the Catholic tradition in the society and in Croatian national identity. Their exponent was a bishop named Antun Mahnić (1850-1920). He initiated and led the Croatian Catholic movement, which developed parallel structures in all areas of society.<sup>39</sup>

Excluded from the educational system, the church engaged in sponsoring cultural and national renewal. In Zagreb, Archbishop Antun Bauer (1856-1937) started a publishing house devoted to publishing works in the vernacular language intended for the peasant class. In Slavonia, Bishop Josip Strossmayer (1815-1905) initiated the reopening of the university in Zagreb in 1874, and founded the Academy of Science and Art, and a gallery of old masters in 1884.<sup>40</sup> Bishop Juraj Dobrila (1812-1882) worked with the peasants in Istria, and in Bosnia. Josip Stadler (1843-1918) developed new ecclesiastical and educational institutions. The local clergy and seminarians were passionately engaged in “strengthening the national awareness among people.”<sup>41</sup>

The pastoral care of this period was reinvigorated with the arrival of new religious congregations, as well as engagement with the poor. The Servants of Mercy, the

---

38. Mirko Jura Mataušić, "Odnos katoličke Crkve prema novijim idejnim strujanjima u hrvatskim zemljama 1848 - 1900 [the Relationship of the Catholic Church toward Recent Ideologies in Croatia, 1848-1900]," *Ephemerides theologicae Zagradienses* 55, no. 1-2 (1985).

39. Ivo Banac, *Hrvati i Crkva: kratka povijest hrvatskog katoličanstva u modernosti* [The Croats and the Church: A Brief History of Croatian Catholicism in Modernity] (2013), 37-41. Vidović, 371-80.

40. About Strossmayer see more in Magaš, *Croatia through History*, 310-15.

41. Franjo Šanjek, *Kršćanstvo na hrvatskom prostoru: pregled religiozne povijesti Hrvata (7-20. st.)* [Christianity on Croatian Territory: An Overview of the Religious History of the Croats (7<sup>th</sup> -20<sup>th</sup> Centuries)], (Zagreb, Kršćanska sadašnjost, Biblioteka priručnici, svezak 27, 1996), 408-13.

Ursulines, and the Sisters of the Holy Cross started social apostolates with the sick, elderly, and orphans. The Kolping Society served young workers in Zagreb in 1855.<sup>42</sup> Trappists, Jesuits, and Carmelites filled the cultural gap and instigated the renewal of monastic and religious life. The network of Catholic organizations such as *Domagoj*, Marian congregations, and Catholic Action groups, worked with elementary, high school, and university students. For the Church, this was a time of competing with secular, nationalistic, or liberal youth organizations, and the development of political Catholicism.

### **The Fourth Historical Period (20<sup>th</sup> Century): Being Different among Similar Identities in a Multi-Slavic Community**

In the fourth historical period, the Habsburg Empire broke up and Croatia became a member of the multi-ethnic and multi-religious kingdom of Yugoslavia—first as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (1918-1929), whose name was then changed to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1929-1941); second as the Independent State of Croatia (1941-45); and third, as the Socialist Federated Republic of Yugoslavia (1945-1990).

#### *Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1918-1941): Mixing Identity, Politics and Religion*

In the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (first stage), the Zagreb, Sarajevo, and Split Archdioceses were inside the border of the new state, while Istria, Zadar, and the islands remained under the Italian Republic, and parts of Slavonia were under Hungary. The strong regional mentality of the Church was boosted by the pastoral care of either the Franciscans or Dominicans (depending upon the area). The Catholic bishops recognized Zagreb as the center of Catholic life.

---

42. "150th Anniversary of the Kolping Society," Kolping International Association, accessed 09.01.2017. [https://www.kolping.net/en/press/news/news\\_detail/artikel/kroatien-2.html](https://www.kolping.net/en/press/news/news_detail/artikel/kroatien-2.html).

In this stage, the Catholic Church had both external and internal problems. The external problem was the lack of clarity regarding its legal position in the religiously pluralistic state, a tenuous position for the Church, which left it vulnerable to covert, and later to open oppression. The two reasons for this lack of clarity with regard to the legal status of the Church were the fundamentally divergent understandings between the Orthodox and the Catholic traditions regarding church/state relations in Serbia, and the intertwined nature of religion, nationality, and politics.

A large part of the problem for the Catholic Church in the new state was that most of the population was Serbian, with the largest religious community being the Orthodox Church.<sup>43</sup> The attempt in 1935 to legalize the prepared Concordat with the Vatican, for example, was impeded by the Serbian Orthodox hierarchy. From their perspective, the problem lay in Article 1 of the Concordat, which declared that “the Catholic Church has the right to freely and publicly perform its mission in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.”<sup>44</sup> The leadership of the Serbian Orthodox church interpreted this “as

---

43. The Belgrade Orthodox Eparchy (equivalent to a province or diocese), as well as other eparchies in Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Croatia, were under the jurisdiction of the Constantinople Patriarchate. The heirs of the Peć Eparchy relocated during the Austrian Ottoman wars into the Habsburg Empire. The Peć Eparchy continued to exist among the different ethnic groups living in that area. In the 19th century, most members were ethnic Serbs. In 1922, within the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, the Belgrade Eparchy acquired the right to become an independent national church bearing the name First United Serbian Orthodox Church, which became in 1935 the Serbian Orthodox Church. From this it is clear that the Serbian Orthodox Church was granted a privileged position in the new union of the south Slavic peoples (the newly constituted Kingdom of Yugoslavia).

44. M.M. Ninčević et al., "Diplomatski odnosi Vatikana i Kraljevine Jugoslavije: konkordat iz 1935. godine [Diplomatic Relations between the Vatican and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia: The Concordat of 1935]," *Nova Prisutnost* 14, no. 2 (2016); Dragan Novaković, "The Legislature on Religion During the Kingdom of Yugoslavia," *Collected Papers of the Law Faculty of the University of Rijeka* 33, no. 2 (2012): 939-965.

privileging Catholics, an objection to the Constitutions, a threat to religious peace, and a cause of heavy conflict in the state.”<sup>45</sup>

The serious internal problem was the politicization of the faith among Catholics. Such politicization happened through the active participation of Catholic priests in the political parties and the nationalizing of Catholic lay organizations. Catholic priests had been active in the Croatian Party of Rights (Josip Rožman), in the Liberal Party (Fran Barac, Svetozar Rittig), in the Peasant Party (Fra Jako Pasalić), and in the Croatian Peasant Party (Ljudevit Kežman). Archbishop Bauer represented the Croatian-Serbian coalition in the Parliament. The largest percentage of clergy, however, were in the Croatian Popular party—sixteen of them.<sup>46</sup>

The pastoral care under the name of the Croatian Catholic movement took the form of organizational Catholicism mixed with national elements. This movement included youth and student organizations such as *Domagoj*; the gymnastic organizations such as the Croatian Eagle; the separate group for the renewal of the liturgy under the influence of the Benedictine monk Martin Kirigin; the Cecilian society for the renewal of Church music; St. Jerome, a society for writers; numerous journals such as *Jesuit Life* or the Franciscan *New Revue* for the Catholic teachers' guild; scientific institutions such as the Croatian Ethnological Academy in Zagreb, and the Old Slavonic Academy in Krk; the network of organizations under the name “Catholic Action”; and two Catholic congresses. Catholic activity was bursting with enthusiasm for national identity, which

---

45. Banac, 82.

46. Banac, 58.

was paradoxically strengthened by the harsh oppression of the regime, fascist oppression in Istria and Dalmatia, and Communist activity supported by Soviet Russia.

*The Second World War (1941-1945): Identity between the Black and Red Extremes*

At the beginning of the Second World War, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was broken up into several smaller units, among them the Independent State of Croatia (1941-1945). The historical turning point was a quick German military and political defeat of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia on April 17<sup>th</sup>, 1941. The largest part of the kingdom was divided between Croatia and Serbia, and the rest was parceled out among the Axis powers of Germany, Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Albania.<sup>47</sup> In Croatia, Germany and Italy together created a condominium puppet state called the Independent State of Croatia (*Nezavisna Država Hrvatska* [NDH]) with the help of the *Ustaše*, an extreme nationalist and fascist Croatian movement.<sup>48</sup>

The relationship between the Catholic Church and the NDH regime was complex, inconsistent, and full of contradictions. To understand this relationship, it is crucial to understand the context of the region. At that time, this context was marked by a mixed population, different religions, a merging of national and religious identities, differences in regional rule, various groups of resistance, divisions of the population, shifting

---

47. A good overview of the complex events during the Second World War is that of Jozo Tomasevich, *War and Revolution in Yugoslavia, 1941-1945: Occupation and Collaboration* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2001).

48. On the Ustaša movement, see the excellent work by Rory Yeomans. Rory Yeomans, *Visions of Annihilation: The Ustasha Regime and the Cultural Politics of Fascism, 1941-1945*, Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012); Rory Yeomans, *The Utopia of Terror: Life and Death in Wartime Croatia*, Rochester Studies in East and Central Europe (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2015). On the racial aspect of Ustaša ideology, see Nevenko Bartulin, *The Racial Idea in the Independent State of Croatia: Origins and Theory, Central and Eastern Europe* Vol. 4. (Leiden, Brill, 2014).

allegiances during the war, the enormous death toll among all ethnic and religious groups, and the manipulation of fact in the interest of politics through the mechanism of propaganda.<sup>49</sup>

In this labyrinth it is difficult to identify clearly events, actors, and motivations. On the mainland, the Catholic Church cooperated with the fascist *Ustaše* regime, and in the littoral areas, the populations suffered under the Italian fascist regime. Though the Vatican did not officially recognize the NDH, the Croatian hierarchy was forced to acknowledge, on the one hand, that the national element took dominance over universal Catholic teaching, and on the other, that the Catholic religious elements were skillfully manipulated by the *Ustaše* ideology. Thus, while the Church hierarchy supported the independence of Croatia, it repudiated the terror tactics of the *Ustaše*.

In addition, Catholic support of the NDH was diverse and shifted over time. In the beginning, most of the Catholic hierarchy perceived the *Ustaše* movement as an ally because of their common enemies—Communists and the Serbian-dominated royal government of Yugoslavia—and a shared desire for an independent state.<sup>50</sup> At the same time, the Fascist and Nazi ideologies made them cautious.

---

49. The interpretation of the brutal events of the Second World War was manipulated after the war by the Communist government, and is still being manipulated today by various political parties. For example, see the first session of the elected government, which met on January 21, 2016, where the opposition—the former communist coalition—used both the rhetoric of the *Ustaše* and of anti-fascism in abundant measure to disqualify the noncommunist, elected government. See reports in the mainstream media such as <http://www.24sata.hr/kolumne/travestija-u-saboru-na-dosad-najbizarnijoj-raspravi-o-vladi-457674>, or the engagement of the Serbian government against the beatification of Cardinal Stepinac: <http://www.vecernji.hr/svijet/papa-s-poglavarom-srpske-pravoslavne-crkve-o-stepincu-1052595>. One special question is the difference between the mainstream and alternative interpretations of the Jasenovac concentration camp in Croatia (a camp utilized by both the *Ustaše* and the Communists at different points of time). This is a question of using and misusing history to shape political rhetoric in contemporary Croatia.

50. The defeat of Yugoslavia and the establishment of the NDH was seen by most Croats as a “release from the prison of the Serbian-dominated state.” Stella Alexander, *Church and State in Yugoslavia since 1945* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 19.

Catholics were ideologically and regionally divided into two groups. The first group was uncritical of the new government, blinded by the expectation of national liberation and the Catholic facade of the *Ustaše*. Because of the lack of alternatives (Yugoslavia or Communism), they worked for, or openly supported the *Ustaše* movement.<sup>51</sup> The second group was critical of the government, publicly or secretly opposed the regime, and helped the suffering peoples of all ethnic groups. The members of both camps were widespread in all regions with Croatian populations. The division among Catholics was visible in the Catholic journals, which covered the creation of the independent state in a spectrum ranging from enthusiasm, to formal information, to the total suppression of that information.<sup>52</sup> Another way to illustrate these divisions is to point to the fact that Catholics joined opposing groups in the war.<sup>53</sup>

In the beginning of 1941, the Archbishop of Zagreb, Alojzije Stepinac, publicly

---

51. These can be divided into “actively involved” and “supporters.” Examples of “actively involved” are Franciscans Radoslav Glavaš and Dionisije Juričev, who worked directly for the Ustaša leader Ante Pavelić. Examples of “supporters” are the archbishop of Sarajevo, Ivan Šarić, the bishop of Banjaluka, Fra Jozo Garić, or the controversial bishop of Mostar Fra Alojzije Mišić. The Franciscans were the largest and most influential religious congregation among Catholics, and the ones most likely to be involved either in support of or resistance to the Ustaša regime. For that reason, in 1941, the Franciscan Office in Rome published the Instructions to all Franciscan Communities in the Independent State of Croatia on how to act in time of war. See more in Banac, 89, 94, 197.

52. See details in Petar Macut, "Katolički tisak o uspostavi Nezavisne Države Hrvatske 10. travnja 1941. godine [Catholic Press on the Establishment of the Independent Croatian State April 10, 1941]," *Revue d'histoire contemporaine* 47, no. 1 (2015).

53. The archbishop of Zagreb, Alojzije Stepinac, is an illustration of that confusion and disorientation. I do not want to judge whether he acted properly or not, only to show the complexity of the situation. The Gestapo saw him as the leader of anti-Nazi sentiment and anti-Nazi-oriented groups associated with British and French secret service. Croatian non-Ustaša politicians perceived him as “an ardent Croat, and loyal Yugoslavian.” The Ustaša leader Ante Pavelić, referred to Stepinac by a Croatian slang phrase that can be roughly translated as ‘snot-nosed kid.’ For those in the clergy inclined to the Ustaša regime, he was a traitor and anti-state activist. For Jews, Serbians, and the oppressed, he was the last help. For the Communist, he was a criminal. See more in Banac, 80, 83, 90-91. See also Gordan Akrap, *Kardinal Stepinac u dokumentima Gestapa i Ozne* [Cardinal Stepinac in the Documents of the Gestapo and the Ozna] (Zagreb: Udruga sv. Jurja; Glas Koncila; Laser plus, 2016).



appeared with the *Ustaše* leader Ante Pavelić, suggesting Church respect and customary support for the new government. From the *Ustaše* perspective, this implied legitimization, and from the Communist perspective, it conveyed Church support of the regime. By the next month, with the rising numbers of victims of the *Ustaše*'s brutal terror attacks on Jews, Serbs, Roma, and all non-Croats/ non-Catholics, public opinion began to shift, ranging from modest private criticism of the regime to open and public disapproval on the part of some of the Church hierarchy. At the same time, Catholics who were not supporters of the regime started secretly supporting those persecuted by the regime, while remaining relatively guarded in their criticism of the regime. In the most generous interpretation, the reasons for this silence were to avoid provoking the totalitarian government to create some latitude to save more of the persecuted. At the end of this period, the Partisans prevailed in the civil war between the left and the right and then established Communist Yugoslavia by brutal revenge against non-communists. The end of the World War brought peace to Yugoslavia only in a relative sense.

*Communist Yugoslavia (1945-1990): National Identity in the Supranational State*

Relations between the State and the Catholic Church after the Second World War can be divided into three phases: extermination and systematic oppression (1945-1964), mutual recognition and searching for a *modus vivendi* (1964-1980), and renewed confrontation (1980-1990).<sup>54</sup>

---

54. The conflict between the Catholic Church and the Communist party started in 1930. The legal position of the Catholic Church in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRJ) was paradoxical and fascinating. Though the Yugoslav Constitution guaranteed the separation of Church and state, freedom of religion, and freedom of conscience, the Communist Party persecuted all religious communities. It is important to note the difference between the legal position and its interpretation in practice. The Constitutions were from 1946, 1948, 1963, the Protocol from 1964, an amended Constitution from 1974, and finally a law about religious communities from 1974. Article 25a of the 1946 Constitution declares that freedom of conscience and freedom of religious belief are guaranteed. Article 25b defines the separation of

The postwar years and the fifties were the most difficult ones. Besides the killings and persecution, the government attempted to separate the Catholic bishops from the Vatican and to create a national Catholic Church. During the month of September 1945, the Partisans and the communist secret services killed and imprisoned Catholic priests, seminarians, and nuns; banned most of the Catholic press; seized all publishing houses, seminaries, hospitals, schools, dormitories, and church properties; destroyed graveyards; and disturbed devotions.<sup>55</sup>

In 1946, Josip Broz Tito, the leader of the Communist government, with the intention of destroying Catholic unity (though without success), suggested the creation of a national Church, but the Catholic bishops rejected it. Consequently, the government sentenced the head of the Catholic Church in Yugoslavia, Archbishop Stepinac, to sixteen years in a maximum-security prison. For lower clergy, the Communist government established the priestly association of Saints Cyril and Methodius in Croatia, and the Good Shepherd in Bosnia and Herzegovina in an attempt to sow discord between bishops

---

the churches from the state. Article 25c states that religious communities whose teaching is not against the Constitutions are free to perform their religious affairs and to perform religious rites. The 1963 Constitution simply reworded article 25, adding "free in the performance of religious affairs." The key term "religious affairs" was not defined. Its interpretation depended on regional officials. Cited from Alexander, 120-21, 211.

55. From the 1945 Letter of the Catholic Bishops of Yugoslavia read publicly in Catholic parishes on October 30, 1945. See the whole text in Banac, 198-212. The problem of post-war victims is complex. A special case is the prisoners of war from Bleiburg. Bleiburg is the place with the greatest number of casualties of Croatian prisoners after the end of World War II. See the studies in Vladimir Geiger, "Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugome svjetskom ratu i u poraču koje su prouzročili Narodnooslobodilačka vojska i Partizanski odredi Jugoslavije/Jugoslavenska Armija i komunistička vlast. Brojidbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi) Case Study: Bleiburg i folksdojčeri [The Human Losses in Croatia in World War II and the Post-War Period Caused by the Yugoslav Partisans/Yugoslav Army and the Communist Government: Numerical Indicators (Estimates, Calculations, Descriptions) Case Study: Bleiburg and Ethnic Germans]," *Revue d'histoire contemporaine* 42, no.3 (2010). Zdravko Dizdar, "Prilog istraživanju problema Bleiburga i Križnih puteva (u povodu 60. godišnjice) [A Contribution to the Study of the Problem of Bleiburg and Ways of the Cross (on the Occasion of the 60th Anniversary)]," *Senjski zbornik: prilozi za geografiju, etnologiju, gospodarstvo, povijest i kulturu* 32, no. 1 (2005).

and priests. In 1947, the Communist government increased the pressure on the Church with additional killing of priests, especially in the villages; new trials; prohibition of the remaining Catholic press; closing of Caritas; seizing of 85% of Church property; and imposing the requirement of “voluntary public work” on Sundays or feast days.<sup>56</sup> The final blow came in 1952, when the Vatican appointed Archbishop Stepinac to the position of cardinal, a move seen by the communists as patently political in nature. Immediately following this appointment, the Communist government severed completely its already tenuous links with the Vatican.

During the sixties, the government’s systematic oppression changed to a mutually convenient “instrumentalization” of the Church, a relationship beneficial to both the government and the Church.<sup>57</sup> The Communist government and the Vatican reestablished their broken relationship, signing a protocol that established the full renewal of the diplomatic relationship between the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRJ) and the Holy See.<sup>58</sup> It seems that in this agreement the Communists sought to limit the Church’s exercise of freedom of religion and religious service, which were in theory legal

---

56. Alexander, 213.

57. The change in policy with regards to the oppression of the Church was due to a combination of international affairs and internal reforms. These include the negative image of the Yugoslav Communist regime in international political circles because of religious persecution; the clash between Yugoslav and Soviet Communists during 1954; the founding of the Non-Aligned Movement in 1956; the search for a new communist model in administration and economy; huge unemployment with massive departure of workers to “temporary work abroad,” mostly to Germany; the invention of “worker self-management” in the revised 1963 Constitution, and the resolution of the territorial conflict with Italy over parts of Istria and the city of Trieste. The Catholic Church also underwent deep changes. The Second Vatican Council (1962-65) offered a positive approach to the modern world, international peace, and national communities. The biggest stumbling block between the Yugoslav Communist party and the Catholic Church in Yugoslavia was removed when Cardinal Stepinac died in 1960. His successor, Franjo Šeper, was less interested in politics and confrontation. For more detail, see Lampe, 265-84.

58. The full name of the document is “Protocol of Discussions between the Representatives of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Representative of the Holy See.” The English translation of the Protocol is in Alexander, 313-15.

according to the Constitution. Small changes appeared after that. The Catholic press and catechetical groups for university students started up again on a modest scale. When Cardinal Stepinac died on February 10, 1960, the funeral was held in the cathedral in Zagreb. The church was full as was the square in front of the cathedral. The Yugoslav secret service estimated there were 6,000 in the cathedral and an additional 4,000 outside; furthermore, 20,000 paid homage to the Cardinal. The funeral was followed by a Communist media campaign, and the Secret Service recorded and identified people.<sup>59</sup>

The seventies were filled with social and economic problems, and the Catholic Church became the alternative authority, the custodian of culture and memory, and the keeper of Croatian national identity. During the ‘Croatian Silence’ of the late seventies, for example, during which time many leaders of the society were silenced or imprisoned by the government, the Croatian bishops organized a celebration of the 1300<sup>th</sup> year anniversary of Christianity among Croats. This consisted of three events celebrated successively in three places. The first event was in Solin, a small suburb of Split, and was held in the oldest Marian church in Croatia in honor of the Croatian Queen Jelena. The second was in the small village of Biskupija near Knin, and was held in honor of the Croatian King Zvonimir. The third was in Nin, a small city near Zadar, and the oldest Croatian diocese. Both the bishops and the Communist government officials were surprised at the numbers of Catholics who gathered—there were 100,000 in Solin, 40,000 in Biskupija, and 200,000 in Nin. Shortly thereafter, the attacks on the Catholic Church resumed.

---

59. Akrap. 132-138.

During the eighties, the divisions in the party became public, and the Catholic Church continued to hold the mass gatherings. In 1981, the Marian apparitions in Medjugorje began, and were followed by the expected communist repression.<sup>60</sup> At the National Eucharistic Congress in the national Marian shrine in Maria Bistrica in Hrvatsko Zagorje, 400,000 people gathered, and were surrounded by military helicopters, and Communist secret service and police forces. International Youth Day in Rome in 1984 was an encounter between the emigrant (Croatian Catholics outside of Croatia) and the national (Croatian Catholics within Croatia) Churches, and was an event perceived by the Communist government as fundamentally political in nature though they chose not to openly persecute for reasons of propaganda and public image. With the decline of communism, the end of the eighties brought change. The change was obvious in 1989, when “for the first time in decades Christmas was not celebrated just in homes, and inside of church buildings, but on the streets as well.”<sup>61</sup>

---

60. The Međugorje case is complex. Međugorje is a small village in the southern part of Bosnia-Herzegovina which is populated with Croatian Catholics. In June 1981, near the village of Bijakovići, in the Franciscan parish, a few children claimed that Our Lady appeared to them, calling people to conversion, fasting, prayer, and faith. The youngest, Jakov, was ten, and the oldest, Vicka, seventeen years old. From the beginning, the ecclesial and civil authorities intimidated them. Medical doctors, psychologists, and psychiatrists from Italy and France examined them. The Marian apparitions were said to continue. During the nineties, despite the war in the former Yugoslavia, Međugorje became a world pilgrimage place. The background of the problem regarding the credibility of the apparitions at Međugorje was a long internal conflict between Herzegovinian Franciscans and local bishops in the context of external tensions between the Communist government and the Catholic Church. The Catholic Church neither denied nor approved the Marian apparitions. In the meantime, Međugorje became ironically, on the one hand, a place of sincere prayer and conversion, and, at the same time, the source of unsolved internal tension among various ecclesial authorities. For the position of the local bishop, see accessed July 7, 2017, <https://www.bitno.net/vijesti/hrvatska/biskup-ratko-peric-medugorje/>, <http://www.md-tm.ba/clanci/attacks-medjugorje-apparition-against-diocesan-bishop-pavao-zanic>. For the other position, see accessed July 7, 2017, <http://www.medjugorje.hr/hr/izdavastvo/knjige/hrvatski/>, and position of Vatican <http://www.md-tm.ba/clanci/imenovanje-posebna-izaslanka-svete-stolice-za-medugorje>.

61. Slavica Jakelić, *Collectivistic Religions: Religion, Choice, and Identity in Late Modernity* (Farnham, Burlington: Ashgate, 2010), 47.

Pastoral care in the communist period consisted of two currents. The first was private, intellectual, with small-group living, and was usually made up of students or third-order Franciscans or Dominicans. The second was massive, collectivist, and popular, nurtured by mass gatherings. The strength of the first was depth, a balance of Catholic and nationalist allegiances, and a critical approach to the faith. Its weakness was its limited range and dependence on the religious clergy. The strengths of the collectivist, traditionalist current cherished during the late seventies and eighties were its capacity to unite and engage large numbers of Catholics, the preservation of national memory, and the nurturing of national identity and religious belonging. Its weaknesses included the transformation of popular Catholic religiosity to a political religion, and its adjustment to political interests. The other limitation was the lack of a personal, critical, and dialogical dimension. In this approach, national sensibilities prevailed over universal alliances. With the official end of communism in the early nineties and the attendant diminishing of the collectivist form of Catholicism, the Church in the contemporary period is seeking new ways of functioning as Church within Croatian society.

### **The Fifth Historical Period: Post-Communist Croatia (1991-Present): A Mosaic of Many Identities**

The change from Croatia's schizophrenic communist/nationalist system of government to a democratic and pluralistic society was difficult and is still in process. With this change came an attendant shift in mindset and personal habits, and a renegotiation of personal, religious, and collective identities. The shift began with the "Homeland War" (1991-1995), as it is called in Croatia, and continued with the cumulative effects of postwar destruction, the plight of refugees, the introduction of a

market economy, the realities of a non-transparent privatization of public structures, negotiation of the conflict between people and capital, social differentiation, poverty, and accommodation to the new standards of the European Union.<sup>62</sup>

The status and role of religion in Croatian society has changed from one of public absence and government repression in the communist era, to one of openness and approbation in the post-communist period. With these changes has come a radical shift in attitudes toward religion and the relationship of religion and society. What was viewed negatively quickly became positive.<sup>63</sup>

The relationship of the Catholic Church and the contemporary Croatian state may be described as wandering in uncharted territory in search of a direction. The contemporary period is divided into three phases. The first consists of the Homeland War (1991-1995); the second is the post-war phase (1996-2000); and the third runs from 2000 to the present.

During the four-year war, the Church's guidance and recommendations were readily accepted because of the previous role of the Church as alternative authority within the communist regime and because of the need for consolidation of all the people under the threat of destruction. In 1991, the Vatican was the second state (after Iceland) to recognize the Republic of Croatia as an independent state, and in 1994, Pope John Paul II

---

62. The dissolution of Communist Yugoslavia was accomplished through three separate but related conflicts occurring in Slovenia (1991), in Croatia (1991-1995), and in Bosnia-Herzegovina (1992-1995).

63. The legal regulation of the religious communities in relation to the state happened in "two phases and three tiers." The three-tier system regulated the legal status of religious institutions according to their position, social role, and influence. The first tier is for the Catholic Church because of its historical dominance and importance. The second is for religions which have regulated relations with the state. They are traditional but smaller religious communities. The third tier is for religious communities which are registered and operate freely but do not enjoy additional rights. See Zrinščak, 117-19.

visited Croatia.<sup>64</sup> More than one million Catholics attended the Mass with the Pope in Zagreb. The official recognition of Croatia's status and the Pope's visit were a great boost to the people and the state. In the intricate context of war, Cardinal Kuharić advocated a peaceful solution, condemned the crimes committed by all factions, and cared for all refugees. Despite the Church's call for peace, however, people at times had the impression (perhaps rightly so) that the Church preached a "theology of national liberation."<sup>65</sup> Again, national, political, and religious elements were closely intertwined in the shatterbelt that is Croatia.

After the war, Croatian society was left with the destruction wrought by war, an internalized communist mentality, unjust privatization, and the stratification of society. The Church's role as carrier of the national identity and guardian of cultural values was rightly taken over by the institution of the Croatian state. The Church thus began to focus on social issues, which became its moral and religious mission. However, within the post-war atmosphere of political intolerance, the Church's engagement with social issues was appropriated by the conflicting expectations of various political factions. The political right—a mix of various stripes of Croatian nationalism and former communists with nationalist inclinations—used the Church until 2000 to secure their legal position and gain the support of the people. After 2000, the political left—a blend of former communists with atheistic inclinations, and (self-identified) secular liberals of different sorts—used the Church as a symbol of impediment to the modern society. As newly

---

64. This was the first visit of any pope to Croatia. The visit was organized after the international recognition of Croatia, in which the Vatican played a critical role. Also, as a Pole, Pope John Paul II had experience with Communism and could read Croatian. He was thus able to encourage Croats to follow Christian ideals in the turbulent context of the war. That was very important for Croats.

65. Banac, 147.



appointed Archbishop, Josip Bozanić openly described the politics of both sides as “sinful structures” in his Christmas homily.<sup>66</sup> This was the stance that people expected and cherished.

The atmosphere of post-Communist Croatia changed once again in 2016, a year fraught with political drama, when two elections were held. The new generation of politicians replaced the older, ideologically-motivated ones. It seems that the present moment is the time for conceiving a noncombative and fruitful relationship between Church and State.

The pastoral care developed in the Communist era was only partially adequate in the new social circumstances of democracy. Croatian religiosity was and is collective, while co-existing with individualized faith lives. This collectivistic religiosity, according to Croatian sociologist of religion Slavica Jakelić, is ascribed rather than chosen, and more fixed than changeable. In this form of religiosity, one is “born into” religion, and people’s “religious identities are profoundly shaped by the historical and cultural particularities of their social location.”<sup>67</sup> Collectivist religion was and is the source of collective identity, is adaptable to historical changes, and offers viable resources for tolerance of religious Others.<sup>68</sup> At the same time, collective religiosity coexists with individualized forms because belonging is always individual.<sup>69</sup> The collective does not erase the individual.

---

66. During the Homily of December 17, 1997, Archbishop Bozanić openly criticized the creation of legal structures that do not promote the benefit of the community. Banac, 151.

67. Jakelić, 1.

68. Ibid., 187.

69. Krunoslav Nikodem and Siniša Zrinščak, "Croatia's Religious Story: The Coexistence of Institutionalized and Individual Religiosity," in *The Social Significance of Religion in the Enlarged Europe*

The contradictions of Croatian Catholic religiosity are an inherent part of a very high percentage of the religious self-identification of Croatian Catholics. The censuses have affirmed high Catholic self-identification: 76.5% in 1991, 78.9% in 1998, 87.97% in 2001, and 86.28% in 2011.<sup>70</sup> Three groups of believers may be identified among Croatian Catholics. The first comprises the practical believers, who constitute 25% of the total; to them faith is very important, and they reported participating in religious services once per week. The second comprises the traditional believers, who constitute 50% of Catholics; to them faith is important, though they reported only occasionally participating in services. The third comprises nominal believers, who make up 25%. Though this group identifies as Catholic, faith is not central to their lives and they participate in services only during the major feasts.<sup>71</sup> Croatian Catholics are closer to distrust than trust (53.4%) when considering the capability of the Church to provide adequate answers to questions of moral, spiritual, family, and social concerns.<sup>72</sup> Lastly, Croatian Catholics do not know or understand the basic truths of the Catholic faith, and their traditional religiosity coexists with alternative forms of religiosity or is replaced by them.<sup>73</sup>

---

*Secularization, Individualization, and Pluralization*, ed. Detlef Pollack, Olaf Muller, and Gert Pickel (Farnham, Surrey, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012).

70. Siniša Zrinščak, "Developmental and Religious Dilemmas of Croatian Society," in *Religion and Integration*, ed. Ivan Grubišić and Siniša Zrinščak (Zagreb: Institut društvenih znanosti Ivo Pilar, 1999), 171-72. See also Josip Baloban, Krunoslav Nikodem, and Siniša Zrinščak, *Vrednote u Hrvatskoj i u Europi: komparativna analiza [Values in Croatia and Europe: Comparative Analysis]* (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost and Katolički Bogoslovni fakultet u Zagrebu, 2014), 22.

71. Gordan Črpić and Stjepan Kušar, "Neki aspekti religioznosti u Hrvatskoj [Some Aspects of Religiosity in Croatia]," *Ephemerides theologicae Zagrabenses* 68, no. 4 (1999): 555-56.

72. Siniša Zrinščak and Gordan Črpić, "Dinamičnost u stabilnosti: religioznost u Hrvatskoj 1999. i 2008. godine [Dynamism in Stability: Religiosity in Croatia in 1999 and 2008]," *Društvena istraživanja: Journal for General Social Issues* 19, no.1-2 (2010): 18.

73. Ankica Marinović-Bobinac, "Necrkvena religioznost u Hrvatskoj [Non-Ecclesial Religiosity in Croatia]," *Društvena istraživanja* 4, no. 6 (1995); Željko Mardešić, *Rascjep u svetome [The Cleft in the Holy]* (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 2007), 489-546; Gordan Črpić and Jakov Jukić, "Alternativna

Today, Croatian Catholics are gradually recognizing that the pastoral strategies of “the city under siege” are no longer effective and must become those of the cosmopolitan city.<sup>74</sup> Theologian Stjepan Kušara and sociologist of religion Gordan Črpić, have analyzed the current state of Croatian Catholicism and summarized directives for the development of a new pastoral paradigm.<sup>75</sup> The new paradigm advocates the sharing of responsibility among all members of the Church. This means more lay participation in Church life and leadership and therefore more time for the clergy to fulfill their priestly roles. Sharing responsibility demands a change from the narrow-mindedness and group-think required for survival during the Communist period to a plurality of perspectives, opinions, and commitments within the wider frame of Catholic tradition, doctrine, and practice. While this will certainly challenge the old guard of religious leaders, the priests, religious and laity must nevertheless proceed. Because the majority of religious formation was received through families and parishes, the new pastoral paradigm calls us to rethink religious socialization of children and youth, and to strengthen families and parishes. The predictable and unavoidable individualization of religiosity and the fragmentation of society urge us to a healthy balance among life in small ecclesiastical movements, ecclesiastical authority, and other members of the broader society.<sup>76</sup> How much of this is

---

religioznost [Alternative Religiosity]," *Ephemerides theologicae Zagradienses* 68, no. 4 (1999); Zrinka Štimac, "Catholic Tradition and New Religious Movements: What Is New in the Present Religious Landscape in Croatia?," in *Religion and the Conceptual Boundary in Central and Eastern Europe: Encounters of Faiths*, ed. Thomas S. Bremer (Basingstoke [England], New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).

74. Črpić, 555-61.

75. Ibid., 561.

76. On the one hand, the ecclesiastical movements responded to the lack of a deeper religious life, and the generational psychological wounds of war and systematic oppression. On the other, they divided parishes by offering different forms of spirituality either within or outside of the parishes during normal

realized? What has developed in Croatia since the fall of the Communist regime? The answer is a great deal, but development of the new pastoral paradigm is not linear or unidirectional, and moreover, it still lacks clear boundaries and continuity between the traditional and the modern.

Modernized pastoral care is attempting to reevaluate the role of the laity, update the training of priests, develop religious socialization of children, youth, and young adults, offer possibilities for deeper religious commitment, and engage the contemporary media. New social structures have created new conditions for the gathering, organizing, and public activity of the laity. However, the role of the laity in positions of leadership in the Church is still not clear.<sup>77</sup> Laity is still unused, untapped.<sup>78</sup> The modernized priestly training is trying to prepare young priests for cooperation with the laity, but the deeply-rooted authoritarian mentality is resisting.

#### Summary: Religion and Identity in Transition

Croatia is a country with “too much history per square mile.”<sup>79</sup> Over the centuries, people in this tiny space have experienced the rapid changes of political entities and social structures; the innumerable cruel twists of war, poverty, and destruction; and the

---

parish celebrations. The problem was (and is) how to negotiate the important work with people and the traditional organization of the parishes.

77. Slavko Zec and Milivoj Guszak, "Vjernici laici u vršenju vlasti upravljanja-suradnja ili sudjelovanje? [Laity in the Governance-Cooperation or Participation?]," *Ephemerides theologicae Fluminenses* 45, no. 1 (2015).

78. Stjepan Baloban, "Vjernici laici: neiskorišten društveni i crkveni potencijal u Hrvatskoj [The Laity: Untapped Social and Church Potential in Croatia]," *Ephemerides theologicae Zagradienses* 82, no. 4 (2013).

79. Maria Todorova, *Balkan Identities: Nation and Memory* (Washington Square, N.Y.: New York University Press, 2004), 2.

painful process of radical identity transformation.<sup>80</sup> The remnants of these realities are physically present in Croatian living spaces. Various civilizations have shaped the Croatian language, diet, music, and mentality. History permeates contemporary Croatian memory, conversation, and daily life.

In all cases, the historical changes precipitated conflicts on the political, social, ideological, and religious levels. On the political level, the conflict was between autocracy and democracy; on the social level, between tradition and modernity; on the ideological level, between Catholicism and three radically different ideologies: liberalism, Nazism, and communism; and finally, on the religious level, between pre-and post-Vatican II Catholicism.<sup>81</sup> Although the various ideologies kept their names, Croats adapted and shaped them according to their context. Croatian Catholics participated in these realities either as supporters or opponents of the changes, and in either case, “justified their choices with reasons of their Christianity.”<sup>82</sup>

In this process, both the society and the Church changed. The Catholic Church altered its evaluation of modernity and secular society from outright rejection to silent reconciliation and a partial embrace of modernity’s positive and life-affirming aspects. Nationalism in Croatia became a “secular” religion of sorts. Croats planted the cult of

---

80. Ibid., 2-3.

81. I am using the insights of Croatian sociologist Željko Mardešić, who wrote under the pseudonym Jakov Jukić during the communist time. See more in Jakov Jukić, "Idejna i kulturološka strujanja u javnom životu hrvatskoga naroda u razdoblju od 1918. do 1941 [Ideological and Culturological Currents in the Public Life of the Croatian People from 1918 to 1941]," *Društvena istraživanja: Journal for General Social Issues* 10, no. 1-2 (2001): 51-52.

82. Jakov Jukić, "Kršćani u povijesnim prekretnicama XX. stoljeća u Hrvatskoj [Christians in the Historical Milestones of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century in Croatia]," *Ephemerides theologicae Zagradienses* 66, no. 2-3 (1997): 254-55, in the original Croatian, this phrase is “opravdali su svoje izbore argumentima njihova kršćanstva.”

the nation “in the core of Croatian Catholicism.”<sup>83</sup> That explosive combination created the political Catholicism of 1930 and enabled the creation of *Ustaša* ideology, though not all Catholics accepted it. Though the Catholic Church opposed and ultimately prevailed against the Communist regime, the siege mentality adopted in those years has left the Church disoriented within the new freedoms of a society marked by pluralism and free-market competition. Ironically, the passing of its role as carrier of the national identity to the secular institutions made the Church freer, but ultimately without clear direction and identity, both with regard to the role of the clergy and the agency of the laity.

Croatian national and religious identities were intertwined, collectivistic, diverse, multilayered, and fluid.<sup>84</sup> In the space of the last two hundred years, Croatian national identity has changed from being a small political unit among the multi-ethnic, multi-religious, and multi-linguistic “Babel” of the two Yugoslavias, to a dominant and national homogeneous nation in the European Union.<sup>85</sup> Contemporary Croatia is one large mosaic of many identities and contested narratives.

The Catholic elements of this mosaic are ever in flux, with the old and new versions of Catholicism juxtaposed but not necessarily harmonized. The layers of the old version contain dissimilar, fragmented Catholic identities—from those formed under the Ottomans, the Renaissance circles in Dalmatian cities, or the Habsburg state-controlled Catholicism; to various forms of political Catholicism tied to national renewal, the *Ustaše* regime, or Yugoslav resistance. The new layer consists of a contemporary, confused

---

83. Banac, 147.

84. About the collectivistic identity and its history in Croatia, see more in Jakelić.

85. Here I am borrowing the metaphor of “Babel” to describe the former Yugoslavia from Sabrina Petra Ramet. See Ramet’s seminal work *Balkan Babel: The Disintegration of Yugoslavia from the Death of Tito to the Fall of Milošević* (New York: Westview Press, 2002).

collection of manifestations—from traditional to modern, or from charismatic to traditionalist. Furthermore, to the diversity and conflictual elements must be added the regional differences, modifications in the urban and rural settings, gender, and generational alterations. In sum, many types of Catholicism have existed, and continue to exist in tension with one another in Croatia. Moreover, new forms are always emerging.

Identity is neither a static nor a fixed reality, as identity boundaries are endlessly permeable. It is important to note that personal religious identity is not merely received, but must be intentionally and actively (and reflexively) acquired, appropriated, and personalized (i.e. made one's own). In brief, though we are *born* Catholic, we must also *become* Catholic. Though this is a difficult task for everyone, the development of personal and collective religious identity is particularly daunting for young adults within the labyrinthine reality of Croatia today given the intensification of the contested versions of Catholicism within the freedoms afforded by democracy. The following chapter undertakes a social and religious profile of contemporary Croatian young adults.

## CHAPTER THREE: Croatian Young Adults

### Introduction

The following is an excerpt from an interview with Fr. Ike Mandurić, SJ. I find it appropriate to set the stage for my sociological profile of young adults in contemporary Croatia.

*Could you tell us from your experience of working with young adults what they expect from the Church?*

This is a difficult question right from the outset. The question is, what do you mean by “the Church”: the clergy, doctrine, the organization, or the mystical body of Christ? Regardless of what is meant, I think young adults first of all expect the Church to be holy! This is what they first seek to verify: is she authentic, are there traces in her of the holy, is God truly present in and with her? That is the most important thing. The second thing they expect from Church leaders—clergy, engaged laity, and particularly higher religious superiors—is to be authentic witnesses of Christ’s love. In the end, only that is important. The Church started with this witness, and with it and from it, the Church lives unceasingly, or, without it, collapses. Young people sense this; they cannot be fooled. Third, they expect the Church to be courageous, because love must be brave. Young adults do not like cowards: those who fear challenges, risks, modern life, or anything else. The church must be brave just as the apostles were brave, just as Christ was driven by love and was immeasurably brave. Young adults do not seek any benefit from the Church other than the affirmation that she is able to lead them, that she is worthy of leading them, and that she is ready to go until the end, radically and faithfully adhering to the principles she proclaims.<sup>1</sup> If young adults recognize that the Church wants to do this, knows how to do it, and will do it, I believe they are today readier than ever to follow her to the end, even unto death, with her and for her. This is precisely because no one else in the world can offer this [radical love and authenticity]. Therefore, I think that the Church today has a greater opportunity than ever before.

*What can young adults offer to the Church in the present time?*

The heart! Young adults today no longer have anyone to whom they can give their heart—there is no one worthy of it.<sup>2</sup> *Fr. Ike Mandurić, SJ, university chaplain*

---

1. All nouns in Croatian have grammatical genera and the word "church" in Croatian is feminine gender.

2. The whole interview with Fr. Ike Mandurić, SJ, university chaplain in Zagreb, is accessible on line on the web portal bitno.net. The Croatian text is “**Na početku, možete li nam reći Vaša iskustva u radu s mladima – što zapravo oni očekuju od Crkve?**” Jako teško pitanje odmah na početku. Pitanje je na



Every Friday at 8:00 PM in the Church of the Sacred Heart, the Jesuit chaplaincy at the University of Zagreb organizes adoration, confession, and Eucharist, followed by a social. Around 1000 young adults are regularly present. The Salesian chaplaincy at the university organizes catechesis twice a week. On average, 700 university students participate. In addition, many other chaplaincies attend to the spiritual needs of Zagreb University students.

If the religiosity of young people is “the indicator of social and religious change,” as sociologist Siniša Zrinščak claims, the questions arise: Who are the young adults in Croatia? How do they navigate their difficult transition to adulthood? What kind of problems do they encounter? What should we know about them in order to support them in their quest for identity and independence? How do they navigate the relationship between tradition and modernity, identity and daily life? What we can learn from them?

The basic question posed by my research is how to help Croatian Catholic young adults to connect religious identity and daily life. The first step in this research has been

---

što Vi mislite kad kažete Crkva: na kler, na njen nauk, na organizaciju, ili na mistično tijelo Kristovo. No, što god mislili, mislim da mladi od Crkve, kao prvo, očekuju da je sveta! I prvo što provjeravaju, što testiraju u njoj, jest upravo ovo: je li ona autentična, ima li u njoj tragova Svetoga, je li Bog u njoj i s njom. To im je najvažnije. Drugo, očekuju od svoga vodstva; od klera, pa i od angažiranih laika, i viših poglavara osobito, da su autentični svjedoci Kristove ljubavi. U krajnjoj liniji, jedino to i jest važno. Crkva je počela s takvim svjedočanstvom, i s njim i od njega neprestance živi ili bez njega propada. Mladi to osjećaju; njih se ne da prevariti. I treće: mislim da od Crkve očekuju da je hrabra! Jer, ljubav mora biti hrabra. Mladi ne vole kukavice: one koji se boje izazova, koji se boje rizika, koji se boje modernoga, ili bilo čega drugoga. A Crkva i mora biti hrabra – kao što su apostoli doista bili hrabri, i kao što je Krist, nošen ljubavlju, bio neizmjerljivo hrabar. Oni od Crkve ne traže prvenstveno nikakvu korist, nego potvrdu da je ona kadra povesti ih, da je vrijedna toga da ju se slijedi, i da je spremna ići do kraja radikalno i vjerno načelima koje naviješta. Ako prepoznaju da ona to hoće, zna i može – mladi su, vjerujem, danas spremniji nego ikada ići do kraja, pa i u pogibelj s njim i za nju. Upravo zato jer nitko drugi na svijetu nije kadar ponuditi takvo što. Zato, mislim, Crkva danas ima veću šansu nego ikada prije. **Da ne govorimo samo o očekivanju, što oni zapravo mogu zauzvrat ponuditi Crkvi, posebno u sadašnjem vremenu? Srce! Mladi danas nemaju više kome dati svoje Srce – nemaju nikoga tko je toga vrijedan,**” accessed August, 11 2017, <https://www.bitno.net/obitelj/mladi-veze-samci/pater-ivan-manduric-mladi-danas-nemaju-vise-kome-dati-svoje-srce-nemaju-nikoga-tko-je-toga-vrijedan/>.

to explore the complex Croatian geographical and historical context. In Chapter Two, I presented a historical development of Croatian national and religious identity, showing that rapid historical changes caused inner conflict on the political, sociological, ideological, and religious levels. Croatian national and religious identities are intertwined, collectivistic, diverse, multilayered, and fluid.

This chapter presents a sociological profile of young adults in contemporary Croatia. After a brief overview, the chapter will lay out the available data, with the aim of constructing a sociological profile of young adults in Croatia which measures demographics; education; economy; and civil, social, and personal behavior. The profile uses national empirical studies developed on a representative sample. The chapter seeks to address the following questions: Who are Croatian young adults? What are their problems and concerns? What are they looking for, existentially and religiously? What expectations do they have?

### Overview

Theoretically, the term “young adult” refers to the complex transition period from childhood to full adulthood.<sup>3</sup> Although the legal recognition of adulthood in Croatia is eighteen years of age, the reality is that while such persons are no longer adolescents, many “are not fully independent nor have they completed the full transition to adult roles in families, households, or work places.”<sup>4</sup> In brief, the legal status of adulthood and developmental processes are often asynchronous.

---

3. Vlasta Ilišin and Furio Radin, *Mladi uoči trećeg milenija [Young People on the Eve of the Third Millennium]* (Zagreb: Institut za društvena istraživanja u Zagrebu, 2002), 27.

4. Federal Interagency Forum on Child and Family Statistics, *America's Young Adults: Special Issue*, 2014 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2014), vi.

Two models of transition to full adulthood are present in modern societies.<sup>5</sup> The first is a traditional and synchronized model which includes attainment of economic independence, permanent employment, and the establishing of family. The second is modern and asynchronous, and less focused on compliance with traditional adult social norms. These patterns of transition correspond to two different concepts of young adulthood. The young adults in the traditional model are anxious to reach full adulthood as soon as possible. In the modern model, they desire to remain young adults for as long as possible, often postponing adult responsibilities and obligations as traditionally defined.<sup>6</sup>

In Croatia, these two conceptions of young adulthood co-exist in a polarized fashion. The modern model corresponds to the demographic of the younger, urban generation from the more developed regions; these are generally more educated, unmarried and nonreligious. To the adult-centered, traditional model belongs the elder generation, and those from rural and less-developed regions; these are generally less educated, married, and religious.<sup>7</sup>

In addition, there are two significant trends in modern societies which further complicate traditional designations of maturity and blur the line between young adulthood and full adulthood. The first is that the primary marker of maturity has shifted from the centrality of the marriage ritual itself to the status of parenthood (with or

---

5. Mirjana Ule, "Odnos omladine prema mladosti, odraslosti i budućnosti," [The Relationship of Young Adults toward Childhood, Adulthood, and the Future] in *Položaj, svest i ponašanje mlade generacije Jugoslavije*, ed. Srđan Vrcan (Beograd-Zagreb: CIDID-IDIS, 1986).

6. Ilišin and Radin, 28.

7. *Ibid.*, 44.

without marriage), and that the primary indicator of full adulthood is now the attainment of one's own living space. This shift reshapes the traditional synchronized model of transition to full adulthood. Second, modern society elevates a new ideal of adult men and women. This is to be always young, or possessing the desired features of young adults such as freedom, creativity, flexibility, openness, and youthful appearance.<sup>8</sup> In this way, the characteristics of young adulthood are imposed on older adults, who strive to emulate the young adults, while the young adults themselves are moving in the opposite direction—into full adulthood.

In the Croatian context, the legislature recognizes the term “young adults” (in the Croatian language *mladi*) as referring to people from the ages of fifteen to thirty.<sup>9</sup> Croatian legal experts agree on the lower age limit of the designation of young adulthood, but not on the upper limit. The lower age limit is determined by the end of elementary education in Croatia. The Department of Demography, Family, Youth and Social Policy suggests moving the upper age limit to thirty-five because of the extended preparation period in the education system, and the longer average life span of people in the modern world.<sup>10</sup> The Croatian sociologists Vlasta Ilišin and Vedrana Spajić-Vrkaš support this position, adding that the consequences of war and the transitional nature of post-Communist Croatian society also extend and complexify the period of transition to full

---

8. Ibid., 28.

9. The English and Croatian terms do not correspond exactly. Although the English term "young adults" corresponds to the meaning of the the Croatian term "mladi," the literal translation is in fact simply "youth." See article 3 of the Law on the Youth Advisory Boards, Croatian Parliament, "Zakon o savjetima mladih [the Law concerning Youth Advisory Boards]," Narodne novine, accessed January 17, 2017, [http://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2014\\_03\\_41\\_724.html](http://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2014_03_41_724.html).

10. "Mladi" [Youth], The web page of the Department of Demography, Family, Youth and Social Policy accessed January 17, 2017, <http://www.mspm.hr/istaknute-teme/mladi-1683/1683>.

adulthood.<sup>11</sup> For purposes of this study, I define Croatian young adulthood as the age group which falls roughly between eighteen and thirty five years, as the secondary level education with required religious socialization has typically been completed by eighteen years of age.

Croatian young adults are a distinct but heterogeneous social group. This population was born between 1982 and 2002. The oldest generation within this group has limited experience of the Communist regime, but a vivid experience of the Homeland War. They are most likely employed and have established families or plan to do so. The middle generations were born and grew up in post-communist Croatia. They are at the end of their university studies and/or unemployed, and most likely not yet married. The youngest generations grew up in the transitional society and have experienced economic crisis, are still in university studies, and/or unemployed. They have had opportunities to study in different European states and to travel much more extensively than the older generations, and have been exposed to American and global cultures.

Moreover, intra-generational differences also exist. In each generation, the young adults differ with regard to their individual and social maturity levels, socio-economic backgrounds, specific regional socialization, subculture, degrees of exposure to the Catholic tradition, and so forth.<sup>12</sup> The young adults from the eastern part of continental Croatia have, due to the war, experienced directly the destruction of their villages and cities, displacement, high levels of unemployment, and the violent deaths of family members. Their experience differs significantly from that of the young adults living in the

---

11. Ilišin and Spajić-Vrkaš, *Potrebe*, 6.

12. "Mladi," accessed January 17, 2017, <http://www.mspm.hr/istaknute-teme/mladi-1683/1683>.

western part of Croatia—on the Adriatic coast in Rijeka and Istria—as they have not experienced the destructions of war, the loss of family members, displacement, or high rates of unemployment.<sup>13</sup>

### **The Sociological Profile of Croatian Young Adults**

This sociological profile focuses on the key areas that describe contemporary Croatian young adults. The profile consists of the following categories: demographics; education; economy; and civil, social, and personal behavior.<sup>14</sup> The data presented in the charts are compiled from censuses, from national, and international empirical studies, and public governmental databases.

#### *Demographics of Croatian Young Adults*<sup>15</sup>

The number of young adults in Croatia is in constant decline.<sup>16</sup> In 1953, the number of young adults in the total population of Croatia was 1,038,483, or 27.7%; in

---

13. See more in Zora Raboteg-Šarić and Ivan Rogić, *Daleki život, bliski rub: kvaliteta života i životni planovi mladih na područjima posebne državne skrbi* [*Distant Life, Edge Close-up: The Quality of Life and Life Plans of Young People in the Areas of Special State Concern*] (Zagreb: Institute for Social Research 'Ivo Pilar', 2009).

14. My basic model is the pattern of the sociological profile developed by a study of the Federal Interagency Forum on Child and Family Statistics, *America's Young Adults: Special Issue*, 2014. The advantages of this study are clarity of categories, the presentation of data, and succinctness of interpretation. I modify the Federal pattern in two ways. In the first instance, I merge the categories of family formation with those of economy, as well as civil, social, and personal behavior, and health. In the second, I add religiosity and political activity to the behavioral category.

15. The demographic category includes the number of young adults, their gender, and their urban/rural distribution.

16. The numbers given are approximations. This is due to the change of the upper age limit in definitions of youth, and the age grouping of the population in the Censuses. The upper limit changed from twenty-seven in Communist times to twenty-nine in the period up to 2015; for the current time an upper limit of thirty-five has been suggested by the Croatian sociologists Vlasta Ilišin and Vedrana Spajić Vrkaš. The age grouping in the Census follows the four age patterns. It offers data for the following groups: 15-19, 20-24, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39.

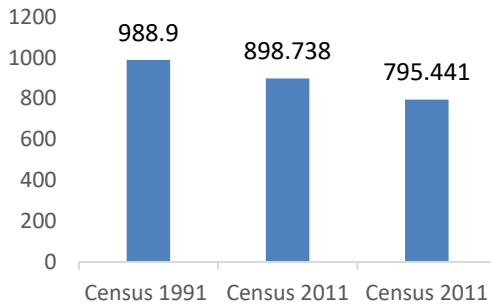


Figure 1. Number of young adults 1991-2011. Source: *Census of Population, Households and Dwellings*, 2011, 11.

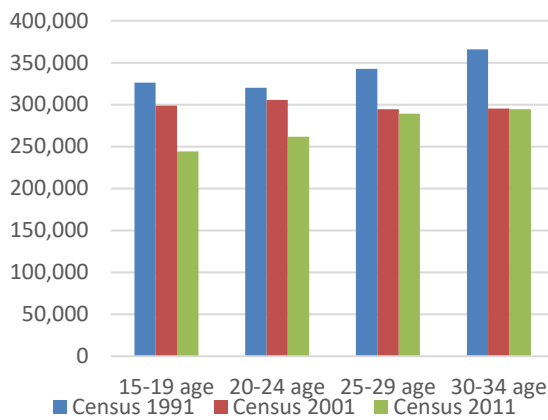


Figure 2. The change in age cohorts of young adults 1991-2011. Source: *Census of Population, Households and Dwellings*, 2011, 11; *Youth in a Time of Crisis*, 14.

It is important to note the relatively large percentage (40.4%) of young adults in the rural areas.<sup>20</sup> The rural areas have inadequate

2001, it was 898,700 or 20.3%; in 2011 it was 794,900 or 18.6%.<sup>17</sup> Of the total number of young adults 406,193 are male, and 388,706 are female.<sup>18</sup>

The oldest generation of young adults is 5% larger than the youngest.<sup>19</sup> The reasons for the declining numbers of young adults include long-term institutional disrepair, political and economic emigration, and chronic unemployment.

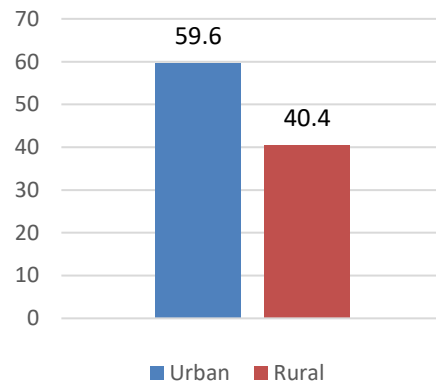


Figure 3. The relation of urban and rural percentage of young adults 2013. Source: Ilišin, *Youth in a Time of Crisis*, 14.

17. Ilišin, *Potrebe*, 7.

18. Ibid.

19. *Mladi: problemi ili resurs [Youth: Problems of Resource]*, ed. Furio Radin and Vlasta Ilišin (Zagreb: Institute for Social Research, 2007), 21-24.

20. A city is defined as a settlement with more than 10,000 persons, and represents an urban, historical, natural, economic and social entity. See article 5. Hrvatski Sabor, "Zakon o lokalnoj i područnoj (regionalnoj) samoupravi," [The Law concerning the Local and the Regional Governance] Narodne novine službeni list Republike Hrvatske, accessed January 17, 2017, [http://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2001\\_04\\_33\\_569.html](http://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2001_04_33_569.html).

infrastructure and poor resources, and lack support in several key areas, including the economy, culture, and education. Such living conditions often lead to social isolation and exclusion, and a lower quality of life.<sup>21</sup>

### *Education of Croatian Young Adults*<sup>22</sup>

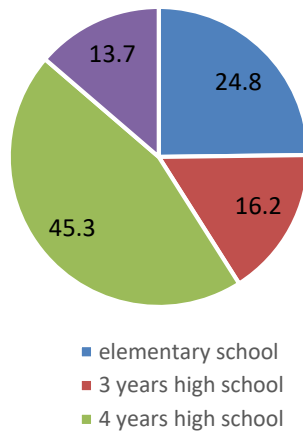


Figure 4. Educational levels of young adults in 2013. Source: Ilišin, *Youth in a Time of Crisis*, 14.

Existing data show that the maximal educational attainment of the majority of young adults in Croatia is high school. This suggests significantly limited opportunities for the future.<sup>23</sup> A promising sign is the rising number

(from 82,886 in the winter semester 1995/6 to 144, 238 in the winter semester 2015/16)

of the young adults enrolled in higher education.<sup>24</sup> Of these, 56.8 % are female.<sup>25</sup>

21. Vlasta Ilišin, Dejana Bouillet, Anja Gvozdanović, and Dunja Potočnik, *Youth in a Time of Crisis* (Zagreb: Institute for Social Research and Idiz-Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2013), 14.

22. The category of education includes educational attainment, age cohorts, gender, and distribution in the universities. Educational attainment is understood as the highest completed educational level. Educational attainment is associated with various conditions such as income, employment, political participation, educational attainment of parents, and so forth. The level of educational attainment is an indicator of a young adult's future.

23. The Croatian educational system consists of four levels: preschool education (ages 5-7), elementary education (ages 7-15), secondary school, which is divided into high schools, vocational, and artistic secondary schools (ages 15-18), and university education (ages 18- up). See more in Ministry of Science and Education of the Republic of Croatia, *Guide through the Croatian Education System* (Zagreb: Ministry of Science and Education of the Republic of Croatia, 2016).

24. Croatian Bureau of Statistics, *Studenti upisani na stručni i sveučilišni studij u zimskom semestru ak. g. 2015./2016.* [*Students Enrolled in Professional and University Study, Winter Semester of the 2015/2016 Academic year*], Statistika u nizu, Obrazovanje i kultura; obrazovanje- pregled po županijama. [Statistics in line, Education and culture; education-regional overview], accessed February 10, 2017. <http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv/publication/StatisticsInLine.htm>.

25. Hrvatski ured za statistiku; Priopćenje godina LIII, *Studenti upisani na stručni i sveučilišni studij u zimskom semestru ak. g. 2015. /2016.* [Croatian Bureau of Statistics; First Release Year LIII,



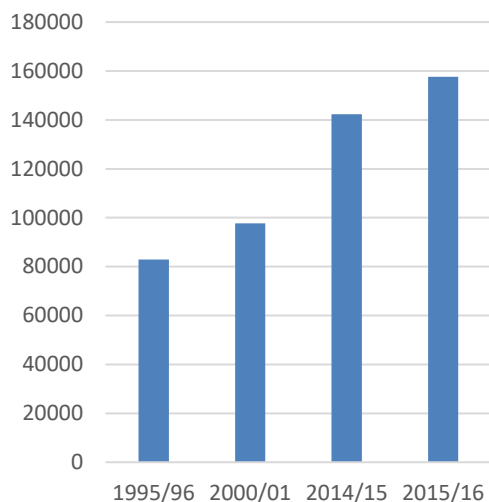


Figure 5. Number of university students 1995-2015.  
Source: Potočnik, "Socijalni status studenata," 66.

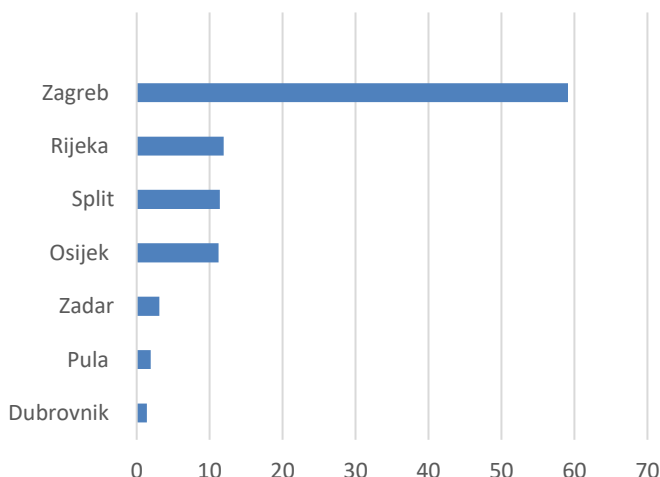


Figure 6. The distribution of university students, 2014-2016.  
Source: Potočnik, "Socijalni status studenata," 68.

The increase of university-educated young adults indicates that the younger generation of this population will be more educated than older generations of young adults. In addition, their educational levels will exceed those of their parents.

The University of Zagreb has three-fifths of Croatia's total student population. The

students at the University of Zagreb

were mostly born in Zagreb, finished gymnasium with the highest scores, focus on science, and are from more educated, higher-income families. The student populations of the other universities differ significantly from those of Zagreb. The students in the smaller

universities are mostly from rural areas, finished high school with good scores, are from less-educated and lower-income families, and concentrate on social studies and the

---

Students Enrolled on Professional and University Study, Winter Semester of 2015/2016 Academic Year] Zagreb, August 2016, number 8.1.7, January 17, 2017, [http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv\\_Eng/publication/2016/08-01-07\\_01\\_2016.htm](http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv_Eng/publication/2016/08-01-07_01_2016.htm).

humanities.<sup>26</sup> Almost all are included in the Bologna system of education.<sup>27</sup>

### *Economic Levels of Croatian Young Adults*<sup>28</sup>

The unemployment level of young adults in Croatia has been rising. The real unemployment level is higher (50%) than the official percentage (24.4%) because the chart reflects only registered unemployment. Unregistered unemployment appears in the form of “unregistered” part time work or economic migration to other parts of the

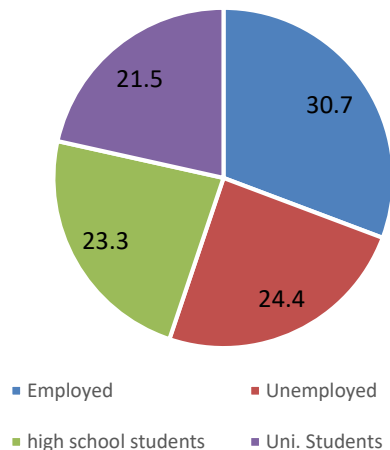


Figure 7. Economic levels of young adults 2013. Ilišin, "Mladi u vremenu krize," 14.

European Union. The real data are therefore difficult to obtain.<sup>29</sup>

Regarding income levels and living arrangements, three-fourths of young adults are economically dependent on their parents, and two-thirds live with their parents due to the ongoing financial crisis. Living with

parents creates great insecurity and lack of

---

26. Dunja Potočnik, "Socijalni status studenata " [Social Status of University Students] in *Sociološki portret hrvatskih studenata* [Sociological Portrait of Croatian Students], ed. Vlasta Ilišin, Biblioteka znanost i društvo (Zagreb: Institute for Social Research, 2014), 68-74.

27. The Bologna process is an educational reform in European countries with the goals of ensuring compatibility in standards and quality of European higher education. The process started in 1998, and 50 countries currently participate in it. The name comes from the place where that agreement was signed after the 800<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Bologna University. See more on the official website of the European commission dedicated to the education, accessed August, 10 2017, [http://ec.europa.eu/education/policy/higher-education/bologna-process\\_en](http://ec.europa.eu/education/policy/higher-education/bologna-process_en), and <https://www.ehea.info/>.

28. The economic category considers employment status, income, and living arrangement of young adults.

29. See more in Drago Župarić-Iljić, *Iseljavanje iz Republike Hrvatske nakon ulaska u Europsku Uniju* [Emigration from the Republic of Croatia Following Accession to the European Union] (Zagreb: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung - Zagreb, 2016).

satisfaction with life generally, and postpones socio-economic independence. An average family has 3.5 persons and owns one car and one computer. Ninety percent of young adults have a personal room. One-third of families have financial difficulties, and one-fifth cannot cover financial needs.<sup>30</sup> These factors partially explain the ratio of married (20%) to non-married (80%) young adults.

### *Civil, Social, and Personal Behavior of Croatian Young Adults*

#### Political Engagement of Croatian Young Adults

The civil, social, and personal behavior category includes political engagement, values, religiosity, use of free time, and health. Young adults in Croatia are divided into two groups with regard to political engagement. Those in the first are older, more educated, and employed. Those in the second are younger, less educated, and likely to be unemployed. Naturally, those in the older group have more experience and knowledge of how politics works. Most in this group are more interested in the politics of the EU than in the politics of the neighboring

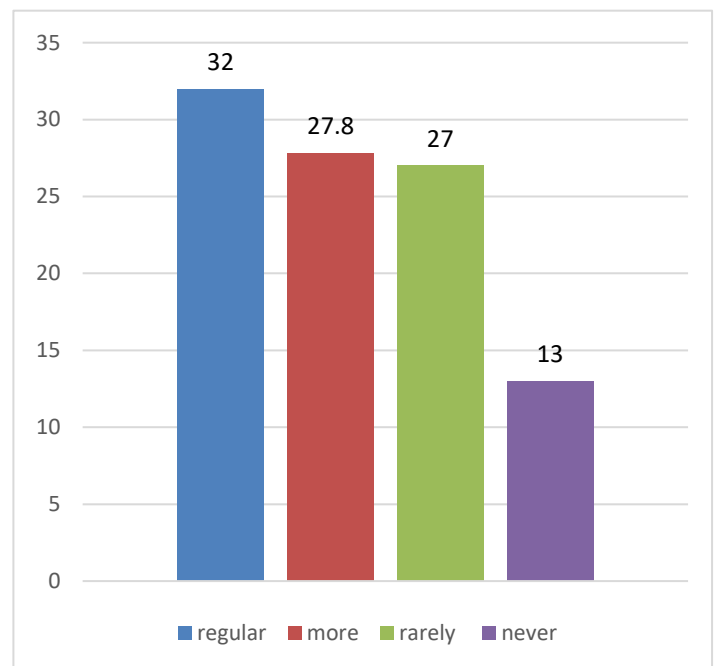


Figure 8. Participation in voting 2015.  
Source: Ilišin, *Demokratski potencijali mladih u Hrvatskoj*,

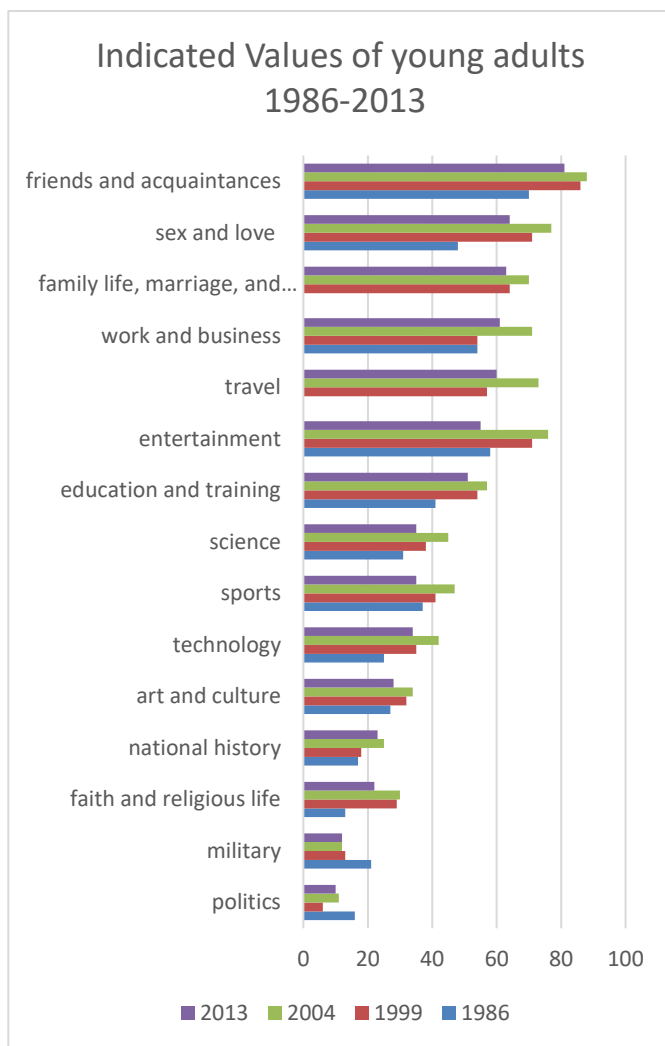
30. Ilišin and Radin, *Youth*, 19.

countries of the former Yugoslavia. The main source of information about politics for both groups is TV and the Internet.

Conversations about politics with peers and parents are very rare. In general, young adults across the spectrum are in the center on the ideological scale, skewing 5.58% to the right. The more educated and urban young adults incline toward the political left, while the less educated, and those from rural areas, toward the political right. In general, young adults are not homogeneous in their support of any political party, and are broadly dispersed across a wide spectrum of parties. A majority of them participate in the voting process, though they do not feel that their vote influences political outcomes. Their greatest trust is in the police, the judicial system, and the civil society (religion, nonprofits) but no one sector claims the trust of a majority of young adults. They are realistic about the problems of society and the situation of the state. Despite that, they are optimistic about the future.<sup>31</sup>

---

31. Ibid., 107-26; Vlasta Ilišin, Anja Gvozdanović, and Dunja Potočnik, *Demokratski potencijali mladih u Hrvatskoj* [*Democratic Potential of Croatian Youth*] (Zagreb: Institut za društvena istraživanja, and Centar za demokraciju i pravo Miko Tripalo, 2015).



*Values of Croatian Young Adults<sup>32</sup>*

The values monitored in Croatia with regard to young adults include material status, social status, professional success, power, nationality, political participation, leisure, independence, media success, privacy, and faith.<sup>33</sup>

The interest level regarding all the values increased in the period of transition until 2010 but declined in the period of

Figure 9. Values between 1986 until 2013. Source: Gvozdanović, *Vrijednosti u hrvatskom društvu*, 181.

32. In sociology, the rubric “values” indicates “group conceptions of the relative desirability of things,” accessed August 11, 2017, <http://www.sociologyguide.com/basic-concepts/Values.php>. “Values” includes the following dimensions: desirability, hierarchical organization, stability, and real influence on the individual or group. Desirability refers to the inspirational dimension or describes the goals towards which an individual strives. The hierarchical organization suggests that values have different levels of importance for individuals; there are also different levels of desirability. Stability points to the continual presence in the life of the individual or society despite any change of social circumstances. Values influence individuals on the cognitive, affective, and behavioral levels. Anja Gvozdanović and Vlasta Ilišin, *Vrijednosti u hrvatskom društvu [Values in Croatian Society]* (Zagreb: Centar za demokraciju i pravo Miko Tripalo, 2016), 170.

33. Croatian scholars developed a ladder of eleven values for the needs of the Communist party during the eighties. This set of values continues to be used today by researchers. The values correspond to or are described by short sentences. Material status is described as having more money and an apartment; social status as a respectable social position; professional success as becoming known in one’s occupation or profession by the results of one’s work; power as reaching a higher position; nationality as expressing one’s own nationality and being faithful to the national tradition; political affirmation as recognition of one’s work by political parties and institutions; leisure as choosing the entertainment one wants; independence as being one’s own master and dealing only with what is wanted; media success as becoming famous in music, sports, or the entertainment industry; privacy as living quietly in the family and among friends; faith as living in accordance with the teaching of the religion.

consolidation around 2013. It is important to note the significant increase of interest and participation in faith and religion after 1991.<sup>34</sup>

Sociological research done in the period 1986-2013 suggests the co-existence of two contradictory trends.<sup>35</sup> The first is a growth of individual and family values (rather than the collective). The second trend is a growth and consolidation of the traditional values of nationality and faith. Currently, the most important values for Croatian young adults are independence, privacy, and material status. Today, Croatian young adults retreat within the world of individuality and are increasingly losing interest in social values. The clear distinction between individual and social values is a sign of political and economic crisis. In this crisis, the achievement of socio-economic independence is close to impossible for young adults. This causes frustration and a lack of trust in the basic institutions of society, leaving only confidence in one's own strength and the support of one's family and friends. The trend of growth and consolidation of traditional values appears in contradiction to individual values because the independence might be seen as militating against the collectivist values of faith or nationality. At the same time, in my understanding, traditional values can also support independence and privacy. Moreover, young adults naturally become more traditional with age, with some exceptions.

Values are distributed geographically in three specific areas. Young adults from urban areas and the west of Croatia prefer independence, are less religious, and are

---

34. Scholars point out the increase of faith and religious life in the post-communist period. See notes 3 and 4 in Ilišin, *Vrijednosti*, 177-78. See also Ilišin and Radin, *Mladi*, 150.

35. Ilišin, *Mladi uoči*, 47-77; Ilišin and Radin, *Mladi*, 90-107; 137-55; Ilišin, *Potrebe*, 16-27.

oriented toward liberal political parties. Young adults from the rural areas are on average less educated, favor traditional values, and are oriented toward conservative political parties. Young adults from eastern Croatia are a singular case. They live in areas devastated by war and show radical and paradoxical value preferences. On the one hand, they desire extreme independence or self-sufficiency, and on the other hand, they prefer extreme right political parties and traditional values, statements which appear to be in direct opposition to one another.<sup>36</sup> In short, Croatian young adults are a heterogeneous group which shares simultaneously two sets of seemingly incommensurable values.<sup>37</sup> The first set is more individualistic and self-affirming and is shared by wealthier, more educated, and urban young adults. The second set is more traditional, and is shared by less educated and rural young adults of lower social status. It seems that young adults are an indicator of the larger socio-political and cultural changes of Croatian society, and that in real life they mix modern and traditional values.

### Religiosity of Croatian Young Adults

Religion provides individuals and groups with a sense of meaning and belonging.<sup>38</sup> Group religiosity is stable, coherent, and institutionalized. Individual

---

36. Ilišin and Radin, *Mladi*, 147.

37. Ilišin, *Vrijednosti*, 194-95.

38. A sociological perspective on religion strives to be empirical and objective. Sociologists use substantive definitions (trying to establish what religion is), and functional definitions (describing what religion does). In sociology, religion is described through objective and measurable categories of religiosity. Religiosity has four dimensions or indicators: religious belief or essential cognitive aspects, religious ritual or symbolic actions that represent religious meaning, religious experience or individual involvement with the sacred, and involvement with a religious community (or awareness of belonging to a group of believers). See Meredith B. McGuire, *Religion: The Social Context* (Long Grove, Ill.: Waveland Press, 2008), 8-22.

religiosity is a personally-shaped version of the institutionalized forms, without a pure and coherent acceptance of Church teaching, but instead embracing a non-institutionalized form of prayer, and irregular personal participation in religious service.<sup>39</sup> The changes in the indicators of religiosity coincide with the social and political changes in Croatia.<sup>40</sup>

With respect to confessional affiliation, the main trend was an increase in the number of Catholics and a reduction in the numbers pertaining to all other groups, especially non-believers.

These data cover the period up to 2012.

There is no available data after 2012.

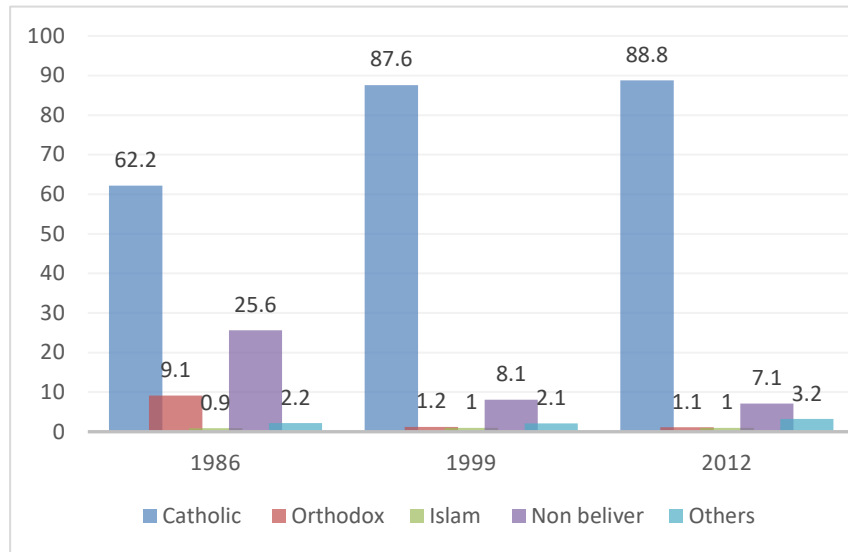


Figure 10. Confessional affiliation of young adults 1986-2012. Source: Goja, *Some Aspects of Religiosity*, 149.

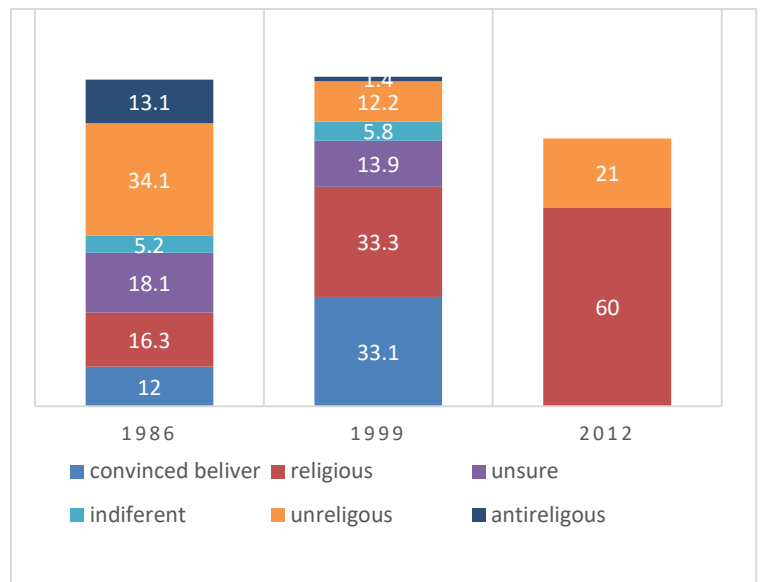


Figure 11. Religious self-identification of young adults 1986-2012. Source: Goja, *Some Aspects of Religiosity*, 151; Ilišin, *The Need, Problems, and Potential*, 23.

39. Krunoslav Nikodem and Siniša Zrinščak, "Croatia's Religious Story: The Coexistence of Institutionalized and Individual Religiosity," in *The Social Significance of Religion in the Enlarged Europe Secularization, Individualization, and Pluralization*, ed. Detlef Pollack, Olaf Muller, Gert Pickel (Farnham, Surrey, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), 207-08. Jadranka Goja, "Neki aspekti religioznosti hrvatske mladezi 1986. I 1999. godine [Some Aspects of Croatian Youth Religiosity 1986 and 1999 Years]," *Politička misao* no.1 (2000): 148-160.

40. The major periods into which social and political changes fall are 1) during the communist period (up through 1991), 2) during the Homeland war (1991-1995), and 3) post-communist transition (1995 to the present).



The consonance of religious affiliation (88.8%) and national self-identification (90.42%) suggests the homogenization of the nation in the post-communist period and reveals the

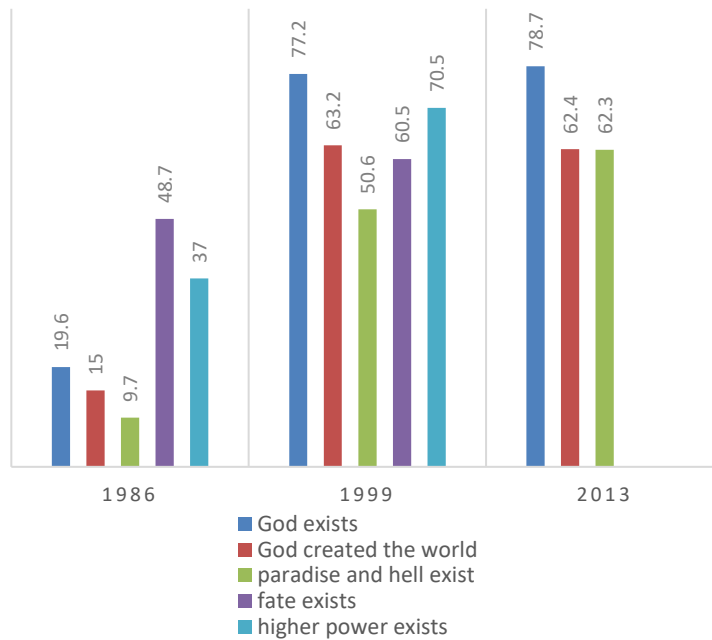


Figure 12. Acceptance of religious teaching 1986-2013.  
Source: Goja, *Some Aspects of Religiosity*, 153.

intertwining of the national and the religious in traditional Catholicism.

Until 1986, the non-religious category dominated among young adults.<sup>41</sup> Between 1986 and 2012, the religious category grew to 67%. After 2012, the religious category decreased from 67% to 60% and the non-religious grew

from 10% to 21%.<sup>42</sup> If these estimates are reliable, the trend seems to coincide with the entry of Croatia into the European Union and a greater encounter of traditional Croatian religiosity with a pluralistic culture. The discrepancy between confessional affiliation and religious self-identification reveals differentiation in dominant Catholic groups.

41. Religious self-identification is measured according to the following categories: convinced believer, religious, unsure and indifferent, non-religious, and anti-religious. The convinced believer accepts the teaching of the Church. The religious accept the teachings partially. The unsure one reflects on the teaching, but is not sure whether or not s/he accepts it.

42. This trend is suggested by the 2015 study *Potrebe, problemi i potencijali mladih u Hrvatskoj [The Need, Problems, and Potential of Young Adults in Croatia]*. In my view, the study is problematic, however, because it uses unpublished data and merges categories. See more in Vlasta Ilišin and Vedrana Spajić-Vrkaš, *Potrebe, problemi i potencijali mladih u Hrvatskoj* (Zagreb: Istraživački izvještaj, Ministarstvo socijalne politike i mladih, 2015), 23.

The indicator of religious teaching shows an increasing trend of the simultaneous embrace of Church teaching and non-ecclesial religious teaching. The growth of the acceptance of ecclesial Church teaching would lead us to expect the diminishment of the non-ecclesial forms, but surprisingly this has not happened.

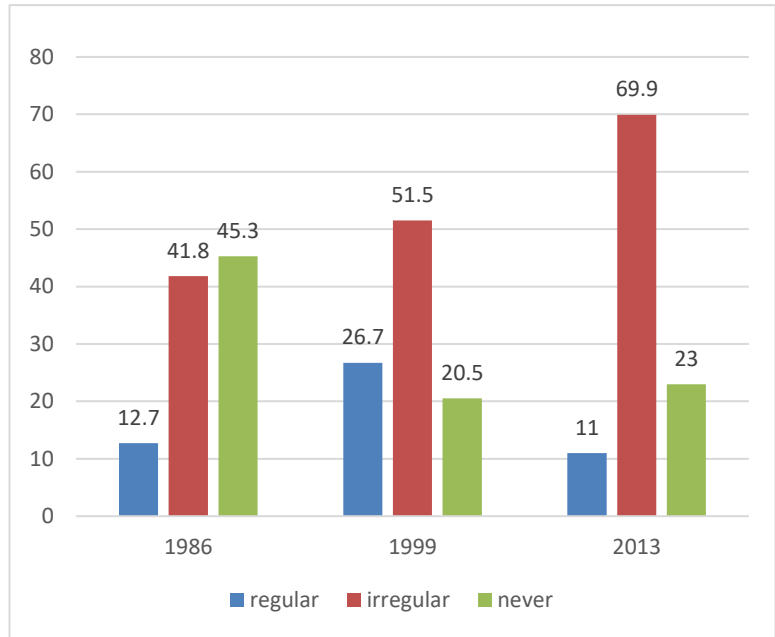


Figure 13. Religious practice of young adults 1986-2013. Source: Goja, *Some Aspects of Religiosity*, 155 Ilišin, *Potrebe, problemi i potencijali*, 75.

The reason for this discrepancy is not clear.

Religious practice is measured through participation in religious services. In Figure 13, the category “regular” indicates attendance at least once per week. The category “irregular” refers to participation once per month or during religious feasts. The trend is an increase in regular attendance, but the largest group consists of those who participate only in the major feasts. The shift happened during the change of the political system, which may be explained by three factors. The first is the removal of previous religious repression. The second is that the desirability of being Catholic may rest in part in the political advantages it confers. The third is the filling of an ideological vacuum after the environment of despair created by the communist ideology.

The confluence among Croatian young adults of a high degree of confessional affiliation, religious self-identification, simultaneous acceptance of orthodox and non-

orthodox Church teaching, and low Church attendance, is intriguing and complex. The prominent sociologist Antonio Dragun suggests that the reason for the co-existence of these ostensibly disparate elements among the young adult population is due to the fact that youth religiosity is “marked by a mixture of (late) modernity and tradition.”<sup>43</sup> He sees the dominance of modernity in young adults’ use of free time, value systems, and lack of strict adherence to core Church teaching. The influence of tradition remains dominant in the field of self-identification with regard to the confessional, religious, and national elements.

#### Free time of Croatian Young Adults

Free time has a special place in the process of socialization and identity formation of young adults. In contemporary societies, free time is the time remaining after the compulsory activities of school, work, or family obligations are completed.<sup>44</sup> Free time or leisure is a period when young adults can engage in activities important to them. The choice of activities is predisposed by their previous socialization and existing living conditions. Free time has three functions: restoration, entertainment, and personal development.<sup>45</sup>

Free time is linked with the interests of young adults. “Interest” here refers to the activities which young adults desire to do, or their plans and aspirations. Interests reveal to us how young adults use free time. Interest has three components: cognitive,

---

43. Dragun, “Religiosity,” 105.

44. Potočnik, “Social status,” 344.

45. *Ibid.*, 346.

emotional, and behavioral.<sup>46</sup> The term *declared interests* refers to interests articulated by the young adults themselves.

The goal of most empirical studies is to discover the hierarchy and structure of interests, and the activities pursued by young adults in their free time. Hierarchy explores the ranking of activities or interests from the most to the least popular, and the division of the activities or interests through the lens of three areas: private, private-public and public. Structural analysis examines the patterns of the behavior linked with the socio-economic situation of young adults.

The hierarchy of activities and interests has not changed since the 1960s. The model is simple. The most important activities/interests of young adults belong to the sphere of privacy (socializing, entertainment, sex, love, and travel). The least important are the public sphere (politics, military, and nation) and personal development, especially intellectually and physically challenging activities.<sup>47</sup> In the daily life of Croatian young adults, the average amount of free time consists of 75% socializing (real or virtual) with friends, watching television or web-based movies, and listening to music; the rest is taken up with shopping, domestic activities, and reading the news. The hierarchy of interests and activities of Croatian young adults is identical to that of young adults in other European countries.<sup>48</sup> That hierarchy will naturally change as young adults mature and take on the responsibilities of full adulthood.

---

46. Ilišin and Radin, *Mladi*, 182.

47. Ilišin and Radin, *Mladi*, 198, 298; Ilišin, *Youth*, 87.

48. Ilišin and Radin, *Mladi*, 187.

Within this relatively stable model two changes are significant. The first is in the context of socializing and entertainment. The biggest change is the increased use of the Internet (only 6% of young adults do not have Internet access). Young adults spend 3.38 hours per day on the Internet. Of that time, 76.6% is used for social networking (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Snapchat), while the remainder of the time is spent watching movies or listening to music.<sup>49</sup> Internet usage has reduced partying, television watching, and theater attendance, and increased virtual socializing. The second change is in the acquiescence to the demands of modern global culture. Young adults consider as modern the cultivation of their own style, wearing of brand-name clothes, and stylish appearance.

The increase of participation in all activities until 2013 (the most recent data available) suggests more free time, more money, and greater availability of goods. Considering the age cohort, differences between younger and older young adults are expected. The younger, unemployed, and urban young adults have more free time and therefore participate in more activities outside the home. The older, employed, and married young adults have less free time, are occupied with family, and spend more time involved in domestic activities. The surprise within the data is the increased interest in religion. Namely, it increased from 12.6% in 1986 to 29.0% in 1999. The figures for 2004 also show a difference with the respect to age: in that year 29.7% of the younger

---

49. Ilišin, *Youth*, 74; Vlasta Ilišin and Dunja Potočnik, "Mladi i nove tehnologije "[Youth and New Technologies] in *Mladi: problem ili resurs*, ed. (Zagreb: Institut za društvena istraživanja, 2007), 105-35. Dunja Potočnik, "Studenti u umreženom društvu" [University Students in an Internet Society] in *Sociološki portret hrvatskih studenata* ed. Vlasta Ilišin (Zagreb: Institut za društvena istraživanja, 2014), 377-95.

cohort (ages 18-24) showed an interest in religion, while 40.7% of the older cohort (ages 25-30) showed such an interest.<sup>50</sup>

Structural analysis reveals two main models of young adults' use of free time—the urban and the rural. The urban model consists of entertainment and activities happening outside the home. The young adults in this category are twenty-five years or younger, mostly non-religious, unemployed, and unmarried university and older high school students with solid financial backgrounds. The rural model consists of listening to folk music, attending Church-related activities, socialization with the wider family, and listening to the radio. In the rural model we find more religious engagement among young adults from the remote areas of Dalmatia, and northern and eastern Croatia, who are less educated, unemployed, and typically female. The rural model successfully resists the forces of modernization and globalization. This model has been relatively stable since the 1960s.<sup>51</sup>

Ultimately, it seems that Croatian young adults represent an overlapping of these two prominent patterns of behavior. Moreover, after 2002, location (whether city or village) was no longer significant in the urban/rural divide with regard to use of free time. This suggests roughly the same needs, financial capacities, and availability of entertainment across Croatia.<sup>52</sup>

There are a series of other models. These include elitism, engagement in sports, family-centered commitments, activism, consumption of media, and various patterns of

---

50. Because no later data have yet been published, we do not know the current situation, and consequently cannot tell whether this trend towards greater interest in faith has continued or not.

51. *Ibid.*, 191.

52. Ilišin, *Mladi*, 189.

passivity or inactivity. The elitist model represents a small number of the population with highly developed cultural habits and tastes, and is linked to a highly educated, wealthier, urban population. The sports category includes active and passive sports activities and refers mostly to young males. The family model consists of domestic tasks, shopping, and socializing with family and friends. The family model is linked to the perceived role of women in the household, and suggests the patriarchal arrangement of family structure, and traditional values. The activist model is focused on volunteer work and political participation. The media model consists of watching television, and listening to the radio and music. The passive model includes sleeping, watching television, and engaging in computer games. Among them, the family model is the most prominent, followed by the patterns of media consumption, passivity, sports, elitism, and activism.

### Health of Croatian Young Adults

The category of health is based on the indicators of the self-perceived health conditions, and the socially unacceptable and risky behavior of Croatian young adults. In general, Croatian young adults are healthy: 75% have had at least one minor illness such as a cold; 25% have had a minor physical injury; 10% have obesity problems; 6% have psychological difficulties; and 4% have had a serious illness.<sup>53</sup> Health issues are evenly distributed across Croatia.

Socially unacceptable and risky behavior includes irresponsible sexual behavior, consumption of alcohol, use of drugs, and violence. Concerning sexual behavior, 75% of

---

53. Ilišin, *Potrebe*, 72; Eurostat, "Being Young in Europe Today - Health," Statistical Office of European Union, last modified 15 February 2017, at 14:16, accessed 24.2., 2017. [http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Being\\_young\\_in\\_Europe\\_today\\_-\\_health#Health\\_status](http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Being_young_in_Europe_today_-_health#Health_status).

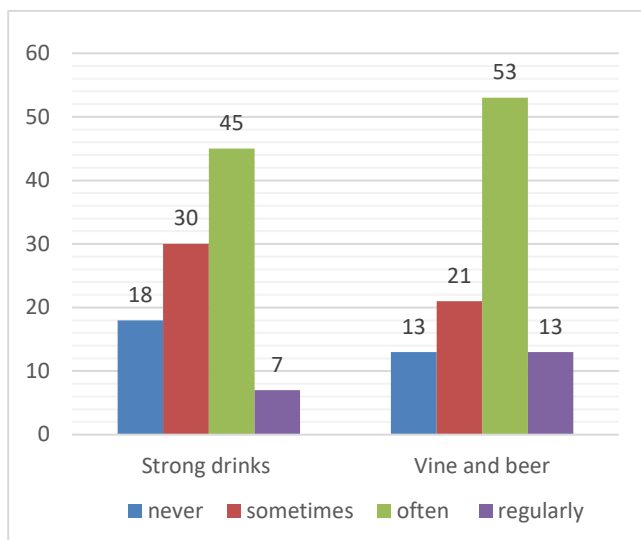


Figure 13. Consumption of alcohol in % in 2015. Ilišin and Spajić Vrkaš, *Potrebe, problemi i potencijali*,

young adults are sexually active, and at least 25% do not use proper protection. This would suggest that many young adults are irresponsible toward themselves and their partners in sexual intercourse.

While the consumption of alcohol remained relatively stable in the period 1999-2016, the intensity and regularity of the patterns of

consumption increased. The level of drunkenness is alarming: 17% are regularly drunk, 34% are frequently drunk, 28% are rarely drunk, and 32% have never been drunk.<sup>54</sup> The surprising change is the increase in the number of young women involved in high levels of alcohol consumption. A positive sign is the increase in the number of nonsmokers. The percentage grew from 23% in 1999, to 27% in 2004, to 43% in 2016.<sup>55</sup> These figures may be attributed to a successful prevention campaign.

Consumption of drugs is also decreasing in comparison to 2004. Within the young adult population, 25% used light drugs, 6% used synthetic drugs, 3% used heroin or cocaine, and 1% used synthetic tranquilizers.<sup>56</sup> Though levels of violence have remained stable, verbal violence changed form and moved to the virtual world via social networks.

54. Ilišin, *Potrebe*, 75.

55. *Ibid.*, 75-76.

56. *Ibid.*, 76.



Violence is linked with the younger, unemployed, and less-educated male population. It seems that the use of alcohol and drugs leads to irresponsible sexual behavior, road incidents, and violence.<sup>57</sup>

### Summary

There were around 750,000 young adults in Croatia in 2016. By this time the majority of them (40%) had finished high school, while only 13.7% had finished a higher degree. Fifty percent of young adults are unemployed, and three-quarters of young adults live with their families due to financial reasons. Politically, they are non-homogeneous, with neither of the two major political parties claiming a majority of their support. Sociologically, they belong to overlapping patterns of urban and rural behavior, mixing urban modern and rural traditional values. Religiosity is increasing, though gaps among affiliation, religious self-identification, and practice coexist with the acceptance of ecclesial and non-ecclesial teachings. Young adults spend their free time predominantly in the spheres of privacy, friends, and family. Their usage of the Internet and engagement in virtual reality has significantly increased. They are generally healthy, but irresponsible sexual behavior and drunkenness are serious problems. Nevertheless, Croatian young adults are aware of social, political, and economic problems, and have a large reserve of optimism.

Croatian young adults face two transition processes, as sociologists Vlasta Ilišin and Anja Gvozdanović have noted. On the one hand, Croatian young adults are going through a complex and demanding universal transition from youth to full adulthood. On the other hand, that process is happening in a society which itself is in a process of radical

---

57. Ibid, 77.

transformation.<sup>58</sup> Institutions, rites of passage, and social norms which have traditionally guided the process of transition to full adulthood have been largely dismantled or fundamentally transformed. The process of intergenerational transition is lost, and new social norms and building blocks of identity formation have not yet been established. Croatian young adults have thus been left to search on their own for identity, maturity, integrity, and the formation of life goals.<sup>59</sup> In the search for guidance in the complex process of achieving full adulthood in the cultural and religious shatterbelt that is Croatia, young adults find it useful to use Asian spiritual practices, particularly Buddhist practices, as they are simple, concrete, and practical, and in many ways compatible with Catholic spiritual practices in daily life. With this in mind, the next chapter explores the surprising and potentially fruitful connection between Jesuits and Buddhists in Croatia, with an eye toward the development of a spiritual practice of daily life for Croatian young adults in the final chapter.

---

58. Ilišin, *Vrijednosti*, 173.

59. *Ibid.*, 174.

## CHAPTER FOUR: Old Acquaintances—Jesuits and Buddhists

### Introduction

In May 2017, in Zagreb, two Catholic young adults, psychologists by profession, joined a retreat which offered the Ignatian Spiritual Exercises in Daily Life. After finishing the first week of the retreat, they remarked: “The ‘awareness’ of the Exercises looks a lot like the ‘mindfulness’ of psychotherapy.”<sup>1</sup> This anecdote is intriguing, raising the questions of how, in the “most Catholic country in Europe,”<sup>2</sup> ordinary students of psychology (and self-identified Catholics) are surprised to discover that the religious concept of awareness in the Ignatian Exercises mirrors precisely the secular concept of mindfulness with which they as psychologists are so familiar. How did that knowledge arrive in Croatia? Are they aware that the concept of “mindfulness” in psychological terms is a secularized version of a common Buddhist spiritual practice? And why would two modern, university-educated young practitioners, who deal on a daily basis with cognitive behavioral issues and the push for self-transparency in their clients (and presumably in themselves), feel the need to make an Ignatian spiritual retreat?

In the last chapter, I presented a sociological profile of Croatian young adults, noting that this group consists of three distinct and heterogeneous generations born between 1982 and 2002. Croatian young adults face two transition processes, as sociologists Vlasta Ilišin and Anja Gvozdanović have observed. As noted in the conclusion to the previous chapter, Croatian young adults are negotiating the difficult

---

1. Marija Selak, personal communication to author, Zagreb, Croatia, May 12, 2017.

2. Vjekoslav Perica, "The Most Catholic Country in Europe? Church, State, and Society in Contemporary Croatia," *Religion, State & Society* 34, no. 4 (December 2006): 311-346.

transition from youth to full adulthood within a society undergoing a post-Communist transformation. Within this turmoil, Croatian young adults have been left to search on their own for identity, maturity, and integrity.

The goal of this chapter is to provide a historical contextualization of the connections, relationships, and mutual understandings between the Jesuits and Buddhist traditions. The guiding questions are: What are the historical connections between the Jesuits and Buddhist traditions? How did these connections unfold? How did Jesuits and Buddhists construct or imagine one another? I will demonstrate that the contacts between the Jesuits and the Buddhists are surprisingly old and multi-dimensional, and that their mutual understanding developed over time and was conditioned by their theological and philosophical assumptions. This brief overview will unfold in three steps. The first part will focus on the contacts and the sustained engagement between the Jesuits and Buddhist traditions in a chronological manner. The second part will focus on the presence of the Jesuits and Buddhists in Croatia and their relationship to one another. The third part will explore the Jesuits' construction of Buddhist traditions, and briefly, the Buddhist construction of Jesuits.

### **Historical Contacts between the Jesuits and Buddhist Traditions**

The engagement between the Jesuits and Buddhists is surprisingly old and complex. The first documented contacts were missionary in nature and occurred in Japan and in Tibet.<sup>3</sup> The Jesuits working as missionaries in Goa, India received the first

---

3. The main documents considering Japanese Buddhists are Nicolao Lancillotto's *Informacion sobre Japon* from 1548, Cosme de Torres' letters from 1551, and 1552, *Sumario de los Errores* from 1556, and Vigliano's *Catechism* from 1578. See in Juan Ruiz-de-Medina, *Documentos del Japon 1547-1557*, vol. 137, *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu* (Roma: Instituto Historico de la Compania de Jesus, 1991), 38-

information about Japanese Buddhist traditions in 1548 through the Japanese convert Anjiro (born 1511). However, the real contact and serious engagement happened after the Jesuits' arrival in Japan in 1549.<sup>4</sup> The encounters occurred in Kagoshima between 1548 and 1552, in Yamaguchi from 1552 to 1570, and throughout southern and central Japan after 1570.<sup>5</sup> In Tibet, the Italian Jesuit Ippolito Desideri (1684-1733) lived and studied with Buddhist monks in the Sera monastery, Lhasa, in the period from 1716-1720.<sup>6</sup> These are significant examples of encounters between Jesuits and Buddhists which occurred prior to the official suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773, though the list here is not exhaustive.<sup>7</sup>

---

69; 206-32; 373-82; 652-68; Ippolito Desideri's writings are the main source of the information about the encounter with Tibetan Buddhist traditions. See more in Michael J. Sweet and Leonard Zwilling, *Mission to Tibet: the Extraordinary Eighteenth-Century Account of Father Ippolito Desideri, S.J.* (Boston: Wisdom Publication, 2010); Michael J. Sweet, "An Unpublished Letter in Portuguese of Father Ippolito Desideri, S.J.," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 157, no. 1 (2010): 29-45.; López J. Gay, "Budismo," in Charles E. O'Neill and Joaquín María Domínguez, *Diccionario Histórico De La Compañía De Jesús: Biográfico-Temático*, vol. 3 (Roma; Madrid: Institutum Historicum; Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2001), 2710-11; Sher R.F. Burne "Desideri Ippolito" Budismo," in O'Neill and Domínguez, *Diccionario Histórico*, vol. 2, 1100.

4. In the first group were five Jesuits: Francis Xavier (1506-1552) and four novices—Cosme de Torres (1510-1570) and Juan Fernandez (1526-1576) from Spain, and Balthasar Gago (died 1583) and Luis Frois (1532-1597) from Portugal. Xavier left Japan in 1552. From that on Torres was superior of the mission and writer of the early letters from 1551-1552. Fernandez was the translator and Frois the editor of *Summario*. See App, *The Cult*, 11-12.

5. See more in Urs App, "St. Francis Xavier's Discovery of Japanese Buddhism: A Chapter in the European Discovery of Buddhism (Part 1: Before the Arrival in Japan, 1547-1549)," *The Eastern Buddhist* XXX, no. 1 (1997); Urs App, "Francis Xavier's Discovery of Japanese Buddhism: A Chapter in the European Discovery of Buddhism (Part 2: From Kagoshima to Yamaguchi, 1549-1551)," *The Eastern Buddhist* XXX, no. 2 (1997); App, *The Cult*, 9-77.

6. About Sera monastery see the official web page, accessed June 10, 2017, <http://www.thlib.org/places/monasteries/sera/#!essay=/cabazon/sera/intro/>. Trent Pomplun, *Jesuit on the Roof of the World: Ippolito Desideri's Mission to Eighteenth-Century Tibet* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010): 130; Sweet and Zwilling, *Mission*, 10, 43, 45-47.

7. Here it is important to note also the encounters between Jesuits and Buddhists in China and Vietnam. In the latter case a good source is Peter C. Phan, *Mission and Catechesis: Alexandre de Rhodes and Inculturation in Seventeenth-Century Vietnam* (New York: Orbis Books, 2005). See also Hung T. Pham, "Ignatian Inculturation: Spirituality of Mission of the First Jesuits in Asia Exemplified by Alexandre de Rhodes (1593 - 1660) and His Catechism in Vietnam" (STD diss., Comillas Pontificia Universidad de Madrid, 2011); and "Composing a Sacred Space: A Lesson from the Catechism of Alexandre de

In the period after the restoration of the Society of Jesus in 1814, encounters between Jesuits and Buddhists occurred simultaneously in Asia and in the Western world, mostly in the fields of academic inquiry and prayer/spiritual practice. Regarding the academic engagement in Asia, the Jesuits furthered dialogue through the establishment of academic institutions such as Sophia University in Tokyo, Japan, in 1913; Sogang University in Seoul, South Korea, in 1960; Tulana Research Center in Sri Lanka, in 1974; the Macau Ricci Institute in China, in 1999; and Desideri House in Kathmandu, Nepal, in 2012.<sup>8</sup>

At Sophia in Tokyo, Heinrich Dumoulin explored the history of Zen Buddhism.<sup>9</sup> At Sogang, Bernard Senécal investigated different aspects of the Korean Buddhist traditions, and In-gun Kang examined the Buddhist-Christian dialogue.<sup>10</sup> At Tulana, Aloysius Pieris studied Theravada Buddhist traditions.<sup>11</sup> At the Ricci Institute, Christian

---

Rhodes," in *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits*, 46, 2 (Summer 2014). For Jesuit/ Buddhist encounters in China, see Ana C. Hosne, *The Jesuit Missions to China and Peru, 1570-1610: Expectations and Appraisals of Expansionism* (Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2013).

8. The official web pages of The Macau Ricci Institute, accessed August 4, 2017, <http://www.riccimac.org/eng/introduction/>; Desideri House, accessed August 4, 2017, <https://www.desiderihouse.org/>; History of Sophia University, Sophia University accessed March 31, 2017, <http://www.sophia.ac.jp/eng/aboutsophia/history>; Sogang University, "accessed August 4, 2017, <http://www.sogang.ac.kr/>; The Tulana Research Center for Encounter and Dialogue, accessed August 4, 2017, <http://tulana.org/>.

9. See more in Heinrich Dumoulin, *Zen Buddhism: A History, India & China* (Bloomington, IN: World Wisdom, 2005); Heinrich Dumoulin, *Zen Buddhism: A History: Japan* (London: Simon and Schuster, Macmillan, 1990).

10. See more in Bernard Senécal, *Jésus le Christ à la rencontre de Gautama le Bouddha: Identité chrétienne et bouddhisme* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1998); Bernard Senécal, "Buddhists in the Two Koreas: North-South Interactions," *Journal of Korean Religions* 4, no. 2 (2013); Bernard Senécal, "A Critical Reflection on the Chogyé Order's Campaign for the Worldwide Propagation of Kanhwa Son," *Journal of Korean Religions* 2, no. 1 (2011); In-gun Kang, "Buddhist-Christian Dialogue and Action in the Theravada Countries of Modern Asia: A Comparative Analysis of the Radical Orthopraxis of Bhikkhu Buddhadasa and Aloysius Pieris" (London: Heythrop College, doctoral dissertation, 2012); Bernard Senécal, "The Philosophy of Son Master Toeong Songchol," *Journal of Korean Religions* 7, no. 1 (2016).

11. Aloysius Pieris, *Prophetic Humour in Buddhism and Christianity: Doing Inter-Religious Studies in the Reverential Mode* (Colombo: Ecumenical Institute for Study and Dialogue, 2009); Aloysius

Cochini researched the Buddhist traditions of contemporary China.<sup>12</sup> In Desideri House, Greg Sharkey investigated rituals of the Newari Buddhist traditions of Kathmandu Valley.<sup>13</sup> In India, S. Lawrence examined the psychological aspects of Vipassana, and Noel Sheth explored various aspects of Buddhist spirituality, including elements of fundamentalism in Buddhism.<sup>14</sup>

Regarding the experience of prayer/spiritual practice, the Jesuits in Asia experimented with Japanese Zen, Korean Son, and Theravada Vipassana. Hugo Makibi Enomiya-Lassalle, William Johnston, Kakichi Kadowaki, and Amy Samy were trained in Japanese Zen.<sup>15</sup> Enomiya-Lassalle started the Christian lineage of Zen, opened a Zen retreat house in Tokyo, and introduced Zen to Christians.<sup>16</sup> Samy established the Bodhi

---

Pieris, "Western Christianity and Asian Buddhism: A Theological Reading of Historical Encounters," *Dialogue* 7 (1980); Aloysius Pieris, *Love Meets Wisdom: A Christian Experience of Buddhism* (1996); Aloysius Pieris, *Studies in the Philosophy and Literature of Pali Abhidhammika Buddhism* (Colombo, Sri Lanka: The Ecumenical Institute for Study & Dialogue., 2004); Aloysius Pieris, "Ignatian Exercises against a Buddhist Background," *The Way Supplement* 68 (Summer 1990).

12. Christian Cochini and Shè Àomén Lì Xué, *Guide to Buddhist Temples of China: History and Cultural Heritage of the Main Monasteries of the Han Nationality* (Macau: Macau Ricci Institute, 2009); Christian Cochini, *50 Great Masters of Chinese Buddhism* (Macau: Macau Ricci Institute, 2015).

13. Gregory Sharkey, *Buddhist Daily Ritual: The Nitya Puja in Kathmandu Valley Shrines* (Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2001).

14. S. Lawrence, "The Buddha's Psycho-Spirituality at the Service of Ignatian Spirituality," *Ignis-Ignatian Spirituality: South Asia* xlv, no. 1 (2015). About Noel Sheth see more in accessed July 13, 2017, <http://www.buddhist-buddha-christianjesuitjesus.com/styled/index.html>.

15. Hugo Makibi Enomiya-Lassalle is recognized as a teacher (*roshi*) in the Sanbo Kyodan tradition, and Kakichi Kadowaki in the Rinzai Zen tradition. Japanese Zen Buddhism consists of four schools: Soto, Rinzai, Obaku, and Sanbo Kyodan. Sanbo Kyodan (SK) is a contemporary Zen movement founded by Yasutani Hakuun (1885-1973) in 1954. The masters of SK focus on the experience of *kensho* (insight or experience of enlightenment). This differentiates them from traditional Soto, Rinzai, or Obaku approaches, which include the monastic life, rituals, and so forth. See more on the official website "Sanbo Kyodan a Zen-Buddhist Religious Foundation," accessed April 4, 2017, [http://www.sanbo-zen.org/top\\_e.html](http://www.sanbo-zen.org/top_e.html). See more in Kakichi Kadowaki, *Zen and the Bible* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2002); Kakichi Kadowaki, "The Right Master According to Zen," *Teachers of Religion* 37 (1988); Kakichi Kadowaki, "Ways of Knowing," *International Philosophical Quarterly* 6, no. 4 (1966); William Johnston, *Still Point: Reflections on Zen and Christian Mysticism* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1998); William Johnston, *Christian Zen* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2003).

Zendo in Perumal Hills, South India.<sup>17</sup> Senecal is a scholar and a practitioner of Korean Son.<sup>18</sup> Pieris, a theologian, and Anthony de Mello, a psychotherapist, experimented with Vipassana.<sup>19</sup>

In the Western world, the Jesuits may be organized in two groups regarding their engagement with Buddhist traditions. The first are strictly academic. The second group merges academic inquiry and personal exposure to Buddhist practice. To the first group belong Henry de Lubac, James Keenan, Roger Haight, and Juan Masiá. De Lubac wrote three monographs about Buddhism before the Second Vatican Council. Despite his interest and depth of analysis, however, de Lubac's theological conclusions are still somewhat suspect in some quarters.<sup>20</sup> Keenan, an ethicist, benevolently wrestled with Mahayana philosophy, but could not ultimately reconcile its radical metaphysical

---

16. Hugo M. Enomiya-Lassalle, "The Spiritual Exercises of St Ignatius of Loyola and Zen," in *Spiritual Perspectives: Essays in Mysticism and Metaphysics* (New Delhi: Arnold Heinemann, 1975); Hugo M. Enomiya-Lassalle, *Zen--Way to Enlightenment* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1973); Hugo M. Enomiya-Lassalle, *Zen Meditation for Christians* (La Salle, Ill.: Open Court, 1974); Hugo Makibi Enomiya-Lassalle and Roland Ropers, *Zen und christliche Spiritualität* (München: Kösel, 1987); Hugo M. Enomiya-Lassalle, Roland Ropers, and Bogdan Snela, *The Practice of Zen Meditation* (London; San Francisco, Calif.: Thorsons, 1995).

17. See the official web page of "Bodhi Zendo, Zen Training Center in South India," accessed July 4, 2017, <http://www.bodhisangha.net/index.php/en/home/>; Arul M. Arokiasamy, *Zen Praxis und Dialog* (Heidelberg-Leimen: Kristkeitz, 2007); A. M. A. Samy, *Zen Meditation for Life and Death, Christians and Therapists* (Bangalore, India: IJA Publications, 2006); A. M. A. Samy, *Zen: The Great Way Has No Gates* (Dindigul: Vaigarai Pub. House, 2012); Ama Samy, "Zen and Christians," *The Way* 46, no. 2 (2007): 89-102.

18. Son is the Korean version of Japanese Zen or Chinese Chan.

19. Anthony De Mello, *Sadhana, a Way to God: Christian Exercises in Eastern Form* (Liguori: Triumph, 1998); Anthony De Mello and J. Francis Stroud, *Awareness: A De Mello Spirituality Conference in His Own Words* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 2002).

20. See Henri de Lubac, *Aspects du Bouddhisme* (Paris: Seuil, 1951); Henri de Lubac, *Aspects du Bouddhisme* [2] (Paris: Édition du Seuil, 1955); Javier Melloni, "Ignatian Spirituality and Buddhism," in *A Companion to Ignatius of Loyola*, ed. Robert Alexander Maryks (Boston: Brill, 2014), 253-54.



difference with Catholic ontological and epistemological assumptions.<sup>21</sup> Haight, a systematic theologian, entered into a speculative exchange of ideas and concepts, but did not wade deeper into the comparative or interreligious sphere.<sup>22</sup> Juan Masiá, a Spanish bioethicist working in Japan, has reflected on the Mahayana texts.<sup>23</sup>

The second group approached the Buddhist traditions simultaneously, on two levels, academic and experiential. Daniel O'Hanlon was a systematic theologian who deepened his knowledge of the Buddhist practice by visiting many Buddhist teachers in Asia, and practicing Zen.<sup>24</sup> Michael Barnes studied interreligious dialogue and Buddhism in England, but also experienced Zen and Vipassana.<sup>25</sup> Robert Kennedy and Ruben Habito are Zen teachers, as was Thomas Handt. Kennedy studied with Yamada Roshi in Kamakura, Japan, with Maezumi Roshi in Los Angeles, and with Glassman Roshi in New York. Kennedy became a teacher (roshi) in 1997, started a Christian-Zen lineage,

---

21. P. James Keenan, "A Mahayana Theology of Salvation History," *Buddhist-Christian Studies* 22, no. 1 (2002): 139-147.

22. Paul F. Knitter and Roger Haight, *Jesus and Buddha: Friends in Conversation* (New York: Orbis Books, 2015).

23. Juan Masiá, "El despertar de la fe: En torno a un manual de espiritualidad budista mahayana," *Estudios eclesiológicos* 77, no. 301 (2002): 313-358; Juan Masiá Clavel, *Budistas y Cristianos: Más allá del diálogo* (Santander; Madrid: Sal Terrae; Fe y Secularidad, 1997); Juan Masiá Clavel and Kotaró Suzuki, *El "dharma" y el espíritu: conversaciones entre un cristiano y un budista* (Boadilla del Monte (Madrid): Promoción Popular Cristiana, 2007); Juan Masia Clavel and Moe Kuwano, "El retorno a la unidad cuerpo-mente: encuentro de ascesis, terapia y filosofía en Japon," *Pensamiento: Revista de investigación e información filosófica (Madrid)* 64, no. 242 (2008): 889-902.

24. Daniel O'Hanlon, "Zen and the Spiritual Exercises: A Dialogue between Faiths," *Theological Studies* 39, no. 4 (1978): 737-768.

25. Michael H. Barnes, "The Spiritual Exercises: A Zen Perspective," *The Way, Supplement* 55 (1986): 88-89; Michael H. Barnes, "The Buddhist-Christian Dialogue," *The Way* 30, no. 1 (1990): 55-64; Michael H. Barnes, "Masters and Mastery in Zen," *The Way* 26, no. 3 (1986): 243-252; Michael H. Barnes, "Devotion in Theravada Buddhism," *The Way* 20, no. 4 (1980): 300-310; Michael H. Barnes, "Religious Experience in Buddhism," *The Way* 18, no. 1 (1978): 59-68.

and opened Zendo Morning Star in Jersey City.<sup>26</sup> Habito is a teacher in the Sanbyo Kyodan tradition as was Handt.<sup>27</sup> William Rehg explored similarities between Buddhist and Christian mindfulness practice.<sup>28</sup> Adolfo Nicolás, former superior general of the Society of Jesus, who spent fifty years in Japan, has encouraged Jesuits to study Buddhism and learn from Buddhists.<sup>29</sup> Javier Melloni Ribas, scholar of Ignatian spirituality, is engaged in theologies of religion and interreligious dialogue, and the exploration of the parallels between the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola and Buddhism. He also spent time in India, presumably experimenting with Buddhist practices.<sup>30</sup> Yuichi Tsunoda, a Japanese Jesuit who studied at Berkeley and practices Zen, compared the personal and cosmic dimensions of salvation in the Catholic and Shin

---

26. Robert E. Kennedy, *Zen's Gift to Christianity* (Santa Clara, Calif.: Santa Clara University, 2000); Robert E. Kennedy, *Zen Spirit, Christian Spirit: The Place of Zen in Christian Life* (New York: Continuum, 1999); Official page of the "Morning Star Zendo," accessed August 4, 2017, <http://kennedyzen.tripod.com/>; Robert E. Kennedy, "Zen Christian Experience," *The Way, Supplement 95* (1999): 75-81.

27. Ruben Habito left the Jesuits, and Thomas Handt died in 2005. Ruben L. F. Habito, *Zen and the Spiritual Exercises: Paths of Awakening and Transformation* (New York: Orbis Books, 2013); Ruben L. F. Habito and John P. Keenan, *Living Zen, Loving God* (Somerville: Wisdom Publications, 2013); The official web page of "Maria Kanon Zen Center," accessed March 3, 2017, <http://www.mkzc.org/>. "Profiles in Buddhist-Christian Dialogue: Thomas Handt, SJ," Innerexplorations, accessed September 4, 2017, <http://www.innerexplorations.com/catew/12.htm>.

28. William Rehg, "Christian Mindfulness, a Path to Finding God in All Things," *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits*, 34, no. 3 (2002).

29. In his private conversations, and lectures for Jesuits, Adolfo Nicolás urged Jesuits to study Buddhist traditions. According to his conviction and experience of living in Asia, Christianity faces two challenges. The first is sociological, from Islam, and the second is metaphysical, from both secular and Buddhist sources. Adolfo Nicolás, "Interreligious Dialogue: The Experience of Some Pioneer Jesuits in Asia," *The Way* 50, no. 4 (2011): 7-33.

30. Javier Melloni Ribas, "Ignatian Spirituality and Buddhism," in *A Companion to Ignatius of Loyola*, ed. Robert Aleksander Maryks (Leiden: Brill, 2014); Ribas Javier Melloni, *The Exercises of St Ignatius of Loyola and the Traditions of the East* (New Malden: Gracewing Publishing, 2013); Ribas Javier Melloni, *El uno en lo multiple: aproximación a la diversidad y unidad de las religiones* (Santander, Spain: Sal Terrae, 2003); Javier Melloni Ribas and Ferran Piñeiro, *Pedagogía del pluralismo religioso una propuesta metodológica* (Barcelona: Edebé, 2008).

Buddhist traditions.<sup>31</sup> Here I would also mention my own comparative work on the 8<sup>th</sup> century Buddhist monk Shantideva and Ignatius of Loyola, and my experience with Zen, Chan, and Vipassana.<sup>32</sup> Further, contemporary Jesuits are organized on the local level in East Asia, and globally, in Rome, in groups engaging in dialogue with Buddhist traditions.<sup>33</sup>

From the foregoing information, I mention six significant items with regard to Jesuit/ Buddhist relationships. First, the Jesuits in Asia and the Western world became scholars and practitioners. Second, they are searching for a deeper understanding and experience of the Spiritual Exercises and the mystery of God through Buddhist practice and methods. Third, despite deep engagement with various Buddhist traditions, Jesuits have not yet studied seriously the Tibetan Buddhist prayer practice though today it is the strongest academic wing of the Buddhist traditions. Fourth, we are witnessing the beginning of common projects in areas of social concern, notably efforts at poverty eradication and education in Cambodia, social change in South Korea, and interreligious dialogue for social empowerment in Vietnam. The examples are few, but promising.<sup>34</sup>

---

31. Yuichi Tsunoda, "Personal and Cosmic Dimensions of the Hypostatic Union in Jesus Christ: Dialogue between Christology and Buddha Body Theory in Shin Buddhism" (Doctorate in Sacred Theology [STD] diss., Santa Clara University, Jesuit School of Theology at Berkeley, 2017).

32. Tomislav Spiranec, "The Cultivation of Virtue in St. Ignatius and Śāntideva" (Licentiate in Sacred Theology [STL] thesis, Santa Clara University, Jesuit School of Theology at Berkeley, 2013).

33. The official web page of the Jesuit Asia Pacific Conference, "Buddhist-Christian Dialogue for the Jesuits of the Asia Pacific Conference," accessed April 4, 2017, <http://sjapc.net/flame-december-2010/born-dialogue>, and web page of Fr. Cyril Veliath, <http://www.buddhist-buddha-christianjesuitjesus.com/index.html>. See the group working with Buddhists "The Secretariat for Ecumenical & Interreligious Relations," accessed April 4, 2017. <http://www.sjweb.info/sof/ecuir.cfm>. See also Cyril Veliath, *The Buddha & Jesus: An Anthology of Articles by Jesuits Engaged in Buddhist Studies and Inter-Religious Dialogue* (Kelaniya: Tulana Jubilee Publications, 2016).

34. In Sri Lanka, Aloysius Pieris is collaborating with Buddhist monks on educational and social projects; in Korea, Cambodia, and Vietnam, the Jesuits and Buddhists are supporting one another on social justice projects. There are two examples from South Korea. In one of them, more than two hundred monks, nuns, priests, and pastors from the representatives of four major religions (Buddhism, Son Buddhism,

Fifth, rigorous academic cross-fertilization and dynamic collaboration of Jesuit-linked laity and Buddhists with regard to spiritual practice is emerging in US contexts.<sup>35</sup> Sixth, the social, cultural, conceptual, and philosophical boundaries between East and West have largely disappeared because Buddhists and Jesuits are present globally in interactive communion, and new hybridizations of Buddhist and Jesuit practice and prayer forms have arisen. Thus, from the earliest days of missionary encounter between Jesuits and Buddhists to the present day, common projects and shared concerns continue to unfold across multiple fronts, particularly with regard to intellectual exchange, spiritual practice, and social transformation, thus embodying the ideal of interreligious dialogue elaborated in the documents of the Second Vatican Council and in the years following.<sup>36</sup>

---

Roman Catholicism, and Protestantism) recently held a fasting and prayer gathering against the Four Rivers Restoration Project, which was expected to cause serious environmental damage. See *Catholic News*, Oct. 5, 2010, accessed June 25, 2017, “The Four Rivers Action against the Political Participation, Religion’s Responsibility for Life,” [https://www.google.co.kr/?gfe\\_rd=cr&ei=ttJYWc2K6yL8Qf855e4Cw&gws\\_rd=ssl#q=http://www.catholicnews.co.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno%3D4169&spf=1498993337906](https://www.google.co.kr/?gfe_rd=cr&ei=ttJYWc2K6yL8Qf855e4Cw&gws_rd=ssl#q=http://www.catholicnews.co.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno%3D4169&spf=1498993337906). The other concerns the protest against military tensions in Korea, during which the leaders of four major religions in Korea visited Seongju, where THAAD (a Terminal High Altitude Area Defense) missile defense system was going to be deployed. They were worried about the potential for THAAD to build up military tension in the Korean peninsula. *Yonhap News Agency*, April 3, 2017, accessed July 5, 2017, “Four major leaders visited Won Buddhist sacred site near Seongju Saad site,” <http://www.yonhapnews.co.kr/bulletin/2017/03/31/0200000000AKR20170331192800005.HTML?input=1179m>.

35. John Makaransky is professor of Buddhism and comparative theology at Boston College. Susan Stabile is a spiritual director in the Ignatian tradition. She describes herself as a Catholic who converted to Tibetan Buddhism, and after that reconverted to Catholicism. Erine M. Cline specializes in Chinese and comparative philosophy at Georgetown University. She is currently working on a new book, *A World on Fire: The Ignatian Spiritual Exercises and Other Religions*; see more on Cline's personal web site, accessed August 4, 2017, <http://explore.georgetown.edu/people/emc> 89; John Makaransky, "Thoughts on Why, How, and What Buddhists Can Learn from Christian Theologians," *Buddhist-Christian Studies* 31 (2011):119-133; Susan J. Stabile, *Growing in Love and Wisdom: Tibetan Buddhist Sources for Christian Meditation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

36. The Council’s “Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions” (*Nostra Aetate*), recognized the inherently truth-bearing character of other world religions. See Second Vatican Council, *Nostra Aetate*, Vatican website, accessed April 27, 2018, [http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist\\_councils/ii\\_vatican\\_council/documents/vat-ii\\_decl\\_19651028\\_nostra-aetate\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decl_19651028_nostra-aetate_en.html); *Nostra Aetate* no. 2 states, “Through dialogue and collaboration with the followers of other religions, carried out with prudence and love and in witness to the Christian faith and life, [Christians] recognize, preserve and promote the good things, spiritual and moral, as well as the socio-cultural values

## The Jesuits and the Bodhi Tree in Croatia

Buddhist ideas in Croatia were known in academic circles from the seventeenth century. By the nineteenth century, they were present among the educated classes in urban centers, and in the twentieth century, Buddhist ideas were augmented by practice and gradually by formal Buddhist centers. Buddhist practices, present in the New Age conglomerate, were adopted in Christian prayer forms, separated from the religious context, and translated into secular form. In this way, they entered into popular culture and scientific institutions. Jesuits participated in this process of Buddhist enculturation from the beginning.

The first documented information in Croatia about Buddhist doctrine, customs, and practices consists of the legend of the Buddha's life in the works of Marko Marulić (1450-1524), and Juraj Habelić (1606-1678), as well as the letters of Nikola Ratkaj (1601-1662), a Croatian Jesuit missionary selected for a Tibetan mission. According to Croatian Slavacist and Indologist Radoslav Katičić, the legend of the Buddha's life is present in Croatian literature under the Latin name *Baarlam et Josapaht*, or in the

---

found among [them].” The post-Vatican II documents reflect a development in the understanding of the exchange between Christianity and other religions. These documents find not only salvific dimensions in the religions themselves, but also elements in the religions that serve to enrich, clarify, and even enhance aspects of the Christian revelation. The 1984 document *Dialogue and Mission* exemplifies the ideal of interreligious exchange among the religions, declaring that dialogue “means not only discussion, but also includes all positive and constructive interreligious relations with individuals and communities of other faiths which are directed at mutual understanding and enrichment,” Secretariat for Non-Christians, *The Attitude of the Church Towards the Followers of Other Religions: Reflections and Orientations on Dialogue and Mission*, AAS 75 [1984]: 816-828; See also *Redemption and Dialogue: Reading Redemptoris Missio and Dialogue and Proclamation*, ed. William R. Burrows (New York: Orbis Books, 1993), 98; and Paul F. Knitter, *Introducing Theologies of Religions* (New York: Orbis Books, 2002).

Slavicized version, *Varlaam i Iosaf*.<sup>37</sup> In the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the Old Slavonic *Iosaf*, and the Latin Josaphat were derived from the original name of the *Bodhisattva* through the Persian *Bodisav* in the 6<sup>th</sup> century. From this root were derived the Arabic *Juasaf* in the 8<sup>th</sup> century, and in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the Greek *Ioasaph*. The legend is painted as an icon and exposed in large Orthodox monasteries such as Studenica, Mileševo and Gračanica.<sup>38</sup>

During preparation (in Goa), he wrote two letters about Tibet and its religious life to the rector of the Jesuit community in Zagreb.<sup>39</sup> In the first letter, dated February 5, 1625, Ratkaj described the religious life and the rites of Tibetan Buddhists. In the second letter, dated March 15, 1629, he described the similarities between Tibetan lamas and Christian monks in terms of the patterns of their daily lives, the organization of their communities, and their commitments to ascetic disciplines.

In addition to Ratkaj's letters, I suggest two other possible sources of contact to be explored. The first is the writings of Ivan Vreman (1583-1620), a Croatian Jesuit missionary in China, who prepared and published in Italian two books of the missionary reports from Japan, China, Goa, and Ethiopia.<sup>40</sup> Presumably some of them, or other

---

37. Radoslav Katičić, *Indija u staroj hrvatskoj i srpskoj književnosti*, [India in Old Croatian and Serbian Literature] 229-231, accessed June 4, 2017, [http://www.matica.hr/media/pdf\\_knjige/623/Katicic223-239.pdf](http://www.matica.hr/media/pdf_knjige/623/Katicic223-239.pdf).

38. Ibid.

39. Mijo Korade, *Istraživači novih obzorja: djelovanje hrvatskih misionara i profesora od 16. do 20. stoljeća* [The Explorers of New Horizons: The Activity of the Croatian Missionaries and Professors 16<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> century] (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2015), 87-93; Mate Križman and Zdravka Matišić, *Indije i Tibet Nikole Ratkaja* [India and Tibet of Nikola Ratkaj] (Zagreb: Sekcija za orijentalistiku Hrvatskoga filološkog društva: Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2002); Mate Križman, "Pisma isusovca Nikole Ratkaja, misionara u Indiji u prvoj polovici 17. st., filološki pristup," [The Letters of Jesuit Nikola Ratkaj, a Missionary in India in the First Half of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century, Philological Approach] in *Croatian "Indias" = Hrvatske "Indije,"* ed., Radoslav Katičić (Zagreb: Croatian Writers' Association, 1990).

40. Ivan Vreman, *Lettera Annuale del Giappone: Scritta de Padri della Compagnia di Gesu al M.R.P. Generale dell'istessa Compagnia gli anni 1615 e 1616*, and *Lettere Annue del Giappone, China: Goa e Ethiopia anni 1615 e 1619*, in Mijo Korade, "Recepcija istraživača i filozofa u 17. i 18. stoljeću koji

missionary reports, were present in the Jesuit, Dominican, Franciscan or private libraries in Croatia.<sup>41</sup> The second possible source is the reports of the Croatian (Dubrovnik) trader's community in Goa.<sup>42</sup> If those reports were present in the Jesuit or other libraries, however, their influence was limited to the small educated minority, and was lost after the suppression of the Jesuits and the dismantling of Jesuit libraries after 1773.

Interest in Buddhist ideas appeared during the final period of the Habsburg governance (up to 1918) on two social levels—in popular culture and in the academy.

The earliest popular example is from 1864, in the first Croatian children's magazine *Bosiljak*.<sup>43</sup> In the magazine's article about geography, which was reprinted many times,

---

djeluju u drugim zemljama i kontinentima," [The Reception of Explorers and Philosophers Who Work in Other Countries and Continents in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century] *Prilozi za istraživanje hrvatske filozofske baštine* XXIX, no. 1-2 (2003): 263-64.

41. The Jesuits came to Croatia twice. The first time was in 1558, and the second in 1902. The first successor of Ignatius of Loyola, Diego Lainez (1512-1565), sent Nicolas Bobadilla (1511-1590) to explore the possibility of opening a school in Zadar and Dubrovnik to help Catholics who had been under Islam. Bobadilla arrived in Zadar 1558, and in Dubrovnik 1559. In the period until suppression in 1773, the Jesuits in Croatia focused on education of the youth, intellectual work, and folk missions. In the second period, the Jesuits slowly renewed their previous apostolate. For more about Bobadilla's stay in Croatia see Miroslav Vanino, *Isusovci i hrvatski narod* [Jesuits and the Croatian People] (Zagreb: Filozofsko-Teološki Institut Družbe Isusove, 1969), 15. About the second coming of the Jesuits in Croatia see more in Miroslav Vanino and Valentin Miklobušec, *Isusovci i hrvatski narod 4* (Zagreb: Filozofsko-Teološki Institut Družbe Isusove, 2007); Valentin Miklobušec, *Hrvatska Provincija Družbe Isusove 1918.-1945* (Zagreb: Filozofsko-Teološki Institut Družbe Isusove, 2016). About the Jesuit apostolate see Miroslav Vanino, *Isusovci i hrvatski narod 3* (Zagreb: Filozofsko-teološki Institut Družbe Isusove, 2005); Miroslav Vanino, *Kolegiji Dubrovački, Riječki, Varaždinski i Požeški* (Zagreb: Filozofsko-Teološki Institut Družbe Isusove, 1987); Scientific International Symposium, *Jesuits among the Croats: Proceedings of the International Symposium-- Jesuits in the Religious, Scientific, and Cultural Life among the Croats, October 8-11, 1990* (Zagreb: Filozofsko-Teološki Institut Družbe Isusove). About the Jesuits' educational, intellectual, and social apostolate in contemporary Croatia, see more on The Faculty of Philosophy of the Society of Jesus, accessed February 04, 2017, <http://www.ffdi.hr/>; The Jesuit Grammar School in Osijek, accessed February 04, 2017, <http://www.ikg.hr/>; The Jesuit Refugee Service in Croatia, accessed February 04, 2017, <http://www.jrs.hr/>; Studentski Akademski Centar Palma, [University Academic Center Palma] accessed February 04, 2017, <http://skac.hr/>.

42. Ivica Košak, *Kultura i civilizacija Indije u hrvatskoj književnosti od 13. stoljeća do danas, predavanje i izložba knjiga u Domu kardinala Kuharića i u organizaciji Hrvatske kulturne zajednice u Wiesbadenu, 04. veljače 2007*. [Culture and Civilization of India in Croatian Literature from the 13<sup>th</sup> Century up to Today, a Lecture and Exhibition of the Books in the House of Cardinal Kuharić in Organization of the Croatian Cultural Community in Wiesbaden February 4, 2007] (Wiesbaden: 2007), 6.

the author claims that Buddhism is the major religion in China. This was not true, but was the best available information at that moment. The Dubrovnik newspaper, *Slovinac*, which covered books, art, and crafts starting in 1883, includes an article about languages, in which the Buddhist community was mentioned in the context of the usage of the Sanskrit language.<sup>44</sup> These and other such examples show that educated circles in urban centers (and the rural areas that received these publications) were familiar with Buddhist concepts, at least at the level of curiosity.<sup>45</sup>

Regarding the academy, scholars in Croatia engaged the Buddhist traditions explicitly and implicitly. Scholarly interest in Buddhism was piqued by the academic circles in Vienna and Leipzig, where young Croats were educated. D. Pukler, an educated Catholic, wrote *Budizam i kršćanstvo* (Buddhism and Christianity) from the perspective of comparative religions.<sup>46</sup> To my knowledge, this is the first book about Buddhism in the Croatian language. Dr. Ivan Pažman, a professor at the seminary in Rijeka, wrote a review of that work in the academic journal *Miriam*.<sup>47</sup> Pažman delighted in the polemics between Pukler and Professor Luka Ciprijanović, a supporter of Buddhism in Croatia.

---

43. N. Ljubinka, "Vjera i služba Božja u Kini," [Faith and Liturgy in China] *Bosiljak* vol. 1 (Zagreb: Ivan Filipović, 1864): 302-305.

44. M. Kušar, "Arijanski rod jezika i naši najstariji pradjedovi" [The Aryan Language and Our Oldest Ancestors], *Slovinac* 1883, 106.

45. For details about Buddhist ideas in old Croatian newspapers and magazines see the online data base "Stari hrvatski časopisi- portal digitaliziranih časopisa," [The Old Croatian Journals-the Portal of Digitalized Journals] Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica u Zagrebu, accessed February 22, 2017, <http://dnc.nsk.hr/journals/>; "Stare hrvatske novine - portal digitaliziranih novina," [The Old Croatian Newspaper--the Portal of Digitalized Newspapers] Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica u Zagrebu, accessed February 22, 2017, <http://dnc.nsk.hr/Newspapers/Default.aspx>.

46. The book was published around 1910. D. Pukler, *Budizam i kršćanstvo* [Buddhism and Christianity] (Rijeka: Miriam, 1918).

47. Ivan Pažman, "Recenzije, budizam i kršćanstvo," [Review, Buddhism and Christianity] *Miriam* (1918): 270-71.



Ciprijanović wrote about Buddhism for the magazines *Zvono* (The Bell) and *Novo Sunce* (The New Sun).<sup>48</sup>

It is likely that the interest in Asian religions was nurtured indirectly through the study of Sanskrit, which was a part of the Slavic studies and Croatian language program.<sup>49</sup> The Slavic Studies Department was established at the renewed University of Zagreb in 1874. At that time, each student of the Croatian language was required to study Sanskrit three hour per week, and read from the classical Sanskrit texts four hour per week.<sup>50</sup> The indirect engagement through Slavic studies familiarized educated people with Asian culture, and in the long term, contributed to an interest in Asian religions.

In the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1918-1939), notably in the periods between the wars, interest in Buddhist traditions continued to grow not only in the academy, but also in small esoteric circles in major cities. Academics extended their curiosity (or merely followed the fashion of that time) from comparative grammar and religion to comparative philosophy. Starting at that point, new works on Buddhism appeared in Croatian.

---

48. Ibid., 270.

49. A cluster of ideas and events contributed to linking Slavic studies and Sanskrit. These include the publication of the first Sanskrit grammar in Europe by the Croatian Carmelite friar Filip Vezdin, the unexpected discoveries of the similarity between the Slavic language base and Sanskrit in European linguistic studies, and the invention of Indo-European comparative grammar. About the similarities with Sanskrit, see Anton Mihanović, *Zusammenstellung von 200 Laut- und Sinnverwandten Wörtern des Sanskrites und Slawischen* (Wien: 1823); About the contribution of Filip Vezdin, see in Branko Franolić and Luca Leoni, *Paolino di San Bartolomeo: pioniere dell'indologia nell'europa di fine settecento* (Velletri: Edizioni Blietri sas Velletri, 2005); Branko Franolić, *Filip Vezdin's Contribution to Indic Studies at the Turn of the 18th Century in Europe* (Paris: Nouvelles Éditions latines, 1991); Zdravka Matišić, *Ivan Filip Vezdin - Paulinus, pisac prve tiskane Sanskritske gramatike, prinosi* [Ivan Filip Vezdin--Paulinus--a Writer of the First Published Sanskrit Grammar, Contributions] (Zagreb: Hrvatsko filološko društvo, 2007).

50. The first course was taught in 1874 by Leopold (Lavoslav) Geitler. See the history of the department on "Odsjek za indologiju i dalekoistočne studije," [Department of Indology and Far Eastern Studies] University of Zagreb, accessed March 10, 2017, [http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/indolog/?page\\_id=26](http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/indolog/?page_id=26).

In 1924, Aleksandar Gahs, a Catholic priest and professor at the seminary in Zagreb, wrote a book entitled *Buddhizam* from the comparative religion perspective.<sup>51</sup> Croatian philosopher Vladimir Dvorniković (1888 – 1956), wrote *Hrist, Buddha, Šopenhauer* in 1925 from a psychological and comparative philosophy perspective.<sup>52</sup> Dominik Mormile, a Croatian Jesuit, wrote an article highlighting the superiority of Christian love over Buddhist compassion. The article was a polemical response to the occultism of the “spiritistic and eastern spirit” taking hold in Europe at that time.<sup>53</sup> Mormile strongly condemned the opinion of the university professor Vinko Krišković, who published an essay in the Catholic magazine *Obzor* on the superiority of Buddhist thought over Christian teaching. Mormile, though a polemicist, presents an impressive understanding of Buddhist traditions and usage of Buddhist literature for that time.<sup>54</sup>

The Yugoslav Theosophical Society, established in 1924 in Zagreb, spread its understanding of Asian spirituality through its publications, public lectures, educational

---

51. For example, see Aleksandar Gahs, *Buddhizam*, vol. 2, *Popularno naučna knjižnica hrvatskog katoličkog narodnog saveza* [Buddhism, vol. 2, Popular Scientific Library of the Croatian Catholic National Alliance] (Zagreb: Nadbiskupska tiskara, 1924).

52. According to Dvorniković, pessimism is a shared foundation among the South Slavs, Buddha, and Schopenhauer. Vladimir Dvorniković, *Hrist, Buddha, Šopenhauer* [Christ, Buddha, and Schopenhauer] (Zagreb: Hrvatski štamparski zavod, 1925).

53. The full Croatian phrase is "Budi se spiritistički duh i to istočnjački obojen [A Spiritistic Spirit is Arising, with an Orientalist Tinge]," Dominik Mormile, "Budizam i kršćanstvo o ljubavi prema neprijateljima [Buddhism and Christianity, about Love toward Enemies]," *Obnovljeni život: časopis za filozofiju i religijske znanosti* 5, no. 6 (1924): 340.

54. The books used by Mormile are in the Croatian National and University library in Zagreb. Carlo Puini, *Mahaparinirvana-Sutra ovvero il libro della totale estinzione del Buddha* / Carlo Puini; *Nella redazione cinese di Pe-Fa-Tsu., cultura dell'anima* (Lanciano: Carabba, 1919); Richard Pischel, *Leben und Lehre des Buddha: zweiter unveränderter Abdruck der 3. Aufl., aus Natur und Geisteswelt: Sammlung Wissenschaftlich-Gemeinverstaendlicher Darstellungen; Bd. 109* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1921). Hermann Oldenberg, *Buddha: Sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde* (Stuttgart; Berlin: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung, 1923). Carlo Formichi, *Apologia del buddhismo* (Roma: Formiggini, 1923); Ferdinando Belloni Filippi, *La dottrina di Gotama Buddha* (Lanciano (CH): Carabba, 1928).

courses, and ritual practices.<sup>55</sup> In their journal *Teozofija*, Buddhist ideas were mixed with Hindu thought in articles about tradition or ritual practices. For example, the 1927 article “Misterij ćutilnog zamjećivanja” (The Mystery of Sensible Perception), contains a section about the Vedanta principle of deception, but in their description, that principle has a Buddhist flavor.<sup>56</sup> The prominent theosophist M. Marjanović held public lectures about the occult doctrines of *Krišana*, *Buda*, and *Krist* in the big lecture hall of the Croatian musical academy.<sup>57</sup>

Besides the academy and the Theosophical Society, there was an indirect conditioning of the elite classes with regard to Asian spirituality through cultural events, and of the wider population through Jesuit missionary outreach. Croatian culture of that time, which was occupied with the awakening and development of national identity, recognized similar concerns in the Indian context and drew inspiration from Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi. In 1913, Croatian philosopher Vuk Pavlović (1894-1976) translated Tagore’s poem collection *Gitanjali*. In 1915, Tagore’s play *Chitra*

---

55. The goals of the Yugoslav Theosophical Society (YTS) are the creation of human fraternity; propagating the comparative study of religions, philosophy, and science; and exploring unknown natural law and the latent powers of human being. Their teaching is a mix of Christian, Hindu, and Buddhist religious elements with some elements of science. In 1934, YTS had ten lodges, six communities, around 200 members and various groups dedicated to such causes as animal protection, arts and crafts, anti-alcoholism, vegetarianism, tourism, Slavic culture, and women’s studies. See more in Antun Alfirević, “Jugoslavensko teozofsko društvo,” [Yugoslav Theosophical Society] *Obnovljeni život* [Renewed Life]: *Journal of Philosophy and Religious Sciences* 15, No. 6 (1934): 248-256; *Teozofija* [Theosophy] 1, no. 1 (July 1927).

56. “Misterij ćutilnog zamjećivanja” [The Mystery of the Sensible Perception] *Teozofija* 1, no. 1 (July 1927): 21-28.

57. M.M., “Stanje u našoj javnosti prije osnutka J. T. D.,” *Teozofija* 1, no. 1 (1927): 13-14. Croatian Jesuits were well informed about theosophy, and the Theosophical Society in Zagreb. See more in Antun Alfirević, “Jugoslavensko teozofsko društvo,” *Obnovljeni život: Journal of Philosophy and Religious Sciences* 15, no. 6 (1934): 251; Miroslav Vanino, “Teosofija,” *Obnovljeni život: Journal of Philosophy and Religious Sciences* 1, no. 7 (1920): 172-74.

was presented in the Croatian Royal Theater. In 1921, Anton Barac translated Tagore's essay "Nationalism in India." In 1923, Tagore's essays *The Realization of Beauty*, and *the Problem of Evil* were translated into Croatian in a single booklet entitled *Ostvarenje ljepote i problem zla*, and in 1926, Tagore himself visited Zagreb.<sup>58</sup> The poet Tin Ujević (1891-1955) wrote about the similarities (not only linguistically, but also in mentality and religious doctrine) among the *Bogomils* (as he described the Christians in Bosnia during the twelve through the fifteenth centuries), Gandhi, and Tolstoy. He also wrote appreciatively about Buddhism.<sup>59</sup>

Jesuit missionary outreach was a source of the popularization of Asian culture, religion and concepts among Croatians at a grass-roots level.<sup>60</sup> In 1925, Croatian Jesuits established a mission station in Bengal, India. In the same year, they launched three publications: the journal *Katoličke misije: List za misije uopće i ujedno glasilo Društva*

---

58. Rabindranath Tagore, *Nacionalizam*, [Nationalism] transl. A. Barac, (Zagreb: Ćirilo-metodska knjižara, 1921); *Ostvarenje ljepote i problem zla* [Realization of Beauty, and the Problem of Evil] (Zagreb: Vid –Tisak poligrafije, 1923); Rabindranath Tagore, *Gitanjali (žrtveni pjev)* [Gitanjali (The Sacrificial Song)], translated by Vuk Pavlović (Zagreb: Knjižara L. Hartman (St. Kugli), 1914).

59. See more in Ružica Čičak, "Indija u djelima Tina Ujevića: izvori i obrada tekstova," [India in the Works of Tin Ujević: Sources and Textual Analysis] in *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, Razred za suvremenu književnost*, Knj.16=380, ed. Ivo Frangeš (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1978), 435-535; Dubravko Jelčić, *Opojnost uma, misli i pogledi Tina Ujevića*, [Intoxication of Mind: Thoughts, and Views of Tin Ujević] (Zagreb: August Cesarec, 1966):36-40.

60. In 1905, the Jesuits moved their printing presses and editorial offices from the Jesuit seminary in Travnik (Bosnia and Herzegovina) to the Basilica of the Sacred Heart in Zagreb. The first book published in the missionary project was Svetozar Ritig's report of visiting Croatian missionaries in Bengal, entitled *U Gangesovoj delti* [In the Ganges Delta] (Zagreb: Tiskara Gasnika srca Isusova, Misijska biblioteka, br. 1, 1936). Subsequent books explored missionary projects in India, Japan, and China. About India, see Ante Gabrić, Bošonti [Boshonti] (Zagreb: Tiskara Gasnika srca Isusova, Misijska biblioteka; god. 5, no. 1-2, 1940). About Japan see Georg Schurhammer, *Osvajač istoka: apostol Indije i Japana sv. Franjo Ksaver*. [A Conqueror of the East: The Apostle of India and Japan St. Francis Xavier] (Zagreb: Kolegij Družbe Isusove, Narodna tiskara Rudolf Vedo, 1936), *Niponske žrtve* [Japanese Victims] (Zagreb: Kolegij Družbe Isusove, Narodna tiskara 1937). Finally, about China, see *Braća Jang* [Yang Brothers] (Zagreb: Kolegij Družbe Isusove, Tiskara Glasnika srca Isusova, 1937).

*za širenje vjere* (Catholic Missions: The Journal for Missions and a Newspaper of the Society for Propagation of the Faith),<sup>61</sup> *Misijski kalendar* (The Calendar of Missions), and *Misijka biblioteka* (The Missionary Library). Employing the expertise of ethnological, linguistic, and other experts, these publications shared news about Jesuit missions around the world and about the life in those countries, with the aim of popularizing the missionary projects to gain material and spiritual support.<sup>62</sup>

Thus, through these various channels, the urban educated elite, as well as the ordinary people in the villages, had been exposed to Asian culture, spirituality, and concepts. The seeds planted over the centuries in Croatia would flourish in the succeeding generations after the Second World War.<sup>63</sup>

During the Second World War (1941-1945), a small though substantial article about Buddhism appeared in the newly published Croatian Encyclopedia. The authors of the encyclopedia used as a resource the German Jesuit Indologist Joseph Dhalman, who considered Buddhism in terms of its position in Indian culture—its literature, rituals, spiritual life, and relationship toward Christianity.<sup>64</sup>

---

61. The literal translation is “Catholic Missions: The Journal for Missions in General and, at the Same Time, a Newspaper of the Society for Propagation of the Faith.”

62. Damir Zorić, *Etnografije hrvatskih misionara* [Ethnographies of Croatian Missionaries] (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 2011). See also Jelena Kovačević, “Etnografske zbirke izvaneuropskih kultura u zagrebačkim muzejima i zbirkama” [Ethnographic Collections of non-European Cultures in Zagreb’s Museums and Collections] (Master’s thesis, University of Zagreb, 2014), accessed June 10, 2017, <http://darhiv.ffzg.unizg.hr/4904/>.

63. Despite the fact that my grandmother lived far from any city, she was well informed through Jesuit missionary books about missionaries in India, and about Francis Xavier in Japan and en route to China.

64. *Hrvatska enciklopedija, 3 izdanje* [Croatian Encyclopedia 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.], Mate Ujević, (Zagreb: Konzorcija Hrvatske Enciklopedija, 1941): 447.

In the period of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1945-1991), Buddhism was inculcated into Croatian society and culture through several channels: the academy, new groups of martial artists who cultivated Buddhist practices, ordinary people under the continued influence of Jesuit missionary outreach, and the gradual development of alternative religiosities within Catholic popular religion.

In the academy, Buddhist thought was disseminated through the scholar and practitioner Čedomil Veljačić (1915-1997), the establishment of the Department of Indology at the University of Zagreb, and the contributions of a new generation of scholars of Indology. Veljačić was a scholar of comparative philosophy, a translator of Buddhist texts in Croatian, and the first Croatian Buddhist monk. During the decade of the 1930s, his teacher, Vuk Pavao Pavlović, introduced him to other cultures, comparative methods, the poetry of Ujević, and Gandhi's thought. Further, through the Theosophical Society to which Pavlović belonged, Veljačić absorbed Buddhist thought and practice, which accorded with his inner desires and aspirations. Veljačić published several articles about Buddhism before the Second World War, but his serious research began after the war. His post-war works included a translation of the Buddha's sayings, *Dhammapadam*, in 1954; the collection of texts for students of philosophy, *A Philosophy of Eastern People*, in 1958; and his doctoral dissertation, *A Comparative Study of Indian and European Philosophy*, in 1961.<sup>65</sup> In 1966, Veljačić became a Theravada monk, living in Sri Lanka, and taking the name Bhikkhu Ñāṇaḍivako (one who "lives" knowledge).

---

65. Veljačić died in California. His daughter, Snježana Veljačić-Akpınar, was teaching at the Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley. Veljačić's articles, books, and interviews cover a wide spectrum of themes. See his bibliography in chronological order; accessed July 15, 2017, <http://srednjiput.rs/tumacenja/cedomil-veljacic/>.

Today, Veljačić is an inspiration for generations of practitioners and scholars.

With the opening of the department of Indology at the University of Zagreb in 1960, Veljačić, Radoslav Katičić, professor of Slavic languages and Sanskrit, and Sveto Petrović, professor of Indian literature, recognized the potentially favorable political circumstances of Yugoslavian and Indian leadership in the Non-Aligned Movement. Together, they established an educational institution to nurture a rich cultural and intellectual exchange between the two nations.<sup>66</sup> The Indology department educated a new generation of scholars, and published many studies. The most important Indologists were Milka Jauk Pinhak (1939-2013), Mislav Ježić, and Klara Gonc Moačanin. In 1973, Katičić published the foundational textbook *Stara indijska književnost* (Old Indian Literature).<sup>67</sup> Despite the flowering of academic studies of Buddhist thought, however, a gap existed between the academy and the practitioners of Buddhism.

Buddhist practice was transmitted through small groups of martial arts practitioners. As a part of martial arts training, the members of Mushindokai Martial Arts Society practiced yoga and Buddhist meditation. The group was one of many other meditation groups spread throughout Croatia. In 1977, some members of Mushindokai formally embraced official Buddhist precepts.<sup>68</sup> From that founding group, three Buddhist communities developed during the eighties. Members of other martial arts groups also experimented with Buddhist practices. Among these were Taekwondo

---

66. More details see the official page of the Department of Indology, accessed July 14, 2017, [http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/indolog/?page\\_id=26](http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/indolog/?page_id=26).

67. Radoslav Katičić, *Stara indijska književnost* [Old Indian Literature] (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1973).

68. For more on the Mushindokai Martial Arts Society see the official web of the Buddhist Center, accessed July 10, 2017, <http://www.budisticki-centar.hr/tekst.php?id=97>.

enthusiasts Andjelko and Marijan Vučenik.<sup>69</sup> Their uncle, Croatian Jesuit Vladimir Horvat, supported them in their efforts, giving them books on Zen written by the German Jesuit Enomiya-Lassalle. During the eighties, Buddhist practice also appeared in the conglomerate of new religiosities which sought to answer people's existential and spiritual hungers under the ideological isolation of communism.

More generally, Asian religious culture was absorbed into Croatian culture through the continuing work of Jesuit missionary outreach, which spread information about life in different countries. Croatian Jesuit Ante Gabrić, missionary to India, and Mother Teresa of Kolkata, were two prominent icons of that project.<sup>70</sup> Their work was popularized in books, as stories for children in the weekly magazine *Mali koncil*—the Small Council), the Catholic weekly *Glas Koncila* (the Voice of the Council), exhibitions, and lectures.<sup>71</sup>

In the Republic of Croatia (from 1991 onwards), the academic study of Buddhism, meditation groups, and alternative Catholic religiosities, have all continued to grow. In the academy, a new generation of scholars has emerged, new academic programs for the study of religions have been established, and new books translated. Two scholars are especially noteworthy with regard to the new generation of Buddhist studies. Ethnologist Tomo Vinšćak (1951-2013) explored Tibetan Buddhism as well as the

---

69. About the history of Taekwondo in Croatian, see more on the official web page of the Croatian TKD Federation, accessed July 10, 2017, <http://www.taekwondo.hr/vijesti-iz-povijesti/>.

70. Mother Teresa met Croatian Jesuits in Skopje during her education. In India, she worked with Croatian Jesuits, especially Fr. Anto Gabrić.

71. See more on the official web page of the magazine *Mali koncil* [the Small Council], and *Glas Koncila* [the Voice of the Council], accessed August 15, 2017, <https://www.glas-koncila.hr/?s=majka+terezija>.



religions of Nepal.<sup>72</sup> Indologist and philosopher Goran Kardaš has examined Buddhist philosophy.<sup>73</sup> In addition, new scholarly works on Buddhist thought have been published, notably, *Buddhistička logia* (Buddhist Logic), by the Russian Indologist Fjodor Ščerbatski, and Čedomil Veljačić's *Essays on Comparative Philosophy*.<sup>74</sup> The Department of Indology at the University of Zagreb organizes conferences fostering a comparative approach to linguistics, philosophy and religion. Two recent examples include the Conference for Comparative Religion named KONKOREL (October 2017), and a one-day forum for comparative study among the Sanskrit, Hindi, and Croatian languages (March 2017).<sup>75</sup>

Buddhism has also become a subject of reflection in Catholic theological circles. Buddhist religion and philosophy are courses of study and topics of research in the Jesuit

---

72. Tomo Vinšćak, "Tibet u zemlji bogova [Tibet in the Land of the Gods] *Ethnologica Dalmatica* 16, no.1 (November 2007): 5-70; "Following the Paths of Tibetan Buddhism — the Sacred Mountain of Kailas," *Studia ethnologica Croatica* 14/15, no.1 (March 2004): 285-296; "Tibetska religija Bön" [The Tibetan religion of Bön] *Studia ethnologica Croatica* 23, no.1 (December 2011): 309-326.

73. Goran Kardaš, "Vasubandhu o dharmičkoj ontologiji buddhističke škole sarvāstivāda-vaibhāṣika (Abhidharmakośa 5. 25–26 i Bhāṣya)" [Vasubandhu on the Dharmic Ontology of the Sarvāstivāda-Vaibhāṣika Buddhist School (Abhidharmakośa 5. 25–26 and Bhāṣya)] *Filozofska istraživanja* 31, no. 3 (November 2011): 587-603; "Patisambhidāmagga kao rano egzegetsko djelo theravādskog buddhizma" [Patisambhidāmagga as an Early Exegetical Work of Theravāda Buddhism] *Filozofska istraživanja* 33, no.1 (April, 2013): 139-150; "O nekim doktrinarnim prijeporima u ranim buddhističkim interpretacijama »su-nastajanja u zavisnosti« (pratītyasamutpāda)" [On Some Doctrinal Disputations in Early Buddhist Interpretations of Pratītyasamutpāda (Dependent Co-arising)] *Synthesis philosophica* 30, no.1 (August, 2015): 113-126.

74. Fjodor Ščerbatski, *Buddhistička logika* [Buddhist Logic] vol. I-II (Zagreb: Demetra, 2005); *Koncepcija buddhističke nirvāne* [Conception of the Buddhist Nirvana] (Zagreb: Demetra, 2004); *Ranobuddhistička Dharma* [Early Buddhist Dharma] (Zagreb: Demetra, 2005); Čedomil Veljačić, *Philosophia perennis*, vol. I-II: *Rasprava iz komparativne filozofije* [Philosophia Perennis vol. I-II, Essays from Comparative Philosophy] (Zagreb: Demetra, 2003).

75. About these conferences, see more about KONKOREL, accessed July 15, 2017, <http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/indolog/?p=1684>, and Sanskrit and Croatian language [http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/indolog/?page\\_id=1614](http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/indolog/?page_id=1614).

Faculty of Philosophy and Religious Studies at the University of Zagreb.<sup>76</sup> In addition to regular lectures, the faculty has hosted guests such as the Dalai Lama in 2002, and Dorzin K.C. Dhondup Rinpoche in 2014. Non-Jesuit Catholic theologians also contribute to the field. Milan Špehar has reflected on the presence of mystical experience in Buddhism. Dubravko Arbanas investigated the experience of Zen meditation (Zazen) from a Catholic doctrinal perspective, and Nikola Bižaca examined the understanding of salvation in Buddhism and Christianity.<sup>77</sup>

The progress of Buddhist-related studies in the academy came about concurrently with the institutional development of Buddhist practitioners. Meditation groups became Buddhist centers. Žarko Andričević established the Buddhist community of Dharmaloka in 1992 and the Buddhist Center in Zagreb in 1998, and in 2001, he became a master of Chan Buddhist tradition.<sup>78</sup> Andričević is a prominent teacher within and outside of Croatia. In 2001, Dragutin Šmalcelj opened the Croatian Buddhist Society of Padmasana in the Tibetan Rime tradition.<sup>79</sup> In the same year, Drago Dergić established the Buddhist center of Kailash, which follows the Tibetan Kadmapa tradition,<sup>80</sup> and in 2002, Mihajlo

---

76. See more on the Faculty of Philosophy and Religious Studies accessed July 10, 2017, <http://www.ffdi.hr/>.

77. Milan Špehar, "Tragovi mistike u budizmu i hinduizmu" [The Traces of Mysticism in Buddhism, and Hinduism] *Obnovljeni život: Journal of Philosophy and Religious Sciences* 65, no. 4 (December 2010): 469-483; Dubravko Arbanas, "Bitne odrednice zen-budizma" [The Seminal Determinants of Zen Buddhism] *Obnovljeni život: Journal of Philosophy and Religious Sciences* 66, no.1 (March 2011): 119-131; Nikola Bižaca, "Iskustvo spasenja u kršćanstvu i budizmu" [An Experience of Salvation in Buddhism and Christianity] *Church in the World* 32, no. 3 (September 1997): 306-310.

78. For more on Žarko Andričević, see the official webpage of the Buddhist Center, accessed July 11, 2017, <https://budisticki-centar.hr/>.

79. For more on the Padmasana Croatian Buddhist Society, see the official website, accessed July 13, 2017, <http://padmasana.hr/>.

80. For more on the establishment of the Buddhist Center of Kailash, see the official website, accessed July 14, 2017, <http://www.bc-kailash.hr/>.

Pažanin founded the Buddhist community Shenchen, which follows the Tibetan tradition.<sup>81</sup> The Shenchen community is active in bringing Tibetan teachers to Croatia. In addition, small groups of Korean Son, Japanese Zen, and Japanese Shingon traditions exist in Rijeka, Zagreb, and Split.<sup>82</sup> Each community is very active, with networks of small groups of practitioners in all the main cities, which organize educational events, lead retreats, and publish literature.<sup>83</sup> All of them belong to various schools of the Mahayana tradition, although their primary source of inspiration, Čedomil Veljačić, belonged to the Theravada branch. It seems to me that the preference for the Mahayana schools may lie in the external and internal similarities between the Catholic and Mahayana rites, the decoration of their sacred spaces, the structure of their doctrines, and their engagement in daily life. These elements make Buddhist practice attractive for many who are drawn to New Age spirituality.<sup>84</sup>

---

81. For more on the establishment of the Buddhist Community of Shenchen, see the official website, accessed July 13, 2017, <http://www.shechen.hr/>.

82. For more on these groups, see the website, accessed July 10, 2017, <http://mandala.hr/>.

83. For example, the Kailash Center published *Šāntideva* in the Croatian language and started a center for Buddhist studies in Zagreb. For more on the activities of the Kailash Center, see accessed July 14, 2017, <http://www.bc-kailash.hr/product-page/vodi%C4%8D-za-na%C4%8Din-%C5%BEivota-bodhisattve>, <https://sites.google.com/site/centerforbuddhiststudieszagreb/buddhist-studies>. The Buddhist center organized summer seminars in Croatia, see more on accessed July 14, 2017, <https://budisticki-centar.hr/home.php>, The Padmasana Croatian Buddhist Society organized pilgrimages to India and Tibet, accessed July 14, 2017, <http://padmasana.hr/putovanja-i-hodocasca/>.

84. The website “Religious Tolerance” offers the following description of New Age Spirituality: “The *New Age* is in fact a free-flowing, decentralized, spiritual movement -- a network of believers and practitioners who share somewhat similar beliefs and practices, which many add on to whichever formal religion that they follow,” accessed April 27, 2018, <http://www.religioustolerance.org/newage.htm>. For a good introductory work on New Age spirituality in Croatia, see Josip Blažević, *New Age i kršćanstvo, Enciklopedijski priručnik* [New Age and Christianity: Encyclopedic Manual] Split, Verbum, 2014. Blažević describes this spirituality as eclectic and syncretic, offering new visions of life. As a new paradigm, it has five sources: Judeo-Christian tradition, secularized science, agnostic teachings, inter-generational conflict, and Asian religions, *ibid.*, 65. See also Steven Sutcliffe and Marion Bowman, eds., *Beyond New Age: Exploring Alternative Spirituality* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000). These writers describe New Age spirituality loosely as “alternative spirituality,” and understand it as existing in “dynamic tension with—if not outright opposition to” both the structures of “official” religion

New Age religiosity has merged with popular Catholic religiosity in Croatia. The attraction to New Age religiosity, which blends various Asian spiritual practices with newly created doctrines, started during the time of communism. During this period, although the people were not satisfied with Marxist ideology, Christian pastoral care was severely limited in its capacity to meet the needs of the people for spiritual meaning in daily life. After the fall of communism, the Church remained unable to fill the spiritual vacuum, so people resorted to whatever forms of spirituality offered them meaning and hope. Thus, the lack of a deeper spirituality stimulated Croatian Catholics to search for more holistic forms of prayer and practice which connected to their daily life, with all its suffering and existential crises. As a consequence, Catholic folk religion and elements of New Age spirituality were fused, creating confusion among ordinary people, and drawing the scrutiny of the Catholic hierarchy.<sup>85</sup>

Buddhist influence is hidden in the renewal of the Catholic traditions of contemplation. Franciscan Mladen Herceg established a Christian community for contemplative prayer in 1995.<sup>86</sup> Despite the fact that contemplation is described in

---

and secular science. Though it takes many forms, New Age spirituality exhibits certain characteristics such as being “individualistic, flexible, and acculturating.” This religiosity may “be seen as a practical and flexible resource for the everyday world that is simultaneously goal-oriented action, re-sensitisation to the realms of the ‘magical’ and ‘unexplained’ and the label for a popular psychological-expressivist hermeneutic,” (ibid 2-5).

85. This phenomenon has been explored in depth by Franciscan priest Jakov Blažević. See Blažević, *New age i kršćanstvo* [New Age and Christianity], and his web page dedicated to that subject, accessed July 10, 2017 <http://www.areopag.hr/>. The worries of the Catholic hierarchy about New Age influence on the ordinary people are evident in public warnings; see for example the Archbishop of Split’s speech for the beginning of the school year 2012. Accessed July 13, 2017 <http://www.ika.hr/index.php?prikaz=vijest&ID=144083>. Here I am equating “folk religion” with “popular religiosity,” which in Croatia is characterized by expressions of piety, devotional practices (notably Marian devotions), pilgrimages, local customs, and national history. Like New Age spirituality, it is eclectic and syncretic, though remaining within the framework of Catholic beliefs and sacramental practice.

86. See more on the official website of the Christian Community of Contemplative Prayer, accessed July 15, 2017, <http://www.jeka-tisine.org/>.

Christian language, the actual practice is shaped by Sanbo-Kyodan Zen training. This is evident in the structure of the retreat, the way of instruction, the position of the body, the breathing, the inner process, and the material elements such as bells, cushions, incense, candles, altar arrangements, and so forth, used during the retreat. Herceg's teacher was the German Benedictine Willigis Jäger, who learned Zen in Japan from Enomiya-Lassalle, and Sanbo-Kyodan teachers.<sup>87</sup> After finishing his training in Japan, Jäger called one and the same content "Zen" for non-Christians and "contemplation" for Christians.<sup>88</sup> Jesuits contributed to that trend, translating Anthony de Mello's books, and participating in the translation of Kakichi Kadowaki's *Zen and the Bible*.<sup>89</sup>

Buddhist practice appeared in secular form as mindfulness training in psychotherapy. The courses on mindfulness are a part of the psychological and psychotherapeutic services of many centers in Croatia. For example, the Croatian Association of Cognitive-Behavioral Therapists offers mindfulness as therapy against various behavioral disorders and trauma-related stress. The Pro-Mindfulness Training Company presents mindfulness as a tool to foster stress-reduction and increase productivity.<sup>90</sup> The therapists there acknowledge the Buddhist roots of their treatments,

---

87. About Willigis Jäger see accessed July 14, 2017, on <https://www.benediktushof-holzkirchen.de/willigis-jaeger/biografisches.html>.

88. The impulse toward the renewal of the contemplative tradition in Croatia was inspired by the group called Contemplation and Mysticism, accessed July 14, 2017, <http://kontemplacija.hr/>.

89. Kakichi Kadowaki, *Zen i Biblija* [Zen and the Bible] (Zagreb: Filozofsko-Teološki Institut Družbe Isusove u Zagrebu, 2012). Anthony de Mello, *Svjesnost* [Awareness] (Zagreb: SKAC, 2002).

90. The Mindfulness-Based Cognitive Therapy (MBCT) used in Croatia is a mix of Buddhist practice and cognitive behavioral therapy as developed by Segal, Williams and Teasdale. As such, MBCT belongs to the third wave of cognitive therapies. About the scientific sources of MBCT, see Zindel V. Segal, John D. Teasdale, and Mark G. Williams, *Mindfulness-Based Cognitive Therapy for Depression: A New Approach to Preventing Relapse* (New York: Guilford, 2013). About psychological centers offering MBCT in Croatia, see more on the official webpages, accessed July 17, 2017, <http://cabct.hr/tecaj->

but explicitly claim that their work does not intend to replace or include any kind of spiritual or religious teaching. Another secular source of the spread of Buddhist practices and ideas in Croatia is the independent publishers who recognize the market for Buddhist thought on a popular level and translate Western Buddhist bestsellers.<sup>91</sup>

To my understanding, there are two reasons for the growth of Buddhist ideas, practices, and institutions in Croatia. The first is external. Croatians simply like to follow the trends of the academy or culture in Europe or the United States. The second is internal. Buddhism somehow responds to the needs of people wounded by war, upheaval, and social instability in its practicality, immediately pragmatic effects (notably the effects of mindfulness therapy in relation to trauma-related stress and various behavioral disorders), monastic institutions, and ritual richness. In what follows, I investigate briefly how Jesuits imagined and interpreted Buddhism—its concepts, practices, and institutions.

### **The Arlecchino Mechanism: The Jesuit Re-appropriation of the Buddhist Traditions**

For my analysis of the Jesuits' construction of Buddhism, I will use historian Urs App's concept of the "Arlecchino mechanism." As App explains, "Arlecchino is a main character of the Italian commedia dell'arte who thinks that the whole world is exactly like his family and acts accordingly."<sup>92</sup> The essence of that mechanism is the projection of the

---

mindfulnessa, <http://pro-mindfulness.com/>, <http://www.zajednica.com.hr/hr/mindfulness-usredotocena-svjednost-poster>.

91. A few examples are Khammai Dhammasami, *Meditacija sabranosti u svakodnevnom životu* [Meditation of Mindfulness in Everyday Life] (Rijeka: Naklada Ulkis, 2017).; Sunim Haemin, *Ono što vidiš tek kad usporiš: nadahnete misli budističkog svećenika o ljepoti svakodnevnog života* [What You See Only When You Slow Down: Inspired Thoughts of a Buddhist Priest about the Beauty of Everyday Life] (Zagreb: Planetopiiija, 2017).

92. Urs App, *The Cult*, 11.

familiar onto the realm of the unknown. The point is to understand that we are using our own lens—our concepts, assumptions, preconceived notions, and standards—in the evaluation of others. On the one hand, this is the natural way in which we attempt to understand our world; on the other hand, it is crucial that we are aware of our own biases in the “construction” of the “other.” The Jesuit construction of Buddhists, and the Buddhist construction of Jesuits, consisted of three overlapping historical phases which do not have clear boundaries. The first phase consists of the initial encounter of Francis Xavier with Anjiro in Goa and with Buddhists in Japan in the 1550s. The second phase runs from the 1560s with the arrival of the Jesuits in Japan until the period of Vatican II. The third phase begins in the post-Vatican II era, when Jesuits became teachers of Zen meditation, and began to combine the academic study of Buddhist traditions with practical engagement in Buddhist practices.

The first phase is marked by a double Arlecchino effect: the Jesuits imagined Buddhists to be Christians, while Buddhists imagined Jesuits as Buddhist reformers. The reason for this was Anjiro’s benevolent but problematic translations. Xavier described Anjiro as a common man of great faith and piety, but unfamiliar with Japanese literary sources.<sup>93</sup>

In Goa, Anjiro depicted the Japanese Buddhist traditions in Christian language and portrayed Buddhism as a “Christian heretic sect.”<sup>94</sup> Anjiro presents the Buddha as a Christian saint who sent his missionaries to Japan. According to Anjiro, the Buddhist “missionaries” held that there is only one God, creator of all things, and believed in a

---

93. *Ibid.*, 12.

94. *Ibid.*, 13.76.

future life, paradise, purgatory, hell, demons, and guardian angels. They destroyed all idols in Japan, presented to the people a picture of God as a man with three heads, and established a religion of saints. In Anjiro's depiction, the priests in Japan prayed the "Ave Maria" seven times per day, worshipping a statue of a woman who carries her son in her arms.<sup>95</sup>

Furthermore, Anjiro presented Jesuits in Buddhist terms to Buddhists. He explained that the Jesuits had come from Cengicco (Tenjiku), the homeland of the Buddha. He instructed the Jesuits to present their message as worshipping "Dainichi," who was Vairocana Buddha venerated in the Shingon sect of Japanese Buddhism, and to share the Gospel in terms of spreading the "Bupo," which was the Buddhist word for the dharma or teaching of the Buddha.<sup>96</sup> Further, Anjiro described the sufferings of hell, and the delights of paradise, the creation of the world, the virgin conception, the crucifixion of a good man, and his ascension to heaven in terms of reaching the Buddhist Pure Land. In addition, the Jesuits lived in the abandoned Buddhist temple of the Great Way (Daidōji), and dressed as Buddhist monks. As Jesuits and Buddhists learned more about one another, however, their initial, mutual accord changed to open, reciprocal condemnation.

The second phase is marked by the recognition of differences, and mutual exclusion. Jesuits were struck by the large number of professional clerics and monastic institutions in Japan.<sup>97</sup> Xavier distinguished "the nine kinds of doctrine, each one

---

95. Ibid., 12-13.

96. Ibid., 14.

97. Ibid., 63.



different from the others”<sup>98</sup> but did not know their names. He knew that Buddhist teaching was imported from China. According to him, their main teachings consisted of “worshiping men rather than gods, and the most important among them were Xaca and Amida;”<sup>99</sup> the possibility of being saved “simply by prayers to the founder of the sects without penance or keeping commandments,” and the belief that their bonzes (monks) and nuns have the power to save souls that are going to hell. Simply, Buddhist religion was a “pure invention of demons.”<sup>100</sup>

Still later, the Japanese Buddhist traditions are presented as dogmatic errors. The Jesuits gained a deeper understanding when a native Japanese man joined them. In 1556, Paolo Kyozen, together with Cosme de Torres and Juan Fernandes, wrote the Summary of Errors (*Summario de los errores*). The summary acknowledged the differences between the Shinto and Buddhist traditions; explored in great depth the differences among various Buddhist sects, their texts, and specific teachings; distinguished between esoteric and exoteric Buddhist doctrines; and contained detailed descriptions of Zen practice.<sup>101</sup> The Jesuits approached Buddhist teachings through Aristotelian and scholastic logic, discovering in them, as Fernandez says, “inconsistency and falsehood in their doctrine.”<sup>102</sup> He criticized their clergy for the vice of sodomy, and for spreading Buddhist

---

98. Ibid.

99. Ibid., 64.

100. Urs App, "St. Francis Xavier Discovery of Japanese Buddhism: A Chapter in the European Discovery of Buddhism (Part 3: From Yamaguchi to India 1551-1552)," *The Eastern Buddhist* XXXI, no. 1 (1998).

101. App, *The Cult*, 34-35.

102. App, "St. Francis Xavier Discovery of Japanese Buddhism," 58.

law, focusing on the central point of “emptiness” as heresy.<sup>103</sup> On the other hand, the writers admire Buddhists because “they are men who could not be refuted without assistance of by our Lord [...]; they engaged in great meditations and posed questions which neither St. Thomas nor Scotus could have answered to satisfy [those] people without faith.”<sup>104</sup>

On the Buddhist side, despite the presumed similarities, the Jesuit teachings and behavior had strange elements in the eyes of the Buddhists. The notion of the killing of the Son of God seemed strange from the perspective of Buddhist thought. Furthermore, the Buddhists observed the Jesuits eating meat, which was forbidden for Buddhist monks or laity.<sup>105</sup> By living together, Jesuits and Buddhists learned more about one another, recognizing the goodness of the other side, while not knowing what to do with their differences. Thus, although their images of one another moved from the positive to the negative, their initial encounters would open the way for a rich exchange of ideas in later generations.

The third phase consists of mutual learning. This phase is marked by Jesuits’ interest not only in the theoretical, but in the practical and mystagogical aspects of Buddhist practice such as mindfulness practices, the approach to emotions, embodied prayer, ritual simplicity, aesthetics, the relationship with nature, and so forth. The reason for this shift in perspective and engagement was inspiration from their respective founders. Vatican II was marked by the notion of *ad fontes*—a return to sources, and the

---

103. App, *The Cult*, 11-30.

104. App, "St. Francis Xavier Discovery of Japanese Buddhism," 57.

105. App, *The Cult*, 53.

call to inculturation of the Gospel. These insights revealed that the Buddha was not primarily concerned with philosophy, nor Ignatius with theology; rather both were ultimately about lived experience, and the mastery of love and enlightenment. I offer two examples in this regard.

The first example is found in the musings of the Jesuit Enomiya-Lassalle. After forty years of practicing Zen, near the end of his life, he wrote in his diary:

At the beginning, Christianity and Zen were like two parallel lines. That is to say, I faithfully followed Christianity, but in Zen I followed the instruction of the masters. But, with time, these two lines became without any kind of theoretical reflection, only one. For me, at least, there is no contradiction, whether others believe it or not.<sup>106</sup>

The second example, from the Buddhist side, comes from Dr. David Matsumoto, a teacher at the Institute of Buddhist Studies at Berkeley, and a reader of Yuichi Tsunoda's doctoral dissertation at the Jesuit School of Theology, Berkeley. During Yuichi's public defense (December 7<sup>th</sup>, 2016), Matsumoto shared that he as a Buddhist learned two things in his reading of Yuichi's work. First of all, he engaged Christianity on a much deeper level than he had to that point, and second, this encounter led him to a better understanding of and deeper engagement with his own tradition.

Prior to Vatican II, there was a connection, and even a relationship between the Jesuits and Buddhists, but there was no *encounter*, in the full sense of the word. It was more a monologue than a dialogue.<sup>107</sup> Living with Buddhists, Jesuits slowly came to

---

106. Cited from Javier Melloni "Ignatian Spirituality and Buddhism" in *A Companion to Ignatius of Loyola*, ed. by Robert Aleksander Maryks (Boston: Brill, 2014), 254-255.

107. Paul O. Ingram, "History of Buddhist-Christian Dialogue," in *Teaching Buddhism: New Insights on Understanding and Presenting the Traditions*, ed. Todd Lewis and Gary Delaney DeAngelis (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 271-296.

appreciate their differences, and to recognize the similarities. Gradually monologue became dialogue. Together, we recognize that although we have different metaphysical foundations, we embrace very similar practices and attitudes in daily life.<sup>108</sup>

### Summary

The historical connections between Jesuits and Buddhists are surprisingly old and rich. The contact started with Francis Xavier in Asia, and continues today with young Jesuit scholars and practitioners in Europe, the United States, and Asia. In Croatia, Buddhist tradition is interwoven into the complex reality of Asian culture, philosophy, art, and religions, and grows silently like a bamboo tree. The seed was planted with Nikola Ratkaj in the seventeenth century and philologists in the nineteenth century. The root patiently lay dormant under the surface during the two Yugoslavias. The small tree has appeared in the Republic of Croatia. Considering the favorable conditions in Croatian society and the transition period of the Catholic Church in Croatia, the bamboo tree will grow to fullness in the future.

The Jesuit and Buddhist encounter can form the underpinnings of a rich and fruitful spiritual practice of everyday life for Croatian young adults in search of identity and meaning. In order to understand the other, however, contemporary Catholics must drink deeply from the wellsprings of their own tradition. Therefore, the next chapter will explore the cultivation of virtues in the Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius of Loyola in order to establish a basis of comparison with the tradition of the *pāramitās* as treated in the

---

108. See Thierry Robouam, SJ, “*Lumen Gentium* and Jesuit Interreligious Discourse Revisited: An Experiential Theology in Dialogue with Buddhism for the ‘Ear of the Mind’” (Doctorate in Sacred Theology (STD), diss., Santa Clara University, Jesuit School of Theology at Berkeley, 2007). Robouam currently teaches at Sophia University. In this work, Robouam reflects on his year living among Zen Buddhists monks in Japan.

work of Shantideva. This comparative work will, in turn, provide a synthetic framework for the preparation of a practical and embodied spirituality for Croatian young adults.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: The Cultivation of Virtue in the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola**

### Introduction

Let us summarize our journey to this point. The previous chapters explored (1) the Croatian historical reality, (2) the development of Croatian national and religious identity, (3) the social profile of Croatian young adults, and (4) the historical relationship between Jesuits and Buddhists in Croatia. As noted, Croatia is a small but complex country located at the geographical, cultural, and political intersection of three different European cultures and civilizations: Western European/Mediterranean, Central European, and Southeastern European. The social and individual identity is also complex because of the inseparability of the national, religious, and political elements, which distinguishes it from the sense of identity as conceived in Western European countries.

Croatian young adults comprise three generational age cohorts, all of whom, in their own ways, are facing the harrowing transition to adulthood and the search for identity. Jesuits and Buddhists, though not the primary actors in the broader religious landscape of Croatia, are nevertheless a significant presence in the shaping of the religious identity of contemporary Croatian young adults. This chapter and the following chapter will engage Jesuit and Buddhist spiritual traditions, respectively, as they have taken shape in Croatia, exploring ways of connecting religious identity to daily life through the cultivation of virtues/ pāramitās.

This chapter focuses on the cultivation of virtues in the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius of Loyola. The main questions leading my inquiry are: What does “virtue” (or

virtues) mean for Ignatius? What is the core virtue for Ignatius in the *Spiritual Exercises*? Put differently, what is the axis around which all the other virtues revolve? How does the text present the cultivation of virtues (whether implicitly or explicitly)? What is the theology behind the cultivation of virtues?

I will demonstrate that Ignatius uses a mix of traditional Christian virtues as a means to articulate his own experience and to develop the spiritual exercises. I argue that the cultivation of virtues, though not systematically treated, is nevertheless integrated into the core process of transformation—personal growth in maturity and relationship with God.

My method is a close historical-critical reading of the *Spiritual Exercises* and other Ignatian texts in their socio-historical context and intertextuality, with the presupposition that the Ignatian texts will mutually illumine one another regarding Ignatius's understanding of virtue as it was transformed from the received tradition. The underlying logic of this chapter is the chronological development of the Christian virtue tradition from its ancient philosophical and scriptural sources, later modifications in the Patristic and medieval periods, and finally, Ignatius's reception and adaptation of the Christian virtue tradition in the *Spiritual Exercises*.

The chapter consists of two sections. The first is an historical outline of the development of the cultivation of virtue in Christian tradition until the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The second focuses on the cultivation of virtues in the Ignatian tradition and considers the theology underlying the cultivation of the virtues in Ignatius's adaptation of the tradition.

## **Part One: Mapping the Virtues in Christian Tradition before the 16<sup>th</sup> Century**

This brief historical overview will unfold in three stages. The first is the classical Greco-Roman and Scriptural foundation, which provided the language and content of Christian virtue; the second explores the Christian appropriation of the Hellenistic concept of virtue (*arête*) and the initial development of the main Christian virtue traditions in the patristic period; and the third considers the further systematization of the Christian virtues in the medieval period.

### *The Foundation: Greco-Roman Culture and Scripture*

Christian virtue has essentially two sources: the Greco-Roman culture, which gives us a vocabulary and a philosophical and pedagogical framework; and the New Testament, which provides the content and practices of Christian virtue. This brief historical overview will focus on the virtues and their cultivation.

#### Greco-Roman Culture: from Noble Warrior to Educated Philosopher and Wise Sage

Greeks and Romans agreed that human beings are beings of instinct, desire and reason, that they are naturally inclined to live a good life (*eudaimonia*), and that this goal can be attained by practicing virtue (*arête*). They did not agree, however, about the precise nature of the goal, of the human being, or of the virtues. The Greek word *arête* or Latin *virtus* does not have a precisely defined meaning.<sup>1</sup> In the Greek context, it expresses any admirable quality in a person. The precise meaning came from a connection of the virtues to the context and its social structure. Moral philosopher

---

1. T. C. O'Brien, "Virtue," in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Farmington Hills, Boulder: Cengage Gale Boulder, 2004), 548-544.



Alasdair MacIntyre suggests two main contexts for the understanding of virtue: *heroic society* and the *organized polis*; to this I add a third, that of *empire*.<sup>2</sup>

The virtues of heroic society (circa 800 BCE) were physical strength, honor, courage, cunning, loyalty, and friendship. The virtues were developed through the warriors' training, which included warfare and athletic activities such as boxing, running, and throwing, but also poetry such as Homer's *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey*.<sup>3</sup> The model of virtue was the *noble warrior*.

The virtues of the organized polis (circa 400 BCE) are represented by Plato and Aristotle. For Plato, the different parts of the soul have different virtues: temperance (*sōphrosynē*) for the appetitive desires of hunger and thirst (*Rep.* 432c), courage (*andreia*) for the spirited desires such as anger and fear (*Rep.* 429b-c), and prudence (*phronesis*) for the rational desire to achieve a life of flourishing. Justice (*dikaiosynē*) unites these parts, that they may be integrated and function well as a whole (*Rep.* 441c).<sup>4</sup> For Plato, virtue means the proper organization and harmonious functioning of the tripartite soul.<sup>5</sup> The natural human tendencies toward good are developed into virtues

---

2. Alasdair MacIntyre, *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (Notre Dame IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 121-164. I add "empire" because of the Stoic and Neoplatonist influence on Christianity. For the Stoic influence, see *Stoicism and Early Christianity*, ed. Rasimus Tuomas, Troels Engberg-Pedersen, and Ismo Dunderberg (Peabody, Mass: Baker Academic, 2010).

3. Henri Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), 9.

4. Courage is the ability to confront fear, difficulties, and intimidation. Temperance involves self-control and moderation, particularly regarding the desire for food, drink, and sex. Justice serves to regulate and establish the proper relationship among the other virtues. Prudence is the ability to judge the actions that lead either toward or away from the goal. Republic IV, 427-434; Law I, 631.

5. Virtue as such is a complex reality which consisted of individual virtues united by justice in the early works such as *Republic*, or by prudence in later works such as *Philebus*, *Statesman*, and *Laws*. For the unity and interconnectedness of virtue in Plato see Raymond J. Devettere, *Introduction to Virtue Ethics: Insights of the Ancient Greeks* (Washington: Georgetown University Press, 2002), 99-106.

through education and training (imitation and habituation).<sup>6</sup>

Aristotle developed further Plato's insights about virtue. He distinguished between the lower, character virtues (*ethikai aretai*) and the higher, intellectual virtues (*dianoetikai aretai*), with the former being dependent on the latter, each addressing different elements of the soul (NE III, 7-10, VI, 5).<sup>7</sup> The important character virtues are courage, temperance, justice, love, generosity, pride, truthfulness, love, and friendship, with the greatest being great-souledness (*megalopsychia*). The intellectual virtues include practical and theoretical wisdom (NE 1139a5).<sup>8</sup> The virtues, though different, are inseparable and mutually dependent, all united under prudence, which leads to rightly-ordered decision that is sensitive to context and circumstances (NE 1145a1-2). For Aristotle, virtue is a permanent state (*hexis*) of character which makes human faculties function well and provides the mean between extremes.<sup>9</sup> Virtues are learned by observing

---

6. For details about learning, imitation, and habituation in Plato see Mark E. Jonas, "Plato on the Necessity of Imitation and Habituation for the Cultivation of the Virtues," in *Varieties of Virtue Ethics* David Carr, James Arthur, and Kristiján Kristjánssons, eds. (Birmingham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017): 233-249; Iakous Vasiliou, *Aiming at Virtue in Plato* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 17-18.

7. Several lists of the character virtues are present in the Aristotle's writing. There are seven in the first book of *Rhetoric* (justice, courage, temperance, magnificence, pride, generosity, and gentleness), thirteen in the *Eudemian Ethics* (in addition to the seven mentioned are dignity, respect, righteous indignation, sincerity, love and endurance), and the indefinite list is in the *Nicomachean Ethic* (courage, temperance, justice, love, generosity, magnificence, magnanimity, truthfulness, wit, gentleness, and a few without name). The great-souledness (*megalopsychia*) was "something like an ordered totality" (NE 1123a1); a person having it was the best (*aristos* NE 1123b27). The character virtues have two developmental stages. The first is natural character virtues (*phusikai aretai*) or developed natural tendencies through education and training, which lack autonomous deliberation and decision making for the sake of virtue itself. The second is authentic character virtues (*kuriai aretai*), in which deliberation and personal decision making for the sake of virtue guide a person. For Aristotle's character virtues, see DeVettere, *Introduction to Virtue Ethics*, 74-75.

8. The major intellectual theoretical virtues are science (*episteme*) and philosophy (*philosophia*). Their goal is to affirm what is factual and deny what is not. The practical intellectual virtues are skill (*techne*) and prudence (*phronesis*). Their goal is to pursue what is good and avoid what is not. The virtue of understanding (*nous*) is in both groups.

9. Paula Gottlieb, *The Virtue of Aristotle's Ethics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 22.

and studying exemplars, and acquired through education and training, and deliberate performance of virtuous actions (*praxis*) (NE 1103a32-1103b3).<sup>10</sup> In the polis, the model was the *philosopher*.

In the imperial period (from 350 BCE), the Stoics and Neoplatonists appropriated Plato's and Aristotle's insights about virtue. The Stoics proposed the four Platonic virtues, making prudence the main virtue.<sup>11</sup> For them virtue was a blend of knowledge, the skill of right living (*techne*), and the right disposition (*diathesis*) of the soul. The specific contribution of the Stoics to the cultivation of virtue was the development of specific spiritual exercises targeted to the individual, the discipline of the "first movement"—the process of conscious analysis that leads to consent or rejection of the initial impulse—and the eradication of the effects of passion *apatheia*.<sup>12</sup>

The Neoplatonists constructed the scale of Platonic virtues (lower and higher) to prepare and purify the soul of the Neoplatonist for assimilation into the divine.<sup>13</sup> The

---

10. For the study of Aristotle's practice of habituation and its stages, see Nancy Sherman, *The Fabric of Character: Aristotle's Theory of Virtue* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989); Danie C. Russel, "Aristotle on Cultivating Virtue," in *Cultivating Virtue: Perspectives from Philosophy, Theology, and Psychology* ed. Nancy E. Snow (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 17-49.

11. The Stoics elaborated a detailed taxonomy of virtue. Wisdom is subdivided into good sense, good calculation, quick-wittedness, discretion, and resourcefulness. Justice is subdivided into piety, honesty, equity, and fair dealing. Courage is subdivided into endurance, confidence, high-mindedness, cheerfulness, and industriousness. Moderation is subdivided into good discipline, seemliness, modesty, and self-control. Similarly, the Stoics divide vice into foolishness, injustice, cowardice, intemperance, and the rest. "Stoic Ethics," Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy, accessed January 10, 2018., <http://www.iep.utm.edu/stoiceth/>.

12. The virtues as skills have two developmental levels. The first consists of the performance of virtuous actions guided by principles and instructions. At the second level, that of the expert or sage, the virtuous action is guided by personal prudence. For the Stoic spiritual exercises, see Pierre Hadot, *Philosophy as a Way of Life: Spiritual Exercises from Socrates to Foucault* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), 79-126; for the teaching of the first movement and *apatheia*, see also Richard Sorabji, *Emotion and Peace of Mind: From Stoic Agitation to Christian Temptation* (The Gifford Lectures) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 343-400.

13. Dominic J. O'Meara, *Platonopolis Platonic Political Philosophy in Late Antiquity* (Oxford:

Neoplatonist's training sought the moderation of the passions in the lower stages of progress, and the eradication of the passions completely on the higher level in order to prepare the individual soul for assimilation into the divine. In the empire, the model was the *sage*, or wise person (*sophos*).

### New Testament: Perfect as the Father is Perfect

The second source of Christian virtues is Scripture.<sup>14</sup> I suggest that in the New Testament, we can recognize the structure of virtue even though the word “arête” appears only six times.<sup>15</sup> Arête was twice applied to God, twice to Christ (1Peter 1:21; 2 Peter 1:16-17), and twice to the ideals incumbent upon the followers of Christ (Philippians 4:8, 2 Peter 1:5).

The telos is realized partially now and completely in the eschatological future. The telos is articulated by Jesus in terms of entering God's kingdom (Mt 6:3), becoming “perfect as the Father is perfect” (Mt 5:48), having life in the full (Jn 10:11), and finally, resurrection and eternal life (Jn 3:15; 11:25).<sup>16</sup> The underlying Semitic anthropology

---

Clarendon Press, 2007), 40-49.

14. In the Old Testament, the word *arête* is used in the LXX and appears twice in the minor prophets (Hab 3:3; Zech 6:13); as the translation of the Hebrew word *hod*, meaning glory; and four times in Isaiah as a translation of the Hebrew word *tehillah*, meaning praise (Iz 42:8, 12; 43:21; 63:7). Arête appears twenty-six times in books originally written in Greek such as Wisdom and Maccabees. There, it is always applied to humans, not to God. See Kyriakoula Papademetriou, “From the *Arête* of the Ancient World to the *Arête* of the New Testament: A Semantic Investigation,” in *Septuagint Vocabulary. Pre-history, Usage, Reception, Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 58, ed. Eb. Bons and J. Joosten (Atlanta: Society for Biblical Literature, 2011): 9, 13. In addition to the word *arête*, the metaphor of the two paths suggests the logic of virtue/vices. G. Johannes Botterweck et al., *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1974), 628.

15. See Papademetriou, *From the Arête*, 60.

16. The word “perfect,” in Greek *teleios*, in the sense of being or becoming complete is central. The same word (*teleios*) is used in a story about the rich young man. There Jesus says, “If you want to be perfect / “complete” (*teleos*) then go and sell your possessions, give to the poor, and come, follow me” (Mt 19:21). Paul portrays Jesus as *teleiotheis* (complete, perfect) in Heb 5:9. The same word is a central theme of the Epistle of James. See also Richard Bauckham, *James: New Testament Readings* (London: Routledge, 1999); N.T. Wright, *After You Believe: Why Christian Character Matters* (New York, Harper One, 2010),

focuses on the transformation of heart (Mt 19:8; Mk 7:21) or the renewal of mind (Rom 12:2).<sup>17</sup>

The central quality (virtue) is self-giving love, patterned after Christ's *kenosis*. The key elements of self-giving love are humility and obedience (Mt 11:29; Lk 1:48; Mt 18:3-4). The implications of such love are patience (Rom 2:4; 9:22), forgiveness (Mt 6:2, 14, 15; 9:2, 5; 18:21), and chastity (Matt 5:28, Col 3:5, I Thess 4:5).<sup>18</sup> The best-organized list of principles is the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5:3).<sup>19</sup> St. Paul mentions two lists. The first is faith, hope, and love, with love being the greatest quality (1 Cor 13:13). The second involves humility and obedience as Jesus' fundamental qualities (Phil 2:5-9). The *model* of virtue is Jesus and in turn, his followers (such as Paul or Peter).

The cultivation of love demands learning, imitation, and habituation. The followers of Jesus should follow his example according to the demands of the context or situation (Mt 8:22) and keep his commandments (Mt 12:30-31). To assure that his instruction remains in their memory, Jesus washed their feet as a sign of his teachings of love and humility (Jn 13: 3-17). Three things are necessary for practice. The first is

---

108; Jonathan T. Pennington, "A Biblical Theology of Human Flourishing," Institute for Faith, Work, and Economics, accessed August 18, 2017, <http://tifwe.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/Pennington-A-Biblical-Theology-of-Human-Flourishing.pdf>, note LXIX, 14, 21.

17. English translations render as "mind" two different Greek words: *nous*, meaning intellect, in Rom 12:2 and 1Cor 2:16; and *phronein*, meaning disposition, in Rom 15:5 and Phil 2:5.

18. Jesus depicts himself as "humble in heart" (*tapeinos te kardia*) (Mt 11:28-30). Humility is the key characteristic of Jesus, the main spiritual principle, and the identity of his followers. See Geoffrey W. Bromiley, *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia* vol. 1 A-D (Grand Rapids Mich: William B. Eerdmans, 1979), 650-527; Dale C. Allison et al., *Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception*. 12, 12 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 522-27.

19. As N.T. Wright notes, however, "although the Beatitudes could be mistaken for a set of rules . . . they are much more like virtues, and that's how they work: grasp the end, the goal, the *telos*, the future, and go to work on anticipating it here and now." At the same time, "the Beatitudes are both guidelines for those who are learning virtue and a checklist to which virtuous Christians can refer from time to time," Wright, *After You Believe*, 107.

vigilance (*agrupneite*) (Lk 21:36; Mk 13:33) or being aware of what is happening. The second is the ability to judge (*diakrasis*) (Rom 14:1), to discern the thoughts and attitudes of hearts (*kritikos*) (Heb 4:12), to distinguish good from evil (*diakrison*) (Heb 5:14), and between the spirits (*dokimazate*) (1 Jn 4:1).<sup>20</sup> The third is decision and action. We now turn to the question of how the early Christians conceived the virtues and their cultivation.

*Formation of Christian Virtues: Mingling New Testament and Hellenistic Categories (prior to the 5<sup>th</sup> century): Jesus as the Exemplar of all Virtues*

The Christianization of the Hellenistic category of virtue was an intricate and complex process.<sup>21</sup> Christian virtues were cultivated and developed in three different, but interconnected contexts: the monastic life for the systematization of lived ascetic experience, the urban Christian centers of learning for the development of Christian moral theory, and regular Christian communities for pastoral and catechetical needs.

The early monastic virtue tradition is represented by Evagrius Ponticus (345-399).<sup>22</sup> For Evagrius, virtue is a disposition/state of soul and action that liberates a person

---

20. See Joseph T. Lienhard, "On 'Discernment of Spirits' in the Early Church," *Theological Studies*, 41, no. 3 (September 1980): 508.

21. Complexity arose from the appropriation of the Greek linguistic and metaphysical categories, the contra-cultural content of Christian virtues, the lack of any coherent system, and the inconsistency of vocabulary. For example, humility, the central characteristic of Jesus, was a vice and not a virtue in the Greco-Roman world. The best example is Aristotle. For him the good life (*eudaimonia*) was related to the possession of virtues (*arête*). The central virtue was *megalopsychos* (great souledness) –which is between *chaunos* (too much) and *mikropsychos* (small-souledness). The necessary preconditions for *megalopsychos* were fortune, and access to wealth and power. The magnanimous person is rich, superior in behavior, and never lives in any kind of dependence. Aristotelian virtues were closely correlated with social position and role. See Jane Foulcher, *Reclaiming Humility: Four Studies in Monastic Tradition* (Athens, Ohio: Cistercian Publications, 2015), 8-15. For the difficulties of the Christian appropriation of virtue language in the Christian context, see Jennifer A. Herdt, "Frailty, Fragmentation, and Social Dependency in the Cultivation of Christian Virtue," in *Cultivating Virtue: Perspectives from Philosophy, Theology and Psychology* ed. Nancy E. Snow (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 227-251.

22. John Cassian (360-435) appropriated and disseminated Evagrius' schema of virtues and opposing evil thoughts in the Latin, John Climacus (579-606) in the Byzantine, and Isaac the Syrian (640-

from vices, restores knowledge, and prepares one for contemplation.<sup>23</sup> Evagrius mixed Paul's virtues of faith, hope and love with his own schema of virtues and their opposing evil thoughts (*logismoi*), and organized them according to the Platonic tripartite soul.<sup>24</sup> The virtues of the appetitive part are courage (*andreia*) and patience (*hypomonē*); of the spirited part are temperance (*sōphrosynē*), charity (*agape*), and self-control (*enkrateia*); of the rational level are prudence (*phronesis*), understanding (*sunesis*), and wisdom (*sophia*); and in the whole soul is justice (*dikaiosynē*).<sup>25</sup> The experienced monks instructed the young monks. The exemplars for study and imitation were present in Scripture and the collections of the sayings of the Desert Mothers and Fathers. Habituation was enforced through a daily monastic routine.<sup>26</sup>

The main proponent of the early Christian intellectual virtue tradition is

---

700) in in the Syrian Christianity. For the spreading of Evagrius' influence, see Joel, Kalvesmaki and Robin Darling Young, *Evagrius and His Legacy* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2016).

23. *On Thoughts*, 15. See Augustine Casiday, *Evagrius Ponticus* (London: Routledge, 2006), 100.

24. For Paul's triplet see *Eulogious* 11. Evagrius is mixing Aristotelian/Platonic and Stoic virtues. Cassian proposed the virtues of chastity, temperance, charity, diligence, forgiveness, kindness, and humility. Cassian's eight principal vices (*vittia*) are 1) gluttony (*gastrimargia*), 2) fornication (*fornicatio*), 3) love of money (*filaguria*), 4) anger (*ira*), 5) sadness (*tristitia*), 6) listlessness (*acedia*), 7) vainglory (*cenodoxie*), and 8) pride (*superbia*), *Conferences* 5, ch. 2,1. For Cassian, see *Institutes*, books IV-XII; Climacus distinguishes lower and higher virtues. The lower virtues are obedience, penitence, remembrance of one's own death, and sorrow. The higher are simplicity, humility, and discernment. See John Climacus, *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, trans. Colm Luibheid and Norman Russell (London: SPCK, 1982), 12-13.

25. Evagrius lists eight evil thoughts (*logismoi*), which are opposed to the virtues. Three belong to the lowest part of the soul (*epithumia*), and consist of gluttony (*gastrimargia*), lust (*porneia*) and avarice (*philarguria*); the two belonging to the *thumos* (occupying the place between the lowest and the highest parts of the soul) are anger (*orge* or *thumos*) and sadness (*lupe*); the three belonging to the rational part are accidie or 'sloth' (*acedia*), vainglory (*kenodoxia*) and pride (*huperephania*). For Evagrius' *logismoi*, see *Praktikos*, 6-14; 89, 1-4.

26. The best means against temptation is the "lightning bolt of humility" (which is not virtue for Evagrius), repentance for sins, discretion, diligent abstention from the act and thought of sin. The importance of humility for the Desert Fathers and Mothers is evident in the large number of sayings focused on humility. From eighteen grouping in the Collections of their sayings, fifteen are devoted to humility. Foulcher, *Reclaiming Humility*, 45; André Louf, *The Way of Humility* (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian Publications, 2007), 9.

Augustine of Hippo (354-430).<sup>27</sup> He adopted Plato's schema of the four virtues, defining Christian virtue in terms of orderly love (*caritas*) through Christ toward God as its origin and goal.<sup>28</sup> The four virtues are complemented by humility, which is the fundamental disposition of the followers of Christ.<sup>29</sup> Virtues were acquired through imitative acts (mimesis) after being inspired by the beauty of the example of Christ or his saints, through human effort empowered by God's grace, and reception of the sacraments.<sup>30</sup>

The early Christian catechetical tradition mixed scriptural tradition and the language of virtues. Cyril of Jerusalem (313-386) presented Jesus as the possessor "all virtues," and asserted that keeping the faith leads to all forms of virtue (*Catechesis* 5, 7).<sup>31</sup> The cultivation of virtue was realized within the structure of family and community life.<sup>32</sup>

---

27. In the first century CE, Philo of Alexandria introduced this schema into biblical commentaries, and in the second and third centuries, Clement of Alexandria and Origen followed him. St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan (340-397), named them alternately the *virtutes cardinales* or the *virtutes principales*. Ambrose's virtues had a transitional and cosmic function. They lead us like a hinge from one room to another, from this life to the next. They equip us to face the cardinal moment of life, which is death, and to go beyond the other side of death to face the author of the cosmos. For a history of terminology, see R. E. Houser, *The Cardinal Virtues: Aquinas, Albert and Philip the Chancellor* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2004), 7-31, 32.

28. Fortitude is love ready to bear everything for the sake of the loved object. Temperance is love giving itself entirely to that which is loved. Justice is love serving only the loved object, and therefore ruling rightly. Prudence is love distinguishing between what hinders and what helps it.

29. *City of God* 16.4; *Sermon* 285.4. For humility and virtue in Augustine see Deborah Wallace Ruddy, "A Christological Approach to Virtue: Augustine and Humility" (Boston College, 2001).

30. Herdt, *Putting on Virtue*, 46.

31. For Cyril, see Edward Yarnold, *Cyril of Jerusalem* (London: Routledge, 2000), 70, 97.

32. This consisted of almsgiving, fasting, prayer, self-examination, meditative study of scripture, confessing of sins, singing the psalms, listening to homilies, penance, catechesis, baptism and Eucharist.



*Codification of the Virtue Tradition in the Medieval Period (5<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> century): Being Like Christ*

In the Middle Ages, previous traditions were transformed, and two new virtue traditions emerged—the knightly and the humanistic. The *monastic tradition* of Latin Christianity transformed, systematized, and expanded Cassian’s schema of virtues.<sup>33</sup> Benedict of Nursia (480- 543) added the ten stages of the ladder of humility, while Bernard de Clairvaux (1090-1153) elaborated ten stages of pride.<sup>34</sup> Gregory the Great (540-604) mingled his adaptation of Cassian’s schema with the cardinal virtues and the fruits of the Spirit.<sup>35</sup> Gregory’s virtues are temperance, chastity, charity, diligence, patience, kindness, and humility.

The medieval *Christian intellectual tradition* developed new a theological synthesis of the virtues. Peter Lombard (c. 1105-1160) implemented the Augustinian version of the cardinal virtues in his *Sententiae*, which was the textbook in the

---

33. In the Byzantine tradition, Gregory Palamas offered a synthesis of the virtue tradition. See Anestis Keselopoulos, *Passions and Virtues according to Saint Gregory Palmas* (South Canaan: St. Tikhon’s Seminary Press, 2004).

34. *The Benedict Rule*, 7, cited from *Benedict’s Rule: Translation and Commentary*, trans., Terrence Kardon (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1981); Bernard, *On the Steps of Humility and Pride [Liber de gradibus humilitatis et superbiae]* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1989).

35. Gregory changed the name, number, and order of Cassian’s list. His synthesis is the tradition of the “seven deadly sins” (*septem vitia capitalia*). He changed the list from eight to seven, conflating vainglory and pride into pride, replaced sadness with acedia, and added envy. Gregory’s list of sins is gluttony (*gulia*), lust (*luxuria*), avarice (*avaritia*), envy (*invidia*), anger (*ira*), melancholy (*tristia*), vainglory (*vanagloria*). He represented pride as the head (*caput*), and the sins as captains in an army with their own offspring of forty-four daughters. For Gregory’s synthesis, see *Moralia in Iob*, 31.45.87-90; Shwan R. Tucker, *The Virtues and Vices in the Arts: A Source Book* (Eugene, Oregon: Cascade Books, 2015), 94-96; Morton W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to the History of Religious Concept, with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature* (Ann Arbor: Michigan State Univ. Press, 1967).

universities.<sup>36</sup> Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) mentioned two loosely connected lists of virtues. The first was the four cardinal (ST, I-II, 61) and three theological virtues (ST, I-II, 62).<sup>37</sup> The second was a version of the seven capital vices, and opposed to them seven virtues (joy about divine good, joy about the neighbor's good, liberality, magnanimity, abstinence, chastity, and meekness) and the cardinal virtues.<sup>38</sup> According to him, virtues are either acquired through habituation, or infused as a gift.<sup>39</sup> For Aquinas, pride is the root and queen of all sins, while charity grounded in humility is the mother of all the virtues and the remedy for all sin.<sup>40</sup>

The catechetical/pastoral virtue tradition merged with popular culture as seen in such figures as Dante Alighieri, Prudentius, and Giotto di Bondone. The second part of Dante's *Divine Comedy*, the *Purgatorio*, is organized around the seven vices and virtues.<sup>41</sup> Prudentius illustrated Christian virtues and vices as Roman matrons or mythical figures in conflict with one another. These figures were common on medieval objects such as shrines, doors, reliquaries, chalices, crowns, and baptisteries.<sup>42</sup> Giotto painted

---

36. The *Sententiae* discusses theological virtues (III. 23-32), the cardinal virtues (III.33), the gifts (III 34-35), and the commandments (III. 37-40). See more in István Pieter Bejczy, *The Cardinal Virtues in the Middle Ages: A Study in Moral Thought from the Fourth to the Fourteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 119-131.

37. ST, I-I, q.61-62.

38. For the virtues opposite to the seven vices, see (ST I-II, q.84.a. 2, and De Malo q.8, a.1-4).

39. According to Aquinas, virtues are dispositions to act well, that perfect a possessor and the possessor's actions, directing one toward the goal. ST I-II. 56,3; 62.1.

40. For Aquinas, humility is paradoxical. Humility does not fit the category of virtue. He presents humility as a form of modesty (ST II-II, q.161.a4), and the remedy for vanity and pride (ST II-II, q.161.a5.ad.2). In presenting humility as modesty, Aquinas follows Clement and Origen, who tried to find in Plato compatibility with the Christian message. See Clement *Stromata* 2.22; Origen, *Against Celsus*, 6.15; Louf, *The Way of Humility*, 7; on pride, see *De Malo*, q.8a.2.

41. For the influence of the virtue/vice traditions on the medieval culture, see *In the Garden of Evil: The Vices and Culture in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Newhauser (Toronto: PIMS, 2005).

seven virtues and vices as preparation for hell or heaven in the Scrovegni (or Arena) Chapel.<sup>43</sup>

The new virtue traditions are the *chivalric* and the *humanistic*. The *chivalric* virtue tradition is present in the code of conduct (*hidalgo*) of the Spanish aristocracy and in the books of chivalry linked with the courtly setting such as *Amadis de Gaule* and *Amadis de Grecia*.<sup>44</sup> The models of virtue are the knight or the Christian prince. The main virtues are nobility, courage, honor, magnanimity, and loyalty. *Cultivation* consists of habituation through courtly training and military exercises. Erasmus' *Enchiridion* emblemizes the *humanistic* virtue tradition. The main virtues are a combination of Plato's four virtues and charity.<sup>45</sup> The *cultivation* of virtue is integrated in the education and in personal habituation.

Christian virtues were a synthesis of the crucial evangelical qualities of humility and love and the main classical virtues of courage, temperance, justice and prudence. The process of the cultivation of virtues through instruction, imitation, and habituation was integrated into daily Christian life and practice. Christian agency consists of responsibility and freedom but depends on God's grace. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, various Greco-Roman and Christian virtue traditions coexisted in the same space. The question is

---

42. Prudentius wrote *Psychomachia*, an allegorical poem about the battle between the virtues and vices over the human soul. See Macklin Smith, *Prudentius' "Psychomachia"* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015); Tucker, *The Virtues and Vices*, 107.

43. Tucker, *The Virtues and Vices*, 142-148.

44. Daniel Eisenberg, *Romances of Chivalry in the Spanish Golden Age* (Newark: Juan de la Cuesta Publishing, 2006); Simone Pinet, "The Chivalric Romance in the Sixteen Century," in *A History of the Spanish Novel*, ed. J.A.G. Ardilla (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 79-96.

45. Ross Dealy claims that Erasmus Christianized the Stoic virtues. See Ross Dealy, *The Stoic Origin of Erasmus' Philosophy of Christ* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 17.

how and where Ignatius encountered them.

## **Part Two: St. Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556) and the Cultivation of Virtues**

This section will explore the cultivation of virtue in Ignatian tradition in three stages. The first will explore Ignatius' contact with the various Christian virtue traditions. The second will investigate Ignatius's adaptation of the various virtue traditions within the *Autobiography*, the *Spiritual Exercises*, and the *Constitutions*. The third stage will study the theology underlying the cultivation of virtues.

### *Ignatius: Person and Writings*

Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556) was born of a noble Basque family in Loyola.<sup>46</sup> He did his courtly training in Arévalo with Juan Velázquez de Cuéllar, the chief treasurer of King Ferdinand V and Queen Isabella. In 1517, Ignatius joined the Duke of Nájera, Antonio Manrique. In his service, Ignatius sustained a severe injury when his legs were shattered by a cannonball in a battle between French and Spanish troops at the fortress of Pamplona in 1520. In 1521, during his recovery in Loyola, Ignatius underwent a profound spiritual conversion. After his recovery, on the way to Jerusalem, he spent approximately ten months in Manresa in intensive experiences of prayer. After returning from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, he pursued studies in Barcelona, Alcalá, Salamanca, and Paris. In Paris, he gathered ten companions. Together they established the new religious order of the Society of Jesus in Rome. Ignatius administered the new order until his death in 1556.<sup>47</sup>

---

46. About the religious and sociological context, see Lu Anna Homza, "The Religious Milieu of the Young Ignatius," in *The Cambridge Companion to Jesuits*, ed. Thomas Worcester (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 13-31.

47. Ignatius wrote extensively. His chief writings are the *Spiritual Exercises*, the *Letters*,

So how, precisely, did Ignatius assimilate the Christian virtue traditions? He encountered various Christian virtue traditions during his life through culture, education, popular religiosity, and books. Ignatius's childhood, courtly education, and service were saturated with chivalric virtues. He listened to stories of the bravery and honor of his grandfather, Don Juan Péres de Oñas, who battled the Moors, and his father Beltrán, who participated in the lifting of the siege at Torro and Burgos, and in the defense of Fonterabia.<sup>48</sup> Bravery, honor, loyalty, and generosity were part of Ignatius's courtly training in Arévalo. Ignatius had read of the same virtues in the chivalric literature of the day. According to the *Autobiography*, "he was given to reading worldly books of fiction, commonly labeled as *chivalry*" (Au 5). Later he clarified that he not only read them often, but that "his mind was full of tales like *Amadís de Gaul* and such books" (Au 17). Such enchantment with chivalric virtues had undoubtedly led Ignatius to his injury at Pamplona.

During his recovery in Loyola, Ignatius encountered the popular monastic/catechetical virtue tradition through reading *The Life of Christ* and the *Lives of*

---

*Deliberation on Poverty*, *Spiritual Diary*, the *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, and the *Autobiography*. The *Spiritual Exercises* are designed as a manual for spiritual directors who will guide people through a series of meditations on the life of Jesus for the purpose of ordering their life and finding God. The *Letters* contain nearly 7,000 missives written by Ignatius over the course of his life. Ignatius's *Deliberation on Poverty* is only three pages long, and his *Spiritual Diary* is seven pages long. They are personal notes about the type of canonical poverty which he desired when writing the *Constitutions*. The *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus* illustrates the "application of St. Ignatius's worldview to the organization, inspiration and government of the religious institute he founded." The *Autobiography* describes Ignatius' life from 1521 to 1538, or from the beginning of his conversion in Pamplona to his first year in Rome. Ignacio Iparraguirre, Candido de Dalmases, and Manuel Ruiz Jurado, *Obras de San Ignacio de Loyola* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1991).

48. Jose Ignacio Tellechea Idigoras, *Ignatius of Loyola the Pilgrim Saint* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1994): 47, 49.

*the Saints*.<sup>49</sup> Milton Walsh argues that the intent of the *Vita Christi* is not so much “to describe events and analyze their causes and consequences, but to inspire virtue.”<sup>50</sup> In the prologue of the *Vita Christi*, Saint Bernard asks: “What do you know about virtues, if you are ignorant of Christ, who is the virtue of God? Where, I ask, is true prudence, except in Christ’s teaching? Where is true virtue, except in Christ’s mercy? Where is true temperance, except in Christ’s life? Where is true fortitude, except in Christ’s passion?”<sup>51</sup> In the same prologue, Ludolph of Saxony, the work’s author, writes “The follower of Christ cannot be deceived. Through frequent meditation on his life, the heart is set aflame, comes alive, and is illuminated by divine power to imitate or acquire his virtues.”<sup>52</sup>

In the Introduction to the *Lives of the Saints*, Christ is presented explicitly as the *model* of all virtues, among them humility, patience, justice, generosity, and love of God.<sup>53</sup> The section on St. Dominic is named “Dominic’s virtues.”<sup>54</sup> The reading of these

---

49. Félix Juan Cabasés, *Beato Lácopo da Varazze, Leyenda de Los Santos: Introducción, Transcripción y Anotaciones* (Madrid: Servicio de Publicaciones Universidad Pontificia Comillas, and Institutum Historicum Societatis Jesu, 2007).

50. Milton Walsh *To Always be Thinking Somehow about Jesus: The Prologue of Ludolf’s Vita Christi* (Studies in Spirituality of Jesuits, 43/1, spring 2011): 4

51. *Vita Christi*, Prologue 34. Cited from Wash, *To Always be Thinking*, 15.

52. Prologue, p.4, col 1; cited in Paul Shore, “The Vita Christi of Ludolph of Saxony and Its Influence on the Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius of Loyola,” in *Studies in Spirituality of Jesuits*, 30/1 (January 1998):12; for José García de Castro Valdés, “La Vita Christi de Ludolfo de Sajonia (+1377) e Ignacio de Loyola (+1556) a propósito de un grand libro,” *Separata de Estudios Eclesiásticos* 86, no.338 (2011): 509-546.

53. For the idea of Christ as model of virtue, see the subtopics in the introduction, De Varraze, *Leyenda de los santos*, 3-24.

54. For the section about St. Dominic, see De Varraze, *Leyenda de los santos*, 383.

books initiated a profound spiritual conversion and decision to pursue the life of a penitent pilgrim.

In Manresa, Ignatius was in direct contact with the monastic and *Devotio Moderna* versions of virtue tradition through reading Cisneros' *Compendio Breve de Ejercicios Espirituales* and à Kempis' *Imitation of Christ*. Cisneros wrote that "the devout man should exercise himself according to the three ways: purgative, illuminative, and unitive [... which] correspond to the three theological virtues, which are faith, hope and love."<sup>55</sup> According to à Kempis, "It is not learning that makes a man holy and just, but a virtuous life makes him pleasing to God."<sup>56</sup> In addition to books, it is reasonable to conclude that Ignatius learned from his confessor in Manresa the language of virtue. After Manresa, Ignatius went to Jerusalem, and subsequently pursued studies in Barcelona, Alcalá, and Paris.

In the course of his studies, Ignatius encountered scholastic and classical virtue traditions. In Alcalá, he "studied the Logic of Soto, the physics of Albert, and the Master of Sentences, amongst others," while in Paris he would have studied Aristotle's physics, metaphysics, ethics, the *Bible*, the *Commentary on The Sentences* of Peter Lombard, and Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologiae* (Au, 57).<sup>57</sup> During the writing of the *Constitutions*

---

55. "García de Cisneros, "History of Spirituality," cited from the translation of Luke Dysinger, accessed January 26, 2018, [http://ldysinger.stjohnsem.edu/CH\\_584\\_Hist\\_Spty/16\\_Devot\\_Mod/00a\\_start.htm](http://ldysinger.stjohnsem.edu/CH_584_Hist_Spty/16_Devot_Mod/00a_start.htm). For Cisneros' Works, see García Jiménez de Cisneros, *Obras Completas*, ed. Dom Cipriano Barut (Abadía de Montserrat, Col. Scripta et Documenta 16, 1965).

56. Book I, Chapter 1:3, *Vere alta verba non faciunt sanctum et justum, sed virtuosa vita efficit Deo carum*, accessed February 9, 2018, [http://ldysinger.stjohnsem.edu/CH\\_584\\_Hist\\_Spty/16\\_Devot\\_Mod/00a\\_start.htm](http://ldysinger.stjohnsem.edu/CH_584_Hist_Spty/16_Devot_Mod/00a_start.htm). For an English translation, see B.J.H. Boggs, *The Imitation of Christ: The First English Translation of the 'Imitatio Christi'* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

57. For Ignatius's works in English, I am using George Ganss, *Ignatius of Loyola: The Spiritual Exercises and Selected Works* (New York: Paulist Press, 1991), 36-37; for the influence of academic

in Rome, Ignatius read monastic rules, and especially John Cassian's works as guidance for his own writing.<sup>58</sup> Stated evidence suggests that Ignatius was in direct contact with various Christian virtue traditions. The question is how the virtues are present and cultivated in his writings.

*The Autobiography: He Desired to Cultivate Virtue*

The text explicitly mentions virtue in a generic sense, and as a bundle of individual virtues. The word virtue in the generic sense is mentioned three times. First, regarding Ignatius's journey to Montserrat, his scribe, Luis Goncalves da Câmara, comments that Ignatius did not know "what humility was, or charity, or patience, or the discretion that regulates and measures these virtues. His whole intention was to do such great external works, because the saints had done so for the glory of God, without considering any more particular detail" (*Au* 14, 4). Second, Ignatius describes his intention in Barcelona, before taking ship to Jerusalem, "to practice three virtues—charity, faith, and hope." It appears that Ignatius learned from somebody about virtues and their relationship to God, and deliberately desired to practice them (*Au* 35, 4).<sup>59</sup> The third instance occurs in a small detail from a dialog between the Dominicans in

---

sources on Ignatius, see Garcia Mateo, "Fuentes filosófico-teológicas de los Ejercicios según el curriculum académico de su autor," in *Las Fuentes de los Ejercicios Espirituales de San Ignaci, Simposio Internacional, Loyola 15-19 Sept 1999*, ed. Juan Plazaola (Bilbao: Mensajero, 1998), 469-512.

58. For the collection of Ignatius's works, see Ignatius of Loyola, *Monumenta Ignatian, Series Secunda: Exercitia Spiritualia S. Ignatii de Loyola et eorum Directoria, Series Secunda: Exercitia Spiritualia S. Ignatii de Loyola et eorum Directoria*, ed. José Calveras and Cándido de Dalmases (Romae: Institutum historicum Societatis Iesu, 1969). We know that Ignatius cited Cassian in letters and borrowed his description of chastity for the *Constitutions*. For Cassian, see in Ignatii Epistole II: 59, 61, IV:676, XII:541(Cons. 547); Santiago Arzubialde, "Casiano e Ignacio, Continuidad y ruptura, Una original aportación de Ignacio a la historia de la Tradición espiritual," in *Las Fuentes de los Ejercicios Espirituales*, 123-187.

59. There is a consensus among Ignatian scholars that this person was likely Cisneros. See Javier Melloni, *The Exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola in the Western Tradition* (Leominster: Gracewing and Inigo Enterprises, 2000), 9.



Salamanca and Ignatius about the content of his conversations with people. Ignatius answered, “we speak sometimes of one virtue (*virtud*), sometimes of another; and do so, praising it; sometimes of one vice (*vico*), sometimes of another, condemning it” (*Au* 65, 3-4).

The *Autobiography* appears to reflect a unified set of Christian virtues. Virtues are cultivated simultaneously, but for the sake of clarity I will present them separately, and later show their mutual connection. Though Ignatius did not explicitly follow any schema, for our purposes, these virtues may be grouped according to Aristotelian categories. For Ignatius, the ground of all the virtues is humility. The *intelligent* virtue of discretion (discernment), and the *theological* virtues of faith, hope, and love guide all virtues. The *character* virtues include courage, loyalty, generosity, patience, temperance, and chastity. Together they support a process grounded in humility and guided by discretion.

Surprisingly, however, the word *humility* (*humilidad*) appears only once (*Au* 14, 4).<sup>60</sup> Humility is expressed in external actions such as Ignatius’s deliberate renunciation of social status and possessions, the deliberate concealment of his family name, and an intentional life of poverty.<sup>61</sup> These actions in turn supported his growth in internal disposition to humility through gradual, conscious surrender to God’s mercy. Humility is the remedy for its opposite, namely the sin of vainglory/pride. Renaissance scholar

---

60. *Concordancia Ignaciana: An Ignatian Concordance*, ed., Ignacio Echarte (Bilbao: Ediciones Ensajero, Sal Terrae and the Institute of Jesuit Sources St. Louis, 1996), 633-635.

61. According to ethicist Lisa Fullam, humility is the fundamental *characteristic* that enables one to achieve one’s goal, which is the Christian *telos*; see Lisa Fullam, *Humilidad*, in *Diccionario de Espiritualidad Ignaciana*, ed., Grupo de Espiritualidad Ignaciana (GEI) (Bilbao: Ediciones Ensajero, Sal Terrae, 2007), 957.

Marjorie O'Rourke Boyle suggests that as such, Ignatius's *Autobiography* is a "mirror of vainglory."<sup>62</sup> Building on Boyle's work, two scholars of Ignatian spirituality, John McManmon and Barton T. Geger, demonstrate that vainglory/pride may be a key to understanding the rhetoric, organization and message of the *Autobiography*.<sup>63</sup> Humility is guided by discretion.

While the intelligent virtue of *discretion* is present implicitly throughout the whole text, astonishingly, the word *discreción* appears only once (*Au* 14, 4).<sup>64</sup> Discretion regulates and measures all virtues (*SpEx* 14). Love is present as the noun *amor* six times and twice as *caridad* (*Au* 14.4; 35,4). The experience of the love (*amor*) of God was the motivation for Ignatius to change his life and pursue a new life (*Au* 17, 1), to endure the troubles of imprisonment (*Au* 60, 6), and to save him in times of vainglorious thoughts (*Au* 32,5). Discretion guides but needs the support of the other virtues.

Of the character virtues, *courage*, *loyalty*, and *magnanimity* belong to the chivalric tradition. Though they are not mentioned explicitly, they are evident in Ignatius's dramatic defense of the fortress in Pamplona and loyalty to knightly ideals, his endurance during his surgeries and painful recovery, his great desire to serve, to do great things, and in his perseverance in the face of manifold challenges. The virtue of *temperance* was a problem for Ignatius, who had a great inclination toward extremes. In

---

62. Marjorie O'Rourke Boyle, *Loyola's Acts: The Rhetoric of the Self* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

63. Focusing on pride/vainglory, Boyle, McManamon, and Geger do not treat other traditional Christian virtues; for the Jesuit scholars, see Barton T. Geger, "Hidden Theology in the 'Autobiography' of St. Ignatius," in *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 46, no.3 (autumn 2014); John M. S.J. McManamon, *The Text and Contexts of Ignatius Loyola's "Autobiography"* (Fordham University Press, 2013).

64. The only usage of the word "discernment" is in reference to what Ignatius was missing in the beginning of his new life; see *Concordancia Ignaciana*, 390.

Manresa, for example, he was intending to continue his fast unto the brink of death, though not beyond, to resolve the issue of his scruples (*Au 24*). *Chastity* takes root in him after a vision of Our Lady with the Child Jesus; after that, he “never gave the slightest consent to the things of flesh” (*Au 10*). *Patience* is a silent virtue. It is mentioned only twice in the text, once in a positive sense (*Au 4,4*) to indicate his patience during surgery, and the other in a negative context, indicating his lack of patience (*Au 14, 4*). What is the connection among the various virtues in the *Autobiography*?

The virtues are dynamic and interdependent. Together they foster right relationship among creatures and between creatures and Creator. The virtues of magnanimity and courage, which in Ignatius indicated the burning desire to do great things in the service of God and others, lead to humility. Humility consists of the awareness of our own limitations and sinfulness, and at the same time, of God’s unconditional acceptance and love.<sup>65</sup> This in turn leads to the recognition of our common humanity and fosters respect for other creatures. This initial change of attitude causes a gradual movement from self-centeredness to centeredness in God and others. Subsequently, discretion shaped by love, faith, and hope guides the individual to a new goal. In this process, the individual will encounter inner and outer difficulties and will therefore need the support of the character virtues of temperance, courage, loyalty, and patience.

---

65. Humility is easier to describe than to define. In its core, humility is a combination of the awareness of one’s own limitations, strengths, and fragility on the one hand, and of God’s acceptance and unconditional love on the other hand. Humility involves the awareness of one’s dependence upon a power outside of oneself as well as upon others.

The cultivation of virtue was integrated in daily activities and Christian practices. The *Autobiography* does not refer to any exclusive practice of the cultivation of virtues. Rather, Ignatius acquired virtue in all he did. For example, on his journey to Jerusalem, he sought to cultivate the virtues of faith, hope, and love. The cultivation of virtues, like development of a skill, follows a simple process: the initial turn toward the new goal through the principles of instruction, imitation, and habituation. The phrases “being forced to be in bed” and “stops to think about his past life” signal the beginning of internal change. For six months, Ignatius was probably mostly alone in his room, reading about Jesus and the saints, reflecting on his life, and experiencing the differences internally that led to the decision to change his life. Turning to a new goal is not enough. One needs basic information about the new way of life.

Instruction and imitation are universal processes which Ignatius learned from the chivalric life and the books he read. In *The Life of Christ*, in relation to Jesus’ arrival in Nazareth, is written, “Grant me, good Jesus, this gift, that in imitation of you, I may desire to incline myself to you by all manifestation of humility...”<sup>66</sup> Ludolph of Saxony wrote “Meditate on the life of Christ with a thirst to put into practice what you read there—it does little good to read unless you seek to imitate.”<sup>67</sup>

Habituation simply means that the individual must deliberately repeat specific actions. For Ignatius, two things are important to notice. His understanding and practice developed from an emphasis on external works toward recognition of the internal dimension of action. In that gradual change, Ignatius was convinced that God treated him

---

66. Pt. 1, Ch. 65, cited in Shore, *The Vita*, 14.

67. *Prologue*, 26. Cited from Walsh, *To Always*, 15.

“as a schoolmaster treats a child” (*Au* 27,4). The consolations and illuminations reinforced his actions and helped him to sustain the new way of life.

If my reading of the *Autobiography* through the lens of traditional Christian virtues developed before Ignatius is correct, Ignatius proposed a set of virtues focusing more on experience than on doctrinal elaboration and systematization. The genre of the *Autobiography* supports this claim. The cultivation of virtues is the interplay of human and divine initiative.

### *The Spiritual Exercises: From Humility to All Virtues*

To gain some sense of the cultivation of virtues that unfolds in and through the book of the *Exercises*, it is helpful to distinguish two levels of the spiritual exercises.<sup>68</sup> These are the external structure and the underlying process that unfolds within this structure. The external structure is organized in four phases, or “weeks.” The first week is focused on a review of one’s own life. The second week deals with Jesus’ public ministry. The third week contains meditations on Jesus’ passion and death, and the fourth week deals with Christ’s resurrection. The Exercises follow the traditional logic of a deepening relationship with God through the stages of purification (first week), illumination (second and third week), and union (fourth week).

---

68. The book of the *Spiritual Exercises* is divided into three sections. The first part consists of introductory explanations or Annotations. The annotations explain the general characteristics of the Exercises, the method and order of giving them, the ideal condition of the person making them, and the tasks of the guide in navigating the process. They also address ways to adapt the exercises to the age, educational level, and ability of the exercitant, and the external conditions which support the process of the exercises. The second part consists of the exercises themselves, organized in four phases, or “weeks.” The third part is supplementary material, consisting of explanations of the three methods of prayer, additional events of Christ’s life, the rules for discernment of spirits for the first and second week, the rules for distributing alms, for perceiving and understanding scruples, and for thinking, judging and feeling with the Church. For a general introduction to the *Spiritual Exercises*, see Santiago Arzubialde, *Ejercicios Espirituales de S. Ignacio: Historia y Análisis* (Bilbao: Ediciones Mensajero and Sal Terrae, 2<sup>nd</sup> edición, 2009).

The process is contained within two exercises: the Principle and Foundation (PF) and the Contemplation to Attain Love (CL). Whereas the PF initiates movement toward God, which happens in and through “the other things on the face of the earth” (SpEx 23, 3), meaning everything that affects me, and is in and around me, the CL affirms that God reaches out to me in “all the creatures on the face of the earth” (SpEx236, 1). This indicates that everything that is happening to me in the present movement is a reality through which I am experiencing God and, at the same time, through which God is disclosing Godself to me. The process is not linear, but a dynamic relationship of intertwined movements.<sup>69</sup>

This dynamic process has three different but interconnected dimensions.<sup>70</sup> These include the spiritual exercises themselves, initiated by specific forms of prayer; the personal process of the individual, i.e. what is happening in the person making the exercises; and the work that God is unfolding in his/her life.<sup>71</sup> The dynamic process of the Exercises works on the level of experience—everything that affects the heart. A fundamental principle of the Exercises is *sentir y gustar*. Ganss translates this principle as “interior savoring” and Ivens as “inner feeling” or “relishing.”<sup>72</sup> The person doing the

---

69. Thanks to Hung Pham, SJ, for clarification about the process, the development of virtues through the weeks of the Exercises, and the valuable insight that virtues for Ignatius were always meant to move one out of oneself into mission.

70. In my analysis of the Exercises, I am using Cecil Azzopardi’s notes.

71. By the term “exercises,” Ignatius means “every method of examination of conscience, meditation, contemplation, vocal or mental prayer, and other spiritual actions” which can serve as means “of preparing and disposing our soul to rid itself of all its disordered affections, and then, after their removal, of seeking and finding God’s will in the ordering of our life for the salvation of our soul” (SpEx 1); the key exercises are the Principle and Foundation, the Examination of Conscience, the Considerations of Human Sin and God’s Mercy, the Call of the Temporal King, The Two Standards, the three classes of persons, the three ways of being humble, and the Contemplation to Attain Divine Love. Each Ignatian exercise has the same structure: preparatory prayer, the main points, and colloquy.

72. Ganss, *Ignatius*, 121; Michael Ivens, *Understanding the Spiritual Exercises* (Leominster:

Exercise must be present to what is happening within, stay in contact with it, and articulate it.

Which virtues are present in the *Exercises*?<sup>73</sup> The *Exercises* contains scattered, but interrelated sets of Christian virtues which are in structure and content very similar to those present in the *Autobiography*.<sup>74</sup> The difference is the clear emphasis in the *Exercises* on the virtues of humility, discernment and love, followed by generosity and openness. In addition, Ignatius cites two lists of virtues: theological, cardinal, and moral virtues, and “seven virtues opposite to deadly sins” (SpEx 245, 1). The virtues are intertwined in the key exercises.

Humility is present in the key exercises, implicitly or explicitly.<sup>75</sup> In the first

---

Gracewing, 2000), 4. Ignatius’s insistence on the inner savoring of experience expressed through the two key terms *sentir* and *gustar*, ultimately function in the wider context of the final goal of the saving of souls.

73. Contemporary scholars have explored virtue in the *Exercises* through the lenses of contemporary virtue ethics theories. However, on the one hand, they have neglected the connection of the Exercises with the various virtue traditions of 16<sup>th</sup> century, and the other hand, the complexity and coherence of the virtues in the *Exercises*. James Keenan claims that the *Exercises* “deal with specific virtues like charity, gratitude, obedience, availability, and humility.” Lisa A. Fullam asserts that humility is the central virtue of the *Exercises*. Julio Luis Martínez suggests that the *Exercises* “at least include charity, obedience and humility.” Pastoral theologian James Menkhous argues for the virtue of friendship. Gerald M. Fagin sees fifteen virtues in the *Exercises*, namely reverence, gratitude, freedom, compunction, forgiveness, generosity, faith, prudence, hospitality, humility, fidelity, compassion, joy, hope, and love. See James F. Keenan, “Catholic Moral Theology, Ignatian Spirituality, and Virtue Ethics: Strange Bedfellows,” *The Way Sup* 88 (1997): 43; Lisa A. Fullam, “Humildad,” in *Diccionario*, 957; Julio Luis Martínez, “Virtudes,” in *Diccionario*, 1777; James Menkhous, “The *Spiritual Exercises* as a Path to Virtue,” *Review for Religious* 70, no.1 (January-March 2011), 41-42; Gerald M. Fagin, *Putting on the Heart of Christ: How the Spiritual Exercises Invite Us to a Virtuous Life* (Chicago: Loyola Press, 2010), 129-45.

74. Ignatius follows medieval tradition, using the word *virtud* twice in speaking of God’s power (*dynamis*) and four times as excellence (*arête*). As *dynamis*, virtue refers to God’s power to enlighten the intellect of the person making the exercises, or to enlighten theologians in their explanations. In relation to God’s power, virtue occurs in the SpEx 2.3 (*la virtud divina*) and SpEx 363.5 (*la virtud divina*). As *arête*, virtue means the excellence of the divine presence in events such as the Incarnation or Nativity, which the exercitant must discover, smell and taste, desire to possess, and pray for if one feels it missing. In that sense, the word virtue appears in the SpEx 124,1 (*de sus virtudes*), 146, 6 (*las otras virtudes*), 199, 2 (*deseoaber una virtud o otra*), 257.1 (*Pida las virtudes o gracias*). See Martínez, “Virtudes,” in *Diccionario*, 1778.

75. Louf describes humility as a state of abasement which is “absolutely indispensable” to the birth of virtue. Humility as a process begins with temptation, continues through inner struggle, and finishes with peace and love. The main change is from a self-centric to a God-centric attitude and way of living.

week, the aim described in the PF as praise, reverence, and service to God does not use the word humility but describes it. The Examen, the daily examination of conscience, starts with humility as an assumption, asking one to give thanks for benefits received, for grace to know one's sins and to rid oneself of them (SpEx 43, 2-3). One cannot be grateful without awareness of receiving a gift, which implies one's dependence upon God. The Exercises treating sin focus on pride, which indirectly alludes to humility (SpEx 50,5) because humility is the opposite of pride (SpEx 146,6). In the second week, humility is the main component of the Standard of Christ, and the precondition and norm of good election.<sup>76</sup> In the third week, humility is the main quality of Christ, who gave us the example of humility by washing the disciples' feet (SpEx 289, 4). In the fourth week, humility is a precondition of love (SpEx 230, 2).<sup>77</sup>

The virtue of discretion is the guiding virtue of the Exercises.<sup>78</sup> According to Ignatian scholar Santiago G. Arzubialde, discernment has two functions. The first is recognition of the inner movements such as the disordered inclinations of the appetitive and affective dimensions, which limit the freedom of the person. The recognition of inner movements occurred for the first time during Ignatius's recovery in Loyola, when he realized "from experience that some thoughts left him sad and others joyful. Little by

---

The individual change has social implications. Humility is the sign of love. See Louf, *The Way of Humility*, 10.

76. For humility and The Standard of Christ, see SpEx 146, 4, 6; for the connection between humility and election, see the Three Ways of Being Humble (SpEx 165-168). This exercise distinguishes three degrees (*maneras*) of humility: necessary, more perfect, and the most perfect.

77. The phrases "remembering gifts I have received" (SpEx 234, 1-2), and the prayer "Take, Lord, and receive all my liberty, my memory, my understanding, and all my will—all that I have and possess" (SpEx 234, 4-5), reveal humility.

78. The rules for discernment of spirits of the first and second week (SpEx 313-336); they must be explained to the person making the exercises (SpEx 8-10) according to individual's needs and stage in the process.



little he came to recognize the differences between the spirits” (Au 8). The second function, which overlaps with Aquinas’ usage of the virtue of prudence and intertwines with the first function, is guidance and moderation of external action to achieve “the greatest good here and now.”<sup>79</sup>

According to Ignatian scholar J. Antonio García Rodríguez, love (*amor*) is the central virtue. It enables the ordering of the human according its model in God.<sup>80</sup> God embraces the human in love (SpEx 15, 4). In the first week, one recognizes that because of sin, one has forgotten the love of the Lord (SpEx 65, 5). In the second week, love is the force that guides one’s decisions (SpEx 150, 1). In the third week, the Eucharist is the example of supreme love (SpEx289, 5). In the fourth week, love is the realized goal, which is shown more in deeds than words (SpEx 230, 1-2). Being inflamed with love of the Creator is the sign of consolation (SpEx 316, 1-3; 330, 1). The absence of love is a sign of desolation (SpEx317, 3). Love descended from above is the proper reason for distributing alms (SpEx 338, 2), and for service to God (SpEx 370, 1). Love is also the quality of the giver of the Exercises, who, as a good Christian, corrects others with love (SpEx 22, 3).

The *character* virtues of generosity and openness are qualities of the ideal person making the Exercises. According to Ignatius, “The person who makes the Exercises will benefit greatly by entering upon them with great spirit [*grande animo*] and generosity [*liberadidad*]” (SpEx 5, 1). The qualities of generosity and openness mean deliberately

---

79. Ignatius does not use the word prudence in the *Autobiography*; see Santiago G. Arzubialde, *Discretion*, in *Diccionario*, 635-636.

80. J. Antonio García Rodríguez, *Amor*, in *Diccionario*, 149.

offering all one's own desires and freedom to God, that God can make use of one and of all one possesses in accord with God's holy will (SpEx5,2).<sup>81</sup>

In addition, the *Exercises* uses the phrase “theological, cardinal, and moral virtues” only once to denote the “strength and structure” necessary for salvation, which the enemy of human nature probes from every side to find where one is the weakest, and there he attacks. And finally, the phrase “seven virtues opposed to seven deadly sins” is presented as a way of prayer and a measure to help one diagnose which capital sins expressed habitually one should avoid.<sup>82</sup> The question is how the *Exercises* presents the cultivation of virtues.

Considering the cultivation of virtues, Ignatius explicitly states, “In order to know better the faults committed in the Deadly Sins, let their contraries be looked at: and so, to avoid them better, let the person purpose and with holy exercises see to acquiring and keeping the seven virtues contrary to them” (SpEx 245.1). The classical means of cultivation of virtue, namely instruction, imitation and habituation, are integrated in the exercises. The giver of the exercises instructs the one making the exercises about the

---

81. The other virtues in common with the *Autobiography* are kindness, patience, temperance, and courage. Kindness is the virtue of Christ, God, and the giver of the Exercises. Christ kindly calls us to our dignity (SpEx 275, 8). God touches us gently, lightly, and sweetly as a drop of water falls on a sponge (SpEx 335, 1), and possesses infinite kindness (SpEx 124, 1). The giver of the Exercises “gently and kindly” encourages and strengthens one in desolation (SpEx 7, 2). Patience is mentioned only twice. Jesus teaches his disciples about prudence and patience before sending them out to preach (SpEx 281, 3). Patience is the means to counter desolation (SpEx 321, 1). The virtue of temperance is present as *abstinentia*, *temperancia*, and *moderation*. Temperance is the means to counter disordered affections in food, sleep, and penance. The function of temperance is to “overcome ourselves; that is to keep our bodily nature obedient to reason and all our bodily faculties subject to higher (SpEx 87, 2). Courage is implicit through the exercises, and denotes the capacity to face the difficulties and demands of the exercises and of daily life.

82. SpEx 245,1 (tener las *siete virtudes*), 327.3 (todas nuestras virtudes theologales, cardinales y morales).

goal, starting position, virtues, and practice of cultivating them.<sup>83</sup> Imitation is evident in the focus on the person of Jesus and the explicit demand to imitate him.<sup>84</sup> Habituation is visible in the repetitive structure of each exercise, the structure of the day, the week, and the need for constantly attending to the difficulties encountered in the process. The Examen develops a habit of constant attentiveness, the ability to recognize the different textures of the inner movements, and the capacity to decide, act, and reflect. In all actions, intentionality and freedom from disordered inclinations are crucial. Ignatius asks the exercitant to become “indifferent to all created things” and to “desire and choose only that which is more conducive to the end for which we are created” (SpEx 23, 5, 7).

The virtues are gradually developed in four stages. In the first week, one must rid oneself of all obstacles to the relationship with God.<sup>85</sup> The first week involves looking at “disorder” as the absence of virtue, considering what happens when virtue is not practiced. Here, one will experience shame and confusion (SpEx 48, 4) in the face of one’s grave sins. This in turn helps the individual to recognize the symptoms and roots that destroy personal life and relationship with God and others. The motivation for change is, on the one hand, the experience of being loved, and on the other, the danger of

---

83. The goal is articulated from different perspectives. From a practical viewpoint, the telos is presented as preparing and disposing the soul to get rid of disordered affections, find God’s will (SpEx 1,3-4), to overcome oneself, and to order one’s life (SpEx 21,1). From a doctrinal standpoint, the telos is articulated in the Principle and Foundation (SpEx 23, 2-3). From the pedagogical perspective, the telos means to distinguish oneself in total service to the eternal the King and universal Lord (SpEx 97, 1). The starting position is mostly scholastic anthropology. The virtues are mentioned above. The method and procedures of the exercises will be given according to individual need.

84. One is invited to imitate Christ as the eternal King (SpEx 98, 3), the incarnate Divine Person (SpEx 109, 2), the supreme and truthful commander (SpEx 139, 2), the giver of genuine life (SpEx 147, 3), and the possessor of perfect humility (SpEx 167, 2; 168, 2). One is also invited to observe and imitate him as he comports himself at table (SpEx 214, 1).

85. David Fleming, *Like the Lightning: Dynamics of the Ignatian Exercises* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Source, 2004).

death and hell. The focus is not on oneself, or one's destructive behavior, but on how God is embracing the individual in love. The exercises of the PF, Examen and Sins are means to recognize one's vices—with their root in pride—and to cultivate humility, temperance, discernment, and love.<sup>86</sup> The principles of following consolation and going against (*agere contra*) temptation and disordered affections help one to achieve freedom from destructive patterns of behavior. The goal is to acquire the middle ground between extremes—in Ignatian language, “indifference.” Such indifference enables the individual to choose what is better with regard to achieving one's desired end—communion with God. Thus, considering virtues as dispositions or qualities that must be developed and which move one toward one's goal, or *telos*, “indifference” may be considered a type of meta-virtue (in much the same way humility may be considered a meta-virtue), in that it integrates and provides the precondition for the development of the other virtues.<sup>87</sup>

The experience of being loved unfolds into relationship in the second week. The dynamic of the second week is from me toward Christ, who is a friend and Lord. The goal of the second week is looking at Jesus as the expression of virtue par excellence. More importantly, this means not only practicing virtue as Jesus did, but embodying Jesus as virtue. In Ignatius's words, the goal is “interior knowledge of our Lord who become human for me, that I may love him more intensely, and follow him more closely” (SpEx 104, 1). The exercises of the Call of the King, Two Standards, and the Three

---

86. The root of sin is pride. Humility opposes pride. Discretion is a means to recognize what gives us life and what destroys it. Temperance is helping us to put in order disordered affections, or to reach a balance or achieve indifference. The Examen teaches one to investigate one's own thoughts, words, and deeds. Through deliberate actions and God's grace, one moves from sin toward life.

87. Lisa Fullam argues that for Thomas Aquinas, charity is the highest virtue, and is founded on humility, which functions as a meta-virtue; Lisa Anne Fullam, “The Virtue of Humility: A Reconstruction Based in Thomas Aquinas,” PH.d., Harvard University, (2001), i.

Degrees of Humility are intertwined with the events of Jesus' life, explored through Ignatian contemplation.<sup>88</sup> They focus on the development of the virtues necessary to sustain the intimacy between God and the creature, and to achieve a deeper understanding of the obstacles to that relationship, namely pride and its manifestations.<sup>89</sup> The goal of achieving the mean between two extremes (or indifference) of the first week, becomes that of the *magis* (the "more") in the second week. Whereas in the first week, the person occupies the middle ground between extremes in order to disengage from all disordered affections, in the second week, one inclines toward one extreme or another in order to be more like Christ.<sup>90</sup>

The third week further develops intimacy with God into communion with God, moving even deeper into the sense of humility and love. Jesus is my friend, who suffers and dies for me. The individual is invited to stay with Jesus, who goes to his passion "for my sins" (SpEx193, 1). Staying with Jesus in his suffering renders a person helpless, so that the only option is presence.<sup>91</sup> This accompaniment teaches one all virtues.

---

88. The main type of exercise for this stage is Ignatian contemplation. It unfolds in four stages: contemplation, review, repetition, and application of senses. In contemplation, the person is involved in the events of Christ's life through the use of the imagination. This involves awareness of what is affecting one's life and happening in the heart. In the review, one recollects where and how one had been affected during prayer. In repetition, one remains in touch with what affected him/her. In the application of the senses, one savors the feeling of this moment, allowing oneself to become soaked in it. Gradually, one owns the experience and is transformed by it. Ignatian contemplation is designed for the imaginative observation and study of Jesus' life. In Spanish, this phrase translates as "to savor and to taste."

89. Humility is the remedy for pride, and the precondition for good election. Discernment helps one to recognize these two standards in one's own life. Temperance and courage are involved in the work with human sensitivities and worldly and carnal love (SpEx 97, 2). Kindness is the quality of the Eternal King.

90. George Aschenbrenner, "Becoming Whom We Contemplate," *The Way Supplement* no. 52, (1985): 30-42.

91. Peter-Hans Kolvenbach, "The Passion according to St. Ignatius; Fools for Christ's Sake," *Centrum Ignatianum Spiritualitatis* (1989): 7-22.

The fourth week leads from communion to ecstasy, when virtue has reached its highest expression. The aim is to rejoice intensely (SpEx 221). The person again simply stays with Jesus, who is joyful. The main virtue is love, which contain all others. The person is so habituated to choose God, and so fascinated with love, that indifference is no longer necessary. One totally surrenders to love, which become one's second nature.<sup>92</sup> Ultimately, the reason we practice virtue is because God has been virtuous first and we are simply moved by compassion to be the image of God.

The *Spiritual Exercises* suggests an unstructured but internally coherent set of Christian virtues. They are organized around the relationship of love. Their function is to free the individual from the behaviors and attachments that obstruct that relationship, and to create conditions to nurture right relationship. They are acquired through the habitual actions of the exercises. They presuppose human freedom and agency, and God's grace. Do the *Constitutions* offer the same account of virtue and its cultivation?

#### *The Constitutions: The Lovers of Virtue*

The *Constitutions* describes the formation and the organization of the Society of Jesus. Chapters I-III focuses on Jesuit formation with examination and admission of the candidates. Chapters III-VI continue with the preservation and progress of those accepted. Chapter VII focuses on mission, which is the goal of all previous formation. Chapters VIII-X consider dispersal of the Jesuits in their respective missions, their fraternal connections, and the governance and preservation of the Society.

In comparison with the *Autobiography* and the *Spiritual Exercises*, the

---

92. Michael Ivens, *Understanding the Spiritual Exercises*, note 13, 26.

*Constitutions* uses the language of virtue frequently.<sup>93</sup> If a candidate has some obstacles but possesses “outstanding virtues,” he may be accepted (Const 186, 3). With regard to coadjutors, they should be “lovers of virtue and perfection” (Const 148, 2). The scholastics must study the virtues and the means to acquire them (Const. 404, 2). The rector must promote progress in “virtue and learning” (Const 424, 4). The father general should be a person who is “most outstanding in every virtue” (Const. 725, 1; 735, 1). Virtues pervade the Jesuits’ formation and organization. The question is which virtues the *Constitutions* seeks to instill in the Jesuits.

The *Constitutions* reflects very similar sets of virtues to the *Autobiography* and the *Exercises*, though the *Constitutions* stresses obedience within the context of the institution, which actively supports progress in the virtues.<sup>94</sup> Obedience has a double nature in the *Constitutions*—it is both a vow and a virtue.<sup>95</sup> These functions overlap. Therefore, the general may “command in virtue of obedience all the members in regard to everything conducive to the end which the Society seeks, the perfection and aid of its fellowmen unto glory to God” (Con 765,1).<sup>96</sup> The virtue of obedience should be “always maintained in its vigor” (Const 659, 3), “total” (Const 128, 2), “complete” (Const 284,1),

---

93. The reason for this may be the role of Polanco in the writing of the *Constitutions*. For Polanco’s contribution, see Carlos Coupeau, *From Inspiration to Invention: Rhetoric in the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus* (Saint Louis: Institute of Jesuits Sources, 2010), 10-11. For the use of the virtues in the *Constitutions*, see the *Concordancia Ignaciana*, 1336-1338.

94. The General is the example of all virtues, independent of all passions, kind and gentle, magnanimous and brave, endowed with understanding and judgment, and the most outstanding in every virtue; see Const. 725, 1; 725-728.

95. For obedience as a virtue, see Const 602,2; 662,1;765,1; obedience as a vow, see Const 13,2; 14,2; 121,4; 258,1; 348,1; 602,4; obedience is used seventy-two times in the *Constitutions*. For concrete passages, see *Concordancia Ignaciana*, 847-850.

96. All citations of the *Constitutions* are from George Ganss, *Saint Ignatius of Loyola: The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus* (St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1970).

holy (Const 547,6), and connected with humility (Const 63,2; 130,4), charity (Const 361,2) and poverty (Const 285,1). Obedience must be tested in such concrete situations as helping in the kitchen and obeying the cook (Const 84, 1), and during illness, obeying one's physicians (Const 89, 1).

How does the *Constitutions* present the cultivation of virtues? The text follows the classical process of instruction, imitation, and habituation. The *Constitutions* suggests the explicit application of the cultivation of virtues. The statement is clear: "care should be taken in general that all the members of the Society may devote themselves to the solid and perfect virtues and spiritual pursuit." (Const. 813,4). To that end "it will be helpful if they have studied [...] what pertains to the vices and leads to abhorrence of them and to their correction; and on the contrary, what pertains to the commandments, virtues, good works and motives for esteeming them and means to acquire them" (Const. 404,2). The main skills in the cultivation of virtues are abnegation and mortification.<sup>97</sup>

The older members and the general are the exemplars of virtue: "the good example of the older members, which encourages the others to imitate them, is a great aid toward progress in the virtues (Const 276, 1). The father general should be "a person whose example in the practice of all virtues is a help to the other members of the Society" (Const. 725, 1). But instruction and example are not enough—virtues must be practiced.

The Jesuit should grow in "the abnegation of himself and in the pursuit of the genuine virtues" (Const 117, 3). They should take care "not to grow cool in their love of true virtues and religious life" during studies (Const. 304, 2). Therefore, superiors will

---

97. For the importance of abnegation and mortification, see Raphaela Pallin, "Abnegation," in *Diccionario*, 65-75.



from time to time test the novices, “that they may give an example of their virtue and grow in it” (Const. 285).

The *Constitutions* confirms Ignatius’s set of virtues as found in the *Autobiography* and the *Spiritual Exercises*, but emphasizes the virtue of obedience for the Jesuits. The cultivation of virtue is integrated into the organizational framework of the Society.

### **Part Three: Theology of the Cultivation of Virtue: *From Creation to Salvation***

What is the theology underlying the cultivation of virtues? Virtue expresses the core of the human experience of striving for what we ought to be, for human completion. This journey of virtue plays out in the dynamic of creation, anthropology, sin, and salvation in Christ.<sup>98</sup>

Creation is a free act of God as Trinity, the fullness of love. God does not need a world, but creates human beings and calls them to share in God’s divine life. The creator is free, and human beings are free but radically dependent on God. Human beings are free to seek out their “proper being, but that being, that meaning, cannot be found in the creation without God.”<sup>99</sup> Human freedom can lead us toward or away from God. Russian Orthodox theologian Georges Florovsky explains that “there is no irresistible grace; creatures can and may lose themselves, are capable, as it were, of ‘metaphysical suicide.’”<sup>100</sup>

---

98. Here I am using Woodill’s synthesis to develop an Ignatian theology of virtues. See Joseph Woodill, *The Fellowship of Life: Virtue Ethics and Orthodox Christianity* (Washington D.C: Georgetown University Press, 1989), 78.

99. Woodill, *The Fellowship of Life*, 79.

100. Georges Florovsky, *The Collected Works of Georges Florovsky, vol. 3, Creation and Redemption* (Belmont, Massachusetts: Nordland Publishing Company, 1976), 45. Cited in Woodill, *The Fellowship of Virtue*, 79.

The fall and personal sin of Adam is the improper usage of freedom, of which the consequences are corruption and death. According to Lossky, “the root of the Fall is grounded in the mistaken desire for self-deification.” In this view, sin is the “hatred of grace,”<sup>101</sup> the rejection of divine community and its inherent call to free beings to strive for participation in the divine life of love and mutuality. Sin destroys our inherent striving for perfection. Humans lost the goal and the ability to use their freedom to reach the goal. With the Fall, the human condition changed.

The goal of humanity did not change with the Fall, but “God’s pedagogy changed.”<sup>102</sup> The first Adam failed, the second will not. In Christ, the strife for human perfection is renewed, may begin again. Christ removes obstacles, reveals the goal and the path, and is the model of the union of humanity and divinity. Incarnation does not destroy Christ’s humanity or absorb it into the divinity. Christ is the example of free participation in God, and the conformity of the human and divine wills. Christ reveals the real character of being human. Human virtues are theocentric and move toward God.

Christ’s resurrection is essential. The human condition after the Fall is one of corruption and death, but God did not abandon us. Rather, God worked for us through Moses, the prophets, the Holy Spirit, and other peoples and cultures. Though we have lived without the source of life, in accord with the dominion of death, we must now learn to live according to the resurrection. Christ is the model. His humanity is penetrated by divinity. His humanity is deified but did not lose its human characteristics. In Christ we

---

101. Vladimir Lossky, *Orthodox Theology: An Introduction* (New York: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1978), 82. Cited in Woodill, *The Fellowship of Virtue*, 85.

102. Lossky, *Orthodox Theology*, 110-111, cited in Woodill, *The Fellowship of Virtue*, 86.

may become what we are called to be from the beginning. The task is to form our freedom in accordance with God's freedom found in Christ, who is God-incarnated love.

Christian anthropology is simple. Human nature is created "open" and "dynamic," and in the process of continuous creation. Human beings are created in the "likeness and image of God" (SpEx 235, 3), to participate in the divine life now, and fully in the eschatological future. This participation in the divine life is not only intellectual knowledge, but according to Ignatius, can be tasted as interior knowledge/savoring (SpEx 2, 5), direct and mutual communication between the Creator and creature, and mutual sharing between lover and beloved (SpEx 15, 4; 231,12). Humanity cannot be deified by God alone. Though participation in the divine life transforms the person, it must be freely chosen and accompanied by human effort. Paraphrasing Joseph Woodill, in the core of creation is located an "ought," or a task.<sup>103</sup> This is the place of virtue.

### Summary

This chapter has explored the roots of Christian virtue, from their ancient Greco-Roman antecedents through the biblical, patristic and medieval periods, and analyzed the way in which Ignatius inherited and transformed this rich and complex tradition of Christian virtues. Now it is time to answer the four questions posed at the beginning.

What does "virtue" (or virtues) mean for Ignatius? For Ignatius, virtue has four meanings. The first is virtue as a linguistic tool inherited from tradition, which expresses human striving for the end for which we were created—for completion. The second is the articulation of the qualities of Jesus, with whom he is fascinated, has a personal

---

103. Woodill, *The Fellowship of Virtue*, 83.

relationship, desires to imitate, to be with, and toward whom he leads others. The third is doctrinal—virtue is the language of human perfection. The fourth is mission oriented. For Ignatius, being virtuous always meant to move out of oneself, so to be sent. Ignatius does not intend the cultivation of virtues for the sake of virtue per se, but as preparation for mission, especially in the *Constitutions*.

Which virtues are reflected in Ignatius's writings? An analysis of the *Autobiography*, the *Exercises*, and the *Constitutions* suggests a set of interdependent and interrelated virtues collected from various Christian virtue traditions. They may be grouped as foundational, character, and intellectual virtues. The foundational virtues include humility and its twin, obedience. The *character* virtues include courage, loyalty, generosity, openness, patience, temperance, and chastity. The *intelligent* virtues consist of discretion (discernment) and love, and the *theological* virtues include faith, hope and charity.

The *Autobiography* reflects the influence of the chivalric virtues of generosity, loyalty, and courage. The *Exercises* emphasizes humility as the axis around which all the other virtues revolve, and discretion shaped by love as the guide. The *Constitutions* focuses on obedience as both vow and virtue because of organizational needs. Though Ignatius is in continuity with the Christian virtue traditions, his distinctiveness lies in the assimilation of the different virtue traditions.

How do the texts present the cultivation of virtue (whether implicitly or explicitly)? The cultivation of virtue is integrated within the practice of the spiritual exercises and the ordinary activities of daily life. The Exercises follow a standard schema of instruction, imitation, and habituation. At its core, cultivation is deliberate, repetitive

action that leads from a self-centered to a God-centered life. Ignatius's contributions are the methodic instruction and the skills to recognize and follow God's guidance through the experiences of the inner movements of consolation and desolation.

What is the theology behind the cultivation of virtues? Virtue articulates the human striving for completion, as described in the doctrines of creation, fall and redemption, the Trinity and Incarnation. Virtue expresses the human journey of striving for what we "ought" to be. Communion with the divine is the goal, and Jesus is the model to be followed. Now the discussion will turn to Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, and the ways in which it presents the process of transformation in the cultivation of virtue in daily life.

## CHAPTER SIX: The Cultivation of the Pāramitās in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*

### Introduction

What we have done up to this point? Thus far, we have explored the Croatian historical context, the formation of Croatian-Catholic identity, the sociological profile of Croatian young adults, and the longstanding relationship between Jesuits and Buddhists in Croatia. We then turned, in the previous chapter, to an examination of the cultivation of virtues in the Christian tradition, with particular attention given to the way in which Ignatius of Loyola assimilated the various virtue traditions in his writings. This chapter will elucidate the Buddhist counterpart in the dialogue, examining the cultivation of pāramitās in Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (*BCA*).

The main questions leading my inquiry in this chapter are: What are “pāramitās” for Śāntideva? How does the *BCA* present the cultivation of the pāramitās? What is the doctrine behind the cultivation of pāramitās? I argue that the cultivation of the pāramitās is the key practice for integrating identity and daily life in the *BCA*.

My method consists of a close historical-critical reading of the *BCA* in its socio-historical context, and an interpretation of the lived tradition. This chapter consists of two sections. The first is an historical outline of the development of the cultivation of pāramitās in Buddhist traditions prior to Śāntideva (8<sup>th</sup> century CE). The second part considers Śāntideva as a person, the text and context of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, Śāntideva's presentation of the pāramitās practice, and the doctrine underlying the cultivation of the pāramitās.

## Part One: Pāramitās in Buddhist Traditions prior to Śāntideva

This section will unfold in two stages.<sup>1</sup> The first part will present the foundation of Buddhist tradition(s) and provide a conceptual framework for further exploration. The second part will examine the development of the Mahāyāna movement, its construal of the Bodhisattva tradition, and the cultivation of the pāramitās.

### *The Foundation of Buddhist Tradition(s)*

The term “Buddhism” refers to “a vast and complex religious and philosophical tradition.”<sup>2</sup> As a living tradition, Buddhism is divided into three main branches according to geographical position and the specific vision of Buddhism. 1) Theravada, or southern Buddhism, with its sacred texts in the Pali language, appears relatively closer to ancient doctrine and practice. Today, Theravada predominates in Sri Lanka, Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, and Laos. 2) The East Asian Buddhist traditions of China, Korea, Japan and Vietnam, with sacred scriptures in Chinese, primarily follow the Mahāyāna Buddhist vision, and coexist with local religions. 3) The Tibetan or northern Buddhists, whose sacred texts are in the Tibetan language, also follow the Mahāyāna vision, enriched with Tantric elements.<sup>3</sup> In short, different Buddhism(s) exist.<sup>4</sup>

---

1. In this chapter, I am revisiting material from my previously written work. See Tomislav Spiranec, “The Cultivation of Virtue in St. Ignatius and Śāntideva” (Licentiate in Sacred Theology [STL] thesis, Santa Clara University, Jesuit School of Theology at Berkeley, 2013).

2. Rupert Gethin, *The Foundations of Buddhism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 1.

3. About the spread and complex history of Buddhist traditions see more in Gethin, *The Foundations*, 251-276.

4. John Strong gives a good illustration of the variety of Buddhist traditions, describing the diversity among the temples in Lumbini, Nepal, the birth place of Buddha Siddhartha. John S. Strong, *Buddhisms: An Introduction* (London: Oneworld publications, 2015), 1-35.

Despite the differences among these branches, they share a common heritage.<sup>5</sup> The foundations upon which they build include the story of the Buddha, a textual and scriptural tradition, the framework of the four Noble Truths,<sup>6</sup> a distinction between monastic and lay forms of life, a cosmology based on karma and rebirth, the teaching of no-self and dependent arising, a progressive path of practice leading from good conduct and devotions through levels of meditation into a higher understanding, and the theoretical system of the Abhidharma. These patterns of thought and practice are presumed in some way by all Buddhists, despite the distinctiveness of their living traditions.

Mahāyāna is a later development of Buddhist tradition, whose origins are obscure.<sup>7</sup> Contemporary scholarship suggests that Mahāyāna appeared not as a clearly defined movement, but likely existed as a minor monastic movement for a few hundred years prior to the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE, at which time it began to flourish as a distinctive movement.<sup>8</sup> It seems that Mahāyāna referred to various unrecognized groups of monks and/or laity following doctrine that departed from the existing tradition, who lived without institutional support, either within or outside of the existing monasteries. Proponents of the Mahāyāna movement critiqued the existing doctrine and practice and,

---

5. I am using Rupert Gethin's schema of the common foundation of Buddhist traditions, upgraded with different constructions for an understanding of Buddhist diversity. See in Gethin, *The Foundations*, 3.

6. The "four Noble Truths" comprise a diagnosis of the human situation as elaborated in the Buddha's first discourse after his experience of enlightenment (*bodhi*). They consist of 1) the truth of suffering (*dukkha*), 2) the cause of suffering (*taṇhā*—craving), 3) the cessation of craving (*nirodha*—*nirvāṇa*), and 4) the path out of suffering (*magga*). For a good description of the four noble truths, see Gethin, *The Foundations*, 59-84.

7. John S. Strong, *The Experience of Buddhism: Sources and Interpretations*, 3rd ed. (Belmont, CA: Cengage Learning, 2007), 145; David Eckel, ed., *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 2nd ed. Edited by Lindsay Jones, vol. 2 (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2005), 1298.

8. Joseph Walser proposes defining Mahāyāna broadly as a movement because of its doctrinal, geographical, and social diversity; Joseph Walser, *Nāgārjuna in Context: Mahāyāna Buddhism & Early Indian Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 17.



at the same time, gradually developed a new vision that built upon the existing framework.<sup>9</sup> The Mahāyāna movement evolved with the advent of the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras* (the Perfection of Wisdom).<sup>10</sup> The Mahāyāna tradition developed a new path, the bodhisattva path to a new goal, Buddhahood.<sup>11</sup> How did the doctrine of the bodhisattva develop?

### *Brief Historical Overview of the Bodhisattva Ideal and the Pāramitās*

The structure and details of the path of the bodhisattva “differ [among] Indian Buddhist sources, not to mention sources from outside India.”<sup>12</sup> Moreover, “there is no single agreed [upon] path-structure in Mahāyāna Buddhism.”<sup>13</sup> Indian historian Har Dayal defined the bodhisattva doctrine as “the final outcome of the tendencies that were

---

9. Ruedig D. Seyfort, “Aspects of the Study of the (Earlier) Indian Mahāyāna,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 27, no. 1 (2004): 3-63; Walser, *Nāgārjuna in Context*, 16-59.

10. See Edward Conze, ed., *The Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thousand Lines & Its Verse Summary* (Bollingen: Grey Fox Press, 2001).

11. The Bodhisattva ideal is presented as distinct, and in opposition to the ideal of *arahat* and *pratyeka-buddha*. From the Mahāyāna perspective, the Bodhisattva ideal is superior to the former two. The other two ideals are not sufficient with regard to following the example of the Buddha for two reasons. The first reason considers the goal of the practice. Arahats and pratyeka-buddhas aim for cessation of *dukkha* in order to enter nirvana. Their goal is worthy, but too low. The Bodhisattva is striving to achieve the highest possible goal (*anuttara samma sambodhi*). Achieving nirvana is just a beginning, which should culminate in the achievement of *bodhi*, the most perfect knowledge. The second reason concentrates on the motivation. According to *Mahāyāna* writers, arahats and pratyeka buddhas strive only for their own liberation, while bodhisattvas aim for the liberation of all beings. For a background of the Bodhisattva doctrine, see Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1970), 10. For the Theravada perspective, see Shanta Ratnayaka, “The Bodhisattva Ideal of Theravada,” *The Journal of International Association of Buddhist Studies* 8, no. 2 (1985): 85-111; Jeffrey Samuels, “The Bodhisattva Ideal in Theravāda Buddhist Theory and Practice: A Reevaluation of the Bodhisattva-Śrāvaka Opposition,” *Philosophy East and West* 47, no. 3 (Jul, 1997): 399-415; Gil Fronsdal, “The Dawn of the Bodhisattva Path: Studies in a Religious Ideal of Ancient Indian Buddhists” (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1998).

12. Paul Williams, Anthony Tribe, and Alexander Wynne, *Buddhist Thought: A Complete Introduction to the Indian Tradition*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2012), 130.

13. In my research, I follow Paul Williams’s outline of the bodhisattva path from a doctrinal perspective, and for an historical perspective, I use Har Dayal’s and Dale S. Wright’s studies; see Williams, *Buddhist Thought* 130; Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine*; and Dale S. Wright, *The Six Perfections: Buddhism and the Cultivation of Character*, Reprint ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, USA, 2011).

at work in India during the several centuries after Gautama Buddha's death."<sup>14</sup> The most important elements in this regard, according to Har Dayal, were two inner developments in early Buddhism.<sup>15</sup> These are the growth of the *bhakti* (devotion, faith, love) movement and the idealization and spiritualization of the Buddha.<sup>16</sup> The *bhakti* devotion was directed toward the person of the Buddha. Under the influence of Hindu and Jain metaphysics, however, the Buddha became idealized, de-humanized, and universalized. The Buddha was removed from the world, lost his human personality, and became a cosmic Law. Such a metaphysical understanding of the Buddha was not suitable for prayer and devotion. The human need for worship and adoration may be said to have invented the class of beings called "bodhisattva," who bring alive the various qualities of Gautama Buddha's personality.<sup>17</sup>

The doctrine of the bodhisattva likely developed in two phases. In early Mahāyāna (second century BCE to the fifth century CE), the bodhisattva was inferior and subordinate to the Buddha. The bodhisattva possessed wisdom (*prajñā*) and mercy/compassion (*karuṇā*), but wisdom was more important. Ascetic renunciation and social life were equally important. Altruistic activity was a means for acquiring the *bodhi*,

---

14. Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine*, 30.

15. Dayal classified these tendencies in six categories: 1) natural development within the Buddhist community, 2) the influence of other Indian religious sects such as *Bhāgavatas*, and *Çaivas*, 3) the influence of Persian religion and culture, 4) the influence of Greek art, 5) propaganda among new tribes, and 6) the influence of Christianity. See Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine*, 30.

16. Dayal argued that the idea of *bhakti* originated in the Buddhist communities, and was later adopted and transformed in the Hindu tradition. The reasons for this are 1) the word *bhakti* appears first in Buddhist texts; 2) *bhakti* is personal devotion to a teacher, and in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, Hindu tradition was focused on metaphysical speculation and sacrificial rituals, and the devotional personalities as Vishnu and Krishna were secondary deities; 3) the *Bhagavad-gītā*, the main *bhakti* text, is from the later period—200 BCE-200CE. See Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine*, 30-36.

17. Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine*, 30-43.

which is the goal.<sup>18</sup> In the hierarchy of bodhisattvas, *Mañjuśrī*, who represents wisdom, was the first among the others.

In the later Mahāyāna tradition (unfolding roughly in the time span from the fifth to the seventh centuries CE), bodhisattvas gradually became equal with the Buddhas, possessing the same qualities and becoming “Buddha makers.”<sup>19</sup> Though they help others to acquire Buddhahood, they do “not seem to think seriously of becoming a Buddha.”<sup>20</sup> Mercy/compassion (*karuṇā*) gradually becomes more important than wisdom (*prajñā*). The ideal of celibacy becomes dominant and family life is deemed inferior. Under the Hindu school of yoga in the fourth century, the bodhisattva becomes the *yogī* par excellence.<sup>21</sup> The quest for *bodhi* is deferred, and the objective shifts to helping other living beings in this world. That change results in the passing of primacy from the *Mañjuśrī* to the *Avalokiteśvara*, who is the lord of mercy, pity, love, and compassion (*karuṇā*).<sup>22</sup>

The bodhisattva path has three basic elements: to produce the “thought of *bodhi*” (*bodhicitta*), to take the bodhisattva vow for the liberation of all creatures (*praṇidhāna*),<sup>23</sup>

---

18. In English, the concept of *bodhi* may be translated as “enlightenment” or “awakening”—it is the understanding possessed by the Buddha regarding the true nature of things. For a good treatment of the idea of *bodhi*, see Gethin, *The Foundations of Buddhism*, 15; Paul Williams, *Mahāyāna Buddhism: The Doctrinal Foundations*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London: Routledge, 2009), 55.

19. See Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine*, 44.

20. See Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine*, 45.

21. For the influence of the Hindu school of Yoga on the bodhisattva doctrine, see Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine*, 45.

22. For *Mañjuśrī* and *Avalokiteśvara*, see Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine*, 46-49.

23. The bodhisattva vow includes the firm resolution to attain enlightenment for oneself and to liberate all beings by leading them to nirvana. See Ingrid Fischer-Schreiber, et al., *Encyclopedia of Eastern Philosophy and Religion* (Boston: Shambhala, 1994), 275.

and the training in the six (sometimes ten) perfections (*pāramitās*). The main motivation of the bodhisattva is compassion (*karuṇā*). *Karuṇā* is defined “as the wish that others be free of suffering. It is a quality that a Buddha is believed to possess to the greatest possible degree, and that Buddhists still on the path strive to cultivate.”<sup>24</sup> Compassion is best expressed in the bodhisattva vow (*praṇidhāna*), which includes the firm resolution to attain enlightenment (*bodhi*) and to liberate all beings by leading them to nirvāṇa prior to one’s own individual liberation. The development of compassion is called “generating *bodhicitta*.” In order to attain these objectives, a bodhisattva must practice the *pāramitās*.<sup>25</sup>

Traditional Buddhist sources indicate six or ten perfections (*pāramitās*).<sup>26</sup> The six perfections are an essential part of the bodhisattva discipline, and the four additional ones are supplementary. The six *pāramitās* are *dāna* (giving, generosity), *śīla* (conduct, morality), *kṣānti* (patience, forbearance), *vīrya* (energy, endeavor), *dhyāna* (meditation, concentration) and *prajñā* (wisdom). The four supplementary *pāramitās* include *upāya* (skillfulness in the adaptation of the means for conversion), *praṇidhāna* (aspiration or resolution), *bala* (strength, power), and *jñāna* (knowledge).<sup>27</sup> As a group, perfections lead

---

24. Robert E. Buswell, ed., *Encyclopedia of Buddhism* (New York: Macmillan and Thomson-Gale, 2004), 419–421.

25. The word *pāramitās* is translated as “perfections,” and derives from *pāram*, meaning “to the other side,” and *itā*, meaning “gone.” Together it means “gone to the other side.” Another version claims that it denotes “excellence.” Both etymologies suggest that “something is perfected when it arrives at the state of excellence or supremacy.” See Wright, *The Six Perfections*, 6; Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine*, 165-166.

26. Wright, *The Six Perfections*, 17.

27. The origin of the six-fold list may be found in the early Buddhist triad of *śīla* (conduct), *samādhi* (concentration), and *prajñā* (wisdom). For the origin of the six perfections, see Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine*, 168-171.

at least to a good rebirth, full concentration (the highest level of mindfulness), and the highest knowledge. Let us consider the six essential perfections in detail.

The practice of the perfection of giving (*dāna*) is divided into two parts. The first part consists of the giving of material goods, “especially those necessary for life itself,”<sup>28</sup> and the second part is the gift of the *dharma*, the teaching. The first kind of giving is necessary for living, and the second gives meaning to life or elevates it. This division reflects the structure of a society built on two different communities, one of laypeople and the other of monks/nuns, who are mutually dependent. Generally, lay persons offer the material goods, and the monks/nuns offer the *dharma*. In this way, all members have the chance to participate in the growth of the perfection of giving.

Ethical behavior (*śīla*) is practiced through Buddhist precepts.<sup>29</sup> The precepts consist of at least five for lay persons, and at least ten for monks and nuns. The basic five require “refraining from (1) harming living beings, (2) taking what has not been given, (3) inappropriate sexual activity, (4) false speech, and (5) intoxicants that lead to carelessness. The rest, important ones for monks and nuns, require refraining from (6) eating after midday, (7) attending entertainment, (8) wearing jewelry or perfume, (9) sleeping on luxurious beds, and (10) handling money.”<sup>30</sup>

The precepts can be expressed negatively and positively. If they are expressed in the negative form, as “don’t do xy,” they suggest prohibition. If they are expressed in the positive form, “do xy,” they suggest training or the cultivation of an opposite tendency.

---

28. Wright, *The Six Perfections*, 18; Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine*, 172-193.

29. For a detailed analysis of *śīla*, see Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine*, 193-209.

30. Wright, *The Six Perfections*, 55.

The purpose is to start from prohibition, continue with cultivation, and finally, to attain the state in which the inner attitude is stable and firm and leads to actions of caring for others.

Patience (*kṣānti*) is an important quality.<sup>31</sup> *Kṣānti* can be translated as “unaffected,” “able to bear,” or “able to withstand.”<sup>32</sup> It describes strength of character, or the capacity of a trained person “to withstand danger and suffering, to resist the onslaught of negative emotions, and to think clearly under the stress of turmoil.”<sup>33</sup> These difficulties (or challenges) are systemized according to three groups. The first includes all forms of personal suffering such as discomfort, hardship, poverty and pain. The second involves perseverance in human relationships, and the third is the ability to accept the truth about oneself and the world from the point of emptiness. In other words, the first group describes an attribute of endurance, the second of patience, and the third of acceptance.

Effort, or endeavor (*vīrya*), is a necessary perfection for the transformation achieved through the practice of meditation.<sup>34</sup> It is a physical or mental effort which is opposed to sloth, despondency and self-contempt. The physical form is the basis, but the mental form is more important.

The perfection of meditation (*dhyāna*) develops a focused mind, which is the “most effective remedy for the ‘three poisons’ of human life” and “to understand the

---

31. For a detailed analysis of *kṣānti*, see Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine*, 209-216.

32. Wright, *The Six Perfections*, 94.

33. Wright, *The Six Perfections*, 94.

34. For a detailed analysis of *vīrya*, see Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine*, 216-221.

workings of one's own mind."<sup>35</sup> The three poisons are greed, aversion and delusion, which dominate the mind and are hindrances to progress in the path. Traditionally, meditation is developed in two interconnected forms, calming (*śamathā*) and insight (*vipassanā*).

The calming form of meditation (*śamathā*) functions to “stabilize and focus the mind.”<sup>36</sup> Essentially, it is training in mindfulness, “the ability to focus resolutely, to pay attention without allowing the mind to slip away into ordinary diversions.”<sup>37</sup> This practice in turn has four levels: awareness of the breath, mindfulness of the body, attention to feelings, and awareness of the arising and passing away of mental processes and their contents. The awareness of the arising and passing away is key because this is where the meditator becomes aware not only of the content of the mind but of its nature. Insight (*vipassanā*) meditation is a cultivation of contemplative awareness, or that which is the companion goal of the calming meditation. In this style of meditation, a person tries to develop “thoughts capable of giving rise to enlightened wisdom.”<sup>38</sup>

Wisdom (*prajñā*) is the profound realization of “how things really are.” It is more than just understanding—it is fully realizing the fundamental concept of dependent co-arising (*pratītyasamutpāda*), which describes the nature of reality and human existence. According to *pratītyasamutpāda*, all things arise in dependence upon multiple causes and conditions. The structure of the meditation exercises follows the Buddha's example in the

---

35. Wright, *The Six Perfections*, 176; Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine*, 221-236.

36. Wright, *The Six Perfections*, 177.

37. Wright, *The Six Perfections*, 177.

38. Wright, *The Six Perfections*, 178; Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine*, 236-248.

recognition of the true structure of reality. It is a formula of the three characteristics of existence; impermanence, lack of inner essence, and dissatisfaction. Using this pattern, one analyzes the world and the self, and gradually grows in recognition of how things are presented to the mind versus how they really are.

What is the interaction among these six perfections? The first and second perfections, giving and ethical behavior, respectively, are the necessary preparatory steps for the path. The third and fourth, patience and endeavor, are built upon the first two, and are the bases for the last two perfections of meditation and wisdom. Thus, the *pāramitās* are dynamically interrelated, and can be practiced in three degrees: ordinary, extraordinary, and perfect.<sup>39</sup> We turn now to consider how Śāntideva presents the *pāramitās* and their cultivation.

### **Part Two: The Cultivation of the *Pāramitās* in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra***

This section considers Śāntideva and his treatment of the *pāramitās*. It first examines his life and historical context. Second, it looks at his writings, with a focus on the text and context of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*. Third, it explores his presentation of the *pāramitās* and their cultivation. Finally, it analyzes the doctrine underlying the cultivation of the *pāramitās*.

---

39. It is ordinary if the person practices the perfections for the sake of happiness in this life. It is extraordinary if the person practices them for the sake of personal nirvana. It is perfect if they are practiced for the welfare and liberation of all beings. For details on the three ways of cultivation, see Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine*, 171. It must be noted that this interrelation of the perfections is a dynamic, circular, and mutually supporting process rather than a linear sequence.



## *Śāntideva: Person and Writings*

We know about Śāntideva from two sources: a religious hagiography and scholarly research. According to the religious biography, Śāntideva's real name was Shāntivarman, and he was a son of King Mañjuvarman in Saurashtra. After his father's death, he had a dream in which Bodhisattva Mañjuṣṣa suggested he leave the kingship and undertake a spiritual journey. Heeding the bodhisattva's counsel, he went to the famous monastery of Nālandā. In Nālandā, he received ordination and took the name Śāntideva.<sup>40</sup>

Scholars generally agree on the main features of the hagiographical material. Śāntideva was probably a king's son who left the kingdom, began to study Buddhist practice, and in this practice became very famous. Although the exact dates and information about the author of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* are not known,<sup>41</sup> the historical evidence indicates with a certain degree of probability the time he lived, the place, his

---

40. The life of Śāntideva is known through legends preserved in Tibetan and Nepali manuscripts. At the monastery, he lived in a manner considered "too ordinary for monastic criteria," and the monks in the monastery complained that he restricted his activity "to eating, sleeping, and strolling around." Without knowing that he had "received the teaching of the entire Tripitaka from the Noble One (Mañjuśrī)," the monks had planned to embarrass him by asking him to give a lecture. He accepted, and shared with them the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, and everyone was impressed with the lecture. Very close to the end of recitation of the text, "the noble Mañjuśrī appeared, seated in the sky, and many people saw him." When Śāntideva started to recite the "34<sup>th</sup> stanza of the ninth chapter . . . he and Mañjuśrī began to rise higher and higher into the sky until at last they disappeared. Śāntideva's voice, however, continued to resound so that the transmission was completed." Thus, his deep insight was revealed to all the monks, who later discovered the manuscript of the text of *Bodhicaryāvatāra* in his cell. After his life in the monastery, according to hagiographical accounts, Śāntideva traveled to the East and the South. His travels were filled with adventures. He performed many miracles, resolved serious conflicts, helped those who were dying of starvation, worked as a bodyguard and teacher of King Arivishana, had a fight with a Hindu yogi, and most important, spread the Buddhist teaching. See more in Barbara R Clayton, *Moral Theory in Santideva's Siksasamuccaya: Cultivating the Fruits of Virtue* (Routledge, 2006): 36, 175-177.

41. Śāntideva, *The Way of the Bodhisattva: A Translation of the Bodhicaryāvatāra*, rev. ed., translated from Tibetan by Padmakara Translation Group (Boston: Shambala, 2006), 181; Śāntideva, *The Bodhicaryāvatāra* (*Oxford World's Classics*), ed. Paul Williams (Oxford: Oxford University Press, USA, 2008), viii; Clayton, *Moral Theory in Śāntideva's Śikṣāsamuccaya*, 31.

spiritual practice, and his philosophical school.<sup>42</sup> Śāntideva lived between the second half of the sixth and the first half of the seventh centuries CE. It seems that he was a North Indian Buddhist monk who followed the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism, and was devoted to Mañjuśrī, a celestial figure who, in Mahāyāna Buddhism, plays a god-like role similar to a patron saint of wisdom. Mañjuśrī is considered to be a very advanced, 10<sup>th</sup> stage bodhisattva. It is possible to conclude that Śāntideva spent some time in “the great Buddhist monastery of Nālandā.”<sup>43</sup> He belonged to the Madhyamika philosophical school of Mahāyāna, and “probably figured within the middle period of the school’s philosophical development.”<sup>44</sup> Some evidence suggests that Śāntideva “may have also been a Tantric practitioner.”<sup>45</sup> He was best known as a famous Mahāyāna teacher.

According to hagiographical accounts, Śāntideva wrote three texts: the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (Entrance to the Path of Enlightenment), the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (Compendium of Teachings), and the *Sūtrasamuccaya* (Compendium of Scriptures).<sup>46</sup> The *Bodhicaryāvatāra* is a poetic text describing the path of the bodhisattva; the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* is a “collection of quotations from sutras and other scriptures” about the spiritual path, with Śāntideva’s commentary; and the *Sūtrasamuccaya* is a text which was never found, and therefore its existence is questionable.<sup>47</sup>

---

42. See more in *Moral Theory in Śāntideva’s Śikṣāsamuccaya*, 33; Fredrik Liland, “The Transmission of the Bodhicaryāvatāra: The History, Diffusion, and Influence of a Mahāyāna Buddhist Text” (master’s thesis, University of Oslo, 2009), 15.

43. Śāntideva, *The Bodhicaryāvatāra*, viii.

44. Clayton, *Moral Theory*, 33.

45. Clayton, *Moral Theory*, 34.

46. Clayton, *Moral Theory*, 36.

47. Clayton, *Moral Theory*, 38.

Śāntideva's *BCA* is a popular and challenging Buddhist text. According to Luis O. Gomez, it "most likely now occupies the third position among the most frequently translated Indian Buddhist texts, after the *Dhammapada* and the 'Heart Sutra.'" <sup>48</sup> The challenging aspect of the *BCA* is its complexity as a genre that resists any simple characterization. <sup>49</sup> The *BCA* does not fit either an Indian or a Western genre. From an Indian point of view, the *BCA* has elements of an Indian 'epistle', overlaps with the works which describe the path of the bodhisattva, and has elements of philosophical debate. From a Western point of view, it is an historical document, a document on monastic behavior, a philosophical treatise, a devotional poem, and a formational manual. As Gomez insists, however, "it is all and none of these." <sup>50</sup> Thus, we may identify several basic difficulties with regard to the text: genre, original context, audience, and the details of its history. <sup>51</sup> We do know, however, how the *BCA* was used in various contexts, notably Tibetan or Mongolian. <sup>52</sup> The question is, which of the pāramitās are found in the

---

48. Luis O. Gomez, "The Way of the Translators: Three Recent Translations of Śāntideva's Bodhicaryavatara," in *Buddhist Literature* (Bloomington: East Asian Studies Center, Indiana University, 1999), 262-263.

49. The *BCA* was written in verse form, in classical Sanskrit. Today we are aware of longer and shorter Sanskrit and Tibetan versions as well as additional commentaries of this text which are a great help in understanding the logic of the structure and the process described in it. Besides that, the text was translated into the Chinese, Newari, and Mongolian, and was spread in these cultural areas. For editions, translations, and dissemination history of the *BCA*, see Liland, *The Transmission of the Bodhicaryāvatāra*, xxxviii.

50. Gomez, "The Way of the Translators," 324.

51. The process of the reception of the *BCA* within the Western cultural and linguistic context is complex. It began with the publication of the Sanskrit text of the *BCA* in St. Petersburg in 1889 by Ivan Pavlovic Minaev. See Ivan Pavlovic Minaev, "Çāntideva: `Bodhicaryāvatāra'," *Zapiski Vostochnago Otdeleniya Imperatorskago Russkago Arkheologicheskago Obshchestva (Transactions of the Oriental Section of the Royal Russian Archeological Society)* 4, (1889), accessed October 7, 2014, <http://www.knigafund.ru/books/52156/read?locale=en>; an unpublished class paper by Tomislav Spiraneć, "The Evolution of the Western Representation of Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra*," explores the reception of the *BCA* in the West; this paper was written for the class "Critical Historiography of Buddhism," December 14<sup>th</sup>, Institute of Buddhist Studies, at the Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, CA, 2014.

BCA?

*The Pāramitās in the Bodhicaryāvatāra*

The *BCA* follows the scheme of the six pāramitās.<sup>53</sup> Though it does not speak extensively about the practices of giving and moral conduct (the first two pāramitās), it devotes a whole chapter each to the other pāramitās. The first two pāramitās, *dāna* and *śīla*, are addressed explicitly in only two verses.<sup>54</sup> The stanza on *dāna* speaks of “transcendent giving,” which “consists in the intention to bestow on every being all one owns, together with the fruits of such a gift. It is indeed a matter of the mind itself.” The stanza on *śīla* refers to “transcendent discipline” as “deciding to refrain from every harmful act.”<sup>55</sup> For Śāntideva, the perfections of *dāna* and *śīla* are mental states, rather than actions.<sup>56</sup> This summary of *dāna* and *śīla* emphasizes the importance of mental attitude, and therefore follows Śāntideva’s advice on how to protect one’s mind.<sup>57</sup>

---

52. For dissemination of the *BCA*, see Liland, *The Transmission of the Bodhicaryāvatāra*, 13-51.

53. I am using two Sanskrit manuscripts of the *BCA*. These are Parmananda Sharma, *Śāntideva’s Bodhicaryāvatāra: Original Sanskrit Text with English Translation and Exposition Based on Prajñākarmati’s Pañjikā* (New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 1990); and University of Oslo online Thesaurus Literature Buddhicae, which offer searchable online data bases in four parallel languages (Sanskrit, Chinese, Tibetan, Mongolian, and English) of the “Bodhicaryāvatāra,” accessed February 20, 2018, <https://www2.hf.uio.no/polyglotta/index.php?page=record&&vid=24&mid=118568&view=record>. With regard to English translations, I am using two editions: *The Way of Bodhisattva*, translated by the Padmakara Translation Group; and *Śāntideva, The Bodhicaryāvatāra*, trans. Kate Crosby and Andrew Skilton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

54. The reason for such a brief treatment of the *dāna* and *śīla* pāramitās may be, as historian Klaus K. Klostermaier suggests, the audience. The text addresses the monastic community, whose members do not own property, and therefore cannot give *dāna*, and who live the highest moral standards; or as Tibetan monastic commentator Kunzang Pelden says, because the *BCA* was presented from the point of view of a monk in retreat. Crosby and Skilton think the reason is that these two perfections are touched upon lightly and assumed in other chapters. See Klaus K. Klostermaier, *Buddhism: A Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oneworld Publication, 2002), 140; Kun-bzañ-dpal-ldan, *The Nectar of Manjushri’s Speech: A Detailed Commentary on Śāntideva’s Way of the Bodhisattva* (Boston: Shambhala Publications, 2011), 139; Śāntideva, *The Bodhicaryāvatāra*, 30.

55. *BCA* 5, 9-11.

56. Śāntideva, *The Bodhicaryāvatāra*, 30; Wright, *The Six Perfections*, 27.

The *BCA* devotes the whole of chapter VI to the *kṣānti pāramitā* (forbearance/patience).<sup>58</sup> The chapter speaks of the application of patience in the context of anger. The perfection of patience has three applications: endurance in suffering (v.11-21), endurance as a result of reflection upon the Buddhist principles of causality and interdependence (v.22-32), and endurance of the injuries inflicted by others (v.33-75).<sup>59</sup> Patience is the antidote for anger.<sup>60</sup> The topic of anger is important because it is “the emotion which most clearly undermines the performance of the Bodhisattva’s vow to save all beings.”<sup>61</sup> Though anger is difficult to overcome, Śāntideva argues that anger is an opportunity to grow in perfection (v.99-108), and therefore, those who cause anger in us must be honored as Buddhas (v109-118).

Chapter VII is dedicated to the *vīrya pāramitā* (vigor). The chapter is divided into two sections: the first explains what stands in opposition to vigor, and how to overcome it (v.2-30); the second treats the means to increase the vigor with which one practices the perfections (v.31-76).<sup>62</sup> The contraries of vigor are laziness, inclination to

---

57. Two words are important in this regard: mindfulness (*smṛti*) and awareness (*samprajanya*). They are linked with the practices of calming (*śamathā*), and insight (*vipaśyanā*) in Chapter 8. Mindfulness involves awareness of the body, one’s feelings, mental states, and of *dharmas*, the Buddhist term for the fundamental elements of existence. Awareness emphasizes the immediate awareness and assessment of the position and activity of the body and mind.

58. The problem of this chapter is terminology. The chapter deals with the *kṣānti pāramitā* (forbearance/patience). However, Śāntideva does not use the word *kṣānti*, but *kṣamā*, whose main meanings are “patient, enduring, or bearing.” Crosby and Skilton solved the problem by translating *kṣānti* as “forbearance,” and *kṣamā* as “patience.” On this point, see Śāntideva, *The Bodhicaryāvatāra*, 49.

59. The first step contemplates how one comes to suffer. The second focuses on discussing the doctrine of causality. Śāntideva explains that all phenomena, including pain, arise from conditions. The third step is an explanation of the suffering inflicted by others.

60. *BCA* 6, 1.

61. Śāntideva, *The Bodhicaryāvatāra*, 47.

unwholesomeness, defeatism, self-contempt, and the craving for pleasure, repose and sleep (v. 2-3). Vigor confronts these tendencies with the power of desire, aspiration, joy, steadfastness, and perseverance (v.29-31). Here Śāntideva compares the joy of the bodhisattva's action to the intoxication the gambler experiences in the game (v.63).<sup>63</sup>

The pāramitā of *dhyāna* (meditative absorption/concentration) is elaborated in Chapter VIII.<sup>64</sup> The chapter is divided in two parts, the first explaining calming, and the second elaborating insight exercises. The chapter overall explains the basic principles of meditative absorption. These include the need for physical isolation, which frees a person from distractions and desires (v.5-38), and the need for “mental” isolation (v.39-89) in order to overcome one's inner enemies. These enemies may be understood as obstacles to meditative absorption, and include inordinate passions/desires (*kā mā*) (v.40), misleading conceptions of the self (v. 90-119) and of one's own identity (v.120-173).<sup>65</sup> The chapter ends with the exhortation to restrain one's appetites (v.174-184), and the resolution to achieve a constant state of meditation (v.185-6).

---

62. Śāntideva follows the traditional approach of the four efforts: 1) avoiding unskillful mental states arising in the mind, 2) overcoming unskillful mental states, 3) developing skillful mental states, and 4) sustaining skillful mental states. See Śāntideva, *The Bodhicaryāvatāra*, 63.

63. Śāntideva's presentation of the cultivation of vigor rests on the six-fold schema of desire (*chanda*), pride (*māna*), delight (*rati*), renunciation (*tyāga*), dedication (*tātparya*), and self-mastery (*vaśitā*). See Śāntideva, *The Bodhicaryāvatāra*, 63.

64. The term *dhyāna* refers to the level of insight or mental state attained through calming or *śamathā* exercises. The Buddhist meditative exercises have two functions: calming (*śamathā*) and insight (*vipaśyanā*). See Śāntideva, *The Bodhicaryāvatāra*, 75-77.

65. Here Śāntideva offers meditation on the human body for eradication of passions and sensual longing. For example, he suggests imagining the body of the beloved as a corpse (v.41-48) and thinking about the filthiness of the body (v.49-69), and (v 70-83). See Śāntideva, *The Bodhicaryāvatāra*, 80-82.

Chapter IX treats the *prajñā pāramitā* (perfect understanding), the understanding of ultimate truth. *Prajñā* is the most difficult *pāramitā* to practice and to explain.<sup>66</sup> The other *pāramitās* are preparation for perfect understanding. The goal is to realize the emptiness of all phenomena (*śūnyatā*). That realization requires rational investigation, refutation of opposing views,<sup>67</sup> and understanding the doctrine of the two truths (the relation between conventional and ultimate reality). We turn now to consider how Śāntideva presents the cultivation of the six *pāramitās*.

*The Cultivation of the Pāramitās in the Bodhicaryāvatāra*

The practice of the bodhisattva presupposes the understanding of the goal, and the steps for realizing this goal. The goal is twofold: the arising of *Bodhicitta*, “the awakened mind,” for the sake of all beings.<sup>68</sup> In Śāntideva’s words, the goal is that “*bodhicitta* should come to birth, in those who suffer, chained in prisons of Saṃsāra.”<sup>69</sup> What is the “awakened mind,” or *bodhicitta*? Etymologically, the word is a compound of *bodhi* and *citta*. The term *bodhi* can mean “perception, comprehension, knowledge, wisdom, enlightenment, awakening, or the state of being *buddha*, or the quality in virtue of which one is *buddha*.”<sup>70</sup> The term *citta* means mind, thought, or attitude, and “has a sense of

---

66. Some early manuscripts of the *BCA* do not contain this chapter. See Śāntideva, *The Bodhicaryāvatāra*, 108-109.

67. It seems the main opponents are members of other Buddhist or Hindu philosophical schools. Śāntideva, *The Bodhicaryāvatāra*, 113.

68. *BCA* 1, 15.

69. *BCA* 1, 9.

70. Francis Brassard, *The Concept of Bodhicitta in Śāntideva’s Bodhicaryāvatāra* (State University of New York Press, 2000), 1.

active mental process.”<sup>71</sup> It suggests “the internal transformation of the individual.”<sup>72</sup>

For Śāntideva, *bodhicitta* exists on two levels, and has two aspects. The two levels of *bodhicitta* are “ultimate and relative.”<sup>73</sup> The ultimate form of *bodhicitta* involves knowledge of the true status of all things. It refers to the wisdom of emptiness, which is “an immediate, non-dual insight that transcends conceptualization.”<sup>74</sup> The relative form of *bodhicitta* is the aspiration to attain the highest good or insight in the wisdom of emptiness, and includes a practice necessary to achieve this goal. This means that the concept of *bodhicitta* has metaphysical and ethical implications.

The metaphysical part is “thoughts of enlightenment,” and the ethical part is “for the sake of all beings.” When this state of mind is present, wisdom (*prajñā*) and compassion (*karuṇā*) are automatically present. Wisdom (*prajñā*) is an intuitive insight into the nature of all things. The content of the insight is emptiness, which is the true existence of all things, the nature of all things, and the way to see these things. Compassion (*karuṇā*) is the state of mind based on the experience of emptiness (*śūnyatā*). In brief, when one reaches enlightenment, and recognizes the insubstantiality of all things, one feels compassion for those caught up in the suffering that attends the ignorance of the true nature of reality. The presence of these two characteristics of the

---

71. Śāntideva, *The Bodhicaryāvatāra*, xxxvi.

72. The translation of the concept of *Bodhicitta* depends on the context. To my knowledge, Francis Brassard’s descriptive translation best renders the content of this concept. He translates *bodhicitta* as a mind “fully pervaded” with thoughts, “whose content is the desire for enlightenment for the sake of all beings.” For his translation of *Bodhicitta*, see Brassard, *The Concept of Bodhicitta*, 1, 147; *The Bodhicaryāvatāra* xxxvi.

73. *BCA* 9, 2.

74. Śāntideva, *The Way of the Bodhisattva*, 2.



mind signifies the achievement of the status of bodhisattva. What is the connection between the two? They are mutually dependent. On one hand, the practice of compassion is a preparation for the realization of emptiness. On the other hand, compassion cannot be perfected without the realization of the insight into emptiness.

This consideration directs us toward the practical aspect of *bodhicitta*. From a practical point of view, Śāntideva recognizes the two types of *bodhicitta*:

*Bodhicitta*, the awakened mind,  
is known in brief to have two aspects:  
First, aspiring, *bodhicitta* in intention;  
then active *bodhicitta*, practical engagement.

As corresponding to the wish to go  
And then to setting out,  
The wise should understand respectively,  
The difference that divides these two.<sup>75</sup>

We can know all these things, and desire them, but knowledge and desire are not enough to achieve the goal. This is *bodhicitta* only in intention. One can desire to go on a journey, without actually moving from the place. The realization of the goal demands practical engagement. One needs knowledge about the goal, and after that must commit oneself to the practice.

The education or training of the mind entails the practice of the six perfections. The *pāramitās* are those qualities of mind which a realized bodhisattva possesses, and which a practitioner must develop. Therefore, the goal and the means of attainment are one in the same. First, I will analyze the process, and then the practice itself.

---

75. *BCA* 1, 15-16. Note: longer quotes from the *BCA* preserve the verse form of the original, while shorter passages are quoted as prose within the body of my text.

Like *bodhicitta* itself, this process is gradual, and has two stages: conventional, and ultimate. The conventional stage of the practice is built on the conventional understanding of self, which assumes a difference between subject and object. The ultimate stage of the practice follows on the first and perfects it, because it is done from the ultimate understanding of self as no-self. The practices of giving and ethical behavior (*dāna* and *śīla*) are the beginning of the way. Patience and effort (*kṣānti* and *vīrya*) are necessary to apply the first two. All these are preparation for meditative concentration and rational investigation into the nature of all things.

Śāntideva follows a simple and effective method in encouraging others to commit themselves to the practice of the *pāramitās*. He stimulates reflection about the new way of life, presenting its advantages and excellences. For example, *bodhicitta* is “supreme joy,”<sup>76</sup> and it is “beyond all price.”<sup>77</sup> Regarding the realization of *bodhicitta*, he writes,

For when, with irreversible intent,  
The mind embraces *bodhicitta*,  
Willing to set free the endless multitudes of beings,  
In that instant, from that moment on,

A great and unremitting stream,  
A strength of wholesome merit,  
Even during sleep and inattention,  
Rises equal to the vastness of the sky.<sup>78</sup>

After that, he intimidates the practitioner with “consequences of weakness and backsliding,” using the closeness of death as a good reason to continue with the

---

76. *BCA* 1, 7.

77. *BCA* 1, 10.

78. *BCA* 1-18-19.

practice.<sup>79</sup> He encourages one to imagine one's own death, and to consider how one will feel and think. Śāntideva says, "It may be that my death will come to me, before my evil has been cleansed. How then can I be freed from it?"<sup>80</sup> He continues,

There I'll be, prostrate upon my bed,  
And all around, my family and friends.  
But I alone shall be the one to feel  
The cutting of the thread of life.

And when the heralds of the Deadly King have gripped me,  
What help to me will be my friends and kin?  
For then life's virtue is my only defense,  
And this, alas, is what I shrugged away. . . .

Who can give me safe protection  
From this horror, from this frightful dread?  
And then I'll search the four directions,  
Seeking help, with panic stricken eyes.<sup>81</sup>

His language is concrete and easily stimulates the practitioner's imagination. It is very easy to imagine a situation in which "I am prostrate on my bed . . . feel the cutting of the thread of life," and seeking "help with panic stricken eyes." . . .

The person who is attracted by Śāntideva's presentation has to acknowledge his or her negative past behavior and take refuge in the Buddha. To put this in his words, "deceived and overmastered by my ignorance, I have taken pleasure in such sin. Blindly I have brought forth evil, and incited others to commit the same."<sup>82</sup> Translators use the word 'sin', which can sow confusion in western readers.<sup>83</sup> In this regard, it is important to

---

79. Śāntideva, *The Way of the Bodhisattva*, 4.

80. *BCA* 2, 32.

81. *BCA* 2, 40-41, 45.

82. *BCA* 2, 28.

83. See note 40 in Śāntideva, *The Way of the Bodhisattva*, 199.

note that the narrator in the text of the *BCA* only acknowledges evil deeds and does not ask for forgiveness or expect absolution. An acknowledgement of evil deeds is preparation for taking the bodhisattva vow. The vow is:

Just as all the Buddhas of the past  
Have brought forth the awakened mind,  
And in the precepts of the Bodhisattvas  
Step-by-step abode and trained,

Likewise, for the benefit of beings,  
I will bring to birth the awakened mind,  
And in those precepts, step-by-step,  
I will abide and train myself.<sup>84</sup>

With these words, practitioners commit themselves to the Bodhisattva path and start with ethical practice. Śāntideva's verses "became standard formula in the Tibetan tradition for the taking of the Bodhisattva vow."<sup>85</sup> Ethical practice (*śīla*) is "the precondition for any progress on the path of awakening."<sup>86</sup> As noted above, ethical practice is presented as five basic precepts for laypersons and ten basic precepts for monks and nuns. It is clear that ethical practice includes both a change of attitude and corresponding actions as demonstration of this new mindset. The application of ethical guidelines demands carefulness, vigilant introspection, patience and effort.

Carefulness is necessary for the implementation of the precepts. One must be prepared to act carefully. "And so, according to my promise, I will act attentively. From this day forth, if I now fail to strive, I'll fall from low to even lower states," vows the committed practitioner.<sup>87</sup> The main enemy is one's afflicted emotions such as anger and

---

84. *BCA* 3, 23-24.

85 . Śāntideva, *The Way of the Bodhisattva*, 8.

86. *Encyclopedia of Eastern Philosophy*, 322.

87. *BCA* 4, 12.

lust, which “dwell within [the] mind.”<sup>88</sup> They disturb one’s actions and produce suffering; before liberating others, therefore, one must first liberate oneself from this enemy. This requires keeping constant vigil over the mind.

Practicing awareness or vigilant introspection helps one to be aware of every thought that occurs in the mind. Because all harm comes from the mind, likewise, all virtue comes from the mind. Awareness demands that a person always check to see “Where is now my mind engaged?”<sup>89</sup> It covers awareness of the body, feelings, thought processes, and the content of the thoughts. Śāntideva says,

Those who wish to keep the trainings  
Must with perfect self-possession guard their minds.  
Without this guard upon the mind,  
The trainings cannot be preserved. . . .

If, with mindfulness’ rope,  
The elephant of mind, is tethered all around,  
Our fears will come to nothing,  
Every virtue drop into our hands.<sup>90</sup>

If one uses mindfulness as a “rope,” one can tame and guard the mind, and act in every situation properly. Mindfulness in everyday activity will allow one to determine how one chooses to see things around oneself. Śāntideva says, “I shall never, vacantly, allow my gaze to wander all around, but rather with a focused mind will always go with eyes cast down.”<sup>91</sup>

---

88. *BCA* 4, 29.

89. *BCA* 5, 41.

90. *BCA* 5, 1, 3.

91. *BCA* 5, 35.

The practice of ethical precepts, carefulness, mindfulness and vigilant introspection is not easy. The one who aspires to the status of bodhisattva must “train [oneself] in virtue,”<sup>92</sup> and protect the mind as carefully and attentively as one protects a “wound” when one moves through “wild and unruly crowds.”<sup>93</sup> One must therefore always check the mind to assure that it is not “tainted with some fault.”<sup>94</sup> This must be done in all situations of life: when one gazes on curious sights, pulls the grass, grubs in the soil, traces idle patterns on the ground, is tempted to engage in pointless conversation, to fish for praise, or to expose another’s guilty secret. “When the urge arises in [the] mind to feelings of desire or angry hate,” Śāntideva says, “Do not act! Be silent, do not speak! And like a log of wood be sure to stay.”<sup>95</sup> It is a pattern for every action.

Śāntideva is very concrete with regard to the application of mindfulness in everyday life. For example, he says, “Do not, acting inconsiderately, move chairs and furniture so noisily around. Likewise do not open doors with violence. Take pleasure in the practice of humility.”<sup>96</sup> Thus, every situation, no matter how insignificant, is a chance to cultivate perfection—even the moving of chairs, or the opening of the door. Practitioners must continuously observe their own actions, to recognize the fault, to choose the better way and to act accordingly. Mindfulness demands patience and effort.

---

92. *BCA* 4, 23.

93. *BCA* 5, 19, 20.

94. *BCA* 5, 34.

95. *BCA* 5, 48.

96. *BCA* 5, 72.

Patience (*kṣānti*) teaches us how to use difficult situations as sources for growth in perfection. We find ourselves in many different situations with other people and within our own minds. Sometimes we must do what we do not like; sometimes we must do what brings us pain; and sometimes people condemn us, or treat our loved ones badly. All these induce anger in us, and “all the good works gathered in a thousand ages, [...] a single flash of anger shatters.”<sup>97</sup> Śāntideva assures us that “there is no evil similar to anger, no austerity to be compared with patience.”<sup>98</sup> All these unpleasant situations and all our enemies who provoke anger in us are our benefactors. They help us to learn how to conquer anger and benefit from all situations in life. Patience and diligence go hand in hand. The practitioner needs strength, courage, and heroic perseverance to face all the adversities of life and to walk the bodhisattva path.

Diligence/vigor (*vīrya*) counters laziness, inclination to unwholesomeness, defeatism and self-contempt. It brings joy and pleasure. The first level of practice finishes with diligence. The presence of all these qualities sets the conditions for the last two pāramitās—meditative concentration and wisdom (*dhyāna* and *prajñā*). These two perfections create the conditions for the arising of the insight which will form compassion.

Meditative concentration demands solitude and the overcoming of inner hindrances. Solitude offers the great advantage of absencing worldly distractions and thus helps one to cope with “mental wandering.”<sup>99</sup> The obstacles to meditative concentration

---

97. *BCA* 6, 1.

98. *BCA* 6, 2.

99. *BCA* 8, 1.

include strong desires for the loved one and attachment to wealth and possessions. As medicine for these difficulties, Śāntideva suggests reflection on the unclean nature of the human body, and giving up attachment to wealth. In this way, the person will “pacify completely all discursiveness”<sup>100</sup> and be ready for the exercises which lead to insight into the nature of all things.

These require deepening of understanding and the application of the doctrine of the two truths through rational analysis. Śāntideva explains the two truths in this way:

When ordinary folk perceive phenomena,  
They look on them as real, and not illusory.  
This, then, is the subject of debate  
Where ordinary and yogis differ.

Forms and so forth, which we all perceive,  
Exist by general acclaim but not by valid reasoning.  
They are false just like, for instance, unclean things  
Regarded in the common view as pure.<sup>101</sup>

Rational analysis challenges the ordinary, dualistic way of thinking that governs our thoughts and behaviors. It is like a cycle. From this starting point, the individual can neither see “how things really are” nor liberate the self from suffering. Śāntideva provides a concrete example of such rational analysis:

If the ‘body’ spreads itself  
And with the members coincides,  
Its parts indeed are present in those parts.  
But where does ‘body,’ in itself, abide?

If ‘body’ is not outside or within its parts,  
How is it, then, residing in its members?  
And since it is not other than its parts,  
How can you say that it exists at all?<sup>102</sup>

---

100. *BCA* 8, 89.

101. *BCA* 9, 5-6.

102. *BCA* 9, 80-82.



In analyzing the concept of the body and its parts, one recognizes the disparity between our dualistic thinking and how things really are. The practitioner begins the cultivation of the pāramitās from the conventional understanding of self, within a dualistic frame of thought, and gradually grows in the practice of the perfections and of wisdom.

The two main exercises which lead to insight into the nature of all things are meditation on the equality of self and others, and the exchange of self and others. The purpose of the two exercises is to transcend the duality of self and others and to experience the state of emptiness. Their completion brings compassion to the deepest point. In the first exercise, one imaginatively projects oneself into the position of others. The point is to see the self through the other's eyes, and to recognize one's own negative emotions. This is a "means of diminishing the ego's strength and attenuating the illusory barrier between self and other."<sup>103</sup>

The second exercise deepens this experience by putting the self in the other's place. Śāntideva expects that with the interchange of "I" and "other," we understand the wisdom of emptiness. Then, we will understand that "all the joy the world contains has come through wishing happiness for others," whereas "all the misery the world contains has come through wanting pleasure for oneself."<sup>104</sup>

As the practitioner begins experiencing his/her own emptiness, and the emptiness of all things, his/her practice is increasingly shaped by it. This experience gradually erases the dualistic way of thinking, and shapes one's intentions and actions. The final

---

103. Śāntideva, *The Way of the Bodhisattva*, 19.

104. *BCA* 8, 129.

consequence in this chain of transformation is growth in perfect compassion, in which the mind is “fully pervaded” with thoughts, “whose content is the desire for enlightenment for the sake of all beings.”<sup>105</sup> The implementation of the new attitude comes about through our repeated voluntary actions and deliberate choices. The goal of the Buddhist path and the practice of attaining it presuppose certain doctrinal and metaphysical assumptions.

### **Part Three: Doctrinal Background of the Practice of the Pāramitās**

The Mahāyāna Buddhist practice of the pāramitās assumes a particular understanding of reality and the human condition through the philosophical concepts of “dependent origination” (*pratītyasamutpāda*) and the five components of human being (*skandhas*). These principles are an intrinsic part of the four noble truths, which form the foundation of Buddhist thought and practice.

The framework of the four noble truths is a diagnosis of the human situation as enunciated in the Buddha’s first discourse after his experience of enlightenment (*bodhi*). It is described in the *Dharmmacakkappavattana Sutta* and called “*Cattāri Ariya Saccāni*” (noble truths).<sup>106</sup> These noble truths articulate “how things really are when seen correctly.”<sup>107</sup> According to the Buddha’s diagnosis, unenlightened beings experience *duḥkha* (unsatisfactoriness or suffering in the broader sense). The origin of *duḥkha* is *taṇhā* (craving or longing for things to be other than they are). The cessation of the

---

105. Brassard, *The Concept of Bodhicitta*, 147.

106. But it can also be translated as “the truths for nobles,” “the nobilising truths,” or “the truth of, possessed by, the noble one”; according to Williams, the best single translation is “the truth[s] of the noble one (the Buddha).” Williams, *Buddhist Thought*, 30.

107. Williams, *Buddhist Thought*, 30.

craving is *nirodha*, and the way to eliminate *taṇhā* is *magga* (the middle path).<sup>108</sup>

The four noble truths imply the principle of “dependent origination” (*pratītyasamutpāda*). This principle is described in the simple formula: “If A arises, B arises; if A no longer exists, B no longer exists.” We can say “that all psychological and physical phenomena constituting individual existence are interdependent and mutually condition each other.”<sup>109</sup> According to the concept of dependent origination, all entities in the world have three features: impermanence (*anitya*), non-self (*anatman*), and suffering (*duḥkha*). Impermanence means that everything is transitory, while non-self means that nothing possesses an essence as an eternal and independent substance. If we fail to understand these first two principles, everything ultimately leads to suffering because nothing is a source of ultimate fulfillment.

If we apply the basic Buddhist principles of dependent origination, impermanence, and no-self to the human being, we must conclude that human arising is dependent upon conditions, is constantly in flux, does not have an inherent existence, and thus will cease to be. Human being is described as an aggregate of five elements (*skandhas*).<sup>110</sup> The five *skandhas* include body or form (*rūpa*), feelings (*vedanā*),

---

108. The term *dukkha* refers to situations of suffering due to changes in our conditioned life. Craving is the basis of *dukkha* and has three forms. The first is a craving for sensual pleasure, the second is an existential longing to survive as an individual (which amounts to a fundamental rejection of contingency and impermanence), and the third is a longing for complete cessation. The extinction of craving leads us to *nibbana* (Sanskrit *nirvāṇa*). The noble eightfold path is the way to the cessation of craving. This path represents “features of attitude, life style and spiritual practice which are helpful in setting up the conditions under which a person may move toward the goal of the Buddhist path, namely, seeing things as they really are and thereby being released from suffering.” See Mel Thompson, *Understand Eastern Philosophy: A Teach Yourself Guide (Teach Yourself: Philosophy & Religion)* (London: McGraw-Hill, 2012), 45. The path describes a right view, intention, speech, action, livelihood, effort, mindfulness and concentration; it is focused on overcoming “greed, hatred, and delusion through the cultivation of their opposites, non-attachment, loving kindness and wisdom or insight.” See Williams, *Buddhist Thought*, 39.

109. *Encyclopedia of Eastern Philosophy*, 277.

110. *Encyclopedia of Eastern Philosophy*, 335.

perceptions (*saññā*), volitions (*sankhāra*), and consciousness (*viññāna*). We conventionally call this bundle of elements a “self.”<sup>111</sup> It is important to note that human beings are continually *in process*, and that we are “the sum total of our actions of body, speech and mind.”<sup>112</sup> The self is not separate from conditions and connections, but rather depends upon them. But humans do not perceive things in this way. Interconnectedness is neither our habitual nor our natural way of seeing and understanding things. We see the self as independent (and fixed) and therefore we suffer. The problem with the false belief in self is that it presupposes a fixed reality of the “I” which does not exist.<sup>113</sup>

A human being is a part of the web of interconnectedness in which everything arises in dependence upon conditions. This entity that has arisen, in turn, forms a part of the new conditions which allow the next set of contingent things to appear. Within this process, a human being has freedom, making decisions which form its own life.

Therefore, one’s intentional actions have consequences. One’s actions in the present arise from conditions which precede them and create new conditions. With intentional action, one creates new conditions and experiences the results of past actions.

---

111. The core of the pattern is built on the concept of the two truths. The two truths describe the relationship between *Samsāra* and *nirvāṇa*. This is the relationship between how our everyday world appears to us, and how it really is. If we see it correctly, our world, or conventional reality, is empty of inherent existence. The fact that conventional reality is empty is the ultimate truth. Those two realities are not in opposition, but mutually support one another. *Nāgārjuna* accepts the everyday world as the presupposition of our spiritual practice. Only through conventional reality can we attain the ultimate. The starting point of practice, then, is our everyday world, without which we cannot attain enlightenment. However, though conventional reality is important, it is not the ultimate reality; rather, it helps us to recognize the ultimate reality of how things really are. The relationship between conventional and ultimate realities is neither separate nor mingled. They are radically different, but mutually imply each other. The goal is to attain the epistemological insight into the ultimate through the conventional, while remaining in the conventional reality and helping other sentient beings to find the end of suffering. This mode of attaining *nirvāṇa* is called non-abiding *nirvāṇa* (*apratīṣṭhita nirvāṇa*). It is the way human beings will realize ultimate reality and truth in Mahāyāna Buddhism; it is the path of the bodhisattva.

112. Thompson, *Understand Eastern Philosophy*, 51.

113. *BCA* 9, 77.

This is the principle of karma, which literally means “that which is done,” namely “action” and, by extension, the effects of action. Today’s situation is the result of my choices and actions yesterday, and forms my life tomorrow. All the actions of my life will shape my future as they have shaped my everyday life. If my actions are generated from hatred, greed, and ignorance, the results of my actions will lead me once again in this never-ending process. If my actions are predicated on love, generosity and insight, the results of my actions will lead me out of the process of *Saṃsāra* (the karmic cycle of death and rebirth).

Intentional actions will lead us to better or worse consequences. Our intentions and actions can be skillful (*kushala*) or unskillful (*akushala*). If our intentions and actions are based on compassion and other positive states of mind, they are skillful. However, if they are based on hatred, craving and delusion, they are unskillful. Therefore, the foundation of an intention and an action will determine its consequence. Education of the mind brings about a change of intention and will consequently influence a change of action and its fruit. Because everything arises in dependence upon conditions, one must follow certain moral principles which will foster the qualities expected of an enlightened person. We are all part of the interconnectedness in the network of dependent origination and karma. Our responsibility lies in our volitional intention and our response to suffering.

### Summary

How can a person exit from the “prison of Saṃsāra,” and “drive away the endless pain?”<sup>114</sup> The good news is that we can change the way we perceive reality. It is

---

114. *BCA* 1: 9, 22.

important to know what the practice is, and how to apply it. In Śāntideva's construal of the Mahāyāna tradition, his presentation of the pāramitās and their cultivation is engaging, vivid, and concrete. The *BCA* integrates the practice of the perfections and daily living in the cultivation of character.

The Bodhisattva path consists of removing obstacles to the attainment of *Bodhi*, and the cultivation of positive states of mind. The practice of the pāramitās is a combination of mental exercises and the actual application of them in everyday life in a habitual way. Because the enemies “dwell within [the] mind,” one must use mindfulness as a “rope” in order to guard and tame the mind and act circumspectly in every situation.

The bodhisattva life is based on the insight into emptiness. When one reaches this insight and recognizes the true nature of reality, one feels compassion for those caught up in the cycle of endless suffering and ignorance. The ultimate goal of the bodhisattva path is a mind “fully pervaded” with thoughts, “whose content is the desire for enlightenment for the sake of all beings.” Education of the mind, which entails the practice of the six perfections, brings about a change of intention, and consequently, a change of behavior and a new identity.

Young adults in Croatia are struggling with issues of faith and religio-cultural identity in the modern, post-Communist context of Croatia, and are seeking new personal, religious, and cultural identities. The question is, how can we offer them forms of spiritual practice which can bridge the gap among Christian identity, practice, and doctrine in everyday life? This study suggests that the concreteness of Śāntideva's insights and pedagogical tools can help us to develop simple, clear, practical, and theologically-sound instruction in the Christian way of life. We turn now to a synthesis

of Ignatius's and Šantideva's thought in order to develop a compelling practice of a Christian way of life according to the needs and expectations of contemporary Croatian young adults.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN: Synthesizing Ignatius and Śāntideva for a Christian Way of Living: Guidelines for the University Catholic Academic Center (SKAC) Program**

### Introduction

The previous chapters have examined the Croatian context, the formation of Croatian national and religious identity, the sociological profile of Croatian young adults, the historical relationship between Jesuits and Buddhists in Croatia, and the cultivation of the virtues/ pāramitās in Ignatius and Śāntideva, respectively. In this chapter, I will compare Ignatius and Śāntideva with regard to the cultivation of virtues/pāramitās, create a synthesis between the two discourses, rearticulate insights gained through modern categories, and develop guidelines for improvement of the existing “3D” program in view of the spiritual needs of contemporary Croatian young adults.

The main questions guiding my discussion in this chapter are: What are the similarities and differences between Ignatius’s cultivation of the virtues, and Śāntideva’s cultivation of the pāramitās? What are the reasons for these differences? What can Ignatius and Śāntideva learn from one another? What are the cognitive, neuroscientific, and metaphysical mechanisms behind their practical insights? Taken as a whole, how can the insights of Śāntideva, Ignatius, and contemporary science improve the existing 3D formation program for Croatian young adults?

Though I had initially supposed a sharper distinction between Ignatius and Śāntideva with regard to the virtuous life, I find significant convergence in their pedagogical approaches and methods of cultivation given the centrality of experience and



everyday practice in both thinkers.<sup>1</sup> Hence I argue that significant similarities exist in the concepts of the virtues and the pāramitās (perfections/excellences) and in their cultivation with regard to the structure of the process, the tools employed, and the skills required. At the same time, there are radical differences between the traditions in terms of their goals (*teloi*), anthropologies, and ontological-epistemological assumptions.

My method in this chapter will be comparative and interdisciplinary in nature. For purposes of comparison and synthesis, I will use the comparative theological method developed by Francis Clooney, complemented with Judith Berling's interreligious learning.<sup>2</sup> For the creation of the guidelines for the improvement of the 3D program I will apply the insights of the cognitive, behavioral, and neurosciences in seeking to translate these insights into contemporary categories that resonate for Croatian young adults of today.

Pierre Hadot's concept of a "way of life" will serve as the overarching principle integrating these insights.<sup>3</sup> Hadot's concept of philosophy as a way of life proposes that a function of doctrine is to articulate as clearly as possible basic principles and their rationale for a specific understanding of reality (worldview), which are later interiorized.

---

1. I intentionally use the term "pedagogy" with the presumptions of its etymological roots. As Donaldo Macedo points out in his introduction to the 30<sup>th</sup> edition of Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, the term "has Greek roots, meaning "to lead a child" (from *pais*: child and *ago*: to lead). Thus, as the term 'pedagogy' illustrates, education is inherently directive and must always be transformative." Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2014), 25.

2. There are two reasons for merging Clooney's and Berling's methods. The first is the nature of my work, which involves studying both texts in their own context as well as considering contemporary interpretations within living communities. The second is my way of learning about them, from the written commentaries, and from the living practitioners. On my use of these thinkers, see the Introduction to this study, p. 5. See Francis Clooney, *Comparative Theology: Deep Learning Across Religious Borders* (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010); Judith A. Berling, *Understanding Other Religious Worlds: A Guide for Interreligious Education* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2004).

3. Pierre Hadot, *Philosophy as a Way of Life: Spiritual Exercises from Socrates to Foucault* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2011).

The objective is to form a specific way of life, a way of ordering our thoughts, perceptions, speech, and actions according to these basic principles. It therefore serves as a sound basis for a practice that cultivates the virtues/pāramitās.

This chapter will consist of two parts. The first part will conduct a comparison and articulate a synthesis of Ignatius's and Śāntideva's insights. The second part will use the insights gained in this synthesis to offer guidance and orientation for the improvement of the 3D formation program for Croatian Catholic young adults.

### **Part One: Comparison and Synthesis**

What are the similarities and differences between Śāntideva and Ignatius?

Ultimately, the similarities and differences are not always clear-cut, and the relationship between the two traditions is far more dynamic than I had initially supposed. However, for structural and methodological purposes, I will consider some of the more apparent similarities and distinctions. The similarities lie in their respective methodological approaches, as well as in their understanding and cultivation of the virtues/pāramitās. The differences are in their writing styles and the enumeration or structuring of the virtues/pāramitās. Their doctrinal backgrounds and metaphysical assumptions converge in some ways, and diverge significantly in others. I turn first, however, to some foundational tenets of the two traditions.

Both spiritual masters agree on the importance of created or conventional reality for our practice. For both, the starting position is our everyday experience and world, which are manifestations of ultimate reality. For Ignatius, the ultimate reality, because of the revelation of Christ, is the Holy Trinity—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. For

Śāntideva, the ultimate reality is emptiness, or the lack of inherent existence. For Ignatius, our everyday reality comes from God through God's act of creation and is on its way back to that loving God. For Śāntideva, the everyday world is a conventional reality, which is both real and empty of inherent essence or suchness (in Sanskrit, *ātman*). Ignatius sees order and love in the created world, whereas Śāntideva sees conventional order, which is an expression of emptiness (which must not be confused with nothingness).

Both presuppose the capacity of the human being to change and evolve. Ignatius and Śāntideva take for granted that a human being is by nature capable of and in need of transformation—from a self-centered to a telos-centered life. The transformation encompasses all dimensions of the human person. Both see this trajectory and thus the practice as universal, though the commitment and capacity to realize the telos will vary depending on ability, desire, and social context. Both elaborate specific practices which, although they are based on very different metaphysical assumptions, are nevertheless similar in function in that they deal similarly with the relationship between conventional and ultimate reality. Most importantly, both agree that we must begin spiritual practice in the experience of daily living.

### *Similarities*

Both Śāntideva and Ignatius give priority to the experiential and practical dimensions of living rather than theoretical speculation. Ignatius and Śāntideva were practitioners and mystagogues, not academic theologians.<sup>4</sup> Their practical orientation is

---

4. I am appropriating and extending Melloni's descriptions of Ignatius to Śāntideva. See Javier Melloni, "Ignatian Spirituality and Buddhism," in *A Companion to Ignatius of Loyola*, ed. Robert Alexander Maryks (Boston: Brill, 2014), 251-53.

visible in their writings, the careers they pursued, and the types of knowledge important to them. Ignatius wrote practical instruction for prayer and direction for concrete situations, but not theological treatises as such.<sup>5</sup> Śāntideva wrote the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (*BCA*), a poetic text describing the path of the bodhisattva. In this text, the first eight chapters focus on practice, and only the last one, the ninth, is devoted to doctrine as such.<sup>6</sup>

Ignatius was an *hidalgo*, pilgrim, Parisian “master,” Roman “padre,” superior general, and founder of the Society of Jesus.<sup>7</sup> According to tradition, Śāntideva was a monk, miracle worker, peacemaker, counselor, and traveling teacher.<sup>8</sup> Both are concerned with experiential access to ultimate reality in everyday life. While neither was opposed to academic theology, it was not their primary focus.<sup>9</sup> In the Exercises, Ignatius teaches others how to communicate intimately and directly with God experientially,

---

5. John W. O'Malley, *Saints or Devils Incarnate?: Studies in Jesuit History* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013), 99.

6. In addition, he wrote the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (Compendium of Teachings), which consists of a collection of key passages from the sutras and other sacred texts about the spiritual path, with his own commentary added. Though this text is more doctrinal in nature than the *BCA*, it is not an original work but a collection of maxims from the sacred texts to support the practice.

7. Carlos J. Coupeau, “Five *personae* of Ignatius of Loyola,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Jesuits*, ed. Thomas Worcester (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 32-51.

8. See more in Barbara R Clayton, *Moral Theory in Śāntideva's Śikṣāsamuccaya: Cultivating the Fruits of Virtue* (Routledge, 2006), 36, 175-177.

9. In the *Spiritual Exercises*, Ignatius says, “We ought to praise both positive and scholastic theology. For just as it is more characteristic of the positive doctors such as St. Jerome, St. Augustine, and St. Gregory and the rest to stir up our affections toward loving and serving God in all things, so it is more characteristic of the scholastic master, such as St. Thomas, St. Bonaventure, the Master of Sentences, and so on to define and explain for our times the matter necessary for salvation, and also to refute and expose all the errors and fallacies.” At the same time, the *Spiritual Exercises* is the means for “*ordering of our life* for the salvation of our soul.” *Spiritual Exercises*, 1, 363. In the Formula of the Institute of the Society of Jesus, the purpose is described as “the defense and propagation of the faith and *for the progress of souls in Christian life* and doctrine.” See in Formula Institute 1, 3, and 9.

savoring and relishing things interiorly.<sup>10</sup> In the *BCA*, Śāntideva is concerned with practical cultivation of the enlightened mind (Bodhicitta).

The Christian virtues and Buddhist pāramitās overlap in the constitutive elements of the concepts, as well as in nature and function. The essential, constitutive elements of both include a vision of the goal or telos (the kingdom of God or Buddhahood), the presumption of a philosophical/theological anthropology as a starting point (body/soul or the five skandhas), an exemplar who embodies the telos (Jesus or the Buddha/bodhisattva), the qualities of the exemplar (virtues or pāramitās), and a deliberate practice in everyday life through which one patterns one's life after that of the exemplar/model.<sup>11</sup>

Considering their nature, virtues and pāramitās are stable and enduring dispositions produced by deliberate and habitual actions. It would be correct to say that virtues and perfections are “psychological states created by habitual actions.”<sup>12</sup> The

---

10. *SpEx* 2.

11. In my opinion there is a similarity between Christian virtues and pāramitās, but not necessarily with other accounts of virtues. For an example of a non-Buddhist perspective, see Nancy Snow, “Metaphysics, virtue, and Eudaimonia in Aristotle and Buddhism” in N. E. Nelson, Ed., *Naturalism and Asian Philosophy: Owen Flanagan and Beyond* (New York, SUNY Press). For Buddhist usage of the western categories, see Charles Goodman, *Consequences of Compassion: an Interpretation and Defense of Buddhist Ethics* (New York: Oxford University Press, USA, 2009), 221; Hammalawa Saddhatissa, *Buddhist Ethics* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1997); Barbra R. Clayton, *Moral Theory in Śāntideva's Śikṣāsamuccaya: Cultivating the Fruits of Virtue* (London: Routledge, 2011); Damien Keown, *Buddhist Ethics: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford University Press, 2005); *The Nature of Buddhist Ethics* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001); *Contemporary Buddhist Ethics* (London: Routledge, 2000); Peter Harvey, *An Introduction to Buddhist Ethics: Foundations, Values and Issues* (Cambridge University Press, 2000); Gunapala Dharmasiri, *Fundamentals of Buddhist Ethics* (Kadugannawa, Sri Lanka : Pāramitā International Buddhist Society Ltd., 1998); Susanne Mroczek, *Virtuous Bodies: The Physical Dimensions of Morality in Buddhist Ethics* (Oxford University Press, USA, 2007); Paul Williams, *Altruism and Reality: Studies in the Philosophy of the Bodhicaryāvatāra* (London: Routledge, 1997); Garfield, Jay “What is it like to be a Bodhisattva? Moral Phenomenology in Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra*,” in *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* vol. 33, no. 1-2 (2011): 333-357.

12. Raymond J. Devettere, *Introduction to Virtue Ethics*, 67.

function of the Christian virtues and Buddhist pāramitās is very similar. Their function involves the flourishing of the human person in the here and now, and the salvific effects in the eschatological future. The flourishing life unfolds through the proper ordering of the mind, body, emotions, and relationship to created reality through the cultivation of a life of virtue. In this regard, virtues and pāramitās oppose destructive patterns of thinking, speaking, and acting. Ignatius spoke about ordering disordered affection, and Śāntideva about struggling against the enemy of the mind. These qualities are not automatically present in a person but must be developed and nourished.

Both see cultivation of the virtues and perfections as intentional, deliberate, and cognitive behavioral activity through which one shapes one's life according to a particular exemplar and vision of ultimate reality. The cultivation consists of intervolving instruction, imitation, and habituation. The cultivation of virtue is a life-long and arduous process of transformation. The interior changes are expressed in thinking, speaking, and acting upon reality (and thus in some way transforming it) in all dimensions of life. The change permeates the whole person. In short, the goal becomes the path itself.

Both understand the context and the structure of the process, as well as the skills required, in a very similar manner. For both, practice is located within the framework of an experienced guide, a systematic course of training, didactic material, and a supportive community. The process starts with desire, moves to decision, and unfolds in a concrete practice. This practice consists of removing the obstacles to the desired end and nurturing positive and life-giving qualities. The skills necessary for the cultivation of virtue include a clear vision of the goal/telos, self-knowledge, awareness/mindfulness, sound discernment and prudence in decision making, forbearance, and patience. Both agree that

intention and motivation are extremely important. For Ignatius, the main motivation for disposing of one's life of salvation of the souls practice is the experience of God's unconditional love for oneself and all creatures. For Śāntideva, motivation lies in the desire for enlightenment in order to liberate all beings from suffering and to achieve Buddhahood.

### *Differences*

The *Spiritual Exercises* and the *BCA* are systematic manuals for practice in the life of virtue written in contrasting styles. Ignatius wrote in the manner of an "engineer." His writing is systematic, dry and unexciting. Śāntideva is a poet. Though his style is systematic, it is dramatic, lyrical, and full of images, which he uses masterfully to convey his point. For example, both elaborate a principle for acting against temptation. While Ignatius advises one to "act against desolation [in order to] overcome temptation,"<sup>13</sup> Śāntideva cautions: "just as one quickly jumps up when a snake creeps onto one's lap, so should one swiftly counteract the advent of drowsiness and sloth."<sup>14</sup>

The two differ in their schemas of the virtues/perfections in terms of number, content (though some of them converge at certain points) and the relationship of the perfections to ultimate reality. Though Ignatius did not follow any one schema, he espoused the *character* virtues (several of which were informed by his native chivalric tradition) of courage, magnanimity, loyalty, generosity, patience, temperance, and chastity; the *intelligent* virtue of discretion (discernment); and the *theological* virtues, which include faith, hope and love. For Ignatius, the ground of all the virtues is humility.

---

13. *SpEx*, 13.

14. *BCA* 7, 71.

Śāntideva followed the practice of the six pāramitās: *dāna* (giving, generosity), *śīla* (conduct, morality), *kṣānti* (patience, forbearance), *vīrya* (energy, endeavor), *dhyāna* (meditation, concentration) and *prajñā* (*wisdom*). For Ignatius, the virtues are integrated and secondary in the quest for the relationship with God. For Śāntideva, the pāramitās are the primary means for the attainment of bodhi.

Śāntideva and Ignatius differ with regard to human agency. For Ignatius, the virtues are both the fruit of human effort and gifts of grace imparted through the Holy Spirit. For Śāntideva, the pāramitās are the fruit primarily of personal effort, aided by one's spiritual guide, the community, and the bodhisattvas.

Though Ignatius and Śāntideva both deal in some way with the confession of negativity and the role of an enemy (or countervailing force) in the cultivation of virtues/perfections, these negativities are conceived differently. Ignatius distinguishes between inner obstacles such as disordered affections, and the external enemy. He calls the opponent of progress in the spiritual life “the enemy of human nature,” “Satan,” or “the evil spirit.” The enemy is a rational entity, though different from the human being, other creatures, or God, who would like to destroy the loving relationship between God and God's creation. The enemy can use thoughts and feelings as instruments of deception, though ontologically, the enemy is distinct from such. Śāntideva also recognizes obstacles to progress, but for him, the main enemy is our afflicted emotions such as hatred, greed and ignorance. These are merely qualities of the mind, however, and do not exist as separate entities outside of the mind. In brief, Ignatius and Śāntideva agree that the enemy exists, but they have radically different opinions about the ontological status of this enemy.



Though both authors agree that it is important to recognize and acknowledge one's own negativity at the beginning of the practice, the two disagree with regard to its significance. For Ignatius, a confession of negativity is prompted by the recognition of one's own misuses of God's gifts and a failure to respond to God's love. It includes the recognition of mistakes, sorrow, and asking God for forgiveness. It supposes a relationship of love and the restoration of the relationship. Śāntideva asks of his practitioners to acknowledge their own negativities as a necessary step in becoming aware of one's situation. Practitioners ask for forgiveness from others they have harmed, but not from ultimate reality. The teaching of emptiness does not absolve one from responsibility for one's actions.

The goal of the process of habituation on an anthropological level differs for the two teachers. According to Ignatius, the goal is to put in order our disordered affections,<sup>15</sup> and for Śāntideva, it is to root out the "enemy of the mind."<sup>16</sup> To achieve these objectives, Ignatius and Śāntideva begin the path of instruction by elucidating the benefits of the new life and the negative consequences of continuing with the previous life. Both of them expect that the practice will entail two stages. In the first stage, a person develops the aforementioned virtues/*pāramitās*. In the second stage, they must be perfected through faith, hope, and love, or through the insight into the emptiness of all things.

Ignatius and Śāntideva differ in the understanding of the goal/telos, anthropology, and metaphysical assumptions. Concerning telos, Ignatius focuses on the qualities

---

15. *SpEx* 21.

16. *BCA* 4, 29.

important to developing the intentional relationship with God, other and all creatures, a process which culminates in eternal communion in the future world. Though God as Creator sustains the world, God respects the natural law and human freedom. Though the creation had a beginning, it will not have an end, and lives in hope of final liberation in the fullness of life in God.<sup>17</sup>

Śāntideva concentrates on the cultivation of insight into the nature of all things. Though Śāntideva's ultimate goal is entering nirvāṇa and the achievement of Buddhahood, practically speaking, the goal of Buddhahood requires that one generates *bodhicitta* and become a bodhisattva, and to personally delay one's entry into nirvāṇa so as to dedicate oneself to benefitting others as a bodhisattva. All beings are governed by the law of karma. They do not have a beginning, but will have an end in the emptiness of interdependent, unconditional reality.

For Ignatius, virtues are important in both the created and the eternal world. In the created world, they help us to imitate Christ and to prepare ourselves for eternal communion. According to Christian tradition, in this final experience, a person will endure in some form as an individual entity, but will be changed ontologically. Śāntideva sees the practice of the perfections solely as the preparation for the epistemological experience of ultimate reality. He expects the ontological change of the conventional person at the end of these epistemological transformations, after the fulfillment of all the *bodhisattva bhūmis* (stages).

Their respective teloi assume differing anthropologies. Ignatius thinks in terms of the classical Christian anthropology of the dynamic unity of body and soul, while

---

17. See Romans 8:21.

Śāntideva uses the traditional Buddhist schema of the five skandhas. For Ignatius, the body is important in the present, and will be transformed in eternity. For Śāntideva, the body is a vehicle for practice, but will not be present in the final stage of the practice, which culminates in ultimate reality.<sup>18</sup> Despite these radical differences, they use similar strategies to distance the self from the inordinate cravings of the body and to order the unruly mind as a means to achieve greater nonattachment and freedom.

The body and the identity are linked. Ignatius and Śāntideva agree that on the conventional level, the individual has a personal identity which must be developed and nurtured. It consists in functionality and relationship with others, and is rooted in the biological dimension of the human being. Personal identity is linked with communal identity. They do not agree, however, on the nature of personal identity on the level of ultimate reality. Ignatius assumes that personal identity will be confirmed in eternity in an ever-deepening intimacy with God and other creatures, while Śāntideva expects the ultimate dissolution of personal identity.

In summary, the similarities lie in our common humanity, and the differences, in the diverse cultural contexts of the religious traditions. The practices of both discourses were designed for human beings, all of whom share the vulnerabilities, ambiguities, and limitations of the human condition—in all geographical and cultural areas, and in all periods of history. At the same time, the practices are shaped by the different doctrinal systems and metaphysical assumptions which underlie the respective traditions.

---

18. Here it is important to clarify that supposedly, when Siddhartha achieved Buddhahood, his defiled aggregates were transformed, but they were not abandoned or destroyed. In other words, Buddhists do not have a docetic theology; Buddhas have physical bodies until they achieve *parinirvāṇa*. I owe this insight to David Gray, email message to author, March 19, 2018.

## *Synthesis*

This section will briefly synthesize the key insights gained from the study of Ignatius's and Šantideva's texts. It will identify principles we can use to breathe new life into the 3D program in the areas which are failing to connect meaningfully with the daily lives and practical concerns of Croatian young adults struggling with issues of faith and identity formation. In identifying these insights, I attempt to interpret them in terms of their relevance for the living community in Croatia. I will structure the synthesis around the questions of goal, attainment of the goal, and the necessary skills to reach the goal.

In philosophical/theological language, the goal/telos indicates the end for which we were created. In simple language, it is rooted in the fundamental question of what one desires in life—what is important? With regard to Catholic young adults, we might articulate this question in these terms: What do you want to become? What is a good, or a meaningful life? And how do Catholics imagine a good life?

In this regard, Ignatius, insofar as he represents the Christian tradition, helps us to recognize that the telos consists of two parts—the here and now, and the final fulfillment of life in God, and that the two are interconnected in everyday life. The future life is a pattern for life in the present, and the present life anticipates and makes present that future life. The promise of a future life, according to which we find hope in an ultimate end in which creation is restored and relationships made right, can be of great comfort in situations of deep suffering, trauma, depression, and loss, as many young adults and their families have known in the context of post-war Croatia. Christian hope is grounded in the fundamental principle that “life is changed, not taken away.”

Concerning the here and now, Ignatius shows us that we can encounter God in the mundane experiences of daily life—God is everywhere and in all things. This knowledge can help us to learn how to seek and find God in all things, and how all things make God present to us experientially, personally, and concretely (*sabor* and *gustar*). This approach can be especially meaningful in religious education for Croatian young adults, who have been accustomed to an overly-intellectualized, dry, and juridical presentation of Christian life and doctrine, but are hungry for personal, concrete experience that makes their faith relevant to everyday life. For Śāntideva, the body and daily life are the loci and starting point of the path to nirvāṇa and the full realization of bodhi; in brief, conventional reality is the vehicle for ultimate reality.

Further, both Ignatius and Śāntideva show us that the telos is inherently relational. For Ignatius, love is key: we see ourselves and others through the lens of God's unconditional love and care for all creation. We are moved by God in love to do as God does, to love and serve all creatures. Śāntideva reminds us that our own individual liberation involves the liberation of all creatures. We are all responsible for one another:

May I be a guard for those who are protectorless,  
A guide for those who journey on the road.  
For those who wish to cross the water,  
May I be a boat, a raft, a bridge.<sup>19</sup>

The vow of the bodhisattva binds the seeker of enlightenment to work for the liberation of all beings, in compassion leading them to nirvāṇa prior to one's own individual liberation. In this vow, Śāntideva makes explicit the cosmic dimensions of liberation/salvation, an element often neglected in Christian tradition. He reminds us that all creatures are included in the web of interdependence.

---

19. *BCA* 3, 18.

One reaches the goal through the cultivation of virtue/perfection. For this, both teachers propose sustained and rigorous training whose ultimate objective is right thinking, right speaking, and right acting. Throughout this study, I have defined virtues/perfections as stable and enduring dispositions or psychological states created and reinforced by intentional and habitual actions. The path begins with desire, moves to decision, and results in a concrete practice.

This practice consists of removing the obstacles to the desired end and cultivating positive and life-promoting dispositions. Put differently, it entails countering the destructive force of vice with the healing and life-giving properties of virtue/perfection. In their respective terminologies, Śāntideva and Ignatius speak of the tyranny of disordered attachments and their negative consequences, here and in the future. Inordinate attachments (in today's language, addictions) are destructive of life, freedom, and joy, and above all, of relationships, something very important for young adults. For both teachers, such attachments negatively influence one's capacity to discern wisely and make sound decisions, which in turn determines one's life and destiny.

Concerning the means to achieve greater detachment and freedom, they use similar strategies to distance the practitioner from the inordinate cravings of the body or to tame the unruly mind. For Ignatius, the Spiritual Exercises are designed to prepare the soul to "rid itself of all disordered affections" to align with God's will, and thus to obtain salvation.<sup>20</sup> In becoming "indifferent" to all created reality, we are freed to desire and

---

20. *SpEx* 1.

choose “only what is most conducive for us to the end for which we are created.”<sup>21</sup>

Speaking of “afflictive passion,” which he calls his greatest enemy, Śāntideva declares,

And if the jail guards of the prisons of samsara,  
The butchers and tormentors of infernal realms,  
All lurk within me in the web of craving,  
What joy can ever be my destiny?<sup>22</sup>

Because the enemies “dwell within [the] mind,” one must use mindfulness as a “rope” in order to guard and tame the mind and to act prudently in every situation. Then, “our fears will come to nothing and every virtue drop into our hands.”<sup>23</sup> For both teachers, it is crucial to act rather than to merely speculate about, wish for, or imagine the desired end. At the same time, it is important to be aware that progress on the path to enlightenment is incremental and life-long. If the virtuous life is not constantly nurtured, it will atrophy. The exemplar, guide, or mentor inspires the practitioner on the journey toward the desired end. The role of the teacher is critical in the cultivation of virtue and the formation of a new identity.

Regarding the skills necessary to reach the goal, two are critical—mindfulness and discernment. Mindfulness involves attentiveness to inner movements, emotions, desires, fears, memories, inclinations, and thoughts, as well as everything happening externally. For Śāntideva, mindfulness is of a piece with what he refers to as “vigilant introspection”:

Those who wish to keep the trainings  
Must with perfect self-possession guard their minds.  
Without this guard upon the mind,

---

21. *SpEx*, Principle and Foundation.

22. *BCA* 4, 35.

23. *BCA* 5, 3.

The trainings cannot be preserved.<sup>24</sup>

The first exercise Ignatius teaches is the examination of consciousness (or conscience), both particular and general. In this exercise, the exercitant observes his/her thoughts, words and actions during the day, and their effects on the soul. This practice extends over a period of weeks and gradually becomes a habit whereby one learns to monitor all the nuances of the inner movements and their effects. In these reflections, one is always searching for God's presence and activity, and attempts to remain with and nurture the effects of this encounter with God.

Mindfulness and self-awareness are crucial skills for young adults today given that they live much of their lives in virtual reality and passive consumption of super-charged visual and emotional content. They are therefore conditioned to short attention spans, non-critical thinking patterns, and a lack of meaningful relational engagements and commitments.

Discernment is closely related to mindfulness in that it involves the recognition of what brings one life, freedom, and joy, and nurtures right relationship; or conversely, what weakens or destroys these states. Ignatius gives specific rules for the discernment of spirits—"for perceiving and knowing in some manner the different movements which are caused in the soul, the good to receive them and the bad to reject them."<sup>25</sup> Śāntideva speaks of attunement to destructive emotions, inclinations, and desires, cautioning one to "examine thus [oneself] from every side" in order to discern prudently the best course of

---

24. *BCA* 5, 1.

25. *SpEx* 313.



action, for oneself and others.<sup>26</sup> In the next section, I will consider how these principles may be interpreted and contextualized for the young adults in the 3D formation program, who are actively seeking critical and experiential engagement with their faith.

## **Part Two: Guidelines for the SKAC 3D formation Program**

### *Neuroplasticity and the Cultivation of Virtue*

This section will interpret the insights into the virtuous life gleaned from Ignatius and Śāntideva through the lens of contemporary scientific anthropology and contextualize these insights in the form of concrete guidance for the updating of the existing 3D formation program for Catholic young adults in Croatia.

The theory of neuroplasticity is an appealing anthropological model for interpreting biologically the cultivation of virtue. For the last four hundred years, the mainstream view was that the brain could not change, that it is like a machine with parts, each performing a single mental function, in a single location in the brain. These scientists believed that the circuits in the brain are hardwired and unchangeable. If that location was damaged, it could not be fixed because machines cannot repair themselves or grow new parts. The neuroplasticists, however, demonstrated empirically that the brain and neural structures change under the influence of mental activity. The first generation of scientists demonstrated the change, and the second generation continues to develop new ways of using these insights for healing.<sup>27</sup>

---

26. *BCA* 5: 47, 52, 54.

27. The pioneer of the application of neuroplasticity in healing is Paul Bach-y-Rita. See Paul Bach-y-Rita, *Recovery of Function: Theoretical Consideration for Brain Injury Rehabilitation* (Toronto: Huber, 1988); *Mecanismos Cerebrales de la Sustitución Sensorial* (México City: Trillas, 1979). For the development of the idea of plasticity and its history of discovery, see Norman Doidge, *The Brain that*

Neuroplasticity is a cutting-edge theory with immense potential to contribute to a holistic understanding of human life with regard to the quality of life, as well as to the processes of healing and learning. Neuroplasticity balances and integrates the physical and mental components of the human being.<sup>28</sup> Neuroplasticity is an intellectually humble theory because it openly acknowledges its limitations, is not materially reductionistic, and is open to new ways of conceptualizing the human being and to modalities of healing and transformation.

Neuroplasticity is the property of the brain that enables it to change its own structure and functioning in response to activity and mental experience.<sup>29</sup> The brain cells constantly communicate electrically with another, and form and reform new connections. This activity is the source of the capacity for healing and change. Studies have shown that “every sustained activity ever mapped—including physical activities, sensory activities, learning, thinking, and imagining—changes the brain as well as the mind.”<sup>30</sup> This includes culture, and suggests that genetics and brain function produce culture, and that culture shapes the brain.

Change is construed as gradual redirection of the neural electric signals to alternative neural routes, which incrementally become new primary, stable, neural

---

*Changes Itself* (New York: Penguin Group, 2018), 313-317; for an overview of major studies of neuroplasticity see Doidge, *The Brain*, 324-408.

28. Neuroplasticity understands the brain, body, and mind as a holistic unity with a constant communication among them. In this view, the human being is more than sum of its parts.

29. The term neuroplasticity is formed from the prefix *neuro* (referring to the cells in our brain and nervous system), and the adjective *plastic* (meaning changeable, or modifiable); Doidge, *The Brain*, xix; Doidge, *The Brain's Way of Healing* (New York: A. James H. Silberman Book, 2017).

30. Doidge, *The Brain*, 288.

patterns.<sup>31</sup> The change is initiated by deliberate repetition of the mental and physical exercises which stimulate specific areas in the brain. The crucial elements in this process are the experienced physician who understands the dynamics of neuroplasticity, the mental and physical exercises, and the patient who is willing to commit to the exercises in order to effect incremental change. The acquired changes must be sustained and constantly reinforced. In everyday language, the principle is “use it or lose it.” It is important what the individual thinks and does.

The theory of neuroplasticity offers intriguing new ways of understanding the nature of virtues and their cultivation. From this perspective, the concept of virtue may be described as a combination of specific skills which develop stable neural patterns.<sup>32</sup> The metaphor of skill development is a philosophical concept signifying a natural capacity which must be developed through learning and constantly improved through deliberate practice. The effect of skill development is a stable neural pattern which in turn influences our choices and actions.

The cultivation of virtues can be expressed as purposeful and deliberate practice, a concept borrowed from the psychology of expertise, and as the system of exercises used in an incremental program designed for the desired change based on the concept of neuroplasticity.<sup>33</sup> The use of deliberate, repetitive mental and physical exercises

---

31. The terminology used to describe the change includes the terms rewiring, rebuilding, re-patterning, or redesigning. Different methods are used, including unlearning, exercising, neuroplasticity healing, rewiring with light, mental awareness of the movement, neuromodulation, or the use of sound. They are combined according to individual needs.

32. Julia Annas, *Intelligent Virtue* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); *Developing the Virtues: Integrating Perspectives* ed. Julia Annas, Darcia Narvaez, and Nancy E. Snow (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016).

33. Anders K. Ericsson, *The Cambridge Handbook of Expertise and Expert Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); *The Road To Excellence: The Acquisition of Expert*

combined with the influence of social context and culture aptly explain the cultivation of virtues.

The theory of neuroplasticity in the cultivation of virtue coincides with the anthropologies of both Ignatius and Šántideva with regard to the development of a concrete practice which shapes our way of thinking, speaking, and acting and leads to a flourishing life, in the present and in the future. Both presume the capacity for change, and both take for granted that a human being is inherently capable of and in need of transformation—from a self-centered life based in disordered attachments to a telos-and others-centered life.

Šántideva and Ignatius agree that our thoughts, actions and experiences directly influence our functionality, freedom, and individual identity. They also agree that each individual must intentionally and constantly cultivate the capacity to develop new skills in order to live fully in daily life. This is important for young adults, who are searching for answers to life’s basic existential questions: What does it mean to be human? What is the nature of our relationship to the rest of the natural world? What is the good life and how do we achieve it? Am I on a “path”; is there a “plan”? Does life have any ultimate meaning and purpose or do we face a purely random and indifferent universe? How do we understand the relationship between God and the human? The hunger and thirst of young Croatian adults for experiential encounter with God and a meaningful spiritual practice in daily life moved Croatian Jesuits and their lay collaborators to develop the systematic and holistic program of formation for young adults known as the 3D program.

---

*Performance in the Arts and Sciences, Sports, and Games* (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2014); Anders K. Ericsson, and Robert Pool, *Peak: Secrets from the New Science of Expertise* (Boston: Mariner Books/Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2017).

### *The 3D Formation Program*

The 3D formation program is a three-year-long systematic formation program for young adults organized by the University Students Catholic Academic Center (SKAC), which belongs to the Jesuit university chaplaincy at Zagreb University.<sup>34</sup> The name “3D” is an abbreviation of the Croatian words, *Duh*, *Duša*, and *Društvo*, meaning “Spirit, Soul and Society.”

The program was established around 2011.<sup>35</sup> At that time, SKAC’s main project was the summer camp, Modrave, which was the most prominent project for Catholic young adults in Croatia then, and probably still today. The newly-appointed university chaplain, Fr. Ivan Mandurić, SJ, sought to expand the activity of the camp, and to provide a formation program which would consist of more than traditional catechesis and lectures. He and his team members had followed their intuition in establishing, in the best way they could, a program which offered interaction, socialization, deepening of the prayer life, challenging experiences, practical skills, identity formation, and a holistic development of the person. The 3D formation program spread into Osijek, Spit, and Dubrovnik as the SKAC opened its affiliation centers in these university cities.

The program corresponds to the three years of undergraduate university study. The first year focuses on learning about the self through the exploration of the virtues. The second is devoted to making the spiritual exercises of St. Ignatius in daily life. The third

---

34. See SKAC web accessed March 10, 2018, <http://skac.hr/>.

35. I started my dissertation without knowing that the first year of the 3D program focuses on the virtues. I have learned the history of the program, and its actual situation from Marija Selak, Tereza Klaić, Tomislav Rukavina, SJ, and Ike Mandurić, SJ. Suggestions described are either being currently applied or will be in the future.

is preparation for service and concrete social projects to which the students will return after finishing the program and their studies.

The present leader of the program is Marija Selak. Marija and a team of ten animators coordinate the first year. A second group of ten animators facilitates the second year. These dedicated formators work hard and constantly seek ways to improve the program. Given their circumstances and limited resources, as well as the knowledge they have gained, they are doing an excellent job. I met Marija in Berkeley in 2017, during a summer spiritual direction practicum at the Jesuit School of Theology, where we discussed how to use my research to improve the program, specifically the first year, which focuses on the virtues. Since then we have been in regular discussions about ways to improve the program. Some suggestions, which follow, are presently implemented, and others, which are more demanding, will be discussed. Together we must search for ways to implement the changes for the benefit of our participants.

The first year of the program in the present form is in the fifth year of existence. Currently, it has about 150 selected young adults beginning the first year, and around 100 completing the first year. They participate in a process of selection, regular weekly meetings, a program of the traditional seven virtues (and corresponding vices) from the scholastic tradition, and are guided by animators who constantly seek to improve their weekly lessons. These suggestions are the fruit of our conversations, their experimentation, and my doctoral studies. The suggestions are divided into two groups: those immediately applicable, which are more practical in nature; and others which involve long-term, relevant changes of a more conceptual nature.

The improvements of the first group do not require financial or special educational resources. The improvements of the second group demand learning about the curriculum development, and will take time for the entire leadership team of the program to discern in terms of goals, yearly syllabus, weekly sessions, selection of the participants and animators, and the ongoing education of the leadership.

The instantly applicable changes focus on the improvement of the weekly lessons. Considering the mode of facilitation, my suggestions are the “chunking” of lesson materials typically lasting 45 minutes into periods following the “10+2” schema (ten minutes for lecture, two for questions). Further, they can easily implement various methods for the evaluation of learning experiences such as CIQ (critical-questioner inquiry), and [todaysmeet.com](https://todaysmeet.com).<sup>36</sup> Use of these tools will contribute to the development of the two basic skills of cultivation: awareness and discernment. I have also proposed the use of the “+1” principle, which consists of presenting another mode of media alongside the oral presentation, as well as discussion and development of educational games focused on the virtues and their cultivation.

Considering the content, a significant upgrade will focus on the development of such practical skills as tie knotting, urgent medicine (CPR), and various experiments designed to expose participants to new situations and challenge them to spend time working with the poor, sick, and homeless. The important task is to find role models (exemplars) which inspire the young adults. This group of exemplars must consist of all

---

36. “TodaysMeet” is a teachers’ tool and backchannel chat platform for the classroom. The backchannel is the conversation that goes on alongside the primary activity, presentation, or discussion. See accessed March 20, 2018, <https://todaysmeet.com/>.

sorts of persons, both male and female, religious and lay, young and old, traditional and contemporary.

The long-term improvements deal with the selection of the candidates for the program, the education of the animators, and the development of the curricula and syllabi. Considering the interest of the young adults in formational programs, the situation in Croatia is paradoxical. There are so many young adults seeking to participate that we cannot accept all of them in the existing programs. I see two possibilities to address this problem. The first is to open another program based on the Jesuit program *Magis*. The second focuses on the profile of participants we would like to have in the 3D program. This is the task we must rethink together. The education of the leadership has to follow the same process of rethinking.

These are important tasks, but they are not as crucial as the development of the curriculum and syllabus for the whole 3D formation program for each year. Considering the curriculum development, we must start with the big picture, reflecting on our pedagogical approach, according to which we must understand the process of curriculum development, and explicit and implicit syllabus. We must be intentional about our pedagogical approach. In the Jesuit context, an Ignatian pedagogical approach is a natural choice.<sup>37</sup> This approach consists of five elements: context, experience, reflection, action, and evaluation.<sup>38</sup> The element of context explores what needs to be known about learners

---

37. Ignatian pedagogy mimics the process of guiding the other in the Spiritual Exercises in the classroom, where teachers accompany students in their intellectual, spiritual and emotional development. See José Mesa, *Ignatian Pedagogy: Classic and Contemporary Texts on Jesuit Education from St. Ignatius to Today* (Chicago: Loyola Press, 2017).

38. I am using the guidelines summarized for the needs of the program developed for Loyola University in Chicago. This program, entitled *The Elements of Ignatian Pedagogical Paradigm* was developed by Sharon J. Korth. See “Precis of Ignatian Pedagogy: A Practical Approach” in G. W. Traub, ed, *A Jesuit Education Reader* (Chicago: Loyola Press, 2008), 280-285; accessed March 14, 2018,



(their environment, background, community, and potential) to teach them well. The context is the application of the *cura personalis* principle to the pedagogy. The element of experience focuses on the best way to engage learners as whole persons in the teaching and learning process. The facilitator must create conditions for learning and assimilation of knowledge. Reflection asks how learners may become more reflective, so they more deeply understand what they have learned. Teachers help students to learn the skills and techniques of reflection. The element of action develops the question of how best to compel learners to move beyond knowledge to action. The last element is evaluation. It considers how we assess learners' growth in mind, heart, and spirit. These elements are circular. The philosophy of education should be updated with the best insights of cognitive science about teaching and learning considering development of curriculum.

Thinking about curriculum, I would like to focus on two points regarding explicit and implicit syllabus. In the development of curriculum, we must consider how we will organize material to cover all Bloom's categories of knowledge, and respect the Universal Design of Learning (UDL).<sup>39</sup> How will we use technology in the program to speak relevantly to young adults? The explicit curriculum for the first year must have clear learning outcomes, effective pedagogical strategies, and a weekly lesson plan.

---

<https://www.loyola.edu/~media/department/ignatian-pedagogy/documents/~elements-of-ignatian-paradigm.ashx?la=en>.

39. For pedagogical tools, see *A Taxonomy for Learning, Teaching, and Assessing: A Revision of Bloom's Taxonomy of Educational Objectives, Abridged Edition*, eds. Lorin W. Anderson, David R. Krathwohl, Peter W. Airasian, Kathleen A. Cruikshank, Richard E. Mayer, Paul R. Pintrich, James Rath, and Merlin C. Wittrock (New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 2001); Jose Antonio Bowen, *Teaching Naked: How Moving Technology Out of Your College Classroom will Improve Student Learning* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2012); Stephen D. Brookfield, *The Skillful Teacher: On Technique, Trust, and Responsiveness in the Classrooms*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2015); Rena M. Palloff and Keith Pratt, *Lessons from the Virtual Classrooms: The Realities of Online Teaching* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2013); Robin M. Smith, *Conquering the Content: A Blueprint for Online Course Design and Development* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2007).

Our explicit syllabus will need to find a way to develop a strong foundation for the program, clearly presenting the basic elements of the virtues (the telos, the exemplar, the virtues and their cultivation), and to integrate the development of the practical skills and exposure to challenging experiments revolving around the works of mercy. The curriculum must accommodate resident and online classes for all those who are not able to be present in the university chaplaincy.

The implicit syllabus is more demanding. It involves everything that is not written but which influences the learning process. This includes the way we communicate with the students, design the material for learning, and deliver the content. It also involves the colors on the wall, the arrangement of the furniture in the room, the art, the food served, the means we use to elicit their feedback, and the constant striving for improvement. Above all, it is about the love, respect, unconditional acceptance, and affirmation the students receive; in brief, knowing that someone cares for and values them. The implicit syllabus will speak to many of the questions the young adults pose to the Church and the culture, and satisfy their hunger for radical love and authenticity from the Church. In the words of Fr. Ike Mandurić, this is the Church “to whom they can give their heart.”

### Summary

How can Ignatius’s and Šantideva’s insights enrich and improve the existing first-year program on the virtues? They contribute in three important ways. The first is the structuring of the curriculum around the basic elements of the virtues and at least three Christian virtue traditions. The basic elements of virtue are the understanding of the goal/telos, the exemplar, the schema of virtues and vices, and finally the strategies of cultivation.

In the teaching about the telos and the exemplar, I will suggest the use of scripture or passages from *BCA*. I see two ways to do this, either during the lecture or during the group work. The class can simply follow the shortest Gospel from the beginning to its end, or intentionally engage different Gospels, focusing on the pericopes about the goal or the exemplar. I suggest the Bible to familiarize students with scripture, and to expose them to praying with the text. This will prepare them for the engagement with scripture in the second year, when they make the Spiritual Exercises. The *BCA* integrates the practice of the perfections and everyday life in the cultivation of character, and instills moral truths through lyrical and colorful language.

I propose familiarizing them with the virtue traditions. The easiest way is to add the biblical and the monastic virtue traditions in Evagrius's (eight thoughts) or Gregory's (seven deadly sins) versions, and engage these with Śāntideva's perfections for comparison and contrast. At the time of the session on virtue, I will suggest exploring the binaries of virtues and vices. For each session we have to prepare the participants, offering concrete causes for analysis and vivid examples from daily life. Past experience has shown they find more interesting vices/virtues such as gluttony and mortification (with all their contemporary applications). The lecture should be divided in chunks, following the "10+2" principle. The first chunk should be devoted to the virtue, and the second to the vice. In delivery of the content, we should follow the "+1" principle. This means preparing the audio, video and kinesthetic elements relating to the topic. Considering virtue, the main point is to recognize how the virtues participate in the development of right relationship, character, freedom, and identity, and how vices destroy these states.

The second point considers the development of the basic skills necessary for the cultivation of virtue. These are awareness and discernment. We should explicitly introduce Ignatian discernment and Śāntideva's teaching about awareness and mindfulness early in the program in order to nurture conceptual knowledge and practical skills to implement in daily life. Comparing and contrasting these methods will help the students to better understand Christian tradition, while exposing them to the wisdom, truth, and beauty of another great tradition. It will be useful to present the material from the perspective of neuroplasticity or cognitive behavioral therapy, which uses mindfulness as a primary tool.

The third point focuses on the need for the actual cultivation of virtues. Ignatius and Śāntideva insist on exercises and daily application of the teaching in all activities of daily life. So how do we do this? Ignatius suggests the experiments and the works of mercy, prayer, daily examen, contemplation, and moderation in food and drink. Śāntideva suggests the guarding of the mind, and concrete acts of compassion and charity on the path toward enlightenment. The development of the practical skills can be implemented into the weekly meetings, the experiments can be organized during weekends, and the guarding of the mind can be applied in daily life. Taken together, these insights can help those engaged in the 3D formation program to develop a practical and compelling curriculum for young adults that makes explicit the connection between Catholic tradition and daily life.

## General Conclusion

The general problem facing Croatian Catholics today is the clash of Catholic pre-modernity with modern and post-modern ideas and institutions. In this encounter, pre-modern Catholic religious forms no longer satisfy the needs and expectations of young adults in a post-Communist and post-war society increasingly marked by cultural and religious pluralism. Unmet needs and expectations of contemporary people in such a context lead to inconsistencies of religiosity in two main areas: the gap between Catholic identity and the habits and behaviors of everyday life, and the emergence of a certain kind of religious eclectic often shaped by Asian spiritual practices.

The indicators of these trends are Croatian young adults. Their religiosity, as Antonio Dragun suggests, is “marked by a mixture of (late) modernity and tradition.”<sup>1</sup> He argues that the influence of tradition remains dominant in the field of self-identification (confessional, national, and religious), while the dominance of modernity is apparent in their use of free time, value systems, and non-acceptance of core Church teaching.

At the same time, though they feel no compulsion to accept core doctrines, young Catholics desire critical engagement with their faith and the freedom to explore new initiatives. Furthermore, they desire small communities characterized by openness and authenticity, engagement with other subjects outside the Christian community, and most important, guidance in personal encounters with God. Therefore, the central concern of this study has been how best to help young Croatian Catholics to bridge the gap among Christian identity, practice, and doctrine in everyday life. How do we develop simple,

---

1. Antonio Dragun, “Religiosity of Secondary School Leavers in Zadar,” *Sociology and Space* 49, no.1 (April 2011): 105.

clear, practical, and theologically-sound instruction in the Christian way of life that responds to their needs and concerns?

Religious leaders recognize the need for change in religiosity among young adults, but not how to effectively approach it. My research has built on various sociological studies in compiling a profile of the Croatian Catholic young adult population, focusing on their spiritual needs with regard to a practice of everyday life that bridges the gap between late modern and traditional religious forms, and responds to their hunger for experiential encounter with God. I have sought to demonstrate that a fruitful synthesis between Ignatius and Śāntideva with regard to the cultivation of virtues/pāramitās may contribute to a form of Catholic spirituality that is intellectually and behaviorally challenging, relevant, and compelling for today's young adults.

The first chapter explored the geographical and historical context of Croatia, a small but complex country located at the intersection of three different European cultures and civilizations: Western European/Mediterranean, Central European, and Southeastern European. The chapter demonstrated that the boundaries between these cultures are not sharp and clear, but blurred and overlapping. In the words of geographer Harm de Blij, Croatia may be described as a “classic example of a geographic shatter belt.”

The second chapter presented the historical development of Croatian national and religious identity, showing that rapid historical changes have caused inner conflict on the political, sociological, ideological, and religious levels. In this regard, Croatian national and religious identities are intertwined, collectivistic, diverse, multilayered, and fluid. Contemporary Croatia is one large mosaic of many identities and contested narratives, a

reality that must be factored in when considering the challenges of religious identity formation in Croatian young adults.

The third chapter presented a sociological profile of Croatian young adults, and observed that they are negotiating the difficult transition from youth to full adulthood within a society undergoing a post-Communist transformation. Within this turmoil, these young adults have been left to search on their own for identity, maturity, and integrity. In the search for direction in the process of achieving full adulthood in the cultural and religious shatterbelt that is Croatia, young adults find it useful to explore Asian spiritual practices, notably Buddhist practices, as they are simple, concrete, and practical, and in many ways compatible with Catholic spiritual practices in daily life.

The fourth chapter provided an historical overview of the connections, relationships, and mutual understandings between Jesuits and Buddhists, in general, and specifically in Croatia. It sought to demonstrate that the contacts between Jesuits and Buddhists are surprisingly old and multi-dimensional with regard to Croatia, and that Buddhist ideas, practices, and institutions are deeply imbedded in Croatian society. For reasons of a contextualized approach to spirituality, therefore, the Jesuit and Buddhist encounter can form the underpinnings of a rich and fruitful spiritual practice of everyday life for Croatian young adults in search of identity and meaning.

The fifth chapter investigated the roots of Christian virtue, from their ancient Greco-Roman antecedents through the biblical, patristic and medieval periods, and analyzed the way in which Ignatius inherited and transformed this rich tradition of Christian virtues. The chapter concluded that although Ignatius is in continuity with the Christian virtue traditions, his distinctiveness lies in the assimilation of the various virtue

traditions. For Ignatius, the cultivation of virtue is integrated within the practice of the spiritual exercises and the ordinary activities of daily life. The Spiritual Exercises follow a standard schema of instruction, imitation, and habituation. At its core, cultivation is deliberate, repetitive action that leads from a self-centered to a God-centered life. It is important to stress that Ignatius does not intend the cultivation of virtue for the sake of virtue per se, but for the sake of moving out of oneself in preparation for mission.

The sixth chapter explored Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, and the ways in which it presents the process of transformation in the cultivation of virtue in daily living. The Bodhisattva path consists of removing obstacles to the attainment of *Bodhi*, and the cultivation of positive states of mind. The bodhisattva life is based on the insight into emptiness. When one reaches this insight and recognizes the true nature of reality, one feels compassion for those caught up in the cycle of endless suffering and ignorance, and seeks their liberation. Education of the mind, which entails the practice of the six perfections, brings about a change of intention, and consequently, a change of behavior and a new identity. The chapter demonstrated that the concreteness of Śāntideva's insights and pedagogical tools can contribute to the development of a compelling and practical instruction in the Christian way of life.

The final chapter compared and synthesized Ignatius and Śāntideva with regard to the cultivation of virtues/pāramitās, and explored the insights gained through modern categories of neuroplasticity and "deliberate practice" within the psychology of expertise. From these findings, the chapter developed guidelines for enhancement of the existing 3D formational program in view of the spiritual needs of contemporary Croatian young adults.



The theory of neuroplasticity in the cultivation of virtue coincides well with the anthropologies of both Ignatius and Śāntideva with regard to the development of a concrete practice which shapes our way of thinking, speaking, and acting, and leads to a life of flourishing, in the present and in the future. Both presume the capacity for human transformation—from a self-centered life based in disordered attachments to a telos-and others-centered life. In this regard, the cultivation of virtue/perfection is inherently relational.

With regard to the 3D formational program, I have demonstrated the potential of the cultivation of virtues/pāramitās to enrich the curriculum on various levels of pedagogy and the intrinsic connection between doctrine and daily life. I have proposed a way of proceeding that is structured around the goal/telos, the attainment of the goal, and the necessary skills to reach the goal.

Ultimately, the central insight gained from this exploration is that formation of character and a life of flourishing must be intentionally cultivated. This cultivation is grounded in choices and deliberate actions, and is holistic in that it involves all the activities and dimensions of the human person. Most importantly, it is always, and inherently communal in that we do not realize the telos in isolation from others. Rather, on the path of salvation/enlightenment, we are called to responsibility for one another in the web of interdependence and right relationship.

It is my hope that this study will assist the leadership of the 3D formation program to improve explicit curriculum and offer clearer content and new ideas for the ways the content can be delivered. Explicit curriculum is important, but the implicit curriculum is crucial. Implicit curriculum involves the way we organize the space, the

program, and our behavior by embodying what we teach. We are the message. Our goal is to raise young adults' awareness of the potential for encounter with God in all the experiences of daily life, and to train them to recognize how all things make God present to us experientially, personally, and concretely (*sabor* and *gustar*).<sup>2</sup> After that they are ready to go wherever God leads them.

---

2. In Spanish, this phrase translates as “to savor and to taste.”

## Bibliography

- Akrap, Gordan. *Kardinal Stepinac u dokumentima Gestapa i Ozne* [Cardinal Stepinac in the Documents of the Gestapo and the Ozna]. Zagreb: Udruga sv. Jurja; Glas Koncila; Laser plus, 2016.
- Alexander, Ronelle. "Language and Identity: The Fate of Serbo-Croatian." In *Entangled Histories of the Balkans Volume One: National Ideologies and Language Policies*, ed. Roumen Daskalov and Tchavdar Marinov, 341-417. Boston: Brill, 2013.
- Alexander, Stella. *Church and State in Yugoslavia since 1945*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
- Alfirević, Antun. "Teozofija" [Theosophy]. *Obnovljeni život [Renewed Life]: Journal of Philosophy and Religious Sciences* 1, no. 1 (July 1927).
- . "Misterij ćutilnog zamjećivanja" [The Mystery of the Sensible Perception] *Teozofija* 1, no. 1 (July 1927): 21-28.
- . "Jugoslavensko teozofsko društvo" [Yugoslav Theosophical Society]. *Obnovljeni život [Renewed life]: Journal of Philosophy and Religious Sciences* 15, no. 6 (1934): 248-256.
- Alimov, Denis Eugenievich. "Xorvatskaja identičnost' v rannee Sredneveko'e: problmea interpretaciji [The Croat Identity in the Early Middle Ages: The Problem of Interpretation]." *Studia Slavica et Balcanica Petropolitana* no. 4, 2 (2013): 99-109.
- Allison, Dale C. ed. *Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016.
- Ama, Samy. *Zen Meditation for Life and Death, Christians and Therapists*. Bangalore, India: IJA Publications, 2006.
- . "Zen and Christians." *The Way* 46, no. 2 (2007): 89-102.
- . *Zen: The Great Way Has No Gates*. Dindigul: Vaigarai Publishing House, 2012.
- Annas, Julia. *Intelligent Virtue*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

- Annas, Julia, Darcia Narvaez, and Nancy E. Snow, eds. *Developing the Virtues: Integrating Perspectives*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1991.
- Anderson, Lorin W., David R. Krathwohl, Peter W. Airasian, Kathelen A. Cruikshank, Richard E. Mayer, Paul R. Pintrich, James Rath, and Merlin C. Wittrock, eds. *A Taxonomy for Learning, Teaching, and Assessing: A Revision of Bloom's Taxonomy of Educational Objectives, Abridged Edition*. New York: Addison Wesley Longman, 2001.
- App, Urs. "St. Francis Xavier's Discovery of Japanese Buddhism: A Chapter in the European Discovery of Buddhism (Part 1: Before the Arrival in Japan, 1547-1549)." *The Eastern Buddhist* XXX, no. 1 (1997): 53-78.
- . "Francis Xavier's Discovery of Japanese Buddhism: A Chapter in the European Discovery of Buddhism (Part 2: From Kagoshima to Yamaguchi, 1549-1551)." *The Eastern Buddhist* XXX, no. 2 (1997): 214-244.
- . "Francis Xavier's Discovery of Japanese Buddhism: A Chapter in the European Discovery of Buddhism (Part 3: From Yamaguchi to India, 1551-1552)." *The Eastern Buddhist* XXXI, no. 1 (1998): 40-71.
- . *The Cult of Emptiness: The Western Discovery of Buddhist Thought and the Invention of Oriental Philosophy*. Wil, Switzerland: University Media, 2014.
- Arbanas, Dubravko. "Bitne odrednice zen-budizma" [The Seminal Determinants of Zen Buddhism]. *Obnovljeni život: Journal of Philosophy and Religious Sciences* 66, no.1 (March 2011): 119-131.
- Arokiasamy, Arul M. *Zen Praxis und Dialog*. Heidelberg-Leimen: Kristkeitz, 2007.
- Arzubialde, Santiago. "Casiano e Ignacio, Continuidad y ruptura, Una original aportación de Ignacio a la historia de la Tradición espiritual." In *Las Fuentes de los Ejercicios Espirituales de San Ignaci, Simposio Internacional, Loyola 15-19 Sept. 1999*, ed. Juan Plazaola. Bilbao: Mensajero, 1998, 123-187.
- . "Discretion." In *Diccionario de Espiritualidad Ignaijana*, ed. Grupo de Espiritualidad Ignaijana (GEI). Bilbao: Ediciones Mensajero, Sal Terrae, 2007, 623-636.
- . *Ejercicios Espirituales de S. Ignacio: Historia y Análisis*. Bilbao: Ediciones Mensajero and Sal Terrae, 2<sup>nd</sup> edición, 2009.

- Aschenbrenner, George. "Becoming Whom We Contemplate." *The Way Supplement* no. 52 (1985): 30-42.
- Azzopardi, Cecil, *The Spiritual Exercises*, retreat notes. Rome, 2017.
- Bach-y-Rita, Paul. *Recovery of Function: Theoretical Consideration for Brain Injury Rehabilitation*. Toronto: Huber, 1988.
- . *Mecanismos Cerebrales de la Sustitución Sensorial*. México City: Trillas, 1979.
- Baloban, Josip, Krunoslav Nikodem, and Siniša Zrinščak. *Vrednote u Hrvatskoj i u Europi: komparativna analiza* [Values in Croatia and Europe: Comparative Analysis]. Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, Katolički Bogoslovni fakultet u Zagrebu, 2014.
- Baloban, Stjepan. "Vjernici laici: neiskorišten društveni i crkveni potencijal u Hrvatskoj [The Laity: Untapped Social and Church Potential in Croatia]." *Ephemerides theologicae Zagradienses* 82, no. 4 (2013): 1015-1035.
- Banac, Ivo. *Hrvati i Crkva: kratka povijest hrvatskog katoličanstva u modernosti* [The Croats and the Church: A Brief History of Croatian Catholicism in Modernity]. Zagreb, Sarajevo: Profil knjiga, Svjetlo riječi, 2013.
- Barnes, Michael H. "Religious Experience in Buddhism." *The Way* 18, no. 1 (1978): 59-68.
- . "Devotion in Theravada Buddhism." *The Way* 20, no. 4 (1980): 300-310.
- . "The Spiritual Exercises: A Zen Perspective." *The Way Supplement* 55 (1986): 88-89.
- . "Masters and Mastery in Zen." *The Way* 26, no. 3 (1986): 243-252.
- . "The Buddhist-Christian Dialogue." *The Way* 30, no. 1 (1990): 55-64.
- Bartulin, Nevenko. *The Racial Idea in the Independent State of Croatia: Origins and Theory, Central and Eastern Europe* vol. 4. Leiden, Brill, 2014.
- Bauckham, Richard. *James: New Testament Readings*. London: Routledge, 1999.
- BBC. "The Shape of Yugoslavia." BBC Education. Accessed September 20, 2016. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/map/yugoslavia/>.
- Bellamy, Alex J. *The Formation of Croatian National Identity: A Centuries-Old Dream?* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013.

- Belloni, Ferdinando F. *La dottrina di Gotama Buddha*. Lanciano (CH): Carabba, 1928.
- Benedict's Rule: Translation and Commentary*, trans. Terrence Kardon. Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1981.
- Berling, Judith A. *Understanding Other Religious Worlds: A Guide for Interreligious Education*. Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2004.
- Bernard of Clairvaux. *On the Steps of Humility and Pride* [Liber de gradibus humilitatis et superbiae]. Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1989.
- Bitno. "Biskup Ratko Perić objavio novo priopćenje o Medjugorju" [Bishop Ratko Perić announced a new release about Medjugorje]. Last modified February 27, 2017. Accessed July 10, 2017. <https://www.bitno.net/vijesti/hrvatska/biskup-ratko-peric-medugorje/>.
- Bitno. "Pater Ivan Mandurić: 'Mladi danas nemaju više kome dati svoje Srce – nemaju nikoga tko je toga vrijedan'" [Pater Ivan Mandurić: Young adults today no longer have anyone to whom they can give their heart—there is no one worthy of it.]. Last modified April 14, 2011. Accessed August 11, 2017. <https://www.bitno.net/obitelj/mladi-veze-samci/paterivan-manduric-mladi-danas-nemaju-vise-kome-dati-svoje-srce-nemaju-nikoga-tko-jetoga-vrijedan/>.
- Biskupije Mostar-Duvno i Trebinje-Mrkan. "Imenovanje Posebna izaslanika Svete Stolice za Međugorje" [Appointment of the Special Envoy of the Holy See for Medjugorje]. Last modified February 2, 2017. Accessed July 7, 2017. <http://www.mdtm.ba/clanci/imenovanje-posebna-izaslanika-svete-stolice-za-medugorje>.
- Biskupije Mostar-Duvno i Trebinje-Mrkan. "The attacks of the Medjugorje "apparition" against the diocesan bishop Pavao Žanić." Last modified May 10, 2017. Accessed July 12, 2017. <http://www.md-tm.ba/clanci/attacks-medjugorje-apparition-against-diocesan-bishoppavao-zanic>.
- Bižaca, Nikola. "Iskustvo spasenja u kršćanstvu i budizmu" [An Experience of Salvation in Buddhism and Christianity]. *Church in the World* 32, no. 3 (September 1997): 306-310.
- Bejczy, István Pieter. *The Cardinal Virtues in the Middle Ages: A Study in Moral Thought from the Fourth to the Fourteenth Century*. Leiden: Brill, 2011.
- Blažević, Josip. *New age i kršćanstvo, Enciklopedijski priručnik* [New Age and Christianity: Encyclopedic Manual]. Split, Verbum, 2014

- Bloomfield, Morton W. *The Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to the History of Religious Concept, with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature*. Ann Arbor: Michigan State University Press, 1967.
- Bodhi Zendo, Zen Training Center in South India. Accessed July 4, 2017. <http://www.bodhisangha.net/index.php/en/home/>.
- Boggs, B.J.H. *The Imitation of Christ: The First English Translation of the 'Imitatio Christi.'* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Botterweck, Johannes G., ed. *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1974.
- Bowen, Jose Antonio. *Teaching Naked: How Moving Technology Out of Your College Classroom will Improve Student Learning*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2012.
- Bracanović, Joško. "Sv. Nikola i Hvar [St. Nikola and Hvar]." *Prilozi povijesti otoka Hvara* XII, no. 1 (2014): 85-111.
- Brassard, Francis. *The Concept of Bodhicitta in Śāntideva's Bodhicaryāvatāra*. State University of New York Press, 2000.
- Brookfield, Stephen D. *The Skillful Teacher: On Technique, Trust, and Responsiveness in the Classrooms*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2015.
- Bromiley, Geoffrey B. *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia*. Volume 1, A-D. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1979:, 650-527.
- Brkić, Ante. "Homilija kardinala Bozanića na Misi za Domovinu prigodom Dana državnosti" [Homily of Cardinal Bozanić at Mass for Homeland on Statehood Day]. Kamenjar. Last modified June 25, 2017. Accessed August 8, 2017. <http://kamenjar.com/homilija-kardinala-bozanica-na-misi-za-domovinu-prigodom-dana-drzavnosti/>.
- Buddhism in Europe. Accessed January 14, 2016. <http://europeanbuddhism.org/>,  
Buddhists in Croatia [http://www.buddhanet.info/wbd/country.php?country\\_id=97](http://www.buddhanet.info/wbd/country.php?country_id=97).
- Buddhist Center. Accessed July 10, 2017. <http://www.budisticki-centar.hr/tekst.php?id=97>.
- Buddhist Center of Kailash. Accessed July 14, 2017. <http://www.bc-kailash.hr/>.
- Buddhist Community of Shenchen. Accessed July 13, 2017. <http://www.shechen.hr/>.
- Burne, Sher R.F. "Desideri Ippolito- Budismo." In *Diccionario Histórico De La Compañía De Jesús: Biográfico Temático* vol. 2, edited by Charles E. O'Neill and

- Joaquín María Domínguez, 1100. Roma; Madrid: Institutum Historicum; Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2001.
- Burrows, William R., ed. *Redemption and Dialogue: Reading Redemptoris Missio and Dialogue and Proclamation*. New York: Orbis Books, 1993.
- Buswell, Robert E., ed. *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*. New York: Macmillan and Thomson Gale, 2004.
- Cabasés, Félix Juan. *Beato Lácopo da Varazze, Leyenda de Los Santos: Introducción, Transcriptió y Anotaciones*. Madrid: Servicio de Publicaciones Universidad Pontificia Comillas, and Institutum Historicum Socetatis Jesu, 2007.
- Casiday, Augustine. *Evagrius Ponticus*. London: Routledge, 2006.
- Catholic News. "The Four River Action against the Political Participation, Religions Responsibility for Life." Oct 5, 2010. Accessed June 25, 2017. [https://www.google.co.kr/?gfe\\_rd=cr&ei=ttJYWc2K6yL8Qf855e4Cw&gws\\_rd=sl#q=http://www.catholicnews.co.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno%3D4169&spf149899333706](https://www.google.co.kr/?gfe_rd=cr&ei=ttJYWc2K6yL8Qf855e4Cw&gws_rd=sl#q=http://www.catholicnews.co.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno%3D4169&spf149899333706).
- Christian Community of Contemplative Prayer. Accessed July 15, 2017. <http://www.jekatisine.org/>.
- Clayton, Barbara R. *Moral Theory in Śāntideva's Śikṣāsamuccaya: Cultivating the Fruits of Virtue*. London: Routledge, 2011.
- Climacus, John. *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, trans. Colm Luibheid and Norman Russell. London: SPCK, 1982.
- Cline, Erine M. Personal web site. Accessed August 4, 2017. <http://explore.georgetown.edu/people/emc89/>.
- Clooney, Francis. *Comparative Theology: Deep Learning across Religious Borders*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.
- Cochini, Christian and Shè Àomén Lì Xué. *Guide to Buddhist Temples of China: History and Cultural Heritage of the Main Monasteries of the Han Nationality*. Macau: Macau Ricci Institute, 2009.
- Cochini, Christian. *50 Great Masters of Chinese Buddhism*. Macau: Macau Ricci Institute, 2015.
- Concordancia Ignaciana: An Ignatian Concordance*, edited by Ignacio Echarte. Bilbao: Ediciones Ensajero, Sal Terrae and the Institute of Jesuit Sources St. Louis, 1996.



- Contemplation and Mysticism. Accessed July 14, 2017. <http://kontemplacija.hr/>.
- Conze, Edward, ed. *The Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thousand Lines & Its Verse Summary*. Bolinas: Grey Fox Press, 2001.
- Coupeau, Carlos J. "Five *personae* of Ignatius of Loyola." In *The Cambridge Companion to Jesuits*, ed. Thomas Worcester. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008, 32-51.
- Croatian Buddhist Society of Padmasana. Accessed July 13, 2017. <http://padmasana.hr/>.
- Croatian Bureau of Statistics. *Studenti upisani na stručni i sveučilišni studij u zimskom semestru ak. g. 2015. /2016*. [Students Enrolled in Professional and University Study, Winter Semester of 2015/2016 Academic Year]. Statistika u nizu, Obrazovanje i kultura; obrazovanje- pregled po županijama. [Statistics in line, Education and culture; education regional overview]. Accessed February 10, 2017. <http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv/publication/StatisticsInLine.htm>.
- Croatian Bureau of Statistics. Hrvatski ured za statistiku; Priopćenje godina LIII, Studenti upisani na stručni i sveučilišni studij u zimskom semestru ak. g. 2015. /2016. [Croatian Bureau of Statistic; First Release Year LIII, Students Enrolled on Professional and University Study, Winter Semester of 2015/2016 Academic Year] in Zagreb August 2016, number 8.1.7. Accessed January 17, 2017. [http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv\\_Eng/publication/2016/08-01-07\\_01\\_2016.htm](http://www.dzs.hr/Hrv_Eng/publication/2016/08-01-07_01_2016.htm).
- Croatian Center for Interreligious Dialogue of Croatian Province of Franciscan Conventuals. Accessed July 10, 2017. <http://www.areopag.hr/>.
- Croatia EU. Accessed July 25, 2017. <http://croatia.eu/article.php?lang=2&id=12>.
- Croatian Ministry of Social Policy and Youth. The National Program for Youth in the period 2014-2017. Accessed February 15, 2016. <http://www.mmh.hr/en/publications-and documents/youth-policy-documents>.
- Croatian Parliament. The Youth Advisory Boards. Zakon o savjetima mladih [the Law on Youth Advisory Boards] article 3., proclaimed February 16, 2007. Narodne novine. Accessed January 17, 2017. [https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2007\\_02\\_23\\_869.html](https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2007_02_23_869.html).
- Croatian Public Radio and Television online service. "Opozvan premijer - pala vlada Tihomira Oreškovića! [Revoked prime minister- fall of Tihomir Orešković government]." Accessed July 5, 2017. <http://vijesti.hrt.hr/339565/sabor-o-opozivu-premijera-tihomira-oreskovica>.
- Croatian TKD Federation. Accessed July 10, 2017. <http://www.taekwondo.hr/vijesti-iz-povijesti/>.

- Crosby, Kate, and Andrew Skilton, trans. *The Bodhicaryāvatāra*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Čičak, Ružica. "Indija u djelima Tina Ujevića: izvori i obrada tekstova" [India in the Works of Tin Ujević: Sources and Textual Analysis]. In *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, Razred za suvremenu književnost*, Knj.16=380, ed. Ivo Frangeš. Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1978: 435-535.
- Čoralić, Lovorka. "Iseljenici s otoka Visa i hrvatska Bratovština Sv. Jurja i Tripuna u Mlecima [Immigrants from the Island of Vis and Croatian Confraternity of St. George and Tryphon in Venice]." *Croatica Christiana periodica* 28, no. 54 (2004): 111-121.
- . "U okrilju privedre Mletačka Republika i hrvatski Jadran [The Venetian Republic and the Croatian Adriatic in the Shelter of Economy]." *Povijesni prilozi* 37, no. 37 (2009): 11-40.
- Črpić, Gordan, and Stjepan Kušar. "Neki aspekti religioznosti u Hrvatskoj [Some Aspects of Religiosity in Croatia]." *Ephemerides theologicae Zagrabienses* 68, no. 4 (1999): 513-563.
- Črpić, Gordan, and Jakov Jukić. "Alternativna religioznost [Alternative Religiosity]." *Ephemerides theologicae Zagrabienses* 68, no. 4 (1999): 589-617.
- Črpić, Gordan, and Siniša Zrinščak, "Between Identity and Everyday Life: Religiosity in Croatian Society from the European Comparative Perspective," In *In Search of Identity: A Comparative Study of Values: Croatia and Europe*, ed. Josip Baloban. Zagreb: Croatian Golden Marketing – Tehnička knjiga, 2005: 45-83.
- Dayal, Har. *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1970.
- De Blij, Harm, Peter O. Muller, and Jan Nijman. *Geography: Realms, Regions, and Concepts*. New York: Wiley, 2014.
- De Castro Valdés, José García. "La Vita Christi de Ludolfo de Sajonia (+1377) e Ignacio de Loyola (+1556) a propósito de un grand libro." *Separata de Estudios Eclesiásticos* 86, no. 338 (2011): 509-546.
- De Cisneros, García Jiménez. *Obras Completas*, ed. Dom Cipriano Barut. Abadía de Montserrat, Col. *Scripta et Documenta* 16, 1965.
- De Mello, Anthony. *Sadhana, a Way to God: Christian Exercises in Eastern Form*. Liguori: Triumph, 1998.

- De Mello, Anthony, and J. Francis Stroud. *Awareness: A De Mello Spirituality Conference in His Own Words*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 2002.
- . *Svjесnost* [Awareness]. Zagreb: SKAC, 2002.
- De Lubac, Henri. *Aspects du Bouddhisme*. Paris: Seuil, 1951.
- . *Aspects du Bouddhisme* vol 2. Paris: Édition du Seuil, 1955.
- Desideri House, Kathmandu. Accessed August 4, 2017. <https://www.desiderihouse.org/>.
- Devettere, J. Raymond. *Introduction to Virtue Ethics: Insights of the Ancient Greeks*. Washington: Georgetown University Press, 2002.
- Dharmasiri, Gunapala. *Fundamentals of Buddhist Ethics*. Kadugannawa, Sri Lanka: pāramitā International Buddhist Society Ltd., 1998.
- Dhammasami, Khammai. *Meditacija sabranosti u svakodnevnom životu* [Meditation of Mindfulness in Everyday Life]. Rijeka: Naklada Ulkis, 2017.
- Dizdar, Zdravko. "Prilog istraživanju problema Bleiburga i Križnih puteva (u povodu 60. godišnjice) [A Contribution to the Study of the Problem of Bleiburg and the Ways of the Cross (on the Occasion of the 60th Anniversary)]." *Senjski zbornik: prilozi za geografiju, etnologiju, gospodarstvo, povijest i kulturu* 32, no. 1 (2005): 117-196.
- Dealy, Ross. *The Stoic Origin of Erasmus' Philosophy of Christ*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017.
- Dnevnik. "Crkva u današnjem blagdanu nudi vječni život" [Church offers the eternal life in today's feast]. Last modified November 01, 2016. Accessed July 05, 2017. <http://dnevnik.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/bozanic-hrvatski-sveci-opecatili-hrvatski-identitet-455558.html>.
- Dnevnik. "Ovdje pogledajte kako je izgledao napeti prvi dio sjednice Sabora [See here how tense the first of the Parliament session appeared]." Report about the parliament session. Accessed July 5, 2017. <http://dnevnik.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/tihomiroreskovic-saboru-predstavlja-svoj-tim-423881.html>.
- Doidge, Norman. *The Brain's Way of Healing*. New York: A. James H. Silberman Book, 2017.
- . *The Brain that Changes Itself*. New York: Penguin Group, 2018.

- Department of Demography, Family, Youth and Social Policy. "Mladi" [Youth]. Accessed January 17, 2017. <http://www.mspm.hr/istaknute-teme/mladi1683/1683>.
- Department of Indology, University of Zagreb. Accessed July 14, 2017. [http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/indolog/?page\\_id=26](http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/indolog/?page_id=26).
- Dragun, Antonio. "Religiosity of Secondary School Leavers in Zadar (Croatia)." In *Sociologija i prostor: časopis za istraživanje prostornoga i sociokulturnog razvoja*, 49, no.1 (189, travanj 2011): 91-108.
- Dolker, Borivoje. "Hrvatska najkatoličkija zemlja Europe" [Croatia the most Catholic country in Europe]. Accessed July 05, 2017. [http://arhiva.nacional.hr/clanak/7632/hrvatska najkatolickija-zemlja-europe](http://arhiva.nacional.hr/clanak/7632/hrvatska-najkatolickija-zemlja-europe).
- Dumoulin, Heinrich. *Zen Buddhism: A History: Japan*. London: Simon and Schuster, Macmillan, 1990.
- . *Zen Buddhism: A History, India & China*. Bloomington, IN: World Wisdom, 2005.
- Dvorniković, Vladimir. *Hrist, Buddha, Šopenhauer* [Christ, Buddha, and Schopenhauer]. Zagreb: Hrvatski štamparski zavod, 1925.
- Dysinger, Luke. "History of Spirituality." Accessed January 26, 2018. [http://ldysinger.stjohnsem.edu/CH\\_584\\_Hist\\_Spty/16\\_Devot\\_Mod/00a\\_start.htm](http://ldysinger.stjohnsem.edu/CH_584_Hist_Spty/16_Devot_Mod/00a_start.htm).
- Dzino, Danijel. *Becoming Slav, Becoming Croat: Identity Transformations in Post Roman and Early Medieval Dalmatia*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010.
- Echarte, Ignacio, ed. *Concordancia Ignaciana = An Ignatian concordance*. Bilbao: Mensajero; Maliaño: Sal Terrae, 1996.
- Eisenberg, Daniel. *Romances of Chivalry in the Spanish Golden Age*. Newark: Juan de la Cuesta Publishing, 2006.
- Enomiya-Lassalle, Hugo M. *Zen--Way to Enlightenment*. London: Sheed & Ward, 1973.
- . *Zen Meditation for Christians*. La Salle, Illinois: Open Court, 1974.
- . "The Spiritual Exercises of St Ignatius of Loyola and Zen." In *Spiritual Perspectives: Essays in Mysticism and Metaphysics*. (New Delhi: Arnold Heinemann, 1975).
- Enomiya-Lassalle, Hugo M., and Roland Ropers. *Zen und christliche Spiritualität*. München: Kösel, 1987.

- Enomiya-Lassalle, Hugo M., Roland Ropers, and Bogdan Snela. *The Practice of Zen Meditation*. London, San Francisco: Thorsons, 1995.
- Ericsson, Anders K. *The Cambridge Handbook of Expertise and Expert Performance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- . *The Road to Excellence: The Acquisition of Expert Performance in the Arts and Sciences, Sports, and Games*. Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2014.
- Ericsson, Anders K., and Robert Pool. *Peak: Secrets from the New Science of Expertise*. Boston: Mariner Books/Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2017.
- European Commission and Ministers responsible for Spatial Planning and Territorial Development. *The Territorial State and Perspectives of the European Union, 2011 Update, Background Document for the Territorial Agenda of the European Union 2020, The Informal Meeting of Ministers Responsible for Spatial Planning and Territorial Development*. Gödöllő: 2011. Edited by Tamás Fellegi. Accessed July 7, 2017. [http://ec.europa.eu/regional\\_policy/sources/policy/what/territorial\\_cohesion/territorial\\_state\\_and\\_perspective\\_2011.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/policy/what/territorial_cohesion/territorial_state_and_perspective_2011.pdf).
- European commission dedicated to the education. "The Bologna Process and the European Higher Education Area." Accessed August 10, 2017. [http://ec.europa.eu/education/policy/higher-education/bologna-process\\_en](http://ec.europa.eu/education/policy/higher-education/bologna-process_en), and European Higher Education Area (EHEA). <https://www.ehea.info/>.
- Eurostat. Statistical Office of European Union. "Being Young in Europe Today Health." Last modified 15 February, 2017. Accessed February 24, 2017. [http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics\\_explained/index.php/Being\\_young\\_in\\_Europe\\_today\\_-\\_health](http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics_explained/index.php/Being_young_in_Europe_today_-_health).
- Fagin, Gerald M. *Putting on the Heart of Christ: How the Spiritual Exercises Invite Us to a Virtuous Life*. Chicago: Loyola Press, 2010.
- Federal Interagency Forum on Child and Family Statistics. *America's Young Adults: Special Issue, 2014*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2014.
- Fischer-Schreiber, Ingrid, ed. *Encyclopedia of Eastern Philosophy and Religion*. Boston: Shambhala, 1994.
- Fleming, David. *Like the Lightning: Dynamics of the Ignatian Exercises*. St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Source, 2004.
- Florovsky, Georges. *The Collected Works of Georges Florovsky, vol. 3, Creation and Redemption*. Belmont, Massachusetts: Nordland Publishing Company, 1976.

- Formichi, Carlo. *Apologia del buddhismo*. Roma: Formiggini, 1923.
- Foulcher, Jane. *Reclaiming Humility: Four Studies in Monastic Tradition*. Athens, Ohio: Cistercian Publications, 2015.
- Frank, Robert. "Nenad Bakić 'Hrvatsku su prestige Bugarska i Rumunjska.' To su sad za nas - avioni' [Nenad Bakić 'Bulgaria and Romania have surpassed Croatia.' For us they are now airplanes]." *Novi list* [The New Page], July 4, 2017. Accessed July 5, 2017. [http://novilist.hr/Vijesti/Hrvatska/NENAD-BAKIC-Hrvatsku-su-prestige-Bugarska-i-Rumunjska.-To-su-sad-za-nas-avioni?meta\\_refresh=true](http://novilist.hr/Vijesti/Hrvatska/NENAD-BAKIC-Hrvatsku-su-prestige-Bugarska-i-Rumunjska.-To-su-sad-za-nas-avioni?meta_refresh=true).
- Franolić, Branko. *Filip Vezdin's Contribution to Indic Studies at the Turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century in Europe*. Paris: Nouvelles éditions latines, 1991
- Franolić, Branko, and Luca Leoni. *Paolino di San Bartolomeo: pioniere dell'indologia nell'europa di fine settecento*. Velletri: Edizioni Blitri sas Velletri, 2005.
- Freire, Paulo. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 30<sup>th</sup> edition. New York: Bloomsbury, 2014.
- Fronsdal, Gil. "The Dawn of the Bodhisattva Path: Studies in a Religious Ideal of Ancient Indian Buddhists." Ph.D diss., Stanford University, 1998.
- Fullam, Lisa. "The Virtue of Humility: A Reconstruction Based in Thomas Aquinas: A Thesis." PH. D, Harvard University, (2001).
- . "Humilidad." In *Diccionario de Espiritualidad Ignaciana*, edited by Grupo de Espiritualidad Ignaciana (GEI). Bilbao: Ediciones Ensajero, Sal Terrae, 2007, 957-965.
- Gabrić, Ante. *Bošonti* [Boshonti]. Zagreb: Tiskara Gasnika srca Isusova, Misijska biblioteka; god. 5, nos. 1-2, 1940.
- Gahs, Aleksandar. *Buddhizam*, vol. 2, *Popularno naučna knjižnica hrvatskog katoličkog narodnog saveza* [Buddhism, vol, 2, Popular Scientific Library of the Croatian Catholic National Alliance]. Zagreb: Nadbiskupska tiskara, 1924.
- Ganss, George. *Saint Ignatius of Loyola: The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*. St. Louis: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1970.
- . *Ignatius of Loyola: The Spiritual Exercises and Selected Works*. New York: Paulist Press, 1991.
- Gay, J. López. "Budismo." In *Diccionario Histórico De La Compañía De Jesús: Biográfico Temático* vol. 3, edited by Charles E. O'Neill and Joaquín María

- Domínguez, 2710-11. Roma; Madrid: Institutum Historicum; Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2001.
- Geger, Barton T. "Hidden Theology in the 'Autobiography' of St. Ignatius." In *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 46, no. 3 (autumn 2014).
- Geiger, Vladimir. "Ljudski gubici Hrvatske u Drugome svjetskom ratu i u poraču koje su prouzročili Narodnooslobodilačka vojska i Partizanski odredi Jugoslavije/Jugoslavenska Armija i komunistička vlast. Brojidbeni pokazatelji (procjene, izračuni, popisi) Case Study: Bleiburg i folksdojčeri [The Human Losses in Croatia in World War II and the Post-War Period Caused by Yugoslav Partisans/Yugoslav Army and the Communist Government: Numerical Indicators (Estimates, Calculations, Descriptions) Case Study: Bleiburg and Ethnic Germans]." *Revue d'histoire contemporaine* 42, no.3 (2010): 693-721.
- Gethin, Rupert. *The Foundations of Buddhism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Goja, Jadranka. "Neki aspekti religijoznosti hrvatske mladeži 1986. I 1999. godine [Some Aspects of Croatian Youth Religiosity 1986 and 1999 Years]." *Politička misao* no.1 (2000): 148-160.
- Goodman, Charles. *Consequences of Compassion: An Interpretation and Defense of Buddhist Ethics*. New York: Oxford University Press, USA, 2009.
- Goldstein, Ivo. *Hrvatski rani srednji vijek [Croatian Early Middle Ages]*. Zagreb: Zavod za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 1995.
- . *Croatia: A History*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Montréal-Québec: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010.
- Gomez, Luis O. "The Way of the Translators: Three Recent Translations of Śāntideva 's Bodhicaryavatara." In *Buddhist Literature*. Bloomington: East Asian Studies Center, Indiana University, 1999, 262-263.
- Gottlieb, Paula. *The Virtue of Aristotle's Ethics*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Gračanin, Hrvoje. "Crkveni ustroj u kasnoantičkoj južnoj Panoniji [Ecclesiastical Organization in Late Antique South Pannonia]." *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 38, no.73 (2014): 1-12.
- Grundler, Otto. "Devotio Moderna" in *Christian Spirituality: High Middle Ages and Reformation*, ed. Jill Rait. New York: Crossroad, 1987.
- Gvozdanović, Anja and Vlasta Ilišin. *Vrijednosti u hrvatskom društvu [Values in Croatian Society]*. Zagreb: Centar za demokraciju i pravo Miko Tripalo, 2016.

- Habito, Ruben L. F. *Zen and the Spiritual Exercises: Paths of Awakening and Transformation*. New York: Orbis Books, 2013.
- Habito, Ruben L. F., and John P. Keenan. *Living Zen, Loving God*. Somerville: Wisdom Publications, 2013.
- Hadot, Pierre. "Philosophy, Philosophic Discourse, and Divisions of Philosophy According to the Stoics." *Revue Internationale de Philosophie* 45, no. 178 (1991): 212.
- . *Philosophy as a Way of Life: Spiritual Exercises from Socrates to Foucault*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1995.
- . *What is Ancient Philosophy?* Cambridge Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004.
- Haemin, Sunim. *Ono što vidiš tek kad usporiš: nadahnute misli budističkog svećenika o ljepoti svakodnevnog života* [What You See Only When You Slow Down: Inspired Thoughts of a Buddhist Priest about the Beauty of Everyday Life]. Zagreb: Planetopiiija, 2017.
- Harvey, Peter. *An Introduction to Buddhist Ethics: Foundations, Values and Issues*. Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Hercigonja, Eduard. *Tropismena i trojezična kultura hrvatskoga srednjovjekovlja* [The Triscriptural and Trilingual Culture of the Croatian Middle Ages]. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1994.
- Herdt, Jennifer A. "Frailty, Fragmentation, and Social Dependency in the Cultivation of Christian Virtue." In *Cultivating Virtue: Perspectives from Philosophy, Theology and Psychology*, ed. Nancy E. Snow. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015, 227-251.
- Homza, Lu Anna. "The Religious Milieu of the Young Ignatius." In *The Cambridge Companion to Jesuits*, edited by Thomas Worcester. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008, 13-31.
- Hosne, Ana C. *The Jesuit Missions to China and Peru, 1570-1610: Expectations and Appraisals of Expansionism*. Abingdon, Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2013.
- Houser, R. E. *The Cardinal Virtues: Aquinas, Albert and Philip the Chancellor*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2004.
- Hrvatska enciklopedija, 3 izdanje* [Croatian Encyclopedia 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.], ed. Mate Ujević. Zagreb: Konzorcija Hrvatske Enciklopedija, 1941.



- Hrvatski Sabor [Croatian Parliament]. "Zakon o lokalnoj i područnoj (regionalnoj) samoupravi," [The Law of the Local and the Regional Governance] article 5. Narodne novine službeni list Republike Hrvatske. Accessed January 17, 2017. [http://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2001\\_04\\_33\\_569.html](http://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2001_04_33_569.html).
- Ignatian Pedagogy. Loyola University Chicago. Accessed March 14, 2018. <https://www.loyola.edu/~media/departments/ignatian-pedagogy/documents/elements-of-ignatian-paradigm.ashx?la=en>.
- Ilišin, Vlasta, and Furio Radin. *Mladi uoči trećeg milenija* [Young People on the Eve of the Third Millennium]. Zagreb: Institut za društvena istraživanja u Zagrebu, 2002.
- Ilišin, Vlasta, and Dunja Potočnik. "Mladi i nove tehnologije" [Youth and New Technologies]. In *Mladi: problem ili resurs*, ed. Furio Radin, 105-135. Zagreb: Institut za društvena istraživanja, 2007, 105-35.
- Ilišin, Vlasta. *Vrijednosti mladih u Hrvatskoj* [Values of Youth in Croatia]. Institut za društvena istraživanja u Zagrebu, 2011.
- Ilišin, Vlasta, Dejana Bouillet, Anja Gvozdanović, and Dunja Potočnik. *Youth in a Time of Crisis*. Zagreb: Institute for Social Research and Idiz-Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2013.
- Ilišin, Vlasta, Anja Gvozdanović, and Dunja Potočnik. *Demokratski potencijali mladih u Hrvatskoj* [Democratic Potential of Croatian Youth]. Zagreb: Institut za društvena istraživanja, and Centar za demokraciju i pravo Miko Tripalo, 2015.
- Ilišin, Vlasta, and Vedrana Spajić-Vrkaš. *Potrebe, problemi i potencijali mladih u Hrvatskoj* [Problems, Needs, and Potential of Youth in Croatia]. Zagreb: Istraživački izvještaj, Ministarstvo socijalne politike i mladih, 2015.
- Index web portal. [Croatia is the most Catholic country in Europe; politicians must appreciate that]. Accessed July 05, 2017. <http://www.index.hr/vijesti/clanak/hrvatskanajkatolickija-zemlja-europe-politicari-moraju-voditi-racuna-o-tome/215047.aspx>.
- Informative Catholic Agency in Croatia. Archbishop of Split's speech for the beginning of the school year 2012. Accessed July 13, 2017. <http://www.ika.hr/index.php?prikaz=vijest&ID=144083>.
- Innerexplorations. "Profiles in Buddhist-Christian Dialogue: Thomas Handt, SJ." Accessed September 4, 2017. <http://www.innerexplorations.com/catew/12.htm>.

- Ingram, Paul O. "History of Buddhist-Christian Dialogue." In *Teaching Buddhism: New Insights on Understanding and Presenting the Traditions*, ed. Todd Lewis and Gary Delaney DeAngelis. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017, 271-296.
- Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy. "Stoic Ethics." Accessed January 10, 2018. <http://www.iep.utm.edu/stoiceth/>.
- Iparraguirre, Ignacio, Candido de Dalmasas, and Manuel Ruiz Jurado. *Obras de San Ignacio de Loyola*. Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1991.
- Ivens, Michael. *Understanding the Spiritual Exercises*. Leominster: Gracewing, 2000.
- Jakelić, Slavica. *Collectivistic Religions: Religion, Choice, and Identity in Late Modernity*. Farnham, Burlington: Ashgate, 2010.
- Jäger, Willigis. Biography. Accessed July 14, 2017. <https://www.benediktushof-holzkirchen.de/willigis-jaeger/biografisches.html>.
- Jay, Garfield. "What is it like to be a Bodhisattva? Moral Phenomenology in Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra*," In *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* vol. 33, no. 1-2 (2011): 333-357.
- Jelčić, Dubravko. *Opojnost uma, misli i pogledi Tina Ujevića* [Intoxication of Mind: Thoughts and Views of Tin Ujević]. Zagreb: August Cesarec, 1966.
- Jesuit Asia Pacific Conference. "Buddhist-Christian Dialogue for the Jesuits of the Asia Pacific Conference." Accessed April 4, 2017. <http://sjapc.net/flame-december-2010/born-dialogue>.
- Johnston, William. *Still Point: Reflections on Zen and Christian Mysticism*. New York: Fordham University Press, 1998.
- . *Christian Zen*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2003.
- Jonas, Mark E. "Plato on the Necessity of Imitation and Habituation for the Cultivation of the Virtues." In *Varieties of Virtue Ethics*, ed. David Carr, James Arthur, and Kristiján Kristijánssons. Birmingham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017: 233-249.
- Jukić, Jakov. "Kršćani u povijesnim prekretnicama XX. stoljeća u Hrvatskoj [Christians in the Historical Milestones of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century in Croatia]." *Ephemerides theologicae Zagradienses* 66, no. 2-3 (1997): 227-255.
- . "Idejna i kulturološka strujanja u javnom životu hrvatskoga naroda u razdoblju od 1918. do 1941 [Ideological and Culturological Currents in the Public Life of the Croatian People from 1918 to 1941]." *Društvena istraživanja: Journal for General Social Issues* 10, no. 1-2 (51-52) (2001): 3-18.

- Kadowaki, Kakichi. "The Right Master According to Zen." *Teachers of Religion* 37 (1988): 283-306.
- . "Ways of Knowing" *International Philosophical Quarterly* 6, no. 4 (1966): 574-595.
- . *Zen and the Bible*. Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2002.
- . *Zen i Biblija* [Zen and the Bible]. Zagrebu: Filozofsko-Teološki Institut Družbe Isusove u Zagrebu, 2012.
- Kang, In-gun. "Buddhist-Christian Dialogue and Action in the Theravada Countries of Modern Asia: A Comparative Analysis of the Radical Orthopraxis of Bhikkhu Buddhadasa and Aloysius Pieris." PhD diss., London: Heythrop College, 2012.
- Kardaš, Goran. "Vasubandhu o dharmičkoj ontologiji buddhističke škole sarvāstivāda vaibhāṣika (Abhidharmakośa 5. 25–26 i Bhāṣya)" [Vasubandhu on the Dharmic Ontology of the Sarvāstivāda-Vaibhāṣika Buddhist School (Abhidharmakośa 5. 25–26 and Bhāṣya)]. *Filozofska istraživanja* 31, no. 3 (November 2011): 587-603.
- . "Patisambhidāmagga kao rano egzegetsko djelo theravādskog buddhizma" [Patisambhidāmagga as an Early Exegetical Work of Theravāda Buddhism]. *Filozofska istraživanja* 33, no.1 (April, 2013): 139-150.
- . "O nekim doktrinarnim prijeporima u ranim buddhističkim interpretacijama "su nastajanja u zavisnosti" (pratīyasamutpāda)" [On Some Doctrinal Disputations in Early Buddhist Interpretations of Pratīyasamutpāda (Dependent Co-arising)]. *Synthesis philosophica* 30, no.1 (August, 2015): 113-126.
- Katičić, Radoslav. *Stara indijska književnost* [Old Indian Literature]. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1973.
- . *Indija u staroj hrvatskoj i srpskoj književnosti* [India in Old Croatian and Serbian Literature]. Accessed June 4, 2017. [http://www.matica.hr/media/pdf\\_knjige/623/Katicic223-239.pdf](http://www.matica.hr/media/pdf_knjige/623/Katicic223-239.pdf).
- Kalvesmaki, Joel, and Robin Darling Young. *Evagrius and His Legacy*. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2016.
- Keenan, James F. "Catholic Moral Theology, Ignatian Spirituality, and Virtue Ethics: Strange Bedfellows." *The Way, Supplement* 88 (1997): 36- 45.
- . "A Mahayana Theology of Salvation History." *Buddhist-Christian Studies* 22, no. 1 (2002): 139-147.

- Kennedy, Robert E. *Zen Spirit, Christian Spirit: The Place of Zen in Christian Life*. New York: Continuum, 1999.
- . "Zen Christian Experience." *The Way, Supplement* 95 (1999): 75-81.
- . *Zen's Gift to Christianity*. Santa Clara, California: Santa Clara University, 2000.
- Keown, Damien. *Contemporary Buddhist Ethics*. London: Routledge, 2000.
- . *The Nature of Buddhist Ethics*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001.
- . *Buddhist Ethics: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Klaić, Nada. "Historijska podloga hrvatskoga glagoljaštva u 10. i 11. stoljeću [The Historical Background of Croatian Glagolitic in the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> Centuries]." *Slovo: Journal of Old Church Slavonic Institute*, no. 15-16 (September 1965): 225-281.
- Klauški, Tomislav. "Travestija u Saboru na dosad najbizarnijoj raspravi o Vladi" [Travesty of Parliament in the most bizarre debate on the Government]. Last modified January 22, 2016. Accessed July 7, 2017. <https://www.24sata.hr/kolumne/travestija-u-saboru-nadosad-najbizarnijoj-raspravi-o-vladi-457674>.
- Klostermaier, Klaus K. *Buddhism: A Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oneworld Publication, 2002.
- Knitter, Paul F. *Introducing Theologies of Religions*. New York: Orbis Books, 2002.
- Knitter, Paul F., and Roger Haight. *Jesus and Buddha: Friends in Conversation*. New York: Orbis Books, 2015.
- Knuuttila, Simo. *Emotions in Ancient and Medieval Philosophy*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006.
- Kolping International Association. "150<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Kolping Society." Accessed 09.01.2017. [https://www.kolping.net/en/press/news/news\\_detail/artikel/kroatien2.html](https://www.kolping.net/en/press/news/news_detail/artikel/kroatien2.html).
- KONKOREL conferences. Accessed July 15, 2017. <http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/indolog/?p=1684>, and Sanskrit and Croatian language [http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/indolog/?page\\_id=1614](http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/indolog/?page_id=1614).
- Konvenbach, Peter-Hans. "The Passion according to St. Ignatius; Fools for Christ's Sake." *Centrum Ignatianum Spiritualitatis* (1989): 7-22.

- Korade, Mijo. "Recepcija istraživača i filozofa u 17. i 18. stoljeću koji djeluju u drugim zemljama i kontinentima" [The Reception of Explorers and Philosophers Who Work in Other Countries and Continents in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century]. *Prilozi za istraživanje hrvatske filozofske baštine* XXIX, no. 1-2 (2003): 263-64.
- . *Istraživači novih obzorja: djelovanje hrvatskih misionara i profesora od 16. do 20. stoljeća* [The Explorers of New Horizons: The Activity of the Croatian Missionaries and Professors 16<sup>th</sup>- 20<sup>th</sup> century]. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2015
- Korth, Sharon J. "Precis of Ignatian Pedagogy: A practical approach." In *A Jesuit Education Reader*, ed. G. W. Traub. Chicago: Loyola Press, 2008, 280-285.
- Košak, Ivica. *Kultura i civilizacija Indije u hrvatskoj književnosti od 13. stoljeća do danas, predavanje i izložba knjiga u Domu kardinala Kuharića i u organizaciji Hrvatske kulturne zajednice u Wiesbadenu, 04. veljače 2007.* [Culture and Civilization of India in Croatian Literature from the 13<sup>th</sup> Century up to Today, a Lecture and Exhibition of the Books in the House of Cardinal Kuharić in Organization of the Croatian Cultural Community in Wiesbaden February 4, 2007]. Wiesbaden: Hrvatska kulturna zajednica, 2007.
- Kovačević, Jelena. "Etnografske zbirke izvaneuropskih kultura u zagrebačkim muzejima i zbirkama" [Ethnographic Collections of non-European Cultures in Zagreb's Museums and Collections]. Master's thesis, University of Zagreb, 2014.
- Križman, Mate. "Pisma isusovca Nikole Ratkaja, misionara u Indiji u prvoj polovici 17. st., filološki pristup" [The Letters of Jesuit Nikola Ratkaj, a Missionary in India in the First Half of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century, Philological Approach]. In *Croatian "Indias" = Hrvatske "Indije,"* ed. Radoslav Katičić. Zagreb: Croatian Writers' Association, 1990.
- Križman, Mate, and Zdravka Matišić. *Indije i Tibet Nikole Ratkaja* [India and Tibet of Nikola Ratkaj]. Zagreb: Sekcija za orijentalistiku Hrvatskoga filološkog društva: Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2002.
- Keselopoulos, Anestis. *Passions and Virtues according to Saint Gregory Palmas*. South Canaan: St. Tikhon's Seminary Press, 2004.
- Kudelić, Zlatko. "Katoličko-pravoslavni prijepori o crkvenoj uniji i grkokatoličkoj Marčanskoj biskupiji tijekom 1737. i 1738. godine [Catholic-Orthodox Contentions over Church Union and a Greek Catholic Marča Diocese during 1737 and 1738]." *Historical Contributions* 27, no. 27 (2004): 101-131.
- . "Isusovačko izvješće o krajiškim nemirima 1658. i 1666. godine i o marčanskom biskupu Gabrijelu Mijakiću (1663.-1670.) [Jesuit Reports about Unrest in the Krajina in 1658 and 1666 and the Marčanska Bishop Gabriel Mijakić (1663 1670)]." *Povijesni prilozi* 32, no. 32 (2007): 119-180.

- . "Srpska pravoslavna crkva u Bosni i Hercegovini tijekom austrougarske vladavine u novijoj domaćoj i inozemnoj historiografiji [The Serbian Orthodox Church in Bosnia and Herzegovina during Austro-Hungarian Rule in Recent Domestic and Foreign Historiography]." *Croatica Christiana periodica* 32, no. 62 (2008): 29-62.
- . "Crkvene unije tijekom vladavine Leopolda I. i Josipa I. (1657.-1711.): ideje, planovi i dosezi [The Uniate Church during the Reign of Leopold I and Joseph I (1657-1711): Ideas, Plans and Achievements]." *Povijesni prilozi* 46, no. 46 (2014): 161-219.
- Kun-bzañ-dpal-Idan. *The Nectar of Manjushri's Speech: A Detailed Commentary on Śāntideva's Way of the Bodhisattva*. Boston: Shambhala Publications, 2011.
- Kušar, M. "Arijanski rod jezika i naši najstariji pradjedovi "[The Aryan Language and Our Oldest Ancestors]. *Slovinac* 1883: 106.
- Lampe, John R. *Yugoslavia as History: Twice There Was a Country*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Langston, Keith, and Anita Peti-Stantić. *Language Planning and National Identity in Croatia*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Leutar, Zdravka, and Ana Marija Josipović. "Some Dimensions of Religiosity among Young People." *New Presence: Review for Intellectual and Spiritual Questions* 6, no. 3 (December 2008): 397-420.
- Lienhard, Joseph T. "On 'Discernment of Spirits' in the Early Church." *Theological Studies*, 41, no. 3 (September 1980): 505-529.
- Liland, Fredrik. "The Transmission of the Bodhicaryāvātāra: The History, Diffusion, and Influence of a Mahāyāna Buddhist Text." Master's thesis, University of Oslo, 2009.
- Letica, Slaven. "Tko smo, što smo, i kakvi smo zapravo mi Hrvati [What kind of Croatians are we exactly?]." In *Hrvatski identitet* [Croatian Identity], ed. Zorislav Lukić i Božo Skoko, Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 2011, 25-52.
- Lossky, Vladimir. *Orthodox Theology: An Introduction*. New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1978.
- Loyola, Ignatius. *Monumenta Ignatian, Series Secunda: Exercitia Spiritualia S. Ignatii de Loyola et eorum Directoria, Series Secunda: Exercitia Spiritualia S. Ignatii de Loyola et eorum Directoria*, ed. José Calveras and Cándido de Dalmases. Romae: Institutum historicum Societatis Iesu, 1969.

- Louf, André. *The Way of Humility*. Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 2007.
- Ljubinka, N. "Vjera i služba Božja u Kini" [Faith and Liturgy in China]. *Bosiljak* vol. 1. 1864: 302-305.
- M.M. "Stanje u našoj javnosti prije osnutka J. T. D." [The Situation in our Public Life before the Establishing of the J.T.D.]. *Teozofija* 1, no. 1 (1927): 13-14.
- Macau Ricci Institute. Accessed August 4, 2017. <http://www.riccimac.org/eng/introduction/>.
- MacIntyre, Alasdair. *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory, Third Edition*. Notre Dame IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007.
- McIntosh, Mark Allen. *Mystical Theology: The Integrity of Spirituality and Theology*. Malden, Mass: Blackwell, 1998.
- Macut, Petar. "Katolički tisak o uspostavi Nezavisne Države Hrvatske 10. travnja 1941. Godine [Catholic Press on the Establishment of the Independent Croatian State on April 10, 1941]." *Revue d'histoire contemporaine* 47, no. 1 (2015): 81-102.
- Magaš, Branka. *The Destruction of Yugoslavia: Tracking Yugoslavia's Break-up 1980-92*. London: Verso, 1993.
- . *Croatia through History: The Making of a European State*. London: Saqi, 2007.
- Magaš, Damir. *The Geography of Croatia*. Zadar: Samobor: University of Zadar, Department of Geography: Meridijani Publishing House, 2015.
- Makransky, John. "Thoughts on Why, How, and What Buddhists Can Learn from Christian Theologians" *Buddhist-Christian Studies* 31 (2011): 119-133.
- Malcolm, Noel. *Bosnia: A Short History*. Basingstoke; London: Pan Books, 2005.
- Mali koncil [the Small Council], and Glas Koncila [the Voice of the Council]. Accessed August 15, 2017. <https://www.glas-koncila.hr/?s=majka+terezija>.
- Mandala society of Croatia. Accessed July 10, 2017. <http://mandala.hr/>.
- Mandarić, Valentina. "Church in the Eyes of the Young." *Bogoslovska Smotra* 71, no. 4 (May, 2002): 579-596.

- Mandušić, Iva. "Bibliografija radova o Bratovštini Sv. Jeronima u Rimu [A Bibliography of Works about the Fraternity of St. Jerome in Rome]." *Croatica Christiana periodica* 30, no. 57 (2006): 197-203.
- Mardešić, Željko. *Rascjep u svetome* [The Cleft in the Holy]. Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 2007.
- Margetić, Lujo. "O nekim osnovnim problemima Bašćanske ploče [On some Basic Problems of the Baska Tablet Screen]." *Croatica Christiana periodica* 31, no. 60 (2007): 1-15.
- Maria Kanon Zen Center. Accessed March 3, 2017. <http://www.mkzc.org/>.
- Marinović-Bobinac, Ankica. "Necrkvena religioznost u Hrvatskoj [Non-Ecclesial Religiosity in Croatia]." *Društvena istraživanja* 4, no. 6 (1995): 853-866.
- Marrou, Henri. *A History of Education in Antiquity*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982.
- Martínez, Julio Luis. "Virtudes." In *Diccionario de Espiritualidad Ignaciana*, ed. Grupo de Espiritualidad Ignaciana (GEI). Bilbao: Ediciones Mensajero, SalTerrae, 2007: 1774-1778.
- Masiá, Juan C. "El despertar de la fe: En torno a un manual de espiritualidad budista mahayana." *Estudios eclesiológicos* 77, no. 301 (2002): 313-358.
- . *Budistas y Cristianos: Más allá del diálogo*. Santander; Madrid: Sal Terrae; Fe y Secularidad, 1997.
- Masiá, Clavel Juan, and Kotaró Suzuki. *El "dharma" y el espíritu: conversaciones entre un cristiano y un budista*. Boadilla del Monte (Madrid): Promoción Popular Cristiana, 2007.
- Masia, Clavel Juan, and Moe Kuwano. "El retorno a la unidad cuerpo-mente: encuentro de ascesis, terapia y filosofía en Japon." *Pensamiento: Revista de investigación e información filosófica* 64, no. 242 (2008): 889-902.
- Mataušić, Mirko Jura. "Odnos katoličke Crkve prema novijim idejnim strujanjima u hrvatskim zemljama 1848 - 1900 [The Relationship of the Catholic Church toward Recent Ideologies in Croatia, 1848-1900]." *Ephemerides theologicae Zagradienses* 55, no. 1-2 (1985): 196-216.
- Mateo, García. "Fuentes filosófico-theológicas de los Ejercicios según el curriculum académico de su autor." In *Las Fuentes de los Ejercicios Espirituales de San Ignaci, Simposio Internacional, Loyola 15-19 Sept. 1999*, ed. Juan Plazaola. Bilbao: Mensajero, 1998: 469-512.



- Matišić, Zdravka. *Ivan Filip Vesdin-Paulinus, pisac prve tiskane Sanskritske gramatike prinosi* [Ivan Filip Vezdin—Paulinus—the Author of the First Published Sanskrit Grammar]. Zagreb: Hrvatsko filološko društvo, 2007.
- Mavra, Miroslav, and Lori McNeil. "Identity Formation and Music: A Case Study of Croatian Experience." *Human Architecture: Journal of the Sociology of Self Knowledge* 5, no. 2 (Spring 2007): 1-20.
- McGuire, B. Meredith. *Religion: The Social Context*. Long Grove, Illinois: Waveland Press, 2008.
- McManamon, John M. S.J. *The Text and Contexts of Ignatius Loyola's "Autobiography."* New York: Fordham University Press, 2013.
- Melloni, Javier. *The Exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola in the Western Tradition*. Leominster: Gracewing and Inigo Enterprises, 2000.
- . *El uno en lo multiple: aproximación a la diversidad y unidad de las religiones*. Santander: Sal Terrae, 2003.
- Melloni, Ribas Javier, and Ferran Piñeiro. *Pedagogía del pluralismo religioso una propuesta metodológica*. Barcelona: Edebé, 2008.
- . *The Exercises of St Ignatius of Loyola and the Traditions of the East*. New Malden: Gracewing Publishing, 2013.
- . "Ignatian Spirituality and Buddhism." In *A Companion to Ignatius of Loyola*, ed. Robert Alexander Maryks. Boston: Brill, 2014, 253-54.
- Menkhaus, James. "The *Spiritual Exercises* as a Path to Virtue." *Review for Religious* 70, no.1 (January-March 2011): 25-43.
- Mesa, José. *Ignatian Pedagogy: Classic and Contemporary Texts on Jesuit Education from St. Ignatius to Today*. Chicago: Loyola Press, 2017.
- Mihanović, Anton. *Zusammenstellung von 200 Laut- und Sinnverwandten Wörtern des Sanskrites und Slawischen*. Wien: 1823.
- Miklobušec, Valentin. *Hrvatska Provincija Družbe Isusove 1918.-1945*. [Croatian Province of the Society of Jesus 1918-1945]. Zagreb: Filozofsko Teološki Institut Družbe Isusove, 2016.
- Ministry of Science and Education of the Republic of Croatia. *Guide through the Croatian Education System*. Zagreb: Ministry of Science and Education of the Republic of Croatia, 2016.

- Mindfulness in Croatia. Accessed July 17, 2017. <http://cabct.hr/tecaj-mindfulnessa>, <http://promindfulness.com/>, <http://www.zajednica.com.hr/hr/mindfulness-usredotocena-svjesnostposter>.
- Moguš, Milan. "Kako pročitati Baščansku Ploču [How to Read the Baska Tablet Screen]." *The Anthology of Senj: Contributions to Geography, Ethnology, Economy, History and Culture* 37, no. 1 (2010): 33-44.
- Monumenta Historica Japoniae. *Documentos Del Japon 1547-1557*, vol. 137, ed. by Juan, Ruiz-de-Medina. Roma: Instituto Historico de la Compania de Jesus, 1990, 38-69; 206-32;373- 82; 652-68.
- Mormile, Dominik. "Budizam i kršćanstvo o ljubavi prema neprijateljima" [Buddhism and Christianity, about Love toward the Enemy]. *Obnovljeni život: časopis za filozofiju i religijske znanosti* 5, no. 6 (1924): 340.
- Morning Star Zendo. Accessed August 4, 2017. <http://kennedyzen.tripod.com/>.
- Mrozik, Susanne. *Virtuous Bodies: The Physical Dimensions of Morality in Buddhist Ethics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, USA, 2007.
- Newhauser, Richard, ed. *In the Garden of Evil: The Vices and Culture in the Middle Ages*. Toronto: PIMS, 2005.
- Nikodem, Krunoslav, and Siniša Zrinščak. "Croatia's Religious Story: The Coexistence of Institutionalized and Individual Religiosity." In *The Social Significance of Religion in the Enlarged Europe: Secularization, Individualization, and Pluralization*. ed. Detlef Pollack, Olaf Muller, and Gert Pickel. Farnham, Surrey, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012, 207-227.
- Nicolás, Adolfo. "Interreligious Dialogue: The Experience of Some Pioneer Jesuits in Asia." *The Way* 50, no. 4 (2011): 7-33.
- Ninčević, Marjan Marino. "Diplomatski odnosi Vatikana i Kraljevine Jugoslavije: konkordat iz 1935. godine [Diplomatic Relations between the Vatican and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia: The Concordat of 1935]." *Nova Prisutnost* 14, no. 2 (2016): 299-307.
- Novaković, Dragan. "The Legislature on Religion During the Kingdom of Yugoslavia." *Collected Papers of the Law Faculty of the University of Rijeka* 33, no. 2 (2012): 939-965.
- Novi list [The New Page]. "Kako Crkva vidi hrvatski identitet: Bozanić poučio vjernike kako da (p)ostanu Hrvati" [How the Church Sees Croatian Identity: Bozanić Has Taught Members of the Church How to Become Croats]. Last modified June 25,

2017. Accessed July 5, 2017. [http://www.novilist.hr/Vijesti/Hrvatska/KAKO\\_CRKVA-VIDI-HRVATSKI\\_IDENTITET-Bozanic-poucio-vjernike-kako-da-postanu-Hrvati?meta\\_refresh=true](http://www.novilist.hr/Vijesti/Hrvatska/KAKO_CRKVA-VIDI-HRVATSKI_IDENTITET-Bozanic-poucio-vjernike-kako-da-postanu-Hrvati?meta_refresh=true).

- Nussbaum, Martha C. *Therapy of Desire*. New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1994
- O'Brien, T. C. "Virtue." In *New Catholic Encyclopedia* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Farmington Hills, Boulder: Cengage Gale Boulder, 2004, 548-544.
- Odsjek za indologiju i dalekoistočne studije [Department of Indology and Far East Studies] University of Zagreb. Accessed March 10, 2017. [http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/indolog/?page\\_id=26](http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/indolog/?page_id=26).
- O'Hanlon, Daniel. "Zen and the Spiritual Exercises: A Dialogue between Faiths." *Theological Studies* 39, no. 4 (1978): 737-768.
- Oldenberg, Hermann. *Buddha: Sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde*. Stuttgart; Berlin: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung, 1923.
- O'Malley, John W. *Saints or Devils Incarnate?: Studies in Jesuit History*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2013.
- O'Meara, Dominic J. *Platonopolis Platonic Political Philosophy in Late Antiquity*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007.
- O'Rourke Boyle, Marjorie. *Loyola's Acts: The Rhetoric of the Self*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
- Ostergren, Robert C., and John Rice. *The Europeans: A Geography of People, Culture, and Environment*. New York: Guilford Press, 2004.
- Ostojić, Ivan. "Susreti između benediktinskog i dominikanskog Reda u Hrvatskoj [Encounters between the Benedictine and the Dominican Orders in Croatia]." *Ephemerides theologicae Zagrabienses* 36, no. 3-4 (April 1967): 703-711.
- . "Dodiri između Benediktinske i Franjevačke ustanove u Hrvatskoj [The Contact between the Benedictine and Franciscan Institutions in Croatia]." *Church in the World* 1, no. 1 (February 1966): 39-49.
- Ostrogorsky, George. *History of the Byzantine State*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1969.
- Pallin, Raphaela. "Abnegation." In *Diccionario de Espiritualidad Ignaciana*, ed. Grupo de Espiritualidad Ignaciana (GEI). Bilbao: Ediciones Ensajero, Sal Terrae, 2007: 65-75.

- Palloff, Rena M., and Keith Pratt. *Lessons from the Virtual Classrooms: The Realities of Online Teaching*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2013.
- Papademetriou, Kyriakoula. "From the *Arête* of the Ancient World to the *Arête* of the New Testament. A Semantic Investigation." In *Septuagint Vocabulary. Prehistory, Usage, Reception, Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 58, ed. Eb. Bons and J. Joosten. Atlanta: Society for Biblical Literature, 2011.
- Pavlovic Ivan Minaev. "Çāntideva: `Bodhicaryāvatāra'." *Zapiski Vostochnago Otdeleniya Imperatorskago Russkago Arkheologicheskago Obshchestva* (Transactions of the Oriental Section of the Royal Russian Archeological Society) 4, (1889). Accessed October 7, 201., <http://www.knigafund.ru/books/52156/read?locale=en>.
- Pažman, Ivan. "Recenzije, budizam i kršćanstvo" [Review, Buddhism and Christianity]. *Miriam* (1918): 270-71.
- Pennington, Jonathan T. "A Biblical Theology of Human Flourishing." The Institute for Faith, Work, and Economics. Accessed August 18, 2017. <http://tifwe.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/Pennington-A-Biblical-Theology-of-Human-Flourishing.pdf>.
- Perica, Vjekoslav. "The Most Catholic Country in Europe? Church, State, and Society in Contemporary Croatia." *Religion, State & Society* 34, no. 4 (December 2006): 311-346.
- Pham, Hung T. "*Ignatian Inculturation: Spirituality of Mission of the First Jesuits in Asia Exemplified by Alexandre de Rhodes (1593-1660) and His Catechismus in Vietnam*." Doctorate in Sacred Theology (STD) dissertation, Comillas Pontificia Universidad de Madrid, 2011.
- . "Composing a Sacred Space: A Lesson from the Catechismus of Alexandre de Rhodes." *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits*, 46, no. 2 (Summer 2014).
- Phan, Peter C. *Mission and Catechesis: Alexandre de Rhodes and Inculturation in Seventeenth Century Vietnam*. New York: Orbis Books, 2005.
- Pieris, Aloysius. "Western Christianity and Asian Buddhism: A Theological Reading of Historical Encounters." *Dialogue* 7 (1980): 49-85.
- . "Ignatian Exercises against a Buddhist Background," *The Way, Supplement* 68 (Summer 1990): 98-111.
- . *Love Meets Wisdom: A Christian Experience of Buddhism*. New Delhi: Intercultural Publications, 1996.

- . *Prophetic Humour in Buddhism and Christianity: Doing Inter-Religious Studies in the Reverential Mode*. Colombo: Ecumenical Institute for Study and Dialogue, 2009.
- . *Studies in the Philosophy and Literature of Pali Abhidhammika Buddhism*. Colombo, Sri Lanka: The Ecumenical Institute for Study & Dialogue, 2004.
- Pinet, Simone. "The Chivalric Romance in the Sixteenth Century." In *A History of the Spanish Novel*, ed. J.A.G. Ardilla. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Pischel, Richard. *Leben und Lehre des Buddha: zweiter unveränderter Abdruck der 3. Aufl., aus Natur und Geisteswelt: Sammlung Wissenschaftlich Gemeinverstaendlicher Darstellungen*; Bd. 109. Leipzig: Teubner, 1921.
- Pomplun, Trent. *Jesuit on the Roof of the World: Ippolito Desideri's Mission to Eighteenth Century Tibet*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Portal hrvatskog kulturnog vijeća [Portal of the Croatian culture council]. Homilija kardinala Josipa Bozanića na misi za domovinu prigodom Dana državnosti [Cardinal Josip Bozanić's Homily at a Mass for the Homeland on Statehood Day]. Last modified June 25, 2017. Accessed July 5, 2017. [http://www.hkv.hr/izdvojeno/vai-prilozi/ostalo/prilozi\\_graana/27034-kardinal\\_josip\\_bozanic-deset-postulata-za-nas-krscanski-zivot-i-ocuvanje\\_duse\\_hrvatskog\\_identiteta.html](http://www.hkv.hr/izdvojeno/vai-prilozi/ostalo/prilozi_graana/27034-kardinal_josip_bozanic-deset-postulata-za-nas-krscanski-zivot-i-ocuvanje_duse_hrvatskog_identiteta.html).
- Potočnik, Dunja. "Socijalni status studenata " [Social Status of University Students]. In *Sociološki portret hrvatskih studenata*, ed. Vlasta Ilišin. Zagreb: Institute for Social Research, 2014.
- . "Studenti u umreženom društvu" [University Students in a Web-connected Society]. In *Sociološki portret hrvatskih studenata*, ed. Ilišin Vlasta. Zagreb: Institut za društvena istraživanja, 2014, 377- 395.
- Pukler, D. *Budizam i kršćanstvo* [Buddhism and Christianity]. Rijeka: Miriam, 1918.
- Puini, Carlo. *Mahaparinirvana-Sutra ovvero il libro della totale estinzione del Buddha*. Lanciano: Carabba, 1919.
- . *Nella redazione cinese di Pe-Fa-Tsu., cultura dell'anima*. Lanciano: Carabba, 1919.
- Radin, Furio, and Vlasta Ilišin, eds. *Mladi: problemi ili resurs* [Youth: Problems or Resource]. Zagreb: Institute for Social Research, 2007.
- Raboteg-Šarić, Zora, and Ivan Rogić. *Daleki život, bliski rub: kvaliteta života i životni planovi mladih na područjima posebne državne skrbi* [Distant Life, Edge Close

- Up: The Quality of Life and Life Plans of Young People in the Areas of Special State Concern]. Zagreb: Institute for Social Research 'Ivo Pilar', 2009.
- Ramet, Sabrina Petra. *Balkan Babel: The Disintegration of Yugoslavia from the Death of Tito to the Fall of Milošević*. New York: Westview Press, 2002.
- Ratnayaka, Shanta. "The Bodhisattva Ideal of Theravada." *The Journal of International Association of Buddhist Studies* 8, no. 2 (1985): 85-111.
- Rehg, William. "Christian Mindfulness, a Path to Finding God in All Things." *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits*, 34, no. 3 (2002).
- Ritig, Svetozar. *U Gangesovoj delti* [In the Ganges Delta]. Zagreb: Tiskara Gasnika srca Isusova, Misijska biblioteka, no. 1, 1936.
- Robouam, Thierry, SJ. "Lumen Gentium and Jesuit Interreligious Discourse Revisited: An Experiential Theology in Dialogue with Buddhism for the 'Ear of the Mind.'" Doctorate in Sacred Theology (STD), dissertation, Santa Clara University, Jesuit School of Theology at Berkeley, 2007.
- Rodríguez, Antonio García. "Amor." In *Diccionario de Espiritualidad Ignaciana*, ed. Grupo de Espiritualidad Ignaciana (GEI). Bilbao: Ediciones Mensajero, Sal Terrae, 2007, 148-157.
- Roglić, Josip. *Geografske regije Hrvatske i susjednih zemalja: geografske posebnosti I razvojni procesi* [Geographical Regions of Croatia and Neighboring Countries: Geographical Specificities and Developmental Processes]. Zagreb: Split: Školska knjiga, Geografsko društvo, 2006.
- Russel, Danie C. "Aristotle on Cultivating Virtue." In *Cultivating Virtue: Perspectives from Philosophy, Theology, and Psychology*, ed. Nancy E. Snow. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015, 17-49.
- Stephen, Lawrence. "The Buddha's Psycho-Spirituality at the Service of Ignatian Spirituality." *Ignis Ignatian Spirituality: South Asia XLV*, no. 1 (2015): 35-57.
- Saddhatissa, Hammalawa. *Buddhist Ethics*. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1997.
- Samuels, Jeffrey. "The Bodhisattva Ideal in Theravāda Buddhist Theory and Practice: A Reevaluation of the Bodhisattva-Śrāvaka Opposition." *Philosophy East and West* 47, no. 3 (July, 1997): 399-415.
- Sanbo Kyodan a Zen-Buddhist Religious Foundation. Accessed April 4, 2017. [http://www.sanbo-zen.org/top\\_e.html](http://www.sanbo-zen.org/top_e.html).

- Schurhammer, Georg. *Osvajač istoka: apostol Indije i Japana sv. Franjo Ksaver* [A Conqueror of the East: The Apostle of India and Japan St. Francis Xavier]. Zagreb: Kolegij Družbe Isusove, Narodna tiskara Rudolf Vedo, 1936.
- . *Niponske žrtve*. [Japanese Victims]. Zagreb: Kolegij Družbe Isusove, Narodna tiskara, 1937.
- . *Braća Jang* [Yang Brothers]. Zagreb: Kolegij Družbe Isusove, Tiskara "Glasnika srca Isusova, 1937.
- Scientific International Symposium. *Jesuits among the Croats: Proceedings of the International Symposium-- Jesuits in the Religious, Scientific, and Cultural Life among the Croats, October 8-11, 1990*. Zagreb: Filozofsko-Teološki Institut Družbe Isusove.
- Secretariat for Non-Christians. "The Attitude of the Church Towards the Followers of Other Religions: Reflections and Orientations on Dialogue and Mission." *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 75 (1984): 816-828.
- Second Vatican Council. *Nostra Aetate* [Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions]. Vatican website. Accessed March 10, 2016. [http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist\\_councils/ii\\_vatican\\_council/documents/vat\\_ii\\_decl\\_19651028\\_nostra-aetate\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat_ii_decl_19651028_nostra-aetate_en.html).
- Segal, Zindel V., John D. Teasdale, and Mark G. Williams. *Mindfulness-Based Cognitive Therapy for Depression: A New Approach to Preventing Relapse*. New York: Guilford, 2013.
- Selak, Marija. Personal communication with author. Zagreb, Croatia, May 12, 2017.
- Senécal, Bernard. *Jésus le Christ à la rencontre de Gautama le Bouddha: Identité chrétienne et bouddhisme*. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1998.
- . "A Critical Reflection on the Chogyé Order's Campaign for the Worldwide Propagation of Kanhwa Son." *Journal of Korean Religions* 2, no. 1 (2011): 75-105.
- . "Buddhists in the Two Koreas: North-South Interactions." *Journal of Korean Religions* 4, no. 2 (2013): 9-50.
- . "The Philosophy of Son Master Toeong Songchol." *Journal of Korean Religions* 7, no. 1 (2016): 93-132.
- Sera Monastery. Official web page. Accessed June 10, 2017. <http://www.thlib.org/places/monasteries/sera/#!essay=/cabezon/sera/intro/>.

- Seyfort, Ruegg D. "Aspects of the Study of the (Earlier) Indian Mahāyāna." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 27, no. 1 (2004): 3-63.
- Sharkey, Gregory. *Buddhist Daily Ritual: The Nitya Puja in Kathmandu Valley Shrines*. Bangkok: Orchid Press, 2001.
- Sharma, Parmananda. *Śāntideva's Bodhicaryāvatāra: Original Sanskrit Text with English Translation and Exposition Based on Prajñākarmati's Pañjikā*. New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 1990.
- Sherman, Nancy. *The Fabric of Character: Aristotle's Theory of Virtue*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.
- Shore, Paul. "The Vita Christi of Ludolph of Saxony and its Influence on the Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius of Loyola." In *Studies in Spirituality of Jesuits*, 30/1 (January 1998): 1-32.
- Slukan Altić, Mirela. "Hrvatska kao zapadni Balkan--geografska stvarnost ili nametnuti identitet? [Croatia as Western Balkan--Geographic Reality or Imposed Identity?]." *Društvena istraživanja* 20, no.2 (112).
- Smith, Macklin. *Prudentius' "Psychomachia."* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015.
- Smith, Robin M. *Conquering the Content: A Blueprint for Online Course Design and Development*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2007.
- Snow, Nancy. "Metaphysics, Virtue, and Eudaimonia in Aristotle and Buddhism." In *Naturalism and Asian Philosophy: Owen Flanagan and Beyond*, ed. N.E. Nelson. New York, SUNY Press, 2014.
- Sociology Guide. "Values." Accessed August 11, 2017. [http://www.sociologyguide.com/basic\\_concepts/Values.php](http://www.sociologyguide.com/basic_concepts/Values.php).
- Sogang University. Accessed August 4, 2017. <http://www.sogang.ac.kr/>.
- Sophia University. "History of Sophia University." Accessed March 31, 2017. <http://www.sophia.ac.jp/eng/aboutsophia/history>
- Sorabji, Richard. *Emotion and Peace of Mind: From Stoic Agitation to Christian Temptation*. Oxford; Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Spiranec, Tomislav. "The Cultivation of Virtue in St. Ignatius and Śāntideva." Licentiate in Sacred Theology [STL] thesis, Santa Clara University, Jesuit School of Theology at Berkeley, 2013.



- . "The Evolution of the Western Representation of Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra*." Unpublished paper written for the class in "Critical Historiography of Buddhism," Institute of Buddhist Studies, at the Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, December 14, 2014.
- Stabile, Susan J. *Growing in Love and Wisdom: Tibetan Buddhist Sources for Christian Meditation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Stari hrvatski časopisi- portal digitaliziranih časopisa [The Old Croatian Journals-the Portal of Digitalized Journals]. Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica u Zagrebu. Accessed February 22, 2017. <http://dnc.nsk.hr/journals/>.
- Stare hrvatske novine - portal digitaliziranih novina [The Old Croatian Newspapers--the Portal of Digitalized Newspapers]. Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica u Zagrebu. Accessed February 22, 2017. <http://dnc.nsk.hr/Newspapers/Default.aspx>.
- Stirka, Zvezdan. "Početci i razvoj ninske Crkve do dolaska franačkih misionara u hrvatske krajeve [The Beginnings and Development of the Church in Nin prior to the Settlement of the Frankish Missionaries in Croatian Territories]." *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru*, no. 53 (December 2011).
- Strong, John S. *The Experience of Buddhism: Sources and Interpretations*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Belmont, CA: Cengage Learning, 2007.
- . *Buddhisms: An Introduction*. London: Oneworld publications, 2015.
- Studentski Akademski Centar Palma [University Academic Center Palma]. Accessed February 04, 2017. <http://skac.hr/>.
- Sutcliffe, Steven, and Marion Bowman. *Beyond New Age: Exploring Alternative Spirituality*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000.
- Sweet, Michael J. "An Unpublished Letter in Portuguese of Father Ippolito Desideri, S.J. " In *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 157, no. 1 (2010), 29-45.
- Sweet, Michael J., and Leonard Zwilling. *Mission to Tibet: the Extraordinary Eighteenth Century Account of Father Ippolito Desideri, S.J.* Boston: Wisdom Publication, 2010.
- Šanjek, Franjo. *Kršćanstvo na hrvatskom prostoru: pregled religiozne povijesti Hrvata (7-20. st.)* [Christianity on Croatian Territory: An Overview of the Religious History of the Croats (7<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> Century)]. Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1996.

- . "Uloga papinstva u afirmaciji Hrvatske u ranom srednjem vijeku (7.-12. st.) [The Role of the Papacy in the Affirmation of Croatia in the Early Middle Ages (7<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> Century)]." *Problemi sjevernog Jadrana*, no. 9 (December 2009).
- Šavija-Valha, Nebojša. "Religijski identiteti i društvena struktura Bosne i Hercegovine [Religious Identities and Social Structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina]." *Migration and Ethnic Themes* 25, no. 1-2 (June 2009): 49-67.
- Ščerbatski, Fjodor. *Koncepcija buddhističke nirvāne* [Conception of the Buddhist Nirvana]. Zagreb: Demetra, 2004.
- . *Buddhistička logika* sv. I-II [Buddhist Logic vols. I-II]. Zagreb: Demetra, 2005.
- . *Ranobuddhistička Dharma* [Early Buddhist Dharma]. Zagreb, Demetra, 2005.
- Šidak, Jaroslav. "Heretička 'Crkva Bosanska'" [The Heretical "Bosnian Church"]." *Slovo: časopis Staroslavenskoga instituta u Zagrebu*, no. 27 (1977): 149-185.
- Špehar, Milan. "Tragovi mistike u budizmu i hinduizmu" [The Traces of Mysticism in Buddhism, and Hinduism]. *Obnovljeni život: Journal of Philosophy and Religious Sciences* 65, no. 4. (December 2010): 469-483.
- Štimac, Zrinka. "Catholic Tradition and New Religious Movements: What Is New in the Present Religious Landscape in Croatia?." In *Religion and the Conceptual Boundary in Central and Eastern Europe: Encounters of Faiths*, ed. Thomas S. Bremer, Basingstoke [England]; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008, 215-228.
- Šāntideva. *The Way of the Bodhisattva: A Translation of the Bodhicaryāvatāra*, rev. ed., translated from Tibetan by Padmakara Translation Group. Boston: Shambala, 2006
- . *The Bodhicaryāvatāra*. *Oxford World's Classics*, ed. Paul Williams. Oxford: Oxford University Press, USA, 2008.
- Tagore, Rabindranath. *Gitanjali (žrtveni pjev)* [Gitanjali (The Sacrificial Song)]. Translated by Vuk Pavlović. Zagreb: Knjižara L. Hartman (St. Kugli), 1914.
- . *Nacionalizam* [Nationalism]. transl. A. Barac. Zagreb: Ćirilo metodska knjižara, 1921.
- . *Ostvarenje ljepote i problem zla* [Realization of Beauty, and the Problem of Evil]. Zagreb: Vid –Tisak poligrafije, 1923.
- Tellechea Idigoras, Jose Ignacio. *Ignatius of Loyola the Pilgrim Saint*. Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1994.

- The Croatian Bureau of Statistics. *Hrvatska u brojkama 2015* [Croatia in Figures 2015], ed. Edina Aranjoš Borovac. Zagreb, 2015.
- . *Popis stanovništva, kućanstava, i stanova 2011. Stanovništvo prema državljanstvu, narodnosti, vjeri i materinskom jeziku* [Census of Population, Households, and Dwellings 2011, Population by Citizenship, Ethnicity, Religion, and Mother Tongue], ed. Ljiljana Ostroški. Accessed December 12, 2012. <http://www.dzs.hr/>.
- . Croatia in Figures 2015, ed. Edina Aranjoš Borovac. Accessed September 22, 2016. [http://www.dzs.hr/Eng/Publication/cro\\_in\\_fig.htm](http://www.dzs.hr/Eng/Publication/cro_in_fig.htm).
- The Faculty of Philosophy of the Society of Jesus. Accessed February 04, 2017. <http://www.ffdi.hr/>.
- The Jesuit Grammar School in Osijek. Accessed February 04, 2017. <http://www.ikg.hr/>.
- The Jesuit Refugee Service in Croatia. Accessed February 04, 2017. <http://www.jrs.hr/>.
- The Secretariat for Ecumenical & Interreligious Relations. Jesuits' buddhist group. Accessed April 4, 2017. <http://www.sjweb.info/sof/ecuir.cfm>
- Thompson, Mel. *Understand Eastern Philosophy a Teach Yourself Guide*. London: McGraw Hill, 2012
- Todorova, Maria. *Balkan Identities: Nation and Memory*. Washington Square, N.Y.: New York University Press, 2004.
- Tomasevich, Jozo. *War and Revolution in Yugoslavia, 1941-1945: Occupation and Collaboration*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2001.
- Tomašević, Silvije. "Papa s poglavarom Srpske pravoslavne crkve o Stepincu" [Pope with the head of the Serbian Orthodox Church about Stepinac]. Last modified January 18, 2016. Accessed July 8, 2017. <http://www.vecernji.hr/svijet/papa-s-poglavarom-srpske-pravoslavne-crkve-o-stepincu-1052595>.
- Tuomas, Rasimus, Troels Engberg-Pedersen, and Ismo Dunderberg, eds. *Stoicism and Early Christianity*. Peabody, Mass: Baker Academic, 2010.
- Tportal. "Bozanić nabrojao deset postulata za očuvanje hrvatskoga identiteta" [Bozanić had counted ten postulates for preservation of Croatian identity]. Last modified June 25, 2017. Accessed July 5, 2017. <https://www.tportal.hr/biznis/clanak/bozanic-nabrojao-deset-postulata-za-ocuvanje-hrvatskoga-identiteta-20170625>.

- Tsunoda, Yuichi. "Personal and Cosmic Dimensions of the Hypostatic Union in Jesus Christ: Dialogue between Christology and Buddha Body Theory in Shin Buddhism." Doctorate in Sacred Theology (STD) dissertation, Santa Clara University, Jesuit School of Theology at Berkeley, 2017.
- Tucker, Shwan R. *The Virtues and Vices in the Arts: A Source Book*. Eugene, Oregon: Cascade Books, 2015.
- Tulana Research Center for Encounter and Dialogue. Accessed August 4, 2017. <http://tulana.org/>.
- Udruga Međugorje mir [Međugorje Association Peace]. Bibliography. Last modified June 2, 2017. Accessed July 7, 2017. <http://www.medjugorje.hr/hr/izdavastvo/knjige/hrvatski/>.
- Ule, Mirjana. "Odnos omladine prema mladosti, odraslosti i budućnosti" [The Relationship of Young Adults toward Childhood, Adulthood, and the Future]. In *Položaj, svest i ponašanje mlade generacije Jugoslavije*, ed. Srđan Vrcan. Beograd-Zagreb: CIDID-IDIS, 1986.
- University of Oslo online Thesaurus Literature Buddhicae. "Bodhicaryāvatāra." Accessed February 20, 2018. <https://www2.hf.uio.no/polyglotta/index.php?page=record&&vid=24&mid=11868&vi w=record>.
- Vanino, Miroslav. "Teosofija" [Theosophy]. *Obnovljeni život: Journal of Philosophy and Religious Sciences* 1, no. 7 (1920): 172-74.
- . *Isusovci i hrvatski narod* [Jesuits and the Croatian People]. Zagreb: Filozofsko-teološki institut Družbe Isusove, 1969.
- . *Kolegiji Dubrovački, Riječki, Varaždinski i Požeški*. Zagreb: Filozofsko-teološki institut Družbe Isusove, 1987.
- . *Isusovci i hrvatski narod 3*. Zagreb: Filozofsko-teološki institut Družbe Isusove, 2005.
- Vanino, Miroslav, and Valentin Miklobušec. *Isusovci i hrvatski narod 4*. Zagreb: Filozofsko-teološki institut Družbe Isusove, 2007.
- Vasiliou, Iakous. *Aiming at Virtue in Plato*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Veliath, Cyril. *The Buddha & Jesus: An Anthology of Articles by Jesuits Engaged in Buddhist Studies and Inter-Religious Dialogue*. Kelaniya: Tulana Jubilee Publications, 2016.

- . Personal web page. Accessed April 7, 2017. <http://www.buddhist-buddha-christianjesuitjesus.com/index.html>.
- Veljačić, Čedomil. *Philosophia perennis*, sv. I-II. *Rasprava iz komparativne filozofije* [Philosophia Perennis vols. I-II, Essays on Comparative Philosophy]. Zagreb: Demetra, 2003.
- . Bibliography in chronological order. Accessed July 15, 2017. <http://srednjiput.rs/tumacenja/cedomil-veljacic/>.
- Vereš, Tomo. *Dominikansko opće učilište u Zadru: 1396-1807: prvo hrvatsko sveučilište* [Dominican General Institutes of Zadar: 1396-1807: The First Croatian University]. Zagreb: Globus, 1996.
- Vidović, Mile. *Povijest Crkve u Hrvata* [A History of the Church among Croats]. Split: Crkva u svijetu, 1996.
- Vinšćak, Tomo. "Following the Paths of Tibetan Buddhism—the Sacred Mountain of Kailas." *Studia ethnologica Croatica* 14/15, no.1 (March 2004): 285-296.
- . "Tibet u zemlji bogova" [Tibet in the Land of Gods]. *Ethnologica Dalmatica* 16, no.1 (November 2007): 5-70.
- . "Tibetska religija Bön" [Tibetan religion of Bön]. *Studia ethnologica Croatica* 23, no.1 (December 2011): 309-326.
- Wachtel, Andrew. *Making a Nation, Breaking a Nation: Literature and Cultural Politics in Yugoslavia*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.
- Wallace Ruddy, Deborah. "A Christological Approach to Virtue: Augustine and Humility." Ph.D. dissertation, Boston College, 2001.
- Walser, Joseph. *Nāgārjuna in Context: Mahāyāna Buddhism & Early Indian Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005.
- Walsh, Milton. *To Always be Thinking Somehow about Jesus: The Prologue of Ludolf's Vita Christi*. *Studies in Spirituality of Jesuits*, 43/1, (Spring 2011).
- Williams, Paul. *Altruism and Reality: Studies in the Philosophy of the Bodhicaryāvatāra*. London: Routledge, 1997.
- . *Mahāyāna Buddhism: The Doctrinal Foundations*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. London: Routledge, 2009.

- Williams, Paul, Anthony Tribe, and Alexander Wynne. *Buddhist Thought: A Complete Introduction to the Indian Tradition*, 2nd edition. New York: Routledge, 2012.
- Woodill, Joseph. *The Fellowship of Life: Virtue Ethics and Orthodox Christianity*. Washington D.C: Georgetown University Press, 1989.
- Wright, Dale S. *The Six Perfections: Buddhism and the Cultivation of Character*. Reprint edition. New York: Oxford University Press, USA, 2011.
- Wright, N.T. *After You Believe: Why Christian Character Matters*. New York, Harper One, 2010.
- Yarnold, Edward. *Cyril of Jerusalem*. London: Routledge, 2000.
- Yeomans, Rory. *Visions of Annihilation: The Ustasha Regime and the Cultural Politics of Fascism, 1941-1945*. Pittsburgh, PA.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012.
- . *The Utopia of Terror: Life and Death in Wartime Croatia*. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2015.
- Yonhap News Agency*. April 3, 2017. "Four major leaders visited Won Buddhist sacred site near Seongju Saad site." Accessed July 5, 2017.  
<http://www.yonhapnews.co.kr/bulletin/2017/03/31/0200000000AKR201703311280005.HTML?input=1179m>.
- Zec, Slavko, and Milivoj Guszak. "Vjernici laici u vršenju vlasti upravljanja-suradnja ili sudjelovanje? [Laity in the Governance-Cooperation or Participation?]." *Ephemerides theologicae Fluminenses* 45, no. 1 (2015): 193-224.
- Zorić, Damir. *Etnografije hrvatskih misionara* [Ethnographies of Croatian Missionaries]. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 2011.
- Zrinščak, Siniša. "Developmental and Religious Dilemmas of Croatian Society." In *Religion and Integration*, ed. Ivan Grubišić and Siniša Zrinščak. Zagreb: Institut društvenih znanosti Ivo Pilar, 1999): 171-72.
- . "Ima neka tajna veza: religioznost mladih kao indikator društvenih i religijskih promjena" [There is a Secret Connection: Religiosity of Youth as an Indicator of Social and Religious Changes]. *Društvena istraživanja* no. 10 (2001):19-40.
- Zrinščak, Siniša, and Gordan Črpić. "Dinamičnost u stabilnosti: religioznost u Hrvatskoj 1999. i 2008. godine [Dynamism in Stability: Religiosity in Croatia in 1999 and 2008]. " *Društvena istraživanja: Journal for General Social Issues* 19, no.1-2 (2010): 3-27.

Živković, Pavo. "Bosanskohercegovački Hrvati - njihove demografske i konfesionalne promjene kroz povijest [Bosnian-Herzegovinian Croats- Their Demographic and Confessional Changes through History]." *Povijesni zbornik: godišnjak za kulturu i povijesno naslijeđe* 1, no.1-2 (May 2007): 221-232.

Župarić-Iljić, Drago. *Iseljavanje iz Republike Hrvatske nakon ulaska u Europsku Uniju* [Emigration from the Republic of Croatia Following Accession to the European Union]. Zagreb: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung - Zagreb, 2016.