

## Jesuits and the *Propaganda* Missionaries: Two Different Ways of Accommodation

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### 1. Introduction

Do not persuade these people in any way to change their culture (customs, mores) if they are not clearly against faith and morals! What could be more absurd than introducing the cultures of France, Spain, Italy or even any other European country into China? You are not a messenger of our culture, but of faith that does not destroy cultural traditions of other people, but conserves them if they are not bad.<sup>1)</sup>

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1) *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide memoria rerum*, ed. J. Metzler, Bd III/2 (Freiburg, 1976), 789. For this document and its backgrounds, J. Metzler, "Tätigkeit der Kongregation im Dienste der Glaubensverbreitung 1922-1972. Ein Überblick," *ibid.*, 464-577, here 484-487.

These words have become the Magna Carta of missionary adaptation. They were cited in the document of May 26 1936 of the Roman Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (*Congregatio de propaganda fidei*) - hereafter noted as 'the Propaganda' - relating to the Japanese Shinto Rites, which was the beginning of revision of the former prohibition of Eastern Rites. Their source is the instruction of 1659 of Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (founded in 1622) to the Vicars Apostolic Pallu and de la Motte, sent to Ajuthia (Thailand in the present).<sup>2)</sup> Missionary accommodation - as well as the formation of native clergies and episcopacy - belonged essentially to the program of the Propaganda, as it was with the policy of the Jesuit missionaries in Japan, China, India and Vietnam. Therefore, it is astonishing and strange that the Jesuits found the Propaganda, it's Vicars Apostolic and the missionaries of the Paris *Société des Missions Étrangères*, who were at the service of the Propaganda, among their early adversaries in the Rites Controversy.<sup>3)</sup>

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2) Ibid., 697-704 (citation at 702). English translation here and in the following is mine. The first time these words were cited and used in favor of the Chinese Rites seems to have been the Convention of Canton in 1668, that is 9 years after a transitory compromise between Jesuit and Dominican missionaries. See G. Minamiki, *The Chinese Rites Controversy from its beginning to Modern Times* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1985), 34.

3) For the Chinese Rites Controversy these are important among others: J. S. Cummins, *A Question of Rites. Friar Domingo Navarrete and the Jesuits in China* (Cambridge: Scolar Press, 1993), a publication rather reflecting the position of the Dominicans, especially of the adversaries of the Rites; D. E. Mungello ed., *The Chinese Rites Controversy. Its History and Meaning*, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series XXXIII (Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1994). Further and especially for the work of the Jesuit Martini, see S. Vareschi, "L'opera di evangelizzazione e di mediazione culturale di Martino Martini S.J. (1614-1661) tra Europa e Cina". *Rivista della <Società di Studi Trentini di Scienze Storiche>* 73 (1994), 365-409.

That was of grave consequence. Had there been only the Friars (namely the Dominicans and the Franciscans) on the opposing side to the Jesuits, there would probably not have been a Roman condemnation of the Rites. At least not in a categorical and extreme form. In Rome, when those religious orders opposed each other, it was the voices of the Vicars Apostolic and missionaries of the Propaganda that proved to be decisive. Therefore, it could be said that the main tragedy of the missionary history of the XVII and XVIII century was the difference between the Jesuits and the Propaganda. Furthermore, that difference was especially significant for the case of China, a country that initially encountered the Christian message through the books of a Jesuit Matteo Ricci and, then, was missionized during the whole XIX century and the first half of the XX century exclusively by the missionaries of the Paris Foreign Mission Society. It is true that the difference between the Jesuits and the Propaganda in terms of missionary policy was due to many factors. The jurisdictional conflict, for instance, in the struggle with the Portuguese *Padroado* was not of little importance, in which the Jesuits in China generally stood up for the *Padroado*. However, there had been also in the background different conceptions of accommodation, or different options in choosing partners in dialogue, and different starting points for the dialogue.

This in fact brings us to the very heart of the Rites Controversy. And we will be able to see more clearly two different conceptions of accommodation, if we consider in comparison the principles of accommodation that undergirded decisions of the Jesuits especially in China beginning with Matteo Ricci, and those contained in two

decisive documents from the Propaganda missionaries, the instruction of 1659 already mentioned, and then the *Monita ad missionarios* written in 1665 by the two addressees of that instruction, Pallu and de la Motte in Ajuthia, which were first printed in 1669 in Paris.<sup>4)</sup>

Nevertheless, it should be noted that there are certain principles common to both the Jesuits and the Propaganda missionaries.

- The non-violence of mission in the imitation of Jesus and the apostles, with readiness to martyrdom.<sup>5)</sup>

- The rejection of the link between mission and trade, at least in principle (although both made concessions in practice).<sup>6)</sup>

- The non-identification of Christianity with European customs and cultural traditions, at least in things that did not create dogmatic or moral problems.

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4) Citation from the document will be from the 1874 Rome edition. For a detailed commentary, see J. Metzler, *Die Synoden in Indochina 1625-1934* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schoningh, 1984), 16-25.

5) *Monita ad missionarios*, 33, 38. Important Jesuit texts are Jesuit missionary theologian José de Acosta's expositions in his 1588 writing *De procuranda Indorum salute* I, 13; II 2-6. For a recent edition in Latin and Spanish, see J. de Acosta, *De procuranda Indorum salute. Pacificación y colonización*, eds. L. Pereña, ed. L. Perea, V. Abril et al. (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1984). This principle is qualified in II 8: Violence can never be employed to impose faith; but among wild and barbarian tribes the missionary can be protected by soldiers, although the "apostolic" manner of the proclamation of the gospel should be preferred whenever it is possible, which is to be unarmed by principle "like sheep between the wolves" and with the readiness to martyrdom.

6) J. Metzler, "Orientation, programme et premières décisions (1622-1649)", *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide memoria rerum*, ed. J. Metzler, I/1 (Freiburg, 1971), 146-196, here 170 f.; "Die Kongregation in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts", *ibid.*, 244-305, here 280 f. For the attitude of the Jesuits in Japan who financed their mission by the silk trade, see C. R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan 1549-1650* (Berkeley: Carcanet Press, 1951), 93-95, 117-121.

- The necessity of learning and mastering native languages, and of the exposition of the Christian faith in native languages.<sup>7)</sup>

- The importance of formation of native clergies was also common in principle. However, two differences can be noted. Firstly, the concern was central for the Propaganda, indeed the very *raison d'être* of its mission. But, it was for the Jesuit missionaries merely one aim among others. Secondly, it was for the Propaganda applicable to all people without differences, including indigenous peoples of America. On the other hand, the Jesuits took different decisions in accordance with peoples and their cultural standards. For example, the Visitor Alessandro Valignano recommended accepting Japanese and Chinese in their own right, but not Indians and other colored races, which he considered as “unreliable”.<sup>8)</sup>

As it was noted, it was two different conceptions of accommodation between the Jesuits and the Propaganda that was at the heart of the problem of the Rites Controversy. Therefore, for adequate understanding of the Rites Controversy this article zooms in on the difference in conceptions of missionary accommodation between the Jesuits and the Propaganda by investigating first the principles of accommodation of the Jesuits and, then, those of the Propaganda.

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7) Metzler, “Die Kongregation in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts”, 180. Important texts for the Jesuits are Acosta, *De procuranda Indorum salute* I 9, IV 6-9, VI 13; F. J. Schütte, *Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze für Japan* I (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1951), 201-203.

8) K. Müller, “Propaganda-Kongregation und einheimischer Klerus”, *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide memoria rerum* I/1, 538-557; J. Metzler, “Francesco Ingoli und die Indianerweißen”, *NZM* 25 (1969), 262-272; Schütte, *Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze für Japan* I, 203-207, 387-389; II 313 f., 397-409.

## 2. Principles of Accommodation of the Jesuits

The specific character of the Jesuit Chinese Mission founded by Matteo Ricci did not consist in the principles of adaptation or accommodation alone, but rather in the concrete options and the choice of partners in dialogue. The China of the late Ming period, as it presented itself to Ricci and his companions, did not consist of one cultural world, but at least of two or more. However, the Jesuits could enter only through one door, not through several. Four options taken by the Jesuits need to be especially dealt with, which are intimately interlinked.<sup>9)</sup>

### 2.1 From the status of monk to that of scholar

Realizing that there existed a mental and cultural gap between the simple people and the dominating class of the literate and mandarins, Ricci and his companion Ruggieri took a decision that led to some important consequences. Initially, they presented themselves in the dress and social position of Buddhist monks, as did the Jesuits in Japan, which seemed to fit into their profession as priests and preachers of religious truth. However, when they realized that the image of the Buddhist monks was poor in the eyes of the dominating social ranks, they changed their adopted social role and presented themselves as

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9) The best presentation of Ricci's method of adaptation is still J. Bettray, *Die Akkomodationsmethode des P. Matteo Ricci in China*, Analecta Gregoriana 76 (Rome: Gregorian and Biblical Press, 1955). A valuable additional study, generally of the Jesuits in China, but also especially of Ricci, is offered by J. Gernet, *Chine et christianisme. Action et réaction* (Paris: Gallimard, 1982). For the gradual development of his method according to local situations and personal encounters, a recent publication is essential: R. Po-Chia. Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci 1552-1610* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

scholars.<sup>10)</sup> Monks were expected to perform religious and magical rites as a help to people in their daily problems. The literati and scholars were expected to cultivate themselves intellectually and morally. Significantly, Ricci built in the first years neither churches nor chapels but rooms of conversation, because, as he said, “here one preaches more efficiently and fruitfully by conversations than by official sermons”.<sup>11)</sup>

## 2.2 In favor of Confucianism against the popular religion

Intimately connected with this decision was another option, the choice of the religious starting point. The popular religion in China was a syncretism of Buddhism and Taoism, a mixture (as Ricci saw it) of belief in deities and spirits, witchcraft and magic. But the official ideology of the state and the world view of the literate, based on the classic authors, particularly on Confucius, seemed to be a philosophy, and an ethics rather than a religion. In reality, however, the situation was more complex. Confucianism had not only a philosophical and ethical dimension, but a religious dimension as well. And there was no simple opposition between Buddhism/Taoism and Confucianism. Rather, there was a popular syncretism of Confucianism with the other two religions. Now, as it has been stressed in recent publications of R. P. Ch. Hsia, it was through a particular situation, namely the encounter with Zhang Huang in Nanchang in the years of 1592-1595, that Ricci

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10) The decisive moments for Ricci seem to have been his visit in Nanxiong in February 1592 and also his stay in Nanchang. See Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City*, 136, 143.

11) M. Ricci, *Opere storiche*, ed. M. Tacchi-Venturi, vol. II (Macerata: Stabilimento Tipografico, 1913), 215.

came to have the image of Confucianism as moral philosophy.<sup>12)</sup> Zhang Huang was a representative of a school of Confucianism that rejected any syncretism with Buddhist or Taoist ideas, a position that is not shared by all Confucians. And this was decisive for Ricci who took his point of departure from the Confucianism of the cultural elite. Ricci based this decision on his interpretation of Confucianism, according to which in the beginning, especially in Confucius, the devotion to the “heaven” meant a belief in a unique personal God, and this monotheistic belief was falsified in the course of times by Buddhist and Taoist influences (an interpretation which was historically wrong).

Regarding this matter the most important document is Ricci's famous book, *The True Doctrine of the Lord of Heaven*.<sup>13)</sup> Certainly, it would be difficult to find in it an exposition of central mysteries of Christian faith. Jesus Christ is presented as coming from heaven as a legate from God, and simply returning to heaven one day. Neither his death on the cross nor his resurrection was mentioned. This has given ammunition to the adversaries of the Jesuits in mission, because the message of the cross then would have been concealed. However, it must be pointed out that although the book was called by Ricci a “catechism”, it was geared to non-Christians and not to catechumens. Therefore, it was not a summary of Christian doctrine, but rather “Christian Philosophy” in dialogue with Chinese thinking. It was Ricci's

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12) Hsia, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City*, 158-163.

13) An edition in Chinese and English is M. Ricci, *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven (Tien-chu Shih-i)*. Translated with Introduction and Notes by D. Lancashire and P. Hu Kuo-chen (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1985).

purpose to demonstrate that the Christian doctrine was not a “new doctrine”(a verdict in a country where all were convinced that all the wisdom of the world is contained in its own antiquity!), but the fulfillment of China's national traditions and even the restoration of true Confucianism. Hence, the religion of the “Lord of the Heaven” should reconcile harmoniously with the Chinese antiquity.

### 2.3 Mission from above to below

The change from the status of monk to that of scholar and the decision to take the point of departure from philosophy and not from the popular religion are intimately connected with Ricci's elitist missionary conception of winning the whole people through the class of the literate, and the mandarins who were officials recruited from the literate. This meant that giving up of momentary success and mass conversion was required, in order to gain the confidence of the mandarins and of the emperor. Accordingly, Ricci writes in 1605: “God showed us clearly, that it would not be difficult to gain Christians, and in great number. But the whole danger was to provoke a popular movement, because the Fathers did not secure their place in China and they were not known to the emperor.”<sup>14)</sup> Indeed, a popular movement would have kindled the suspicion of the dominating classes, and thus would have been suppressed immediately as a virtually revolutionary force. In this respect, things have not changed much in China. But it must be emphasized that Ricci's option was a tactical one for the beginning. It would be wrong to say that the Jesuits limited their

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14) Betray, *Die Akkomodationsmethode*, XXV.

apostolate to the leading classes and neglected the poor and the ordinary people. In fact, during the last years of the Ming dynasty when the place of the Jesuits was secured, many converts came from all classes of the Chinese society, from merchants, craftsmen and even peasants. But that would not have occurred without the influence and leadership of Christian literati. Furthermore, the apostolate of the Mendicants since 1631 among the ordinary people would have been scarcely possible without the foundation laid by Ricci.

#### 2.4 Natural science as a way to God

The activity of the Jesuit missionaries as mediators of European technical and scientific knowledge - especially as mathematicians and court astronomers, but also as architects, engineers, cannon makers, watchmakers and last but not least as cartographers - occupied an important place in the context of “cultural change”<sup>15)</sup> in China. This activity had multiple functions in the context of the propagation of faith, and of inculturation of Christianity in China, which has not been sufficiently acknowledged.<sup>16)</sup> It had a tactical function of rendering themselves indispensable to the dominating elites and the emperor.<sup>17)</sup>

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15) W. Reinhard, “Gelenkter Kulturwandel im siebzehnten Jahrhundert. Akkulturation in den Jesuitenmissionen als universalhistorisches Problem”, *Historische Zeitschrift* 223 (1976), 529-590.

16) J. Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, vol. III (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 437-458; Id., *Chinese Astronomy and the Jesuit Mission. An Encounter of Cultures* (London: The China Society, 1958); Claudia von Collani, “Theologie und Wissenschaft in China”, *Naturwissenschaftliches Weltbild und Evangelisierung*, ed. K. Müller (Nettetal, 1993), 83-115.

17) Fr. Magalhães writes in 1660 to the General of the Jesuits: “After God the very existence of the mission rests only on the mathematics.” See A. Váth, *Johann Adam*

But that was not the only purpose. Ricci's famous "mappamondi" (map of the world), widening a geographical horizon, helped to bring about widening of the world view and overcoming of the sinocentric view of the world, in which there were outside of the "Empire of the Middle" only some scattered isles of barbarians. And in this sense, it could be said to have served to raise interest in the Christian message.<sup>18)</sup> Through astronomy, particularly through more exact computations of the eclipses of the sun and the moon, the Jesuits tried to demonstrate that they understood better "the things of heaven".<sup>19)</sup> The doctrine of heaven was both astronomy and the doctrine of the "Lord of Heaven".<sup>20)</sup> It is significant that the Jesuit astronomer Schall von Bell from Cologne, who reformed the Chinese calendar, received the honorific title "teacher who detects the mysteries of heaven". Here astronomy and theology were almost inseparably fused together.<sup>21)</sup> But this apologetic function of natural science in the Jesuit missionary project must be seen in a larger context, namely the "rationality" of the nature as access to a personal God who is the Creator of the universe. Hence, a central biblical verse

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*Schall von Bell. Missionar in China, kaiserlicher Astronom und Ratgeber am Hofe zu Peking 1592-1666. Ein Lebens- und Zeitbild* (Köln, 1933), 269.

18) Betray, *Die Akkomodationsmethode*, 202-207; P. D'Elia, *Il Mappamondo del P. Matteo Ricci* (Vatican, 1938).

19) Vāth, *Johann Adam Schall*, 68 f., 84, 109 f., 307 f.; Betray, *Die Akkomodationsmethode*, 177 f.

20) Vāth, *Johann Adam Schall*, 116. The inscription of the Jesuit astronomer Schall v. Bell of 1660: "According to the old writers the heaven is the author of the happy events in the life of the sages and saints. That I could live under the government of His Majesty and re-elaborate the calendar with European methods and introduce missionaries for the propagation of faith in China, that is a luck as great as the rising sun and the wandering moon and is due to the hidden councils of the Lord of heaven, the highest of the monarchs" (*ibid.*, 200).

21) *Ibid.*, 201.

for the Jesuits was Wisdom 11,20 “Thou hast ordered all things by measure, number and weight.” In nature, which is ordered by rational and reasonable laws, one encounters a creator, who must be the highest wisdom and intelligence. A frequent argument was that the wonderful order of the world proves the existence of a Creator-God, who knows and rules all things and - especially new and often offensive to Chinese thinking - who takes care of everybody and is claimed to have a personal relationship with every human being.<sup>22)</sup> Therefore, the newness and even scandalous character of the Christian message in the Jesuit preaching, which often seemed to present Christianity too directly as the perfection of the traditional Chinese values,<sup>23)</sup> must be that the ultimate value was no longer the cosmic harmony achieved through fulfillment of duties, but rather a personal relationship with the “Lord of Heaven”. In other words, as an appropriate relation to the Supreme Being nearness and intimacy were promoted instead of distance in respect.<sup>24)</sup>

In sum, the essential principle in the missionary method of Ricci and generally of the Jesuits in China, was the priority given to dialogue with the leading classes in the Chinese culture and to a long-term cultural encounter and transformation, which would create conditions for accepting the Christian message.

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22) Gernet, *Chine et christianisme*, 71; Collani, “Theologie und Wissenschaft in China”, 100 f.

23) That was true not only for the Jesuits, but also previously for the Jews and Muslims in China and even for Buddhism. See E. Zürcher, “Jesuit Accommodation and the Chinese Cultural Imperative”, *The Chinese Rites Controversy*, ed. D. E. Mungello, 31-64.

24) Gernet, *Chine et christianisme*.

### 3. Principles of Accommodation of the Propaganda

If we look at the instruction of 1659 of the Propaganda and the *Monita ad missionarios*, we encounter missionary options that seem quite opposite to those of the Jesuits.

#### 3.1 Distance to philosophy and “worldly wisdom” as means for the proclamation of faith

The *Monita ad missionarios* rejects the use of other “natural means” with the same force as it proclaims the absolute non-violence of the mission in the imitation of Jesus. That is to say, missionaries should not use prestige of any kind other than the force of the gospel. They should not weaken the message of the cross by words of “worldly wisdom”. Otherwise, the danger would be that missionaries “postpone what is humble and contemptuous in the religion, in order not to give offence to the hearers, emphasizing the great and deep things, and so try to present faith in the manner of sophists”.<sup>25)</sup> The allusion to the Jesuits in China, especially to Ricci, is obvious here. Missionaries must realize that the force of their preaching rests only on the force of the cross and, therefore, they should not be ashamed to proclaim the crucified everywhere. Under no circumstances should they be allowed to conceal passion and cross of Christ to the catechumens, for fear that the hearers should be scandalized.<sup>26)</sup> However, it must be said that this implied reproach against the Jesuits was not fair. In their missionary work, the cross of Christ was not concealed to the catechumens. But

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25) *Monita ad missionarios*, 44.

26) *Ibid.*, 43-46.

for the Jesuits it belonged to the “*arcani disciplina*” and, therefore, not to outsiders of Christian faith.<sup>27)</sup> It is true that in Ricci's *The True Doctrine of the Lord of Heaven* Jesus Christ is mentioned as the teacher of the true doctrine of God, who after 33 years on earth simply returns to heaven.<sup>28)</sup> But the eldest Christian testimony in China, the (Nestorian) column of Sian-fu of 781, does not speak directly of the death on the cross either. It rather adumbrates in symbolic language the salvific significance of the death of Christ on the cross: “He hanged up a shining sun to mount assault on the halls of darkness; then the tricks of the devil came to nothing”.<sup>29)</sup>

### 3.2 Distance to the political power

The fundamental policy in matters of politics was to appear harmless and of no interest to the ruling class. Here is the advice of the instruction of 1659 of the Propaganda:

Above all, keep a distance to politics and state affairs, so that you do not give in, not even by urgent requests, to accept public offices.... You must know that you cause great troubles to the Congregation, if you meddle or let you meddle in these things, and that not only if it causes damages to the religion or the expulsion of the missionaries,

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27) Betray, *Die Akkomodationsmethode*, 365-382. Totally different was the method of the Dominicans since their arrival in China in 1631. See B. Biermann, *Die Anfänge der neueren Dominikanermission in China* (Münster, 1927), 200-202.

28) Ricci, *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven*, 449 (no. 580). But in his last book(1608) in Chinese language, *Ten paradoxes of an extraordinary man*, Ricci emphasized more the importance of the cross.

29) G. Rosenkranz, *Die älteste Christenheit in China in den Quellenzeugnissen der Nestorianer-Texte der Tang-Dynastie* (Berlin, 1938), 51.

but also when there is a sure hope of advantage for the religion and the propagation of faith. Do not excuse yourself by the example of other religious group! You have to set yourself as an example, so that they and the people learn from you what the Holy See is thinking; because the word of God has to be sowed not by these artificial means, but by charity, contempt of human things, modesty, moderation, patience, prayer and all the other virtues of apostolic men.... If princes want an advice from you, then answer only after many requests and after having relied on our prohibition, and things which have to do with justice and eternity; then see to it that you leave the court as soon as possible. And rather than to remain at the court, declare that you are ignorant in politics and totally incapable of public offices, so that you can escape from the dangerous place as soon as possible.<sup>30)</sup>

The *Monita ad missionarios* agrees with this prescription.<sup>31)</sup> In the background of this policy was the case of political involvements of the Jesuits in Japan who, as international agents at the courts of the Daimyos, rendered themselves significant and ascended to the treacherous platform of power and got involved in intrigues. When political leaders united the whole of Japan at the end of the XVI and the beginning of the XVII century, under Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1582-1598) and Tokugawa Ieyasu(1603-1616), the Jesuits looked very important to them, but also dangerous as rivals so that they were deemed to be eliminated as soon as possible. The lesson from this experience in Japan could have been stated as follows: keep your distance from the courts, so that you may look harmless! However, it was not a wise tactic to adopt in China, where all were under

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30) Metzler, *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide memoria rerum* III/2, 702.

31) *Monita ad missionarios*, 41 f.

observation by authorities and, only good relations with the highest ranks could preserve a “new religion” from suppression due to a suspicion of being subversive and revolutionary.

### 3.3 Rejection of science as means of apostolate

The implication for the Jesuits in Peking of the following text of the *Monita ad missionarios* would be obvious.

Because Christ and the apostles used these means in no way, we must reject them totally or use them with great precautions. This is valid for the astronomy and the other natural sciences, and equally for painting, technical and artistic skills and talents. Missionaries will be more burdened and hindered rather than helped through all these things; much time for prayer and apostolate is lost by investing themselves in them.... And sometimes, while missionaries want to be acknowledged as ingenious and competent in these capacities, thinking that authority coming from it would be of advantage for their preaching, in reality they produce the opposite effect, because, by their superiority, they provoke mistrust or human antipathy.<sup>32)</sup>

Surely this was misunderstanding of the intention of Jesuit astronomers. Their aim was not merely to gain prestige, but also to generate a cultural encounter on the “highest level”, to change the vision of the world in Chinese people so as to create a disposition for the acceptance of the Christian message. Nevertheless, this objection, which was certainly unfair regarding the intention of Ricci and his followers, was not totally wrong regarding the situation that came about in the

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32) *Monita ad missionarios*, 46 f.

Manchu dynasty(1644). At that time, the leading caste of mandarins was less open to Western influences except towards technology and natural science. Ricci's great concept of inculturation fitted to the situation of the late Ming period, when, as a result of a desolate political situation, there was a certain openness to new thoughts in the leading class. But it came to its limit long before the Roman decision in the question of the Rites, primarily due to developments within China, for which the change from the Ming dynasty to the Manchu dynasty is decisive.

### 3.4 The positive aim: communities and the native church

The intention of the missionaries of the Propaganda was not primarily to win over the cultural and political leading classes, or even to earn their toleration, or to reduce their mistrust. Their primary intention was to form Christian communities, even from lower social classes, and above all to form native clergies and finally native episcopates. For the Propaganda, native clergy and episcopate were at the very heart of the mission. But for the Jesuits it was Christian elites that held leading positions in the life of people. The native clergy for the Propaganda missionaries was the realization of what is nowadays called inculturation or implantation of the gospel. Without native clergies, as the first secretary Francesco Ingoli says regarding the necessity of Indian priesthood in relation to South America, a mission Church is still "a child". A Church could remain as minority, even a persecuted minority. But as it has come of age, it depends on the existence of native clergies and episcopate. In this context, therefore, the social and

cultural position of a native clergy in his own country was not of great importance for the Propaganda. However, for the Jesuits the social and cultural position of a native clergy was important, at least in the first reflections on Chinese clergy, because they wanted Chinese priests to come from the class of the literate who had a complete and classical Chinese formation. Indeed, this was also the reason why the Jesuits asked for permission to say the Mass in the Mandarin Chinese (obtained from the Holy See in 1615, but never executed). It was not the question of a liturgy in the language of people, but of the Mandarin Chinese as a language of high culture, like Latin in Europe.

#### 4. Concluding Remarks

It has been said that history has always known two Chinas: one is the China of the official hierarchical order and of Confucianism, and the other, the China of subcultures, religious underground and popular movements.<sup>33)</sup> The reality may be more complex. That is to say, it could be affirmed that there has been only one China with many different aspects that should not be considered as contradictory, the syncretistic China of different traditions. However, the fact is that if the Jesuits turned to the China of the official hierarchical order and of Confucianism as a strategic starting point of inculturation, the Friars and the Propaganda missionaries however turned to, as it were, the other China. The Friars and the Propaganda missionaries triumphed

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33) J. E. Wills, "From Manila to Fuan: Asian Contexts of Dominican Mission Policy", *The Chinese Rites Controversy*. ed. Mungello, 111-127, here 112; R. Madsen, "The Catholic Church in China Today: A New Rites Controversy?", *ibid.*, 267-277.

ultimately in the Rites Controversy, which resulted in the Roman condemnation of the Rites in the beginning of the 18th century. The Rites Controversy was not a mere conflict between missionary accommodation and pure “Europeanism”. The issue involved in the Rites Controversy was more complex. It was the contention of this article that the Rites Controversy cannot be fully understood without grasping clearly the difference in missionary policy between the Jesuits and the Propaganda.

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## 예수회와 포교성성의 선교사들: 적응주의 선교의 두 다른 길

클라우스 샤츠 S.J.

적응주의 선교정책은 예수회 선교사들의 선교정책이 그랬듯이, 로마교황청의 포교성성(布教聖省)의 선교 프로그램에 있어서도 본질적인 것이었다. 그럼에도 불구하고 전례논쟁에서 포교성성의 선교사들은 일찌감치 예수회원들의 적이었다. 예수회원들에 반대하는 편에 탁발수도자들만 있었다라면 아마도 중국전례에 대한 로마교황청의 단죄는 - 적어도 절대적이고 극단적인 형태로는 - 없었을 것이다. 사실 전례논쟁의 배후에는 적응주의에 대한 두 다른 이해, 혹은 대화의 상대자를 선택함에 있어서의 두 다른 선택 그리고 토착화를 위한 두 다른 시발점이 있었다. 그 점이 전례논쟁의 핵심에 있었던 것이다. 그러므로 전례논쟁의 성격을 더 밝히기 위하여 본 논문은 적응주의 선교정책에 관해 예수회와 포교성성이 보인 대조적인 이해에 초점을 맞춘다. 이를 위해 예수회 선교사들 특히 마태오 리치로부터 시작하여 계속된 중국에서의 예수회 선교사들의 전략적 선택들을 뒷받침했던 적응주의 선교의 원리들과, 그와 대조적으로 포교성성에 의해 촉진되었던 적응주적 선교의 원리들을 비교하여 검토한다.

**주제어:** 전례논쟁, 예수회, 포교성성, 적응주의, 선교, 토착화

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## Abstract

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### **Jesuits and the *Propaganda* Missionaries: Two Different Ways of Accommodation**

Klaus Schatz, S.J.

Missionary accommodation belonged essentially to the program of Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, as it was with the policy of the Jesuit missionaries. Significantly enough, however, the Jesuits found the missionaries of the Roman Congregation among their early adversaries in the Rites Controversy. Had there been only the Friars on the opposing side to the Jesuits, there would probably not have been a Roman condemnation of the Rites, at least not in a categorical and extreme form. In the background of the Rites Controversy, there were in fact different conceptions of accommodation, or different options in choosing partners in dialogue, and different starting points for inculturation. That was at the very heart of the Rites Controversy. Hence, in order to shed some more lights on the nature of the Rites Controversy this article examines closely two contrasting conceptions of accommodation. It considers in comparison the principles of accommodation that undergirded decisions of the Jesuits especially in China beginning with Matteo Ricci, and those promoted in contrast by the Roman Congregation.

**Key Words:** the Rites Controversy, the Jesuits, Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, the Accommodation, Mission, Inculturation

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