

UNIVERSIDAD PONTIFICIA COMILLAS
FACULTAD DE TEOLOGÍA
Instituto Universitario de Espiritualidad

**IGNATIAN INCULTURATION:
Spirituality for Mission of the First Jesuits
in Asia, Exemplified by Alexandre de
Rhodes (1593 – 1660) and His
Catechismus in Vietnam**

Tesis para la obtención del grado de Doctor

Director: Prof. Dr. D. José García de Castro Valdés, S.J.

Autor: Lcdo. D. Hưng Trung Phạm, S.J.



MADRID 2011

Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam

UNIVERSIDAD PONTIFICIA COMILLAS
FACULTAD DE TEOLOGÍA
Instituto Universitario de Espiritualidad

**IGNATIAN INCULTURATION:
Spirituality for Mission of the First Jesuits
in Asia, Exemplified by Alexandre de
Rhodes (1591 – 1660) and His
Catechismus in Vietnam**



Tesis para la obtención del grado de Doctor

Director: Prof. Dr. D. José García de Castro Valdés, S.J.

Autor: Lcdo. D. Hưng Trung Phạm, S.J.

Visto bueno de profesor

Prof. Dr. D. José García de Castro Valdés, S.J.

*To my parents, my sisters and brothers
who have continually taught me what it
meant to be a family.*

SUMMARY

SUMMARY	i
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iii
ABBREVIATIONS	v
INTRODUCTION	1

PART I

FROM CULTURE TO INCULTURATION: *MOVEMENT TOWARDS WHOLENESS*

CHAPTER 1

CULTURE & CHRISTIANITY: <i>A Pluralistic Approach</i>	17
---	----

CHAPTER 2

MISSION AND INCULTURATION	65
---------------------------	----

PART II

GUIDED ADAPTATION: *OUR WAY OF PROCEEDING*

CHAPTER 3

IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA: <i>La prima forma et gratia</i>	135
---	-----

CHAPTER 4

GOD-CENTERED MULTICULTURE: <i>An Ignatian Paradigm</i>	201
--	-----

PART III

THE WORLD IS OUR HOUSE

CHAPTER 5

WISELY IGNORANT: <i>Jesuit Method of Cultural Accommodation in the Indies</i>	317
---	-----

CHAPTER 6

SOCIETY OF JESUS: <i>A Society of Catechists in Vietnam</i>	401
---	-----

CHAPTER 7

TEACHING TRUTHS TO THOSE WHO REASONED: <i>Alexandre de Rhodes' Catechismus and its Ongoing Adaptation of Jesuit Spirituality in Vietnam</i>	459
---	-----

CONCLUSION	515
------------	-----

EPILOGUE	525
----------	-----

APPENDIX	528
----------	-----

BIBLIOGRAPHY	561
--------------	-----

GENERAL INDEX	593
---------------	-----

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

For this investigation, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the Society of Jesus for having given me the opportunity to deepen myself in the Ignatian tradition and spirituality during the last three years. Concretely, I am grateful to the Missouri Province that has supported and financed all my studies and the Spanish Province that has opened its home to welcome me. Most especially, I want to thank Fr. Timothy McMahon, Fr. Douglas Marcouiller, Fr. John Armstrong, and Fr. Frank Reale for their visits and conversations personally accompanying me throughout the investigation.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to the late Fr. David Fleming, S.J., who had encouraged me to dedicate myself to the intellectual ministry in Ignatian Spirituality. His life and his commitment to the ministry of the *Exercises* had inspired me to pursue my investigation at the Universidad Pontificia Comillas.

It has been my privilege to work and to study under the care and guidance of Fr. José García de Castro Valdés. His scholarship, insights and comments have both challenged and inspired me to immerse myself deeper into the original sources of the Jesuit charism. I am deeply moved by his love and zeal for the Society of Jesus and its *fuentes*. In addition, how he has meticulously gone over my work has helped me growing more in my scholarship. For his life, his work, and his guidance, I am deeply grateful.

I am grateful to many Jesuits and non-Jesuit friends for companionship and support. In particular, my superiors – Fr. Enrique Sanz Giménez-Rico and Fr. Ignacio Boné Pina – have helped kept me focused on my studies while maintained the rhythm of Jesuit life and community. Fr. Gabino Uríbarri Bilbao has been exceptionally

generously in patiently instructing and guiding me navigating through difficult Spanish and Latin text. Fr. Santiago Madrigal Terrazas has graciously shared with me his recent research on Alessandro Valignano. Professor Carmen Márquez Beunza has been very helpful in directing me towards references in the topics of cultures and inculturation. Professor María del Carmen Meneses Falcón has assisted me in the area of human sociology. My Jesuit brothers at San Leopoldo, particularly, Edwin Murillo, Eloy Rivas, and Pablo Kramm Yuraszeck never seemed running out patience when I asked for help. For all of them, I owe a deep gratitude.

Many friends and family, Jesuits and non-Jesuits, from France, Italy, Spain, the United States, and Vietnam have supported me with their help, love and prayers. Fr. Michael Amaladoss, Fr. John Padberg, Fr. Mike Barber, and Fr. John O'Malley have been invaluable source of advice and support. Despite their busy schedules, Ms. Jessica Carrico and Michael Castori have enthusiastically and kindly proofread my works. Sra. Teresa Pérez assisted me in Spanish. Miss Thảo Nguyễn has assisted me to locate materials and computer design for the investigation. Mrs. Hélène Rychler and Mr. Mauro Brunello have taught me about the Archive of the Society of Jesus in Rome. Fr. Bart Geger, P. Alejandro Labajos Broncano, Fr. Vittorio Liberti, Cha Lâm Ngô, Cha Chánh Nguyễn, Cha Quốc Anh Trần, Cha Lâm Trần, Soeur Bích Trâm Đặng, Ronny Alessio, Domenico La Spada, Thầy Bảo Nguyễn, Thầy Thọ Vũ, Thầy Gia Ân, Thầy Mai Kha, Amy Tú Trương, Diễm Chi, Xuân Minh and Kim Phụng have kindly and generously offered themselves and their assistance helping me to find references, to translate documents, and to make the investigation presentable. I cannot imagine how I could complete this investigation without their support, love and care. Words cannot fully express what these friends and Jesuit companions have meant to me and the immense gratitude which I owe them.

All the shortcomings, errors and mistakes are mine.

ABBREVIATIONS¹

1. PRIMARY SOURCES

1.1. FROM THE WRITINGS OF IGNATIUS

<i>Au</i>	<i>Autobiografía. Acta Patris Ignatii scripta a P. Lud. González de Camara 1553 / 1555, FNI, Roma 1943, 354 – 507.</i>
<i>Co</i>	<i>Constituciones. Monumenta Constitutionum II, Roma 1936 (64).</i>
<i>De</i>	<i>Diaro Espiritual. Monumenta Constitutionum I, Roma 1934, 86 – 158.</i>
<i>Ej</i>	<i>Ejercicios Espirituales. Exercitia Spiritualia, Roma 1969.</i>
<i>Epp</i>	<i>Cartas. Sancti Ignatii de Loyola Societatis Iesu fundatoris epistolae e instrucciones (12 vols.), Madrid 1903 – 1911 (reimp. 1964 – 1968).</i>
<i>FI</i>	<i>Fórmula del Instituto (without date, refer to Pope Julius III's <i>Exposcit Debitum</i>).</i>
<i>F39</i>	<i>Fórmula del Instituto de 1539: approved “viva voz” by Pope Paul III.</i>
<i>F40</i>	<i>Fórmula del Instituto de 1540: confirmed the Society of Jesus in the Papal Bull <i>Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae (RME)</i> by Pope Paul III, <i>Monumenta Constitutionum I, Roma 1934.</i></i>
<i>F50</i>	<i>Fórmula del Instituto de 1550: reconfirmed the Society of Jesus in the Papal Bull <i>Exposcit Debitum (ED)</i> by Pope Julius III, <i>Monumenta Constitutionum I, Roma 1934, 375 – 382.</i></i>

1.2 FROM OTHER IGNATIAN SOURCES

<i>Chron</i>	<i>Vita Ignatii Loiolae et rerum Societatis Iesu historia (Chronicon de J. A. de Polanco) (6 vols.), Madrid 1894 – 1898.</i>
<i>D</i>	<i>Los Directorios de Ejercicios (1540 – 1599) (Lop, M., ed.), M-ST, Bilbao – Santander 2000.</i>
<i>DI*</i>	<i>Documenta Indica: 1540 – 1597, 18 vols., (J. Wicki, ed.), IHSI, Romae 1988.</i>
<i>FN</i>	<i>Fontes Narrativi de S. Ignacio de Loyola et de Societatis Iesu initiis (4 vols.), Roma 1943 – 1965.</i>
<i>MBob</i>	<i>Monumenta Bobadillae, Madrid 1913 (reimp. 1970).</i>
<i>MBor</i>	<i>Monumenta Borgia, (5 vols.), Madrid 1894 – 1911.</i>
<i>MBr</i>	<i>Epistolae PP. Paschasii Broeti, Claudii Jaji, Joannis Coduri et Simonis Roderici Societatis Iesu, Madrid 1903 (reimp. 1971).</i>
<i>MCo</i>	<i>Monumenta Constitutionum (I Praevia; II Textus Hispanus ; III Textus latinus), Roma 1934 – 1938.</i>
<i>MFab</i>	<i>Monumenta Beati Petri Fabri. Epistolae, Memorial et processus, Madrid 1914 (reimp. 1972).</i>
<i>MJap*</i>	<i>Monumenta Historiae Japoniae: 1547 – 1562 (2 vols.).</i>
<i>MHSJ</i>	<i>Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu.</i>
<i>MLain</i>	<i>Monumenta Lainii. Epistolae et acta Patri Jacobi Lainii (8 vols.),</i>

¹ All abbreviations are taken from *Diccionario de espiritualidad ignaciana*, Grupo de Espiritualidad Ignaciana (GEI), director J. García de Castro, M-ST, Bilbao – Santander ²2007, 41 – 47 unless marked by an asterisk (*) in which cases are mine.

- Madrid 1912 – 1917.
- MNad* *Monumenta Natalis. Epistolae Hieronymi Nadal Societatis Iesu ab anno 1546 ad 1577 (at alia cripta)* (5 vols.), Madrid – Roma 1898 – 1962.
- MSin** *Monumenta Sinica: 1546 – 1562.*
- MXav* *Monumenta Xaveriana. Epistolae S. Francisci Xavierii aliaque Rius scripta* (2 vols.), Roma 1944 – 1945).

1.3 FROM THE WRITINGS OF ALEXANDRE DE RHODES

- Catechismus** *Catechismvs por ijs, qui volunt suscipere baptismvm in octo dies diuisus. Phép giảng tám ngày cho kẻ nuôn chịu phép rửa tội, ma bẽo đạo thánh đức Chúa blời*, Ope Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide in lucem editus, Romae 1651. Republished *Phép giảng tám ngày. Catechismus in octo dies diuisus. Catechisme divisé en huit tours*, Tủ sách Đại kết, T.P. Hồ Chí Minh 1993.
- Tunquin** *Lịch sử Vương Quốc Đàng Ngoài. Histoire du Royaume de Tunquin*, bản dịch Việt ngữ của Hồng Nhuệ, bản Pháp ngữ của Henry Albi, Ủy ban Đoàn kết Công giáo, T.P. Hồ Chí Minh 1994.
- Voyages** *Hành trình và truyền giáo - Divers Voyages et Missions*, Vietnamese version transl. by HỒNG NHUỆ, the French version by Cramoisy 1653, Ủy ban đoàn kết công giáo, T.P. Hồ Chí Minh 1994, 51 – 54, 57, 87 – 90 (Vietnamese), 67 – 70, 72, 116 – 120 (French).

2. JOURNALS, INSTITUTES AND GENERAL REFERENCE

- AHSI* *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu.* Roma.
- AHP** *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae.* Roma.
- ASTRAIN* *ASTRAIN, A., Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Asistencia de España, Razón y Fe,* Madrid 1905 – 1925.
- BAC** Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos. Madrid.
- CIS* *Centrum Ignatianum Spiritualitatis.* Roma.
- CHC** *The Cambridge History of Christianity,* (9 vols.), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2008.
- Concordancia* *ECHARTE, I (ed.), Concordancia Ignaciana,* M-ST, Bilbao-Santander 1996.
- CSIC* Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. Madrid.
- DEI* *Diccionario de espiritualidad ignaciana,* Grupo de Espiritualidad Ignaciana (GEI), (J. GARCÍA de CASTRO, dir.) (2 vols), M-ST, Bilbao – Santander 2007.
- DHCJ* *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús,* (O'NEIL, C. E. / DOMÍGUEZ, J.M., dirs.) (4 vols), IHSI – UPComillas, Roma – Madrid 2001.
- DHEE* *Dccionario de Historia Eclesiástica de España,* (ALDEA VAQUERO, Q. et als., eds.) (4 vols), CSIC, Madrid 1972 – 1975.
- Ejercicios* *ARZUBIALDE, S., Ejercicios Espirituales de San Ignacio. Historia y análisis,* M-ST, Bilbao – Santander ²2007.
- Greg* *Gregorianum.* Roma.

IHSI	Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu. Roma.
IJS	Institute of Jesuit Sources. Saint Louis.
IRM*	<i>International Review of Mission</i> , World Council of Churches.
<i>La identidad</i>	ARRUPE, P., <i>La identidad del Jesuita en nuestros tiempos</i> , Sal Terrae, Santander 1981.
<i>Man</i>	<i>Manresa</i> . Madrid.
MCom	<i>Miscelánea Comillas</i> . Universidad Pontificia Comillas. Madrid.
M-ST	Mensajero – Sal Terrae. Bilbao – Santander
NC	<i>Normas Complementarias de las Constituciones de la Compañía de Jesús</i> .
NRTh	<i>Nouvelle Revue Théologique</i> . Brussels.
PUG	Pontificia Università Gregoriana. Roma.
RR	<i>Review for Religious</i> . Saint Louis.
<i>Selección</i>	KOLVENBACH, P.H., <i>Selección de escritos del P. Peter Hans Kovenbach (1983 – 1990) and (1991 - 2007)</i> , Provincia de España de la Compañía de Jesús, Madrid 1992 and 2007 respectively.
SSJ	<i>Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits</i> . Saint Louis.
<i>The Way</i>	<i>The Way</i> . Oxford.
<i>The Way Sup</i>	<i>The Way Supplement</i> . Oxford.
TLC	COVARRUBIAS, S. de, <i>Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana</i> (1611), Altafulla, Barcelona 1987.
ZMR	<i>Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft</i> . Verlag.



Alexandre de Rhodes (1593 – 1660)

Sources: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Derhodes.jpg> downloaded on June 13, 2011.

INTRODUCTION

*Ta về ta tắm ao ta,
Dù trong, dù đục ao nhà vẫn hơn.*
---- Vietnamese ca dao¹

*The adaptation and renewal of the religious life
includes both the constant return to the sources
of all Christian life and to the original spirit of
the institutes and their adaptation to the changed
conditions of our time.*
---- Perfectae Caritatis [2].

1.1 Personal Motivation

In the introduction to his work, *Clashing Symbols*, Michael Gallagher compares “culture” to Cinderella who most often is kept quiet in a “subordinate position” in the kitchen, closely guarded by the Ugly Sisters. For the most part her presence is ignored and her voice unheard. However, the moment she meets freedom – the Fairy Godmother - who eventually leads her to the encounter with the consciousness of history – Prince Charming – she overcomes fear and life’s complacency – the Ugly Sisters. Then, she is liberated. Her presence is inescapably felt. Her voice dominates. Her beauty manifested. It is in this Cinderella moment, a moment of freedom and self-consciousness that she comes to aware, to understand and to appreciate who she is and who she should be. In return, the account of her awakening has inspired numerous others in comprehending and appreciating who they are and who they should become.² Like Cinderella, we all either have or are inspired to have these moments of liberation and consciousness. Mine came unexpectedly during my recent trip to Belgium to visit my aunt and her family.

After having settled myself in Spain, I decided to go to Brussels, Belgium to visit my aunt and her family whom I have not seen for almost twenty years. Almost

¹ I return to bathe in my home pond.

Whether it is clear or muddy, still the home pond is better (Vietnamese folk song).

² M. GALLAGHER, *Clashing Symbols: An Introduction to Faith and Culture*, Darton - Longman and Todd Ltd, London 1997, 1 - 12.

thirty years earlier, my aunt and her family immigrated to Belgium. They were among the “boat people” who escaped Vietnam seeking refuge and better future abroad. While on the sea at the mercy of the international community, her boat, which was decrepit and about to sink, was rescued by a Belgian ship that eventually transported them to Belgium. My father – her brother – who had immigrated to the United States after the Vietnam War had attempted to bring her to America. However, due to his meager income, he could sponsor his immediate family only. Consequently, my aunt and her family settled in Belgium and mine in the United States.³

Like other immigrants and refugees, Vietnamese immigrants shared similar struggles in the process of negotiating and forming their identities in their newly adopted lands. Living in a new land, they found themselves marginalized in a “betwixt-and-between” condition where they felt as if they belonged to both cultures and at times neither one of them.⁴ Personally, as a Vietnamese American, I’ve felt caught in an emotional roller coaster moving back and forth between the excitement of living in the two cultures – Vietnam and the United States – and the utter loneliness of feeling lost, belonging to neither one. What this “betwixt-and-between” experience entails obviously differs depending on the country in which an immigrant finds him/herself. What it means for my aunt’s family to experience this struggle in Belgium obviously differs from how my family lives in the United States. However, we have all shared the “betwixt-and-between” experience of being immigrants.

³ I have shared a more extensive account of my personal journey in “How Multicultural Are We?” *SSJ* 33/5 (2001), 35 - 40.

⁴ P. PHAN, *Christianity with an Asian Face: Asian American Theology in the Making*, Orbis Books, New York 2003, 9; J. Y. LEE, *Marginality: The Key to Multicultural Theology*, Fortress Press, Minneapolis 1995.

While my aunt's family and mine share this common bond of "in-between and in-both" experience of being immigrant, differences in social practices and political ideologies between my aunt's and parents' generation and the younger generation as mine are distinct. On the one hand, to the majority of Vietnamese immigrants like my parents or "boat people" like my aunts who had supported the pro-American South Vietnamese government that lost the war to the North Vietnamese Communist regime, who had risked everything to escape the country, the present Communist government is both disgusting and evil. Thus, all forms of communism are to be denounced and despised by both God and human. On the other hand, to younger Vietnamese immigrants, like my siblings, my cousins and I, who were raised under the Communist regime, as well as younger Vietnamese immigrants who were born and raised outside of Vietnam, there are positive aspects of socialism that could be found in the current Communist government in Vietnam.

Furthermore, having been informed and educated by recent research on the horror and brutality of the war committed and suffered by both sides, the younger generation of Vietnamese both inside and outside of Vietnam have opted for dialogue and reconciliation striving towards healing and the rebuilding the war-torn nation. Though tension and conflict exist between the older and younger generations of Vietnamese concerning their respective social practices and political ideology, for the most part, they are kept mostly quiet within the community and guarded by the necessity of daily living. However, these tension and conflict arise when we step out of our normal daily routine. I was aware of this cultural tension as I stepped off the plane in Belgium and was welcomed by my aunt.

The tension and conflict escalated as my aunt's family and I, together with Vietnamese communities worldwide followed one of the heated confrontations

between the communist government and the Catholic Church taking place in Hanoi. The two sides have been fighting over the use of two parcels of land, one of which was the former Apostolic Nunciature and the other claimed by Thai Ha parish.⁵ While on the surface the ongoing disagreement deals with the use of disputed lands, the deeper analysis reveals a long dormant church-state conflict and tension struggling to learn about what it means to be a Vietnamese Church within the Communist regime.

On the one hand, Christianity, whose history in Vietnam has been closely associated with colonialism, has remained a source of suspicion of the communist government. Papal documents such as *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno* that directly attacked socialism and communism portrayed the Vietnamese Communist government as an enemy of the church.⁶ On the other hand, the communist government whose ideology embraces and embodies atheism has remained as a source of anxiety and fear for the church hierarchy and her members. In addition, by confiscating church properties and condemning clergy to re-education and labor camps after having gained control over North and South of Vietnam in 1945 and in 1975 respectively, the communist government further intimidated and alienated the church hierarchy and her members from its social agenda, thus reinforced the church's negative views of the government. For Vietnamese, being both Catholic and patriotic under the communist regime presents a daunting, if not impossible, task. The massive Catholic migration from the North to the South in 1954,⁷ and the exodus abroad of thousands of Catholics from Vietnam after 1975 evidently illustrated

⁵<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wpdyn/content/article/2008/01/25/AR2008012500887.html>
download on January 25, 2008.

⁶ *Rerum Novarum* [4 - 5], *Quadragesimo Anno* [110 - 117]

⁷ T. NGUYỄN, *Công giáo trên quê hương Việt Nam* [Christianity in Vietnam], Lưu hành nội bộ [for internal use] 2001, p. 412. It is stated here that, in 1954, there were 1,900,000 Catholics who resided in 16 dioceses throughout Vietnam. Before the migration, of those Catholics, 1,380,000 lived in the North and 520,000 in the South. After the migration, 720,000 lived in the North and 1,170,000 in the South.

Catholic disapproval of the communist government. Therefore, the current confrontation over the disputed lands further heightened the multi-layered complexity of what it means to be a good Catholic and a patriotic Vietnamese, both inside and outside of Vietnam.

These historical events and their intricate implication and complication filled my consciousness as I prepared to concelebrate Sunday Eucharist with the Vietnamese Catholic community in Brussels. As expected, after having recited the creed, the community offered the prayers of the faithful for the cause of the church in Vietnam, particularly the Archdiocese of Hanoi. I closed my eyes and listened, praying attentively as the young lady articulated the community's prayers from the lectern. Movement in the congregation caused me to open my eyes. Looking at the congregation from where I was standing, another wave of tension swept over me. I was overwhelmed with a strange sense of irony.

1.2 Theological Reflection and Inquiries

How ironic that we were gathered in a less than half-full church whose congregation consisted mostly of elders praying for a church packed with members who are strongly committed to faith and justice. The contrast could not have been more startling. Like most of Europe, the Catholic Church in Belgium is declining if not dying. Western society has been named "godless."⁸ Church buildings with decorative statues, magnificent façades and picturesque ceilings have become more like museums than places of worship. The diminishment in church attendance and involvement in respect to its faithful and leaders is beyond alarming.⁹ By way of

⁸ N. KNOX, "Religion Takes a Back Seat in Western Europe," *USA – Today*, August 10, 2005. Pope Benedict XVI was quoted in this article, "There's no longer evidence for a need of God, even less of Christ... The so-called traditional churches look like they are dying."

⁹ R. SHORTO, "Keeping the faith" *The New York Times*, April 8, 2007, it is reported that "Western Europe as a whole, fewer than 20 percent of people say they go to church (Catholic or Protestant) twice

contrast, despite governmental control and regulation the Catholic Church in Vietnam is thriving. Churchgoers packed churches Sunday and weekday masses. Seminaries are running out of space to house their seminarians.¹⁰ Having been aware of these statistics, the community's petitions puzzle me. Numerous questions rush through my head.

By praying for the Church in Asia, do we, the Western Church, want to have something to hang on to or to feel good about? Is this a form of denial of the decline in the Western church? Is it a sign of the West attempting to hang onto its power over the church in Asia? Is it a signal of a new form of religious colonialism and imperialism? Which church deserves more prayers from the faithful? More significantly, what does the Western Church in its present state have to offer to the Church in Asia and vice versa? Perhaps the most important questions with which I continue to struggle remains: how can we Vietnamese Catholic immigrants, while remaining faithful to our Vietnamese religious and cultural heritage, live out our Christian commitment to participate and contribute to the life of the local church? And how has the local church fostered and nourished the Christian faith in its diverse immigrant communities throughout the world? How should I respond to these challenges as a Vietnamese American Jesuit priest? More concretely, how are these

a month or less; in some countries the figure is below 5 percent... As precipitous as the decline in parishioners is, the drop-off in seminarians is even greater."

¹⁰ E. NAKASHIMA, "Progress and Struggle for Vietnam's Catholics" *Washington Post*, June 23, 2005. It is reported that "Vietnam has Southeast Asia's second-largest Roman Catholic population after the Philippines, with an estimated 5 million to 8 million followers... the Catholic population is increasing... [In order to provide for his parishioners, Fr. Khoa has to celebrate] Mass on Saturday evening, before dawn on Sunday, again at midmorning, at 3:30 p.m. and at 5:15 p.m. – five times in 24 hours." Also, according to Vu Nhi Cong's report in *AsiaNews*, *It* at <http://www.asianews.it/view.php?l=en&art=5574>, "crowding" is one of the two main problems in seminaries of both Hanoi and Saigon (HochiMinh City) archdioceses. There are 235 and 230 seminarians that are studying in the respective archdiocese seminaries. The other problem is lack of appropriate training (read online on January 25, 2008)

cultural issues approached, understood and resolved from the perspective of Ignatian spirituality, which I have espoused?

Like Cinderella awakening to the consciousness of history in the guise of Prince Charming on her way to a life of freedom, these questions have awakened my consciousness to the multi-layers of culture and history that have formed me and that I help forming. Upon meeting my aunt and her family in Brussels, I have been more conscious of my own becoming and the becoming of the communities surrounded me. Ever since returning from Belgium to continue my studies in Spain, I have been “suspended in [thick] webs of significance,”¹¹ of problems and promises, crisis and opportunity in my cultural background and their dynamics that demand reflection and interpretation, so as to be liberated, to appreciate, and to serve. In seeking to resolve the tension and suspension, I have been reminded by the wisdom and recommendation found in the Vietnamese popular folk song and the Church teaching mentioned above. Consequently, this investigation serves as a returning journey to the “pond” and the “original spirit of the institutes” of my Vietnamese Jesuit cultural and spiritual heritage by studying the *Catechismus*¹² of Alexandre de Rhodes (1591 – 1660) and the ongoing adaptation of Jesuit spirituality in Vietnam at the beginning of the seventeenth century and under the light of the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth general congregations.

1.3 Thesis Outline

Accordingly, this investigation is divided into three parts. The first two parts each consists of two chapters. The third part three. For the first part, Chapter One will presents studies and research on the topic of *cultures* from the historical and

¹¹ C. GEERTZ, *Interpretation of Cultures*, Basic Books, New York 1973, 5. Here Clifford admitted that he “espoused” Max Weber’s image of culture.

¹² *Catechismus*.

anthropological perspectives that have been scrutinized and developed through classical and modern interpretation as well as through post-modern critique. In this chapter, the concept of *culture* is demonstrated to be pluralistic and constantly in the process of becoming from its conception and throughout its historical development. Similarly, I will also illustrate that Christianity from its birth until the present has always embodied plurality in her becoming, her self-understanding and her practices. The question then becomes how could the interaction between Christianity and culture be and remain genuine and mutually beneficial? Also how has Christianity maintained her unity in the midst of plurality?

Chapter Two will closely examine how Christian evangelizers throughout history have understood their roles and their practices in the ongoing process of Christian interaction and engagement with various cultures, the process often referred to as “mission.” Questions, namely, how has the concept of *mission* been developed and understood? What are the underlying theologies that have guided this process? How have these theologies changed through history? What would be the best culturally - fit mode of operation for Christian mission and evangelization? will be raised and explored. Consequently, meanings of various terminologies such as *acculturation*, *enculturation*, *transculturation*, *interculturalization*, and *inculturation* will be examined. Answers will be based and validated by scriptures and church documents that include decrees from the Second Vatican Council, papal teachings, and documents of the Society of Jesus.

Following the study of *cultures*, *mission* and *inculturation* presented in the first part, Jesuit spirituality, specifically, its original inspiration, its theology and Jesuit way of proceeding will be examined in Part II of the investigation. Accordingly, Chapter Three will examine the cultural diversity that existed among the

founders of the Society of Jesus. More specifically, I will retrace the footsteps of Saint Ignatius of Loyola (1491 - 1556) under the light of cultural pluralism to learn how, throughout his life, he was continually exposed and immersed in the cultural diversity of his time. In return, how such diversity had formed his cultural sensitivity and spirituality? Also, in this section, I will highlight the fact that the Society of Jesus was found by a group of diverse individuals who came from distinct social and cultural backgrounds. Thus, how had the diversity existed among the Society's first companions helped shaping the universal nature of the Society and its mission?

Moving on from the life of the Society's chief founder and continue under light of cultural pluralism, Chapter Four examines the vision that have inspired the author of the *Autobiografía*, *los Ejercicios espirituales*, *el Diario espiritual*, the *Formula of the Institute* and the *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*. Questions such as what has the vision come from? What does it entail? How does it work? Most pertinently to this investigation, what does it have to do with cultural adaption? serve as guiding questions and focus for this chapter. From these inquiries, would it be possible to construct a framework or a paradigm that could capture the vision and the spirit of the founders of the Society of Jesus? If so, how would this framework or paradigm function and manifest itself in the Society's practices?

Part III will examine how such a constructed paradagim has been applied and practiced in concrete realities of the Society's mission, specifically, in the Indies Province of the Society from its birth until the middle of the seventeenth century. Accordingly, Chapter Five will examine how the Jesuit mission policy was formed during the first seventy-five year period of the Society's existence.¹³ How these

¹³ This time frame was chosen because instructions issued by the first five superior generals of the Society during this period had determined the fundamental charism and definite orientation of the

instructions and policy were made both at the central and local level of the Society's government? How physical distances and means of transportation played a significant role in determine the interaction between the two levels of leadership? Most pertinently, despite all the physical barriers and difficulties, how had the Jesuit mission policy remained culturally adaptable to the persons, circumstances, time and place of the Jesuit mission?

After having examined the overall Jesuit mission method and policy in the Indies, Chapter Six will focus its attention on the one particular mission of the Society of Jesus, namely, teaching the Christian doctrine. How had the tradition of teaching catechism begun in the Society? How had it been done and continued in the Indies Province and the extended regions such as Japan and China? How had teaching catechism remained the concrete manifestation of the Jesuit policy of adaptation in Asia? These questions will be examined and studied in this chapter.

Finally, Chapter Seven will re-read the life of Alexandre de Rhodes and his *Catechismus* in the Jesuit mission in Cochinchina and Tonkin (modern Vietnam)¹⁴ during the first five decades of the seventeenth century. A re-reading of the life and work of Alexandre de Rhodes, a “founder of the Vietnamese Christianity,”¹⁵ whose birth took place exactly one hundred years after that of Saint Ignatius of Loyola will demonstrate how had the charism and institution of “teaching truth” found by the Basque had been carried and adapted to Vietnam by the Spanish immigrant of Jewish descent from Avignon. Furthermore, being one of the Society's most successful catechetical programs in Asia, de Rhodes' *Catechismus* serves as a benchmark to

Society's universal mission and its future. J. LÓPEZ – GAY, “Misionología,” *DHCJ*, III, 2696 – 2700, 2699.

¹⁴ The name Vietnam will be used throughout this investigation unless noted otherwise.

¹⁵ P. PHAN, *Mission and Catechesis: Alexandre de Rhodes and Inculturation in Seventeenth-Century Vietnam*, xxii – xxiii and 202.

study how the Jesuit method of cultural adaptation and accommodation had advanced and practiced in the Society at the end of the seventy-five year period studied in this investigation.¹⁶ Most significantly, is de Rhodes' *Catechismus* a work of personal creativity and brilliance or a production of Jesuit works that had preceded him? Answer to this question bear utmost significance in determining whether or not what de Rhodes had achieved resulted from an individual effort or the Society's global and enduring vision that has always been part of its original charism and inspiration. If the answer is found in the latter then how could the Society's vision and practice of cultural adaptation and accommodation in the teaching of the Christian doctrine, which were exemplified in de Rhodes' life and work, offer new lights and insights onto the complexity and challenges of the teaching of the Christian doctrine in the midst of today's cultural diversity?

Engaging in the project such as this, I have been warned and am well aware of its challenges and excitements. On the one hand, I was cautioned not to take concepts and categories such as *culture, faith, mission, inculturation, Compañía de Jesús, modo de proceder, buscar en todas las cosas a Dios nuestro Señor, đạo, Đức Chúa Trời*, etc. for granted since I have been warned that "the most influential ideas and theories in culture are so ingrained in our thinking that they seem to be neutral description of reality itself."¹⁷ As a result, these concepts and categories will be critically examined and analyzed in-depth, so to bring to light the cultural background and historical development that have formed them and their meanings.

¹⁶ Francesco Buzoni (1576 – 1639) and other Jesuit companions first arrived in Cochichina (modern Viet Nam) in 1615 (*Voyages*, 51 – 54, 57, 87 – 90 (Vietnamese), 67 – 70, 72, 116 – 120 (French); J. RUIZ – DE – MEDINA, "Buzomi, Francesco," *DHCJ*, 586; H. CHAPPOULIE, *Aux Origines d'une Église: Rome et les Missions D'Indochine au XVII Siècle*, Vol. I, Bloud et Gay, Paris 1943, 22 – 26; P. PHAN, *Mission and Catechesis: Alexandre de Rhodes and Inculturation in Seventeenth-Century Vietnam*, Orbis Books, New York 1998, 10; W. BANGERT, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, 249).

¹⁷ C. A. CARTER, *Rethinking Christ and Culture*, 13.

On the other hand, I have been advised not to “get lost in the forest of languages” of anthropologists, historians, philosophers, theologians,¹⁸ but to stay focused on moving ahead with the task at hand. Thus, this investigation will not be an exhaustive treatment of these concepts and categories, but will provide coherent, succinct and sufficient information to move forward the various discussions and discourses in their respective chapters whose themes and goals were outlined above.

This investigation has been awakened by the desire and longing for wholeness and fulfillment in what it means to live the Christian faith authentically and creatively in the midst of the ever-changing nature of multi-cultures and their complexity through the lens of Ignatian spirituality. It is the same desire in which the investigation wants to invite its readers, who perhaps are “suspended in [thick] webs of significance,” of their own problems and promises, crisis and opportunity in their multicultural identity, to enter and participate in the discussion and discourse. Thus, their desire and longing too are to be awakened. Their hearts too are to be on fire. So together, we a community of believers continues to reflect and to interpret what it means to fully live the mystery of the God who loves human beings so much so that God has continually adapted, accommodated, and inculturated God-self into our cultures. Certainly, this divine love is *not* a Cinderella story, but the reality that penetrates into each and every single moment of our human lives awakening in us the desire and the joy of living life in all of its multicultural dimension and richness to the fullness.

¹⁸ A. R. CROLLIUS, “Inculturation and the Meaning of Culture,” *Greg* 61 (1980) 253 – 274, 253.

PART I

FROM CULTURE TO INCULTURATION: *MOVEMENT TOWARDS WHOLENESS*

*Nulla gens tam fera est ut Christi Evangelii capax non sit,
neque tam culta Ut Evangelio non indigeat.*¹

¹ D. LAMONT, “Ad Gentes: A Missionary Bishop Remembers,” *Vatican II: By those who were there*, ed. Stacpoole, Geoffrey Chapman, London 1986, 271 – 282, 282. “No people are so primitive as to be unfit for the Gospel; none are so civilized as not to need it.”

INTRODUCTION

The tension between Christianity and cultures has always been one of the “perennial” and “enduring” problems throughout the history of Christianity.¹ Ever since coming into being, Christianity has struggled to find ways to adapt themselves to the cultures they have encountered. As a result, both Christianity and cultures are engaging in a constant process of changing, becoming and transforming. At the depth of the tension, the struggle that has been carried “among Christians and in the hidden depths of individual conscience,” has been “not as the struggle and accommodation of belief with unbelief, but as the wrestling and the reconciliation of faith with faith.”² Thus, the search for harmonious resolution between Christianity and cultures seeks and affirms the goodness in all the various aspects and movements dynamically at play in the process of moving towards the well being of individuals, the Church, and the society. Such a search and affirmation will be the goal for this part of the investigation.

Outline of Part I

Part I will be divided into two chapters. Chapter One will first examine *cultures* and Christianity one by one to illustrate its pluralistic character in their respective nature and historical development. The second part of the chapter will demonstrate the intrinsic relationship between cultures and Christianity. All cultures contain certain religious dimension while all religions need some form of cultures to exist. In other words, religions give direction and meaning for cultures while cultures provide medium for religions. Looking from the pluralistic perspective, tension and challenges that exist in cultures, in Christianity, and in their relationship remain in

¹ H. R. Niebuhr, *Christ & Culture*, HarpersCollins Publishers, New York 2001, 2.

² 10.

how the unity is harmoniously maintained in the midst of plurality. The level of such harmony will determine how genuine and life-giving cultures, Christianity and their relationship to be.

Chapter Two will then focus on one of Christianity's dimensions that directly engages in various forms of cultures, its mission. Like previous chapter, Christian mission and its mode of operation will be studied from the pluralistic perspective both in its origin and in its historical development. From the studies, Christian mission will be explored through various modes of operation out of which inculturation is determined to be the most genuine interaction between Christianity and cultures. Such a claim are supported by Scriptures and church tradition that had been taught and practiced since the Early Church up to the Second Vatican Council until the most recent General Congregation of the Society of Jesus. Without further introduction, the investigation will begin with the most fundamental relationship of Part I, namely, *cultures* and Christianity.

CHAPTER 1

CULTURE & CHRISTIANITY: *A Pluralistic Approach*

Since in virtue of her mission and nature, she is bound to no particular form of human culture, nor to any political, economic or social system, the Church by her very universality can be a very close bond between diverse human communities and nations, provided these trust her and truly acknowledge her right to true freedom in fulfilling her mission. For this reason, the Church admonishes her own sons, but also humanity as a whole, to overcome all strife between nations and race in this family spirit of God's children, and in the same way, to give internal strength to human associations which are just.

Gaudium et Spes [42].

INTRODUCTION

Two of the main problems in the comprehension and expression of the relationship between the Christian faith and cultures remain: the lack of knowledge in cultural anthropology and adequate theological training and reflection in those terms. We hear Tornos' lamenting that "aquellos evangelizadores no tenían nuestros actuales conocimientos antropológicos ni una teología adecuada de las relaciones Evangelio – cultura."¹ In fact, accusations have been made from both sides of the Gospel-cultures relationship. On the one hand, the church has been accused of ethnocentricity and insensitivity to other cultures in imposing her Western cultural background on others.² On the other hand, the emergence and development of various independent states and nationalist factions have been accused of being a serious threat to the universality and established unity both of which are fundamental in Christianity.³ To overcome this problem, Tornos calls for a return into the Church's history and its self-understanding to remind oneself of "la doctrina entonces establecida como una apertura fundamental

¹ A. TORNOS, *Inculturación: Teología y método*, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, Madrid 2001, 61.

² 59.

³ 56.

y fundacional de la fe hacía el pluralismo cultural.”⁴ This chapter serves as a response to that call examining the pluralistic nature of both culture and Christianity.

1. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURES

Since the emergence of human subjectivity at the beginning of the twentieth century, *culture* has become one of the main topics in academic disciplines, debates, and discussion.⁵ For British writer Raymond Williams, *culture* became “one of the two or three most complicated [terms] in the English language.”⁶ The American anthropologists Kroeber and Kluckhohn listed “some 164 definitions of culture, categorizing them into six major groups and further sub-groups.”⁷ The study of *culture* has embodied such a wide range of topics and disciplines that it is almost impossible for scientists to come to any kind of consensus as to how to define it. Lamenting *culture*’s all-embracing nature, American anthropologist, Clifford Gerts wrote,

The term ‘culture’ has by now acquired a certain aura of ill-repute in social anthropological circles because of the multiplicity of its references and the studied vagueness with which it has all too often been invoked.⁸ Interpretations of culture are diverse.

Definitions of culture are multiple. To unravel *culture*’s complexity and complications, it is helpful to trace the historical development of how the term *culture* was born and used, so as to comprehend its rich and diverse meanings.

⁴ A. TORNOS, *Inculturación: Teología y método*, 64.

⁵ G. MCLEAN, “Culture and Religion,” *Culture, Evangelization and Dialogue*, (A. Gallo et als, eds.), The Council for Research in Values and Philosophy, Washington D.C. 2003, 9 – 42, 19-20. Here Mclean states that philosophical works such as Wittgenstein’s *Philosophical Investigation* and Heidegger’s *Being and Time* and theological works such as Rahner’s *Spirit in the World* have made the human consciousness “the new focus of attention.” This new focus has subsequently served as an impetus to explore how the human beings consciously creates their cultures. According to K. Tanner, “culture” is emerged as an anthropological topic for study “as late as 1920’s” (K. TANNER, *Theories of Culture*, Fortress Press, Minneapolis 1997, 3).

⁶ K. TANNER, *Theories of Culture*, 3; A. Kroeber and K. Kluckhohn, *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definition*, Harvard University, Cambridge 1952, 3.

⁷ M. GALLAGHER, *Clashing Symbols*, 13; A. Kroeber and K. Kluckhohn, *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions*, 4.

⁸ C. GEERTZ, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, Basic Books, New York 1973, 89. Also see A. KUPER, *Culture: The Antropologists’ Account*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge 1999, 1 – 5.

1.1 Classical Definition

Culture's pluralistic character existed from its beginning. For the Latin world, the word *culture* denotes the process of cultivating the land, tending the crops, and raising animals.⁹ (Thus, the derivation of the word *agriculture*.) Cicero was among the first Latin author to use the term *culture* for human beings, particularly when he used the phrase *cultura animi* to signify the need for training or cultivating the human soul or mind. For the Greeks, the use of the term *culture* could be identified with *paideia*, the Greek term for education.¹⁰ Consequently, for the ancient Latin and Greek worlds the term *culture* was used to signify both the process of educating, cultivating, and incorporating their citizens into their civilization, and to differentiate them from those who did not belong to their societies. However, there is a slight difference in the Latin and the Greek understanding of the term *culture*. The Latin authors used the term *culture* to define a “trained” or “educated” person; whereas, the Greek used the term to focus on the distinction between those who were well-versed in Greek, well-cultivated and well-incorporated into Greek civilization and the *barbaroi* who lived outside of their society and whose voice sounded like “babble” to them.¹¹

Different perspectives and historical developments from various European countries helped developing the modern concept of *culture*. The revival of the ancient Latin and Greek civilizations which gave birth to the Renaissance provided motivation and guidance for *culture* to liberate itself from the bondage of the Middle Ages and to enter into the physical and intellectual world.¹² However, “it was not the revival of antiquity alone, but its union with the genius of the Italian people, which

⁹ K. TANNER, *Theories of Culture*, 3.

¹⁰ G. MCLEAN, “Culture and Religion,” 21.

¹¹ 22.

¹² J. BURCKHARDT, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, Penguin Books, London 2004, 123.

[the spirit of the Renaissance] achieved the conquest of the Western world.”¹³ National consciousness and independence was conceived. Intellectual tendencies and a “national mind” developed. From its birth from Italy, such a spirit was prized and spread throughout Europe during this period. Having reached a sufficient level of individual maturity, Europe began to turn its mind to the discovery of the outside world. While the Italians could retain the title of the pre-eminently “nation of discoverers,”¹⁴ it was the voyages initiated from Portugal and Spain in the sixteenth century that created “profound changes” in the “world dimension,” consequently, in the relationship between human beings and their conception of the world.¹⁵ While the Renaissance and all the profound changes that were first brought about in Italy then spread throughout the Mediterranean, then to the four corners of the world by Portuguese and Spanish expeditions, provided the impetus and context for the development of culture in the centuries that followed, it was the French, the German, and the British who were pioneers in shaping the meaning of *culture*.

Cicero’s idea of *cultura animi* and the Latin and Greek understandings of the concept of *culture* were resurrected by writers such as Francis Bacon and Samuel Pufendorf in England and Germany, respectively, during the seventeenth century. Works of these writers forged and reflected the prevailing understanding of what constituted a *cultured person* in Western Europe. In Britain, a person who was considered *cultured* was someone who pursued and achieved a certain level of self-perfection. In Germany, those who were educated and possessed some level of aesthetic sensibilities would be considered *cultured persons*. In fact, the term *culture* was used synonymously with the German term, *Bildung*, to identify those who

¹³ 120.

¹⁴ 186.

¹⁵ A. TORNOS, *Inculturación: Teología y método*, 76.

belonged to the newly developed German intellectual middle class.¹⁶ In France, the term *culture* was associated with the aristocrats who frequented the royal court, who exhibited certain delicate manners and some level of sophistication. Thus, to be cultured meant to act in these aristocratic ways or, in other words, to be civilized. (In fact, the French word *civilité* originally denoted the meticulous observance of rules of conduct among French upper class.)¹⁷ In all of these countries, no matter how a cultured person was defined, the term *culture* was used to identify new groups of elites that emerged from the breakdown of the feudal hierarchies and that strove to consolidate power to form a sovereign state within each of their respective countries. Each of these countries that engaged in the process of searching for its own national identity helped to shape, develop and enrich the concept of *culture* as it is understood today.

On the one hand, what constituted a *cultured person*, as an individual or a group of individuals in these countries, in turn bore serious consequences with regard to how the concept of culture was understood, expanded and used as a way in which society identified itself and its functions, thus distinguishing one society from another. On the other hand, it was *culture* and how it was interpreted and understood that shaped and formed people's actions and behavior.

While it is necessary to study the history of how *culture* was interpreted according to the French, the German, and the English tradition, it is important to note that *culture* cannot be clearly identified as such. Development of the modern understanding of *culture* is a culmination of concerted effort of what happened in Italy during the Renaissance, and Portugal and Spain during the Age of Discovery, then France, Germany and England beginning with the Enlightenment until the end of

¹⁶ A. KUPER, *Culture*, 31; K. TANNER, *Theories of Culture*, 4.

¹⁷ A. KUPER, *Culture*, 23 – 29; K. TANNER, *Theories of Culture*, 6 – 8.

nineteenth century, eventually to the anthropological circle in America at the beginning of the early twentieth century. Adam Kuper provided us a good insight into how the modern understanding of *culture* could be best understood.

A French, a German, and an English theory of culture are often loosely identified. Alternatively, an equally loosely, Enlightenment, Romantic, and Classical discourses are distinguished. These are rough-and-ready labels for complex constructs that have regularly been taken to pieces and reassembled in new patterns, adapted, pronounced dead, revived, renamed, revamped, and generally subjected to a variety of structural transformations.¹⁸

Having kept that in mind, let's start with the French. For the French, *culture* was closely associated with the ideal of aristocratic conduct and manners that were identified as civilized. Therefore, people or societies that failed to conform to these civilized acts were not considered cultured. To be cultured, people were to be educated and conformed to the ideal of civilization. Of course, this was the French ideal of civilization that is defined as “a progressive, cumulative, distinctively human achievement.”¹⁹ Culture, understood in this manner, is the product of a human work in progress, a human construction rather than a blind habit, following the guide of an idealized civilization. Thus, culture is considered as human development moving through various stages towards the uniformity of the ideal civilization. Consequently, other societies whose traditions or customs were foreign to the European or French standard of civilization, were considered at best “unformed” and “uninformed” children in various stages of development, at worst “natural,” “wild”, and “savage.”²⁰ Consequently, they were to be colonized, disciplined, and educated, so as to behave and to conform to the European or the French ideal of civilization. They were to be cultured. The French Enlightenment project, which extolled rationality as the apex of

¹⁸ A. KUPER, *Culture*, 5.

¹⁹ IBID.

²⁰ K. TANNER, *Theories of Culture*, 8.

civilization, serves as the best example for this interpretation. Only those who were rational were considered civilized or cultured.

The German understanding of *culture* not only broke with the uniformity of the French way of thinking but in doing so added the dimension of plurality to the concept of *culture*. For the Germans, the term *culture* is closely associated with the term *Bildung* which points toward the cultivation of human spiritual and intellectual gifts. Like the French, *Kultur* is therefore identified as a human construction in progress towards various levels of human achievement. However, unlike the French, such an achievement did not equate with civilization. To the Germans, civilization dealt only with external behaviors that played out in the political, social and economic realm; whereas *Kultur* embodied the internal realm of society's intellectual, artistic, and spiritual achievements. In short, "the German notions of *Bildung* and *Kultur*, characteristically expressed in a spiritual idiom, engaged in the needs of the individual soul, valuing inner virtue above outward show, pessimistic about secular progress."²¹

Accordingly, the Germans tended to criticize the French as having outward civilization but no culture while the Germans themselves were proud to be lacking advanced political and economic structures yet possessing *Kultur*.²² Furthermore, it was *Kultur*, which is located at the heart of society, that formed and distinguished the individuals and German society, or any individuals and their respective societies for that matter, from the others. Consequently, *culture* presented something distinct which each country claimed as its national independence and nationalistic pride. Thus, on the one hand, individuals are born and educated according to and into their own culture. On the other hand, different cultures in their own distinctive ways shape

²¹ A. KUPER, *Culture*, 8.

²² K. TANNER, *Theories of Culture*, 9.

and form individuals in their respective culture. Interpreted and understood in this way, *Kultur* no longer existed as one single ideal but was lived in many *cultures*.²³

The British interpretation enriched the plural notion of *culture* by adding the social dimension to it. Consequently, the plurality characteristic of *culture* exists not only among different societies but also within an individual society. To the British, the progress of any cultured society involved not only an individual dedication to self-improvement, but also a social commitment to helping others to do the same. To achieve personal perfection in a cultured society demanded that an individual be responsible for the well being of other fellow human beings, so as to move together towards a higher level of culture.²⁴ Such a demand challenged an individual society in its process of self-criticism, to examine and reexamine its state of being cultured in social terms. “Everywhere, culture stood for the sphere of ultimate values, upon which, it was believed, the social order rested.”²⁵ As a result, the process of self-criticism enabled an individual society to think of better alternatives for its way of life. Other cultures were born and developed within individual societies. Thus, according to the British understanding of *culture*, the state of being highly cultured implied a certain level of social reform and political action that had emerged from various alternatives – *cultures* – within an individual society.

Since culture was transmitted through the educational system, and expressed most powerfully in the arts, these were the critical fields that a committed intellectual should study to improve. And because the fortunes of a nation depended on the condition of its culture, this was a crucial arena for political action.²⁶

²³ K. TANNER, *Theories of Culture*, 10. Here, Tanner quoted Matthew Arnold, “the individual cannot reach the personal perfection of a cultured life unless he ‘carried others along with him in his march towards perfection... continually doing all he can to enlarge and increase the volume of the human stream sweeping thitherward.’ Thereby, ‘culture, instead of being... frivolous and useless... has a very important function to fulfill for mankind.’”

²⁴ K. TANNER, *Theories of Culture*, 12.

²⁵ A. KUPER, *Culture*, 9.

²⁶ A. KUPER, *Culture*, 9.

The British interpretation, though it acknowledged the plurality of *cultures* within an individual society, failed to treat such plurality as a way of living. Instead, the British understood these alternatives as the stages of development that a highly cultured society had to go through to refine itself. There remained one ideal form of culture as the standard to evaluate others and for others to measure up to. In this case of course, the standard was the cultural life of modern Britain.²⁷ Such a failure was rooted in thinking that presupposed that the human intellect, independent of its context and time, would be able to achieve the same end for humanity. *Culture* or *cultures* were, thus, considered products of the human intellect. In other words, guided by their intellect people starting with a blank slate somehow formed ideas of these various alternatives for the progress of society.²⁸ Working under a false premise, the British interpretation failed to comprehend the holistic nature of *cultures*.

The French, the German, and the British interpretations of culture, though insufficient and incomplete as they are individually provided an “initial orientation” for the development of the modern anthropological interpretation of culture. Again, Kuper notices,

Even the most imaginative and original thinkers can generally be placed in one or another of these central traditions, each of which specifies a conception of culture and puts it to work within a particular theory of history.²⁹

Thus, the modern anthropological interpretation of culture is, in one way or the other, a result from the development of each of these classical interpretations, also serves as the next topic of my discussion in the next section.

²⁷ K. TANNER, *Theories of Culture*, 17.

²⁸ 18.

²⁹ A. KUPER, *Culture*, 5.

1.2 Modern anthropological interpretations

Matthew Arnold, a British poet and cultural critic, and British anthropologist Edward Tylor represented the two major schools of thought that were able to capture and to move forward what had been previously developed into the modern anthropological interpretation of culture. Other interpretations are “in fact variations on either the Arnold or the Tylor tradition.”³⁰

Arnold understood culture from the elitist and subjective position. Accordingly, like the idea of German high culture, culture is interpreted as the inward “pursuit of perfection” of what was the best which society had developed and had to offer. However, Arnold took the idea a step further towards the modern interpretation by applying this level of “cultural perfection,” which he took for granted, as the standard of excellence, to all sectors of society. Though individual groups in pursuit of perfection constituted society’s “distinct self-contained wholes,” they were organized and united under such a standard and thus maintained the organic holism of society. On this particular point Arnold “approached the modern anthropological idea of cultures as whole ways of life.”³¹

Tylor, who understood culture from a more objective perspective, provided one of the first deviations from Arnold’s interpretation. Thus, Tylor’s definition of culture, which was often used by anthropologists and sociologists of the early twentieth century to develop their modern interpretation, is worth quoting here.

Culture or civilization is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.³²

³⁰ A. KUPER, *Culture*, 36 – 9; M. GALLAGHER, *Clashing Symbols*, 11.

³¹ K. TANNER, *Theories of Culture*, 15, 19.

³² E. B. TYLOR, *Primitive Culture*, John Murray, London 1903, 1.

Two properties of culture can be drawn from this definition. First, culture was understood as something acquired, something more than receiving and less than inventing. Unlike animals, whose innate ability to organize their societies was stored in their genes, human beings “receive” culture, something their genes do not provide, to organize their society. Moreover, culture is not something human beings “invented,” but learned skills.

Son pues adquiridas, lo cual quiere decir algo más que recibidas y algo menos que inventadas. Más que recibidas, porque los individuos humanos, a diferencia de los animales, no reciben exclusivamente de sus genes lo que les permite organizar su proceder tal como lo organizan. Menos que inventadas, por que es aprendizaje social.³³

The *socialidad* makes up the second aspect of culture. The above-mentioned skills are acquired and shared by all individuals in society. However, these skills are understood as neither distinct characteristic that differentiate human beings from animals per se, nor unique features that define human beings as a species. These skills are what differentiate individual human beings from one another that identify the “other” (*eso otro*), not only setting individuals apart, but also providing each individual a niche in which to develop his/her individual being.

Both Arnold’s and Tylor’s understanding of culture, though derived from different perspectives, maintained the holistic and pluralistic character of a culture while exploring and explaining the dynamic that differentiates various groups from each other, thus recognizing the “fragmented” reality or diversity of cultures at work within that culture. Furthermore, since culture is possessed and shared by everyone (Tylor’s) who pursues perfection within their individual group (Arnold’s), culture is understood and evaluated according to its context and in respect to that individual group. Therefore, as a whole, culture is considered context-relative and non-

³³ A. TORNOS, *Inculturación: Teología y método*, 21.

evaluative. In summary, Arnold's and Tylor's studies advanced the understanding of culture by introducing the anthropological senses – holistic, group-differentiating, context-relative, and non-evaluative³⁴ - into its interpretation.

The introduction and presence of anthropologists and sociologists generated an explosion in the field of cultural studies producing numerous definitions and interpretations that eventually made up the modern understanding of culture. Consequently, attempts to capture the underlying principle of the concept of culture are as many as its definitions. For the basic foundation and the scope of this investigation, I will provide two. A certain degree of overlap is expected between these two attempts that highlight culture's richness and complexity in its modern understanding.

Tanner summarizes the modern understanding of culture by providing nine principal components that have become the “central focus of the discipline of anthropology as a whole,” thus forming the “dominant paradigm” for its modern interpretation.³⁵ One of the common themes that underlines these cultures' components remains culture's dialectical properties embracing both its universality and its particularity, being both a product of human societies and that which produce them, both dividing societies and defining them, both being and becoming.³⁶ In short, culture is that which is shared among all human beings and what sets human beings apart from animals. Anthropologically speaking, culture has always been plural, thus *cultures*.³⁷

³⁴ K. TANNER, *Theories of Culture*, 24.

³⁵ 25.

³⁶ 25 – 29.

³⁷ 26. Italics are mine.

1.3 Postmodern critique

While a consensus has not been reached among modern interpretations of culture, the project of modernity itself has had to face its failure and shortcomings. Human atrocities and suffering that occurred during the modernity, especially during the Second World War, not only cast out the novelty of modernity but also required a new and different way to interpret culture as a concrete living reality. Consequently, what is considered “postmodern critique” has demanded researchers in the field of cultural studies to “adjust themselves to the living reality of culture as is” to focus on the “consciousness of the social life.”³⁸ Accordingly, a modern understanding that functioned under false presuppositions was thus required to move away from the “texts, organisms, or works of art”³⁹ to learn more about how cultures are being transformed.⁴⁰

More specifically, the postmodern critique has accused modernity of overlooking the historical character of culture and so overlooking the human role in culture’s process of becoming. What was important to modern anthropologists was “how something works and not where it comes from.”⁴¹ In other words, culture’s genesis or its historical development was taken for granted. Human involvement in the process of creating their cultures though recognized has been minimized. Furthermore, the modern understanding of culture as “an internally consistent whole,” “consensus,” “principle of social order,” “primacy of stability,” and “sharply bounded, self-contained units” has become an intellectual exercise, thus a mere abstraction from reality. Consequently, these neat categories and generalizations

³⁸ A. TORNOS, *Inculturación: Teología y método*, 29. “Lo entenderán, por lo pronto, como *actividad que tiende a ajustarse a lo que la sociedad tiene por real... La conciencia de la vida social daría lugar a distintas formas de entender.*” Italics are mine.

³⁹ K. TANNER, *Theories of Culture*, 38.

⁴⁰ M. GALLAGHER, *Clashing Symbols*, 21.

⁴¹ K. TANNER, *Theories of Culture*, 41.

reflect “the anthropologist’s own need” to control what in reality is messy, inconsistent, and even contradictory. In summary, the postmodern critique demands that “cultures are not turned into static, disconnected things through processes of abstraction and reification; they are seen instead as dynamic, interactive phenomena.”⁴²

The postmodern interpretation captures the dynamic of culture in six categories. The first points to culture’s “descriptive” character in its “complex whole” embodying its “inevitable pluralism.” Thus, the “key to understanding culture is its non-simplicity.”⁴³ The second speaks to culture’s “historical” aspect as developed in the past and passed on to subsequent generations a “social heritage.” Thus, culture is understood as a process. The third implicates culture as “normative elements” that create certain codes and modes of behaviors that are considered acceptable in either the individual group or society as a whole. The fourth associates culture with the “psychological functions.” Here, culture plays a “formative” role in providing individuals with a philosophical or cosmological framework to explain their behaviors and to cope with life situations. The fifth links culture with social “structures” that provide meaning and ways to organize human relationships. Finally, the sixth category deals with culture’s “genesis” where culture is understood not as something that automatically existed but as a human construction produced by human efforts and labors.⁴⁴ Contemporary interpretations of cultures are either a combination of several of these categories (e.g., that of Clifford Geertz)⁴⁵ or of all of them (i.e., those of Bernard Lonergan and Raymond William).⁴⁶

⁴² K. TANNER, *Theories of Culture*, 54.

⁴³ M. GALLAGHER, *Clashing Symbols*, 14.

⁴⁴ 13 – 15.

⁴⁵ Clifford Geertz’s most widely quoted definition is worth citing here. “[Culture] denotes an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions

The postmodern critique not only demands that modern anthropologists revise their method but also makes its agenda known. Instead of being interested in defining culture, postmodern work concentrates on how culture is formed and changed, and thus how it could be transformed. Again, diverse theorists of cultural change are noted.

Anthropologically, cultural formation is determined by two principal factors, namely, “social obedience” and “interpersonal expectations.” More concretely, how the society is structured and how much structure it embraces depend on the level of intensity of engagement in terms of the strength of both the social authority that regulates individuals’ behaviors and the social network that binds individuals’ interaction together.⁴⁷ Theologically, the very act of interpreting culture constitutes its change. Such a change took place both “semantically” and “socially.” For the former, it means the continuing process of “the production of beliefs, concepts, and values” all of which make up cultures; whereas, for the latter, it means the “formation of persons and their self-understanding and self-evaluation.”⁴⁸ Sociologically, “cultural agency,” which she defined as the “reflective ability of human beings to

expressed in symbolic forms by means of which [humans] communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life” (C. GEERTZ, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, 89).

⁴⁶ Lonergan defines culture as “a set of meanings and values informing a common way of life, and there are as many cultures as there are distinct sets of such meanings and values. However, this manner of conceiving culture is relatively recent. It is the product of empirical human studies... On the older view culture was conceived not empirically but normatively. It was the opposite of barbarism... It stressed not facts but values. It could not but claim to be universalist” (B. LONERGAN, *Method in Theology*, Herder & Herder, New York 1972, 301). For William, culture means “the ‘tending of natural growth,’ and then, by analogy, a process of human training. But this latter use, which had usually been a culture of something, was changed, in the nineteenth century, to culture as such, a thing in itself. It came to mean, first, ‘a general state or habit of the mind,’ having close relations with the ideal of human perfection. Second, it came to mean ‘the general state of intellectual development, in a society as a whole.’ Third, it came to mean ‘the general body of the arts.’ Fourth, later in the century, it came to mean ‘a whole way of life, material, intellectual and spiritual.’” (R. WILLIAM, *Culture and Society*, Hogarth Press, London 1993, xvi.) And later, “‘Culture is ordinary: that is the first fact,’ in the sense that every society has its own purposes and meanings which it embodies in ‘a whole way of life.’” (R. WILLIAM, “Culture is Ordinary,” *Studying Culture: an Introductory Reader*, ed. A. Gray and J. McGuigan, E. Arnold, London 1993, 5 – 14, 6).

⁴⁷ M. GALLAGHER, *Clashing Symbols*, 25 – 26.

⁴⁸ G. WARD, *Cultural Transformation and Religious Practice*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2005, 63.

fight back against their conditioning,” serves as the fundamental agent for cultural change and transformation.⁴⁹ In addition, the “arrival of new technology” has also had a major impact on cultural change and transformation.⁵⁰

One common denominator stands out throughout these theories; cultural change and transformation are constituted and advanced by the engagement of individuals or groups of individuals in their discourse with society and among one another. The postmodern reconstruction of culture can be summarized as that which “binds people together as a common focus for engagement.”⁵¹ Engagement, which consists of interpretation and even contestation triggering various cultural discourses, “lies at the heart of the transformative processes within cultures.”⁵² Thus, the existing plurality and diversity in interpretation and discourse not only define culture as a social and anthropological concept but also serve as culture’s transforming forces.

So far, I have presented a brief history of how the concept of culture and its pluralistic character have been developed and interpreted. I will now turn my attention to Christianity as the topic for the next section of this investigation. It is my purpose to show that from its beginning until the present, Christianity has embraced and embodied a profound plurality in its self-understanding, its history and its practices. Like culture, such a plurality has transformed Christianity from what it was into what it is today.

2. CHRISTIANITY FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF CULTURAL PLURALISM

“Historians are beginning to rewrite the history of the Church in terms of cultural pluralism, just as biblical scholars are undertaking a cultural rereading of the

⁴⁹ M. ARCHER, *Culture and Agency: the place of culture in socially theory*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1988, xv, xxii.

⁵⁰ M. GALLAGHER, *Clashing Symbols*, 33 – 34.

⁵¹ K. TANNER, *Theories of Culture*, 57.

⁵² G. WARD, *Cultural Transformation and Religious Practice*, 67.

Bible.”⁵³ As a result, like any other social organization and institution, church teachings and activities are studied and evaluated by their degree of cultural sensitivity and inclusivity. In this section, I would like to present a brief survey of the history and development of Christianity through the lens of cultural pluralism. By means of this examination I want to argue that though varied in different historical periods the Church has also embraced and embodied cultural pluralism. As a result one of the greatest struggles of the Church from its beginning until the present has been how to maintain unity in the midst of plurality.

2.1 Scriptural and the Early Church

Evidence of cultural diversity exists in Christian literature especially during early years of her birth and formation. Jesus was member of a Jewish community that was part of the Roman Empire (Luke 2:1- 7). As a Jew, Jesus and his family observed Jewish law and customs (Luke 2:22, 39, 41). Jesus’ teaching, while it observed even the “smallest letter” of the Jewish Law, (Mathew 5: 7) represented an alternative interpretation of the Law from the interpretations taught by other Jewish leaders (Mathew 23).

Cultural diversity exists in the Gospel itself. Though the four gospels give similar accounts of Jesus’ life and death, such “similarities must not blind us to the individuality of each evangelist.”⁵⁴ The plurality of cultures is also found in the life of the Early Church, most notably at the Council of Jerusalem (Galatians 2). There were circumcised Jewish Christians who were led by Peter and non-Jewish uncircumcised Christians who were led by Paul. The tension, which existed between different understandings of what it means to be a Christian, caused Paul to oppose

⁵³ A. SHORTER, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*, Wipf & Stock, Oregon 1999, 137.

⁵⁴ R. E. BROWN, *The Death of the Messiah: From Gethsemane to the Grave: A Commentary on the Passion Narratives in the Four Gospels*, Double Day, New York 1994, 6.

Peter “to his face” (Galatians 2:11). What happened at this so-called Council of Jerusalem “habría legitimado la pluralidad cultural entre los seguidores de Evangelio y que eso, en las antiguas Iglesias, se consideró desde entonces como doctrina firme. Aunque no se conocieran ni se usaran las nociones de pluralismo o de cultura.”⁵⁵

Furthermore, the apparent division within the Corinthian Christian community is clear evidence of the diversity of Christian interpretations. Some claimed their allegiance to Paul; some to Apollos; some to Cephas; and others to “Christ” (1Corinthians 1:12). It is important to note that Paul’s proposed solution was not to do away with diversity, but to maintain such a diversity uniting it in Christ. “For even as the body is one and yet has many members, and all the members of the body, though they are many, are one body, so also is Christ” (1Corinthians 12:12). For Paul, the struggle to maintain Christian unity in the midst of the diversity within the Corinthian community can only be resolved in Christ. Like the human body different gifts are necessary to perform various functions. Not to mention the cultural diversity exists among Jewish Christian and Gentile Christian. However, all of them need to work together as one unit to build up Christ’s body, the Church. Thus, the Church needs to sustain both unity and diversity in its character for its own well-being. Regarding this tension, Hall wrote:

Fractured and diverse as it was, Christianity began to acquire not only a coherent profile in the Mediterranean world, but also distinctive patterns of authority. This may be attributed to the sense of being a single ‘household of God’, despite meeting in many households – unity was desirable end in itself. So leadership was dedicated to the preservation of social harmony resolving disputes and directing liturgical life. Thus ‘unity, achieved on other grounds, and by other means, created a climate within which orthodoxy could assert itself.’⁵⁶

⁵⁵ A. TORNOS, *Inculturación: Teología y método*, 52.

⁵⁶ S. HALL, “Institutions in the pre-Constantinian *ecclesia*”, *CHC*, I, 415 – 433, 416.

2.2 Historical development

2.2.1 Early Church through the first half of the Middle Age

As Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire and the Emperor himself became a Christian, the plurality of cultures both within the general society, of which Christianity was a part, and within Christianity seemed to disappear. All cultural and religious forms were forced to intermingle into one presumed culture in the fourth century. As the Byzantine church moved further away and sealed itself off from its Roman counterpart in the fifth century, the Western Church enjoyed its monopoly of the Roman culture. The marriage between Christianity and the Roman Empire, which was often referred to as Christendom, served as the single culture throughout the Western world. Accordingly, the Gospel and Church teachings were to be taught everywhere in a “single, ‘perfect’, cultural [Roman of course] form.”⁵⁷

From the late Roman times until Vatican II, the Western Church generally adopted the classical interpretation of culture in which the church hierarchy, theologians, and thinkers understood culture as a “single, universal, normative concept.” Thus, those who professed Christianity were considered “civilized,” “cultured,” and “saved” whereas, non-Christians were understood as “barbarians,” “uncultured,” and “damned.” The famous teaching *Extra Ecclesiam nulla salus* that originated in the writings of Saint Cyprian of Carthage in the third century has been consistently reinforced throughout Church teachings all the way to the Second Vatican Council.

Interpreted through the lens of cultural uniformity, culture is perceived as “normative” instead of “empirical.” Church teachings and dogma were taught to be permanent not “so much because they represented revealed truths,” but because they

⁵⁷ A. SHORTER, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*, 18.

belonged to the one “universal... fixed, and immutable” culture of Christianity. Therefore, Christianity as a culture became the ideal, which was at best desired and acquired by education, and at worst feared and imposed by force. More dangerously, it was assumed that “the [Christian] Faith is Europe and Europe is the [Christian] Faith... [therefore,] the spread of the Gospel entailed the spread of European culture.”⁵⁸

While this claim and accusation of Christianity as a mono-cultural institution and its abuse of power seems to be true as a generalization, Christendom is not the totality of Christianity. Cultural plurality remained alive and active in the Christian lives and practices throughout history. Christendom though dominant remained only a part of the whole of cultural pluralism in Christian practices and missionary activities.

At a time when Christianity enjoyed being crowned the official religion of the Roman Empire with new power and privilege restored by the Emperor, the monastic movement “manifested [a different newly found] vitality for the church.”⁵⁹ Heralded by St. Anthony of the Desert in the fourth century, the monastic movement and culture was carried on into the sixth century by Irish monks and well established in the thirteenth century by the Franciscans. In contrast to the world’s power and privilege the monastic movement promoted the “escape” from the world and rejection its power and privileges in order to seek the perfect and authentic life as called for in the Gospel.⁶⁰ As a vital part of Christianity the monastic movement presented an alternative way of living the Gospel that was based on “solitude, asceticism, and contemplation” and profoundly rooted in simplicity and nature. Though these monks

⁵⁸ A. SHORTER, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*, 20.

⁵⁹ H.I. MARROU, “Desde el concilio de Nicea hasta la muerte de San Gregorio Magno,” *Nueva Historia de la Iglesia*, Tomo I, Ediciones Cristiandad 1964, 261 – 496, 307.

⁶⁰ 307 – 309.

lived out their whole lives in the deserts their witness to the Christian faith and their conviction to the gospel were felt by the entire Church.⁶¹

During the time “imperial” Christendom was riding on the dominant Roman culture in the sixth century, the letters of Pope St. Gregory the Great to a group of missionaries to England demonstrated a very different attitude of Church. “Instead of condemnation of the customs of the Angles and Saxons, there was to be critical interaction and accommodation.”⁶² The Pope instructed Augustine to guide other missionary monks,

By no means destroy the temples of the gods but rather the idols within those temples. Let him, after he has purified them with holy water, place altars and relics of the saints in them. For if these temples are well built, they should be converted from the worship of demons to the service of the true God. Thus seeing that their places of worship are not destroyed, the people will banish error from their hearts and come to places familiar and dear to them in acknowledgement and worship of the true God.”⁶³

Schinellers and Shorter drew different conclusions about the Pope’s policy on missionary activities. The former insisted on the Church’s slow, “gentle and accommodating posture;” (32) whereas the latter suggested that such was another way in which the Church attempted to impose its Latin culture on others (143). In either case, cultural pluralism was very much present in the Church during this period. Furthermore, the controversy at the Synod of Whitby in 664 demonstrated differences in their understanding of the Church among British bishops and Roman missionaries.⁶⁴

⁶¹ 310. “El monje sigue siendo un hombre y lleva consigo al desierto toda la humanidad; sigue siendo cristiano y se siente solitario con la Iglesia entera.”

⁶² P. SCHINELLER, *A Handbook on Inculturation*, Paulist Press, New York 1990, 31.

⁶³ P. SCHINELLER, *A Handbook on Inculturation*, 32; A. SHORTER, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*, 142.

⁶⁴ A. SHORTER, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*, 142.

2.2.2 *The second half of the Middle Age*

The ninth century was marked by even greater Christian diversity, especially as reflected in the lives and works of Saints Cyril and Methodius. At a time when “the Western Church espoused an aggressive policy of Latinization [and] Eastern Christians paid lip-service to the three languages of the Cross – Aramaic, Greek, and Latin,” Saints Cyril and Methodius’ newly developed Slavonic Christianity both in the language and liturgy further enriched the cultural pluralism that had already existed. Thus, “even in the heyday of the Church’s [considered] monoculturalism, concessions were made to non-Latin cultures.”⁶⁵

Even after the Great Schism, the Western Church maintained, though minimally, its cultural creativity and pluralism in its missionary expansion from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century. The mendicant orders of which the Orders of Friars Minor founded by Saint Francis of Assisi (1181 – 1226) and the Order of Preachers founded by Saint Dominic (1170 – 1221) continued to enrich the cultural plurality of this period. The mendicant movement while continued to carry on the monastic tradition, however, no longer remained in the monastery but actively lived out in ordinary life through pastoral ministry of caring for souls, preaching and teaching.⁶⁶

Most notably in the perspective of cultural pluralism, the Franciscans who were inspired by Saint Francis who abandoned the violent and destructive spirit of the Cruzades and adopted the mean of listening and conversation towards Muslims represented a different spirit and attitude in the Church’s missionary activities;⁶⁷ whereas, the Dominicans championed the Scholastic movement in universities

⁶⁵ A. SHORTER, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*, 145.

⁶⁶ J. LORTZ, *Historia de la Iglesia: en la Perspectiva de la Historia del Pensamiento*, Ediciones Cristiandad, Madrid 1965, 456.

⁶⁷ 458.

cultivating and forming Church teachings among teachers and students who gathered from all over the West.⁶⁸ Among the scholastics, Saint Thomas Aquinas stood out as the “maestro del máximo pensador católico” whose thoughts and writings have become foundation of Christian thoughts, especially of the Catholic Church, in all subsequent centuries until now. In short, the mendicant movement exemplified by the Franciscans and the Dominicans maintained Church’s unity in the midst of its cultural plurality in the late Medieval Age.

2.2.3 From the Renaissance to the beginning of the twentieth century

Even in the midst of all the changes and diversity existed in the beginning of modernity, the Church continued to cling to its classical interpretation of culture. However, a new sense of individuality was born with the Renaissance and the Reformation. Rationality and subjectivity were heralded by Descartes and developed by modern philosophers. The French and American Revolutions had successfully challenged the traditional forms of political authority and structure consequently paving the way for democracy. With the rise of the Scientific Revolution empirical data and evidence triumphed as criteria of truth. Instead of engaging and adapting herself to these changes, Christianity, particularly the Catholic Church, responded with “suspicion and resistance” if not violence.⁶⁹ As expressed in the papal bull of Nicolas V in 1452, the attitude and spirit of “invading, conquering, expelling and reigning over all the kingdoms, the duchies... of the Saracens, of pagans and of all infidels, ... of reducing their inhabitants to perpetual slavery, of appropriating their

⁶⁸ J. LORTZ, *Historia de la Iglesia*, 471.

⁶⁹ M. GALLAGHER, *Clashing Symbols*, 70.

kingdoms and their possessions”⁷⁰ was endorsed and promoted among the missionaries and explorer.

In response to the challenges that the Reformation brought, the Council of Trent (1545 – 1563) strengthened Catholic culture by “rigidifying Catholic teaching, stressing the center, Europe and Rome, at the expense of the expanding world with its differences of tradition and cultures.”⁷¹ Centralizing church power while clinging tightly to a monolithic view of culture continued to be the attitude of the Catholic Church as it confronted modernism. The First Vatican Council (1869 – 1870) strengthened the papacy at the expense of the power of its bishops in their local churches. Rather than engaging itself with contemporary intellectual development, the Council issued condemnations. The promulgation of the Code of Canon Law in 1917 “created uniformity and minimized pluralism and diversity... showing little regard for differences of cultures and tradition.”⁷²

In the midst of such rigidity and resistance, numerous contemporaneous accounts of heroic missionaries testified to the resilience of cultural pluralism embedded in Christianity. In Africa the Christian Kingdom of the Kongo and its missionaries challenged such a policy. They tolerated a “large measure of ecclesial diversity” not conforming to Western biblical images. Such a creativity and vitality kept Kongo a Catholic country with devoted faithful until the end of eighteenth century.⁷³ In South America, Bishop Bartolomé de Las Casas (1484 – 1566), who was disgusted and thus determined to do away with this inhumane policy providing a contrasting image of Christianity that protected native cultures and advocated freedom of conscience of the Amerindians.

⁷⁰ P. SCHINELLER, *A Handbook on Inculturation*, 34.

⁷¹ 35.

⁷² 38.

⁷³ A. SHORTER, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*, 148.

The birth of the mystics such as Saint Ignatius of Loyola (1491 – 1556) and his newfound order, the Society of Jesus, and Saint Teresa of Ávila (1515 – 1582) and the reform of the Carmelite Order not only served as the source of reform within the Catholic Church but also added to the spiritual and cultural richness of the time. Jesuits such as Matteo Ricci (1552 – 1610) and Robert de Nobili (1577 – 1656), who were mainly responsible for the Chinese and Malabar Rites respectively, exemplified Christian practice of cultural adaptation when encountering cultures different from their own. Saint Teresa's experience and teaching of mystical prayers emphasized on God's active life in the individual. The chief goal of the mystic life and prayer was found and achieved neither in mystical vision nor in extraordinary thing, but in the "enérgico esfuerzo por cumplir la voluntad de Dios."⁷⁴ These are only a few outstanding examples of how cultural pluralism was maintained and enriched in Western Christianity during the time when the Council of Trent demanded more rigid liturgical and theological uniformity.

The Sacred Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*, which was founded by Pope Urban VIII in 1622, recognized the cultural pluralism and the challenge of how to adapt the Christian faith into the culture that was different from the European, thus the importance of training native clergy in East Asia.⁷⁵ In the its instruction to Vicars Apostolic F. Paullu, P. Lambert de la Motte and I. Cotelendi on the Church's mission in China in 1659, the Congregation clearly demonstrated its almost common sense of such a need for adaptation.

No pongáis ningún empeño ni aduzcáis ningún argumento para convencer a esos pueblos de que cambien sus ritos, sus formas de vivir y sus costumbres, a no ser que sean evidentemente contrarias a la religión y a la moral. ¿Hay algo más absurdo que querer importar Francia, España, Italia o a cualquier otro país de Europa a China? No les llevéis nuestros países, sino la fe, esa fe que no

⁷⁴ J. LORTZ, *Historia de la Iglesia*, 247.

⁷⁵ R.G. TIEDEMANN, "Christianity in East Asia," *CHC*, VII, 451 – 474, 464.

rechaza ni hiere los ritos ni los usos de ningún pueblo, con tal que no sean detestables, sino que quiere por el contrario que se les guarde y se les proteja.⁷⁶

Cultural diversity continues to thrive in the Church throughout the nineteenth century. Numerous Catholic missionary institutes were born: The Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary was founded in 1841 and later became known as the Holy Ghost Fathers or Spiritans; the Society of Missionaries of Africa (White Fathers) in 1868; the Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of Africa (White Sisters) in 1869; and the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (Verona Fathers) in 1867. The works of these missionary congregations reflected the initial stage of the Church's engagement in the empirical approach to cultures that recognized the importance of indigenous cultures so to appropriately and affectively render service to those cultures.⁷⁷ For the purpose of this investigation, the birth and growth of these missionary congregations served as witnesses to the cultural pluralism in Christianity in the nineteenth century.

So far, this presentation has shown the two different characters in the development and history of Christianity from its crowning as the official religion of the Roman Empire in the fourth century up to the nineteenth century. On the one hand, the hierarchical Church whose power is centralized in Rome worked tirelessly towards achieving uniformity and monoculture, even if it meant going to extremes to obliterate native cultures replacing them with European culture. Consequently, for sixteen centuries since the union between Christianity and the Roman Empire, Christianity as *the* culture of Christendom could be seen as:

⁷⁶ Collectanea Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, Romae, Ex Typographia Polyglotta, S. C. de Propaganda Fide, 1907, Vol. I (1622-1866), 42. The Spanish version is taken from Ricardo José Acosta Nassar's article, "El Uso del Término Inculturación en los Documentos de la Iglesia." *La Inculturación en los trabajos de las Conferencias Generales del Episcopado Latinoamericano en Puebla (1979) y en Santo Domingo (1992). Roma 2001, páginas 29-91.* The Latin version could be found in H. CHAPPOULIE, *Aux Origines d'une Église*, Tome I, 392 – 402.

⁷⁷ A. SHORTER, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*, 170 – 2.

The Christianity of ruling elites and state churches, the Christianity of violent coercion and intolerance, the Christianity of power and privilege, the Christianity of racism, patriarchy, and colonialism, the Christianity of Inquisition and the Holocaust.⁷⁸

This interpretation of culture defined the Church's claim to power and her attitude of isolation towards the world as Christendom.

On the other hand, the work of numerous religious orders and missionaries throughout the history of Christianity continued to demonstrate and maintain a degree of cultural pluralism in Christian practices even if it meant opposing the very institution that sponsored them. "Esto no es ninguna paradoja," insisted Tornos, but a reflection of how church authority has dealt with cultural matters.⁷⁹ Having encountered various cultures different from its own, church authority tended "neither to think about, nor to desire" claiming power. Instead, it took its power over these cultural matters for granted without thinking, thus failing to make any legislation about the issue.

Furthermore, from the Fall of the Roman Empire, through the long years of the Middle Ages, to the rise of the secular states and nationalism, the Church remained as the institution that guarded and held the Western world together in unity. Also, as Christianity expanded, church members increased, cultural pluralism was taken for granted, while unity was praised and emphasized. For better or worse, this had been how church authority attempted to maintain Christian unity in the midst of its cultural plurality. Admittedly the Church often erred on the side of unity and understandably so. However, with the Second Vatican Council, the Church while continuing to preserve and maintain Christian unity has explicitly recognized the

⁷⁸ C. CARTER, *Rethinking Christ and Culture*, 19.

⁷⁹ A. TORNOS, *Inculturación: Teología y método*, 71.

always-existed plurality in its character. Thus, the Council provided better guidelines and legislation on the issue of culture.

2.2.4 *The Second Vatican Council*

The Second Vatican Council (1962 – 1965) modernized the Church's interpretation of culture by not withdrawal but engage with the cultures of the modern world, thus provided a more balanced view on Christian unity in the midst of its cultural plurality. Instead of isolation the Council actively sought all possible means to open the Church to the modern world. *Aggiornamento*, which literally means “bringing up to date,” became the mandate for the Council.⁸⁰

In the address at the opening of the Second Vatican Council on October 11, 1961, Pope John XXIII called for “spiritual enrichment” with the intention of “bringing home the Church's teachings to the modern world” in all of its light and darkness, joy and sorrow, adversity and challenges, pessimistic and optimistic voices. The Council, as the Pope envisioned, will rely on all sectors of the Church, i.e., “the most effective and valued assistance of experts in every branch or sacred science, the practical sphere of the apostolate, and in administration.” As a result, the fruits of the Council would benefit not Catholics alone, but “available to all men of good will.” Furthermore, the pope insisted on a “fresh approach” that is more inclusive and pluralistic,

What is needed at the present time is a new enthusiasm, a new joy and serenity of mind in the unreserved acceptance by all the entire Christian faith, without forfeiting that accuracy and precision in its presentation which characterized the proceedings of the Council of Trent and the First Vatican Council. What is needed, and what everyone imbued with a truly Christian, Catholic and apostolic spirit craves today, is that this doctrine shall be widely known, more deeply understood, and more penetrating in its effects on men's moral lives. What is needed is that this certain and immutable doctrine, to which the faithful owe obedience, be studied afresh

⁸⁰ J. O'MALLEY, *What Happened at Vatican II*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge 2008, 9.

and reformulated in contemporary terms.⁸¹

Such an appreciation and demand for cultural inclusiveness and plurality remained the focus of Pope John XIII throughout his papalate. A quotation attributed to *il buon papa* on his deathbed, May 24, 1963.

Today more than ever ... we are called to serve man as such, and not merely Catholics; to defend above all and everywhere the rights of the human person, and not merely those of the Catholic Church. Today's world, the needs made plain in the last fifty years and a deeper understanding of doctrine have brought us to a new situation ... It is not that the Gospel has changed, it is that we have begun to understand it better. Those who have lived as long as I have ... were enabled to compare different cultures and traditions, and know that the moment has come to discern the signs of the times, to seize the opportunity and to look far ahead.⁸²

Responding to the pope's call, the documents of the Council are nothing short of exceptional. They called for changes in "anything that earlier seemed normative."⁸³

In respect to cultural diversity, the Council's Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (*Sacrosanctum Concilium*) declared that it has "no wish to impose a rigid uniformity" [37] but allowed "the revisions of liturgical books [adapting] to different groups, regions, and peoples, especially in mission lands" [38]. While "particular law remaining in force, the use of the Latin language is to be preserved in the Latin rites," use of mother tongue "in the mass, the administration of the sacraments, or other parts of the liturgy" is encouraged [36]. Thus, a more appropriate or balanced use of traditional Latin and various languages of "mother tongue" was instituted. Furthermore, to ensure appropriate adaptation, "the Apostolic See will grant power to this same territorial ecclesiastical authority to permit and to direct, as the case requires, ... among certain groups suited for the purpose" [40]. Thus, in calling for liturgical adaptation, the Council invested more power with the local churches, thus

⁸¹ <http://www.catholic-forum.com/saints/pope0261i.htm> downloaded on November 29, 2008.

⁸² P. HEBBLETHWAITE, *John XXIII – Pope of the Council*, Continuum, London 1984, 498-9.

⁸³ J. O'MALLEY, *What Happened at Vatican II*, 9.

showing its reverence and respect for the uniqueness of individual culture.⁸⁴ The Council's Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy enabled and equipped the Catholic Church for cultural adaption. This will be studied in depth later in this investigation.

The Council's affirmation of cultural diversity was nothing short of "remarkable."⁸⁵ In fact, the Council's empowerment of local cultures was hailed as one of the signs that a new era had dawned on the Church, an era in which the Church no longer belonged to or was owned exclusively by Western European culture, but had become a "world church" while still retaining the Christian unity.⁸⁶

The Council's Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World (*Gaudium and Spes*) further disengaged the Church from any particular culture, and thus reinforced her universal character. The Pastoral Constitution announced,

Since in virtue of her mission and nature, she is bound to no particular form of human culture, nor to any political, economic or social system, the Church by her very universality can be a very close bond between diverse human communities and nations, provided these trust her and truly acknowledge her right to true freedom in fulfilling her mission. For this reason, the Church admonishes her own sons, but also humanity as a whole, to overcome all strife between nations and race in this family spirit of God's children, and in the same way, to give internal strength to human associations which are just [42].

The Pastoral Constitution, however, did stop at working to empower cultural diversity and to reaffirm her universal character. Like other council documents the Pastoral Constitution provided the "hermeneutical key" to other decrees and declarations.⁸⁷ In fact, the Pastoral Constitution devoted a whole chapter – a tenth of its entire body⁸⁸ – to explicitly state the Church's position on culture.

⁸⁴ J. PELIKAN, "A Response" *The Documents of Vatican II: With Notes and Comments by Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox Authorities*, edited by W. M. Abbot, The America Press, New York 1966, 179.

⁸⁵ IBID.

⁸⁶ K. RAHNER, "Towards a Fundamental Theological Interpretation of Vatican II" *Theological Studies*, 40 (1979) 716 – 727, 717.

⁸⁷ J. O'MALLEY, "Vatican II: Did Anything Happen?" *Vatican II: Did Anything Happen?* (D. Schultenover, ed.), Continuum, New York 2007, 52 – 92, 84.

⁸⁸ M. GALLAGHER, *Clashing Symbols*, 37.

The opening paragraphs of chapter II of the Constitution, “the Proper Development of Culture,” present the council’s attempts to “come up with a satisfactory definition of culture.”⁸⁹

It is a fact bearing on the very person of man that he can come to an authentic and full humanity only through culture, that is, through the cultivation of natural goods and values. Wherever human life is involved, therefore, nature and culture are quite intimately connected.

The word “culture” in its general sense indicates all those factors by which man refines and unfolds his manifold spiritual and bodily qualities. It means his effort to bring the world itself under his control by his knowledge and his labor. It includes the fact that by improving customs and institutions he renders social life more human both within the family and in the civic community.

... Hence it follows that human culture necessarily has a historical and social aspect and that the word “culture” often takes on a sociological and ethnological sense. It is in this sense that we speak of a plurality of cultures [53].

Thus, the Pastoral Constitution assessed culture through the various levels of interpretation and meaning that were historically developed - classically as a process of self cultivation, anthropologically as social systems and expressions, and modern as a plural entity.

One entire section, which was presented in question form, reflected the postmodern critique of culture. In this sense, there was nothing new. What was new, and thus determined the Constitution’s significance in the discourse on culture, was how it intimately connected culture with the dignity of the human person and how only through culture could a more fully human life be achieved. These two aspects of the Council’s Pastoral Constitution have served as the “foundation stones of Catholic thinking on culture.”⁹⁰ Unprecedented in Church history,⁹¹ the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World set a new paradigm for the Christian

⁸⁹ D. CAMPION, “The Church Today” *The Documents of Vatican II: With Notes and Comments by Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox Authorities*, 190.

⁹⁰ M. GALLAGHER, *Clashing Symbols*, 38.

⁹¹ J. O’MALLEY, *What Happened at Vatican II*, 7.

understanding of culture. Its treatment of the “Proper Development of Culture” represents one of the Council’s “most novel ventures in theological exploration.”⁹²

The Catholic understanding of culture, which was revolutionized and reformed by the Second Vatican Council, was further clarified and transformed in the writings and thought of Pope Paul VI and Pope John Paul II. The apostolic exhortation *Evangelii nuntiandi* of Paul VI reaffirmed the universal and independent character of the Gospel in respect to all cultures and acknowledged the “split between the Gospel and culture” as the “drama of our times.”

The Gospel, and therefore evangelization, are certainly not identical with culture, and they are independent in regard to all cultures. Nevertheless, the kingdom which the Gospel proclaims is lived by men who are profoundly linked to a culture, and the building up of the kingdom cannot avoid borrowing the elements of human culture or cultures. Though independent of cultures, the Gospel and evangelization are not necessarily incompatible with them; rather they are capable of permeating them all without becoming subject to any one of them.

The split between the Gospel and culture is without a doubt the drama of our time, just as it was of other times. Therefore every effort must be made to ensure a full evangelization of culture, or more correctly of cultures. They have to be regenerated by an encounter with the Gospel. But this encounter will not take place if the Gospel is not proclaimed [20].

Having recognized the distinction between Gospel and culture, the pope was adamant about the need for evangelization of culture.

Such an exhortation seems to us to be of capital importance, for the presentation of the Gospel message is not an optional contribution for the Church. It is the duty incumbent on her by the command of the Lord Jesus, so that people can believe and be saved. This message is indeed necessary. It is unique. It cannot be replaced. It does not permit either indifference, or syncretism or accommodation. It is a question of people's salvation. It is the beauty of the Revelation that it represents. It brings with it a wisdom that is not of this world. It is able to stir up by itself faith - faith that rests on the power of God. It is truth. It merits having the apostle consecrate to it all his time and all his energies, and to sacrifice for it, if necessary, his own life [5].

Thus, evangelization demands personal witness and fidelity to the Christian faith.

Thus, through living out their Christian faith and values, Christians will testify values

⁹² D. CAMPION, “Church Today,” 190.

that “go beyond current values, and hope that is not seen and that one would not dare to imagine” [21]. In doing so the document went “beyond Vatican II [in recognizing] an inevitable conflict in the process of confronting cultures and of transforming them with the vision of Gospel.”⁹³ Furthermore, Pope Paul VI’s *Evangelii nuntiandi*, while appreciating the cultural diversity expressed and valued in *Gaudium et Spes*, called for the responsibility of all forms of culture to strive towards a form of cultural universality where basic individual human rights and dignity are safeguarded and guaranteed.

To respond to Pope Paul VI’s challenge, Pope John Paul II reaffirmed culture as a “key zone” for both the “saving of humanity from reductive images of itself” and “where human beings grow into fullness of humanity.”⁹⁴ Furthermore, the pope insisted on culture as the primary locus for human self-transcendence. John Paul II’s approach to culture, which embodied both cultural anthropology and transcendental metaphysics, is often known as the “metaphysical anthropology of culture.”⁹⁵ However, the self-transcendence of cultural forms cannot be taken for granted. The reality of the co-existence of a “culture of life” – that brings life inspired and transformed by Gospel values – and a “culture of death” – that dehumanizes all forms of human life – calls for a cultural discernment. In the papal encyclical *Evangelium vitae*, Pope John Paul announced,

In our present social context marked by a dramatic struggle between the ‘culture of life’ and the ‘culture of death,’ there is a need to develop a deep critical sense capable of discerning true values and authentic needs” [95].

In contrary to the “culture of death,” the “culture of life” confronts and so solves the human issues and problems in the modern world by “bringing about a serious and

⁹³ M. GALLAGHER, *Clashing Symbols*, 46.

⁹⁴ A. TORNOS, *Inculturación: Teología y método*, 128 – 129.

⁹⁵ M. GALLAGHER, *Clashing Symbols*, 49.

courageous cultural dialogue among all parties,” so to transform humanity in the current cultural climate [95]. According to the pope, Christian participates in this transformation process by engaging and committing themselves to the Church’s mission of evangelization. In this evangelization, the Gospel serves as a starting and the ending point. Under the guiding light of the Gospel, individual Christians, families, groups, and communities need to undergo a process of renewal themselves. In other words, the “culture of life” is maintained and sustained from within. Using the image in Matthew Gospel, the Pope calls on the Christian community to serve not only like “yeast” to liven up the world, but also the model of what the world is capable of and could become.

With great openness and courage, we need to question how widespread is the culture of life today among individual Christians, families, groups and communities in our Dioceses. With equal clarity and determination we must identify the steps we are called to take in order to serve life in all its truth. At the same time, we need to promote a serious and in-depth exchange about basic issues of human life with everyone, including non-believers, in intellectual circles, in the various professional spheres and at the level of people's everyday life [95].

The works of Pope John Paul II have helped to focus the contemporary Catholic interpretation of culture on its spiritual and religious horizons. Thus, the works of Pope Paul VI and Pope John Paul II, while esteeming the explicitly expressed cultural pluralism of the Second Vatican Council, preserve world unity in making sure that true cultures are those for life not for death, and most importantly, life for everyone – believers and non-believers.

2.3 World Council of Churches

Parallel with the Catholic development, the World Council of Churches (WCC) offers a different perspective on the Christian understanding of culture. Konrad Raiser, the General Secretary of the Council, has made it clear that the

Council's chief interest in culture is neither "simply a question of ideas, nor is it primarily missiological," but, the "dynamic interaction between the Gospel and human cultures."⁹⁶ Unlike the Catholic position, whose understanding of culture centers largely on the person, the World Council's approach emphasizes the community. "Culture is the expression of the identity of a human community."⁹⁷

In general, the WCC accepted principles of the understanding of culture could be summarized in four tenets. First, "culture is not neutral." Similar to the insights of Pope Paul VI and John Paul II, while culture is where human community and the Gospel interact and influence one another, culture can be "idolatrous." Thus, true encounter with culture requires respectful and constructive dialogue. Second, following the modern interpretation, cultures are understood as human constructions. Like John Paul II's insight into the discernment between the "culture of life" and the "culture of death," the WCC understood cultures to consist of "light and shadows" which calls for a genuine "evangelical judgment." Thirdly, similar to Catholic thinking, the relationship between the Gospel and cultures is reciprocal. The Gospel affects and is affected by cultures. Therefore, Christian evangelization demands that the Gospel encounter individual culture at its root level in order to find appropriate cultural expression for Christian life and worship in that culture. Finally, and most notably, the WCC calls for a better "ecumenism" to assure and to maintain cultural plurality within Christian unity.⁹⁸

Recent developments in the Christian understanding of culture, both in the Catholic Church and with the World Council of Churches, undoubtedly have had

⁹⁶ M. GALLAGHER, *Clashing Symbols*, 56.

⁹⁷ 57.

⁹⁸ 59.

enormous implications on the Church's self-understanding, her practices and missionary activities which will be dealt in the following chapter.

3. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CHRISTIANITY AND CULTURES

As demonstrated above, pluralism remain as one of the fundamental characters that both *cultures* and Christianity. How have these two entities interacted and influenced each other? What does the relationship between Christianity and culture entail? How could Christianity engage and challenge culture in such a way that enables culture to its fulfillment? And vice versa? These questions will serve as guiding posts for this section of the investigation.

3.1 Relationship between Christianity and cultures

“Christian life moves between the poles of God in Christ as known through faith and the Bible and God in nature as known through reason in culture,” summarized Niebhur.⁹⁹ Thus, the struggle to lead an authentic Christian life has been centered on searching and maintaining a well-integrated understanding of faith that is grounded in culture. St. Anselm's conviction of “faith seeking understanding” has served as guiding principle for generations of Christian theologians to pursue their academic investigation so to deepen their faith within its cultural context. Such a challenging process – “to harmonize culture with Christian teaching” – noted by the Second Vatican Council, demands ongoing “theological investigation.”¹⁰⁰

The Council further asked that new theological investigation must not only respect the fundamental difference between faith and culture, but also to preserve their authenticity “for the deposit of faith or revealed truths are one thing; the manner

⁹⁹ R. NIEBUHR, *Christ & Culture*, xlii.

¹⁰⁰ IBID.

in which they are formulated without violence to their meaning and significance is another.”¹⁰¹ Therefore, along with the use of proper theological methods and requirements, theological investigation have applied “suitable ways” from other academic disciplines, namely, sociology to gain better understanding on the issue.

3.1.1 Religious character of cultures

In one of her recent essays, Davaney observes:

The general change has been that increasing religion, religious communities, and traditions are now located in the thick matrices of culture. Religious belief, practices, identities, values, institutions, and even texts are all now seen as elements within and products of cultural processes.¹⁰²

Therefore, no matter how culture is interpreted and defined, as a social phenomenon, culture and society are intimately interwoven in a circular relationship for “culture is learned by individuals as members of society and that society is the consequence of individuals sharing a culture.”¹⁰³ Thus, culture and society are like two sides of the same coin. One cannot exist without the other. Both are involved with human individuals. Human individuals not only interact or behave but also reflect on their interaction and behavior.

From the reflection on their past behaviors, individuals develop a “mental picture” which in turn constructs some kind of enduring pattern or structure for present and future behaviors. The totality of these patterns or structures which form the whole “mental picture” make up what we call “society.”¹⁰⁴ Thus, social change is most often made in these patterns or structures of individual behaviors. Regarding these social patterns and structures, Geertz observes:

¹⁰¹ *Gaudium et Spes* [62].

¹⁰² S. DAVANEY, “Theology and the Turn to Cultural Analysis,” *Converging on Culture: Theologians in Dialogue with Cultural Analysis and Criticism*, ed. D. Brown et al., Oxford University Press, Oxford 2001, 3 – 16, 7.

¹⁰³ A. SHORTER, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*, 31.

¹⁰⁴ 31 – 32.

Beavers build dams, birds build nests, bees locate food, baboons organize social groups... on the basis of learning that rest predominantly on the instructions encoded in their genes and evoked by patterns of external stimuli... Men build dams or shelters, locate food, organize their social groups, or find sexual partners under the guidance of instructions encoded in flow charts and blueprints, hunting lore, moral systems aesthetic judgment: conceptual structures molding formless talents.¹⁰⁵

How these patterns, structures or “flow charts” and “blueprints” of behaviors are constructed remain important and thus deserve further attention.

These individual patterns or structures of behaviors are developed and formed as a result of direct interaction of the society with its physical environment. However, since physical environment is limited in what they can offer in terms of choices, society has to accordingly choose, arrange, and modify. Furthermore, how the environment limits society’s choices and how the society responds to such a limitation in its act of choosing, arranging, and modifying are referred to as the society’s economy. But society has not restricted itself to that one particular environment. It can create its own environment, adapt itself into a chosen economy, and adopt certain mechanisms to function or certain forms of communication. The history of a society, therefore, can be defined as “the history of a succession and accumulation of choices, in other words a tradition.”¹⁰⁶

It is the tradition that continues to engage and to bond with its immediate environment and its surrounding world. Consequently, out of this engagement and bonding, an “inherited body of meanings and conceptions clothed in symbolic forms” is established. And such an “inherited body” constitutes a culture. It is important to notice here that this “inherited body” – culture – though originally developed out of the engagement and the bond between tradition and the land it inhabits, once formed is independent from the land where it was originated. For example, immigrant

¹⁰⁵ C. GEERTZ, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, 49 – 50.

¹⁰⁶ A. SHORTER, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*, 33.

communities continue to carry on and to practice in their newly adopted countries a cultural tradition that was originated and developed in their native land.

Furthermore, this “inherited body” is preserved and passed on through the use of symbols. Any object, event, experience, or anything for that matter that could serve as vehicle to convey a concept or a meaning make up a symbol or system of symbols. In sociology, symbol is classified as a species of sign. There are two different types of signs: natural and conventional. “Natural signs include the phenomena of sense experience, while conventional signs are constructs upon that experience.”¹⁰⁷ For example, the use of the color red to signal the presence of fire is a natural sign; whereas the use of the color red in traffic light to stop drivers from crossing the streets to avoid accidents is a conventional sign. Thus, a “red light” is used as a symbol that relates the experiences of fire to the danger of crossing the street at the moment when there are cars moving at the intersection signaling to the drivers to put their cars to the brake. As a result, a symbol is created and used to communicate a conventional meaning by making a connection between the different sets of experience.

Symbols’ essential roles are easily seen in religious practice. The symbol of “water” in Christian baptism links the experience of water as a source of life to the experience of the Israelites in the Red Sea during their exodus from Egypt, to the experience of Jesus’ baptism in the Jordan, to the experience of the early Christians, and finally to the experience of the one who is being baptized as a conventional sign of entrance into the Judeo Christian faith tradition. In summary, “symbols of a cultural system are the products of society. They are the components of the mental

¹⁰⁷ A. SHORTER, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*, 34.

patterns and pictures through which a society understands and orients itself to life in the world.”¹⁰⁸

As demonstrated above, culture as the “inherited body” can be phenomenologically divided into two different levels: the practical and the symbolical. The impact of religion on culture could be seen through two different models.¹⁰⁹ The first model consists of four concentric circles. The outermost circle represents the “industrial technical.” It is in this layer where one meets the world of sport and fashion, of communication and travel, of science and technology. These elements while possessing their own cultural values remain in constant change and do not attach to any culture in particular. Moving inward to the next circle, the “domestic technical” consists of custom and tradition of family convention and etiquette, of cooking and taste in food, and of leisure pursuits. These two circles made up the practical level of culture.

The next two circles made up the underlying cognitive level represented by symbols of culture. In the third circle, one encounters cultural values that have been instilled into members of society through the process of education. Cultural values involve with priorities and with characteristic choices when confronted with alternatives. For example, Asian societies tend to hold the value of family over that of an individual, whereas, Western societies hold these in the reverse order. It is the choice which each of these societies has elected and reinforced in their cultural tradition. It doesn’t necessarily mean one is better than the other. It is only a matter for which choice works better of which society. Finally, the most inner circle entails a culture’s worldview through which the whole range of human experience - experience of their physical environment both immediate and remote, experience of

¹⁰⁸ A. SHORTER, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*, 35.

¹⁰⁹ 35 – 38.

their own society and of others, experience which referred to as religious – is interpreted and comprehended. It is here at the heart of cultures where faith and culture are intimately interrelated.

Though this model could be an oversimplified representation of an overwhelmingly complex social reality of culture, certain characteristics can be drawn out regarding the relationship between faith and culture. First of all, cultures consist of different levels each of which possesses different degrees of importance. Moving further inward, one encounters culture's more profound and more permanent values. Second, change and adaptation take place more easily at the outer layers than the inner ones. Thus, any change made in the inner level constitutes culture's fundamental structure and tradition. Since faith and religion reside in the innermost level of culture, they could play a crucial role in forming and governing the practical order, thus guiding and orienting the way society interacts and behaves.

The second model portrays cultures in three concentric circles. The two outer most circles houses the “tangibles,” whereas the innermost circle the “intangibles.” The “tangibles” consist of all the practical social features such as arts, language, industry and technology, all of which help humanizing the world. A system of symbols, which is also part of the “tangibles,” is found in the next circle outer circle. These symbols are used to convey meaning of that which occupies the innermost circle – the “intangible” body of meaning. Similar to the previous model, as one moves further inward, one encounters the more profound and permanent value of culture, thus more difficult to change. Religion though by its nature consists of symbols and the “tangibles,” has the potential to relate to culture at this innermost level of the “intangibles.”

Following these models of culture, since religion and faith deal with ultimate reality or realities and concerns, all of which are found at the innermost circle of culture. The religious character of culture can be implicitly observed easily. Consequently, a person whose ultimate concern has never gone beyond the practical, material, or tangibles, dwells not only outside the realm of religion, but also in an incomplete or impoverished culture. Religion and faith, which wrestle with the issue of ultimate reality, help to strengthen and deepen relationship among the various layers of culture making culture more wholesome.¹¹⁰

Following this line of reasoning, one can also encounter the religious character of an atheistic culture. Since true atheism embodies certain “ideologies that demand commitment to ideals which transcend the empirical and the scientific,” it embraces a thirst for the absolute. Atheism, though in itself neither involving divine beings nor consisting of any divine order, does deal with some sort of transcendence, or ultimate values beyond the practical, the material and the tangibles. Thus, culture – theistic or atheistic – is always religious or potentially religious in some sense. Such conviction is captured by *Ad Gentes*’ inspirational summary statement, “*Nulla gens tam fera est ut Christi Evangelii capax non sit, neque tam culta Ut Evangelio non indigeat*” — “No people are so primitive as to be unfit for the Gospel; none are so civilized as not to need it.”¹¹¹ Hence, Christian faith and the Gospel, as a form of religion, remain relevant to all forms of human culture.

3.1.2 Cultural character of religion

Davaney continues in her essay:

¹¹⁰ A. SHORTER, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*, 37 – 38.

¹¹¹ D. LAMONT, “Ad Gentes: A Missionary Bishop Remembers,” *Vatican II: By those who were there*, ed. Stacpoole, Geoffrey Chapman, London 1986, 271 – 282, 282.

Religions are increasingly viewed as cultural processes and artifacts that are not disconnected from other dimensions of human cultural and social institutions, discourses, and networks or power. They are now taken to be both product of and contributors to the negotiations around cultural process.¹¹²

Accordingly, one of religions' main purposes consists of interpreting life's meaning and constructing a life-orienting worldview for a given society function as a cultural system. As with any cultural system as described above, religion consists of a body of meaning, or deposit of faith, or the "intangibles" which are mediated through the use of symbols and translated into religious practice and behavior. Hence, theology serves as a "particular version of [the] search for meaning, for a pattern of fundamental categories that will, as cultures do, orient, guide and order human life."¹¹³ Therefore, religion and theology are part of the whole complex system of culture.

Being part of culture, religion is a cultural production. In other words, a religion is shaped and formed by concrete social practices. However, these practices are guided by religious norms and ideals so to conform these practices to the goal or purpose of that religion. How does religion helps to transform culture and religion itself? Richly endowed with symbols, religion provides culture not only with a model to comprehend its reality, but also a model to contemplate a better reality that is coming into existence. By doing so, religion assists the believers not only to conform to reality, but to transform it. Furthermore, the meaning of religious symbols is enriched and deepened both in its cope and its application upon their encounter with culture since "no religion can exercise this power if its symbols are not inseparable

¹¹² S. DAVANEY, "Theology and the Turn to Cultural Analysis," 8.

¹¹³ K. TANNER, *Theories of Culture*, 64.

from those of culture.”¹¹⁴ In other words, religion and culture serves as the renewing and empowering source for one another.

Similar to cultures, religion could also be understood through different levels. Amaladoss divided religion into its “cosmic” level and the “metacosmic” level.¹¹⁵ At the “cosmic” level, one deals with the popular current religious worldview. It is here where religion behaves as a “conservative force” challenging and resisting all proposed change in order to maintain the status quo. At the “metacosmic” level, one encounters those who are well versed in sacred scriptures and expert in religious tradition and those who guard and censor the religious faith and practice. Wholesome religious practice involves a consistent and unfailing flow between these two levels. Any form of disruption or disconnectedness in this flow between these two levels serves as the root for various forms of religious impoverishment.

There are various ways in which religion could respond to cultural diversity and adversity, namely, “fundamentalism,” “conterminous,” “subculturalism,” and “inculturation.” Fundamentalism responds to external force of cultural pluralism by clinging tightly to one particular aspect of religion that has been interpreted and practiced through narrowed, skewed, oversimplified, and literal terms and behaviors, making this one particular aspect the criterion for the cultural identity of the mass. Consequently, religious identity and loyalty is solely identified and dependent upon this one particular part of culture failing to consult or to be challenged by the whole community.

Religion is in a “conterminous” relationship with culture when “religious beliefs and practices were taught as part of the general enculturation of its

¹¹⁴ A. SHORTER, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*, 41.

¹¹⁵ M. AMALADOSS, “Culture and Dialogue” *IRM*, 294 (April 1985) 169 – 177, 171.

members.”¹¹⁶ There is no distinction between religion and culture. In other words, religious practice and cultural practice are essentially one. As a result, religion and culture limit the development of one another in this type of relationship since “culture and theology [do] share something in common, but they approach things from different angles.”¹¹⁷ By “conterminously” existing, they fail to challenge and to enrich one another on their way to fulfillment. Thus, conterminous relationship between religion and culture can too easily lapse into the problem of “culturalism” or “religionism” where absolutization of either culture or religion occurs. None of these forms is healthy.

The third possibility by which religion could respond to cultural diversity and adversity is by forming a sort of subculture within the mainstream. It is possible for a given culture to host various religions each of which emphasizes and values certain values of its hosted culture. These religions, while remaining different religions as various subcultures, could maintain harmonious relationships with one another within the host culture. The final alternative by which religion responds to cultural adversity and diversity is inculturation. This is where a given religion can adapt itself to any cultural forms and be enriched by them without losing its essential identity. Inculturation is often found in what we often refer to as “world religions.” I will argue that inculturation is the most genuine and authentic form of relationship between religion and culture. A full section will be dedicated later to explore this topic of inculturation. In any case, the Christian faith due to its intrinsic incarnational nature has always been “‘translated’ into a culture,” or inculturated.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ A. SHORTER, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*, 42.

¹¹⁷ K. TANNER, *Theories of Culture*, 64.

¹¹⁸ D. BOSCH, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission*, Orbis Books, New York 2007, 447.

For the Catholic Church, the Second Vatican Council has repeatedly emphasized the important role which culture has in the formation of the Christian faith. The Council declared in *Gaudium et Spes*:

How richly [the Church] has profited by the history and development of humanity... From the beginning of her history, she has learned to express the message of Christ with the help of the ideas and terminology of various peoples, and has tried to clarify it with the wisdom of philosophers, too [44]. Thus, culture provides various means through which the Christian faith can always be better understood and articulated, thus penetrated more deeply in the lives of Christian believers and the Christian community. Christian faith while not “bound exclusively or indissolubly” to any particular form of culture, has to express itself through different cultural expressions and celebrations [58]. To put it succinctly,

Gospel and culture are united without confusing or separating them somewhat similar to the mystery of the incarnation in which human nature and divine nature are united without confusion or separation on the indivisible person of God-man.¹¹⁹

4. CONCLUSION

On the one hand, cultures not only provides a home for religion but also serves as a place where humans can grow into their full humanity in their own religion. On the other hand, religion motivates and inspires cultures with direction and fulfillment towards its wholeness. After the Second Vatican Council, Pope John Paul II was influential in insisting on maintaining a healthy relationship between the Christian faith and cultures for both of their wellbeing and growth. This chapter will be closed with some of his pertinent remarks.

In the papal address in Paris to the members of UNESCO, especially in the area of education, science, and culture, June 1980, Pope John Paull II reminded his

¹¹⁹ M. DHAVAMONY, *Christian Theology of Inculturation*, Pontificia Università Gregoriana, Roma 1997, 94.

audience of the long historical existence and ecclesial recognition of an “organic and constitutive link” between religion and culture. We read from the address:

*La presencia de la Sede Apostólica ante vuestra Organización —aunque motivada también por la soberanía específica de la Santa Sede— encuentra su razón de ser, por encima de todo, en la relación orgánica y constitutiva que existe entre la religión en general y el cristianismo en particular, por una parte, y la cultura, por otra. Esta relación se extiende a las múltiples realidades que es preciso definir como expresiones concretas de la cultura en las diversas épocas de la historia y en todos los puntos del globo [9].*¹²⁰

Furthermore, in the discourse with the participants in the National Congress of the Ecclesial Movement for Cultural Commitment on January 16, 1982, the pope emphasized once again the innate interrelationship between faith and culture where one cannot fully understand one without the other.

*La sintesi fra cultura e fede non è solo una esigenza della cultura, ma anche della fede... Se, infatti, è vero che la fede non si identifica con nessuna cultura ed è indipendente rispetto a tutte le culture, non è meno vero che, proprio per questo, la fede è chiamata ad ispirare, ad impregnare ogni cultura... Una fede che non diventa cultura è una fede non pienamente accolta, non interamente pensata, non fedelmente vissuta [2].*¹²¹

Finally, in the first Papal Address to the Plenary Assembly of the Pontifical Council for Culture, the pope decisively affirmed the importance of the dialogue between the Church and cultures for which the Council was formed.

*The dialogue between the Church and the cultures of the world has assumed a vital importance for the future of the Church and of the world... This dialogue is absolutely indispensable for the Church, because otherwise evangelization will remain a dead letter [4].*¹²²

Thus, religion and culture, while remaining distinct entities, and necessarily remaining so, complement and enrich one another.

¹²⁰ http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/speeches/1980/june/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19800602_unesco_sp.html, downloaded on November 29, 2008.

¹²¹ http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/speeches/1982/january/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19820116_impegno-culturale_it.html, downloaded on November 29, 2008.

¹²² http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/speeches/1996/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_18011983_address-to-pc-culture_en.html, downloaded on November 29, 2008.

CHAPTER 2

MISSION AND INCULTURATION

Inculturación es la encarnación de la vida y mensaje cristianos en un área cultural concreta, de tal manera que esa experiencia no sólo llegue a expresarse con los elementos propios de la cultura en cuestión (lo que no sería más que una superficial adaptación), sino que se convierta en el principio inspirador, normativo y unificador que transforme y re-cree esa cultura, originando así “una nueva creación.”

P. Arrupe, “Carta sobre la Inculturación”

In the previous chapter, cultural pluralism has been examined and explored in the historical development of the concept of both *culture* and Christianity. Also, it has been demonstrated that plurality remains as one of the fundamental characters that both *culture* and Christianity internally embody. However, how have these two entities interacted and influenced each other? What does the relationship between Christianity and culture entail? How could Christianity engage and challenge culture in such a way that enables culture to its fulfillment? And vice versa? These questions serve as guiding posts for this section of the investigation.

1. MISSION IN CHRISTIANITY

The Christian faith due “is missionary by its very nature, or it denies its very *raison d’être*.”¹ Due to its intrinsic incarnational character, Christianity has always striven to encounter and penetrate itself into the various cultures in order to find itself a home within them. Historically, as culture and its interpretation have been undergoing changes, theological reflection and praxis concerning mission also shifted responding and adapting to cultural changes. Furthermore, the ongoing interaction and tension between Christianity and its host culture also impel these paradigm shifts.

¹ D. BOSCH, *Transforming Mission*, 8 – 9.

How mission has been done depend mainly how it is defined. The first part of this chapter will examine the mission's origin, how it has been defined and developed historically.

1.1 Origin and definition

The term “mission” and its meaning has gone through a lot of changes. The Vulgate Bible used various Latin terms such as *missus* and *missio* to relate to the activities of the apostles and early disciples of Jesus.² However, such a concept was abandoned throughout the Middle Ages. Instead, “mission” as interpreted and understood in the modern sense was replaced by phrases such as “propagation of the faith,” “expansion of the reign of God,” “conversion of the heathen,” or “founding of new churches”.³ Throughout the Middle Ages and up until the sixteenth century, the word “mission” was used exclusively to refer to the internal activities of the Blessed Trinity, namely, the sending of the Son by the Father and of the Holy Spirit by the Father and the Son. It was the Jesuits who “first used [“mission” to denote] the spread of the Christian faith among people (including Protestants) who were not members of the Catholic Church” in the latter part of the fifteenth century.⁴

According to the founding documents of the Society of Jesus, Ignatius of Loyola as one of its founders recovered the term “mission” from its original Latin meaning of “to be sent” or “sending” to appoint Jesuits to their apostolic works and expeditions.⁵ Beginning in the *Spiritual Exercises*, Ignatius envisioned the “mission” of members of the Society of Jesus as being sent by Christ throughout the world to

² J. O'MALLEY, “Mission and the Early Jesuits,” *The Way Supplement* 79 (Spring 1994) 3 – 10, 3.

³ D. BOSCH, *Transforming Mission*, 1.

⁴ IBID.

⁵ A. ALDAMA, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus: An Introductory Commentary on the Constitutions*, IJS, Sain Louis 1989, 249.

spread the sacred doctrine to all nations and all human conditions.⁶ More especially, Ignatius' vision of Jesuit "mission" as "being sent" by Christ was confirmed by the Blessed Trinity in one of his prayers. In his *Diario espiritual* dated February 11, 1544, Ignatius noted,

En esto [momento] veniéndome otras inteligencias, es a saber, cómo el Hijo primero envió en pobreza a predicar a los apóstoles, y después el Espíritu Santo, dando su espíritu y *lenguas* los confirmó, y así el Padre y el Hijo, enviando el Espíritu Santo, todas tres personas confirmaron la tal misión" [15].⁷

Thus, for the Society of Jesus, "mission" denotes extended activities of the Blessed Trinity that continues to manifest in and through Jesuits' apostolic journeys, pilgrimages, studies, ministries, and matters pertaining to governance,⁸ all of which contributed to the modern use and understanding of "mission."

Such a change in the use and the newly recovered meaning of the term "mission" by the Jesuits represented "deeper shifts in culture, deeper shifts in awareness and sensibilities."⁹ Towards the end of the fifteenth century, the Age of Discovery had opened the "self-contained" Europe of the Middle Ages to the new territories, the "New World." The colonization process followed conquering new lands and people in Africa, Asia, and the Americas. As the world opened up to the West, traditional European ways of thinking were broken down giving way to new terms with new extended meanings culturally and intellectually. Religious thought and practice followed. O'Malley pointed out that with the great voyages of discovery serving as the "backdrop," the ideal of Christian apostolic life began to "break with the monastic ideal of Christian perfection" to take on a new significance and meaning.

⁶ I. LOYOLA, *Ejercicios Espirituales*, intro. C. Dalmases, Sal Terrae, Santander 1985, [145]; also see I. SALVAT, "misión," *DEI*, II, 1239 – 1246, 1239.

⁷ *Obras de San Ignacio de Loyola*, (I. Iparraguirre et als., eds.), Instituto Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús, Madrid 1997, 363.

⁸ M. SCADUTO, "The Early Jesuits and the Road," *The Way* 42 (2003) 71 – 84, 72.

⁹ J. O'MALLEY, "Mission and the Early Jesuits," 4.

Like their contemporaries, Jesuits were looking for the ideal of Christian apostolic life. Jesuits are meant to be “misioned,” or “sent out” beyond the confines of monasteries and local parishes. Different from both monks who took vows of stability and diocesan clergy whose ministry was limited to the local parish, the life of a Jesuit is defined by their international and apostolic character of the international Society of Jesus.¹⁰ Thus, the use of the word “mission” in the Jesuit sense provided a new way of adapting the Christian ideal of apostolic life to the Age of Discovery which, in return, challenged and changed the culture in which it was formed.

The new use of the word “mission” is “historically linked indissolubly with the colonial era and with the idea of a magisterial commissioning.”¹¹ Accordingly, the new understanding of “mission” equipped Western ecclesial and colonial authorities with new tools to expand their power and dominance to the rest of the world. The new-found meaning of the term “mission” gave ways for and justified the colonization process that was taking place in Africa, Asia and the Americas. According to Andrew Ross, the concept of “mission” as interpreted and practiced by Jesuits served as a “challenge to the traditions of Medieval Christendom with its close alliance of throne and altar.”¹² Concretely, the Jesuit fourth vows regarding “mission” was a “key” in initiating the reclaiming process of ecclesial autonomy from the royal control regarding the evangelization process that had been taking place in the colonized lands.¹³

In any case, it is undeniable that, on the one hand, the historical, political, and cultural shifts in the late fifteenth century greatly influenced how the concept of

¹⁰ J. O’MALLEY, “Mission and the Early Jesuits,” 7.

¹¹ D. BOSCH, *Transforming Mission*, 228.

¹² A. ROSS, *A Vision Betrayed: The Jesuits in Japan and China, 1542 – 1742*, Orbis Books, New York 1994, 202.

¹³ IBID.

“mission” was reformulated and re-interpreted. On the other hand, the newly interpreted meaning of the term “mission” helped change the political structure of Europe at the time. Whether it succeeded or not, the newly recovered meaning of “mission” called into question the culture of the Age of Discovery and forced succeeding generations to confront the injustice and brutality brought upon the natives by ecclesial and colonial powers. Therefore, the shift in culture not only extended the understanding of the term “mission,” but also what actually took place in Christian missionary activities and Christian missions.

In summary, mission is understood as the penetration of Christian faith into a culture in such a way that the creative tension between faith and culture is preserved. Thus the Christian faith is grounded and formed by culture, yet remains at a distance from culture so as to provide an alternative or a vision for the development and transformation of culture. True mission happens when both Christian faith and culture remain authentic to themselves while mutually enriching each other. Thus, the way in which Christians interpreted “mission” and implemented their missionary activities influenced how a culture was formed and transformed. Such an interaction and tension between Christian understanding of its mission and the host culture has spanned the history of Christianity from the Age of Discovery to the present.

1.2 Historical development

Historically, there have been major crisis and shift in Christian interpretation and understanding of mission.¹⁴ In order to understand and appreciate these changes fully we must go back in Christian history to re-examine how Christianity and its host cultures have struggled to integrate and harmonize with each other so as to mutually challenge and enrich one another. The knowledge and insights we gain from our past

¹⁴ D. BOSCH, *Transforming Mission*, 4.

will better our thinking in the present and help us to conduct and navigate better in the future. This investigation while remain critical will conduct its examination on the Church mission without being judgmental, but doing so with love for the Church even to the point of being deeply pained by it, and with the humility that, according to Bosch’s wisdom, “shows respect for our forbearers in the faith, for what they have handed down to us, even if we have reason to be acutely embarrassed by their racist, sexist, and imperialist bias” since “we have no guarantees that we shall do better than they did [given similar circumstances].”¹⁵ With such a spirit of love and humility, I will turn my attention to Christian mission in the Early Church.

1.2.1 The Early Church

The era into which Jesus was born was a time of unprecedented economic, political, social, and religious change. Socio-politically, Palestine was under Roman occupation. A new system of private large estates was developed at the expense of communal property. New projects such as the restoration of the Sepphoris and the building of Tiberias further altered the Galilean economy.¹⁶ Consequently, poor peasants were converted into “day laborers” working for estate owners and construction managers, ever expanding the unjust social structure, increasing burden for those at the bottom.

On the rung further down the ladder, as the base broadens, are the peasants, the free landowners who are the mainstay of the society, but cannot themselves aspire to a higher position on the social scale. Instead, they are in constant danger of falling among the landless poor, due either to increased taxation, a bad harvest or simple annexation of property by the ruling elites.¹⁷

Burdened with the taxes imposed by Roman law and insulted by Roman occupational forces on their holy land, the Jews were filled with a restless and revolutionary spirit

¹⁵ D. BOSCH, *Transforming Mission*, 485.

¹⁶ S. FREYNE, “Galilee and Judaea in the First Century,” *CHC*, II, 37 – 52, 45.

¹⁷ 42.

that eagerly awaited for God to send the Messiah to deliver them from the yoke of the Roman force. Religiously, Jewish faithful were divided into various groups, among whom were: pious Jews, recent converts and recently circumcised, and the “God-fearers” who were drawn to the Jewish faith yet remained un-circumcised. Within Judaism there existed various groups: the Sadducees who did not believe in the resurrection (Mt 22:23), the Pharisees who did, the Essenes who sought holiness by withdrawing from the world, and the fanatics who reacted violently towards Rome in the name of Judaism. Moreover, Greek religion and philosophy began to spread eastward moving into Central Asia, and hence was enhanced by cultural diversity in the religion.¹⁸ To provide a quick summary of the cultural and religious landscape, Jensen wrote:

Temples and statues were central to most of the ‘foreign’ religions practiced by diverse ethnic groups in the empire, while religious pluralism and experimentation were characteristic of the era.¹⁹

Such a socio-political, economical, and religious contexts formed the background for Jesus’ public ministry.²⁰ Jesus who “was born of a woman [and] born under the law” (Galatians 4:4-5) acted like a typical Jew of his time. He followed the law to the “smallest letter” (Matthew 5:7). He paid the temple tax both for himself and his disciples (Mathew 17:27) and instructed people to “give to Caesar what is Caesar’s and to God what is God’s” (Mark 12:17). As a Jew, he was prejudiced toward the Canaanite woman referring to her as “dog” not worthy to eat the “children’s breads” (Mathew 15:26). As a faithful Jew, Jesus had no intention of founding a new religion.²¹ Instead, he saw himself in the Jewish tradition of a prophet

¹⁸ D. BOSCH, *Transforming Mission*, 25 – 26.

¹⁹ R. JENSEN, “Towards a Christian Material Culture,” *CHC*, II, 568 – 585, 568.

²⁰ S. FREYNE, “Galilee and Judaea in the First Century,” 45.

²¹ D. BOSCH, *Transforming Mission*, 50. Bosch cited one of A. Loisy’s most often quoted, “Jesus foretold the kingdom and it was the Church that came.”

being sent to liberate his people. Consequently, “much of Jesus’ public ministry, as portrayed in the gospels, was conducted against the backdrop of an unjust economic system.”²²

Though the socio-historical, political, and religious climate at the time helped to form Jesus as to who he was and his mission, what Jesus did and how he performed his mission was revolutionary within his culture. Unlike the mission of other contemporaneous Jewish groups that ministered only to a “*remnant* of Israel,” Jesus’ mission, centered on the reign of God, was extended to “*all* Israel,” which included the rich, the poor, the lame, the neglected, the despised, the possessed, tax collectors (Mathew and Zacchaeus), the gentiles, villagers, people in the city, prominent Jewish authorities (Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus), and Roman officers (the centurion). Depending on the context, Jesus taught people according to their circumstances and their needs.

In Galilee, he sought to address the social needs of the village culture, whose lifestyle and values were being eroded by the new level of Herodian involvement in the region as a result of Antipas’ presence. As a Jewish prophet, however, he had also to address the center of his own religious tradition in Jerusalem, like other country prophets before and after him (Amos, Jeremiah, and Jesus the son of Ananus, for example), whose unenviable task it was to proclaim judgment on the temple and the city.²³

Jesus’ teaching of love for one’s enemies presented an innovation for the Jewish faith. He allowed himself to be challenged and thus opening to change through the Canaanite woman’s petition (Mathew 15:27). The disciples did not choose Jesus as other Jewish students chose their masters. It was Jesus who chose and called the disciples to follow him (John 15:16). Unlike other Jewish teachers at the time, people found Jesus’ teaching new and that he taught with authority” (Mark 1:27). While remaining a Jew, Jesus did not fit any formula. His self-understanding

²² S. FREYNE, “Galilee and Judaea in the First Century,” 47.

²³ 51.

“was such that he consistently challenged the attitudes, practices, and structures that tended arbitrarily to exclude certain categories of people from the Jewish community.”²⁴ Jesus’ prayer for his disciples “not to be taken out of this world” while not belonging to the world (John 17:15-16) provides us an insight into how Jesus, the missionary *par excellence*, viewed his mission in relation to the world and its culture: maintaining perfect integration of religion into culture and vice versa. Like Jesus, his disciples were formed and grounded in their culture. However, their discipleship and mission entailed something more, standing over and against the culture, so as to transform it.

While following Jesus’ teaching, members of the Early Church remained faithful to their Jewish faith visiting the temple and the synagogues regularly. However, their mission, which was manifested by the witness of their faith in daily life, continued to maintain the creative tension between Christianity and the culture, and in so doing, both were being transformed. Early Christian mission, that involved neither terror nor destruction, courageously rejected all gods claiming Jesus as the Lord of all lords and thus “demolished the metaphysical foundation of prevailing political theories.”²⁵

Applying the appropriate religio-political forms and techniques provided by their culture, Early Christians’ confession and witness of who Jesus was depicted “the most revolutionary political demonstration imaginable in the Roman Empire” at the time. Moreover, the early Christian community that welcomed and included the rich and the poor, Jews and Romans, Greeks and barbarians, free and slave, women and men, portrayed a new social entity throughout the Roman Empire. In doing so, the Christian community served as a model for an alternative way of social interaction in

²⁴ D. BOSCH, *Transforming Mission*, 31.

²⁵ 48.

which everyone shared and accepted each other as brothers and sisters (Acts 2:44-46).

Bosch's reference to The *Letter to Diognetus* testifies to the creative tension which early Christians displayed in their mission.

Christians are not distinguished from the rest of humankind as regards to their speech, their customs, and where they live. There remains a critical distance between them and reality around them, however. They are kept in the world as in a prison-house, and yet they are the ones who hold the world together.²⁶

And they did so through both the deep love for their neighbors and the intense hope in the reign of God to overcome the injustice of the world. Most importantly, they gave witness to this love and hope by their own lives.

The early Christians continued to maintain this creative tension – being grounded in culture yet remaining distant from it in order to provide alternative ways of living, and in so doing to transform the culture – as the Christian community was dispersed during the period following the destruction of the temple. Each Christian community adapted itself to the new situation in its own way. Jewish Christians focused their mission on “making disciples” (Matthew 28:19) to make sure that the mission continued what Jesus and the generation preceding them had done. However, “making disciples” meant neither simply belonging to a local church nor expanding the community numerically. Instead, it looked for a type of “costly discipleship” where members shared their lives in community while seeking to live according to God's will. This type of discipleship allowed community members to be both grounded in the culture and maintain a necessary distance from it.

For the Gentile Christian, one of the ways in which they upheld this creative tension in their mission was illustrated through their interpretation and understanding of sin and salvation. Those who committed sinful acts sinned against not only their fellow human beings, but also God. The prodigal son in leaving home transgressed

²⁶ D. BOSCH, *Transforming Mission*, 49 – 50.

against not only his father but also God (Luke 15: 18-21). Consequently, those who repented, and so were forgiven, experienced salvation not only from God, but also from others. Thus, the mission of the Gentile Christians involved liberation in both “vertical” and “horizontal” dimensions, the former implicating the divine, whereas the latter the humanity. “Liberation *from* is also liberation *to*, else it is not an expression of salvation. And liberation *to* always involves love to God *and* neighbor.”²⁷ The salvation understood in the non-Jewish Christian community consisted of horizontal dimensions such as economic, social, political, physical, psychological demands and vertical dimensions such as theological and spiritual growth.

Saint Paul maintained and fostered the creative tension between the Christian faith and its host culture by placing his mission within the horizon of Christ’s *parousia*, the Second Coming of Christ, here present and not yet completely fulfilled. In maintaining this creative tension, Paul had to balance his missionary activities between the Jewish apocalyptic – who “constructed an absolute antithesis between this age and the next,” thus favored withdrawal from this world – and its culture and the “enthusiasts” (notably in the Corinthian community) – who completely identified this world as Christ’s Kingdom, and thus no longer needed Christ’s power of redemption or awaited for the Holy Spirit to come. Consequently, against the Jewish apocalyptic, Paul’s missionary strategy argued that “precisely because of God’s sure victory in the end,” Christians had to actively participate “in God’s redemptive will in the here and the now.”²⁸

²⁷ D. BOSCH, *Transforming Mission*, 107.

²⁸ 176. For more on Pauline apocalyptic eschatology and mission please read C. T. CARRIKER, “Missiologial Hermeneutic and Pauline Apocaplyptic Eschatology,” *The Good News of the Kingdom: Mission Theology for the Third Millenium*, (C. Van Engen et als., eds.), Wipf and Stock Publishers, Eugene 1993, 45 - 55.

For Paul, the spiritual act of worship entailed offering one's body as living sacrifices through concrete actions such as serving, prophesying, teaching, encouraging, contributing, and governing (Rom 12:1-8). Against the enthusiasts, Paul insisted that unless we continue to rely, and thus are in need of God's working power to bring about the Kingdom, the concept of an imminent *parousia* will easily become a form of romantic exaggeration or of romantic illusion of the world. For Paul, the fact that weakness still remained in his body and in his mission served as concrete evidence for our need of God's grace and power to come, so as to perfect it (2 Corinthians 12: 9). In encouraging Christians to *both* actively engage in socially transforming activities *and* consistently rely on God's power to bring to completion what had been accomplished in Christ, Paul's missionary strategy while grounded in the culture, sustained the necessary distance from it.²⁹

Finally, such a tension was not only found Christianity and its host culture, but also within Christianity. The diverse perspective on who Jesus was and how Christianity was understood was kept in tension with the unity that held different Christian communities together. As a result, debates and disputes were common to "test the limits of diversity and conformity, inclusion and exclusion." As a result,

Earliest Christianity produced such eloquent calls for unity such as Paul's also defying the harmonious vision in practice in time and again. What are the acceptable conditions for this unity? What are the limits on diversity? These questions were and would never be far from view.³⁰

Such a creative tension helped transforming Christianity.

All the different ways in which Jesus and the early Christian communities each maintained and preserved the creative tension between culture and Christianity

²⁹ S. ESCOBAR, "A Pauline Paradigm of Mission: A Latin American Reading," *The Good News of the Kingdom: Mission Theology for the Third Millennium*, (C. Van Engen et als., eds.), Wipf and Stock Publishers, Eugene 1993, 56 – 66, especially 61, 63 – 66.

³⁰ "Conclusion: retrospect and prospect," *CHC*, I, 586 - 589, 588.

and within Christianity itself - being grounded in culture yet retaining a healthy distance from it for the sake of both Christianity and culture, holding unity among the diversity - formed the paradigm for mission in the Early Church. As changes took place, such a paradigm was challenged, then shifted. How this creative tension was kept up and cultivated as the political and religious context of Roman Empire underwent change serves as the focus of the next section.

1.2.2 During the Medieval Age

Towards the end of the third century, the Roman Empire and Christianity underwent dramatic changes. Consequently, what happened in the Empire greatly influenced the way in which the Christian faith penetrated into the culture and vice versa. In fact, what had become of Christianity proved to be one of the foundational changes of the Roman Empire and later the Holy Roman Empire throughout the Medieval Age. As a result, Christian missionary practices bore a very different outlook, perhaps a negative one according to our contemporary understanding of mission. However, while it is necessary to remain critical, one needs to keep in mind that Christians did the best they could in their best judgment given the circumstances at the time. After having kept that in mind, it is unfortunate that missionary ideals and practices, which previous Christian communities embraced and embodied, were largely ignored or abandoned. Fortunately, the monastic movement was born to preserve the essential distance from the culture, thus becoming the “real bearer of [Christian] missionary ideals and practices.”³¹ Before going further to examine how Christianity had failed or succeeded in maintaining the essential creative tension in its mission, which has been the main theme throughout this section, it is necessary to

³¹ D. BOSCH, *Transforming Mission*, 201 – 202.

study the context in which Christianity found itself, starting from the beginning of the fourth century.

Towards the end of the third century, the Roman Empire began to experience its decline morally and politically. Perversity and superstition cast an overwhelming sense of despair over the Empire. “Odor of decay” filled its streets. The sack of Rome in 410 achieved by Alaric and his Gothic mob not only exposed the vulnerability and the weakness right at the heart of the Empire, but also heightened the profound level of despair, doubt, and confusion.³² Consequently, the Emperor and the people of the Empire looked for a cure of this malaise and found it in the young and dynamic religion, Christianity.

From the first century to the beginning of the fourth, Christianity was considered as a “cult of the emperor” and was “held in contempt by the vast majority of the cultured citizens of the Roman Empire.” Socio-economically, early Christians consisted mainly of “simple folk with little education.” Christian communities often suffered either from persecution or from discrimination since they were often “distrusted and suspected of being disloyal to the state.”³³ Since the destruction of the Temple, Christianity had begun to move away from Judaism. Consequently, to uphold its identity, Christianity had to fight against both the synagogues and Hellenistic religions. However, steps by steps Christianity gained its popularity and acceptance, which consequently changed its previous outlook completely. In the span of less than four centuries, Christianity had journeyed from being referred to as a “cult of the emperor” to being granted the status of a legitimate religion by the Emperor Constantine, and finally being elevated to become the official and the only religion of

³² D. BOSCH, *Transforming Mission*, 215.

³³ 201.

the Roman Empire by the Emperor Theodosius.³⁴ Consequently, from being “held in contempt,” distrusted, discriminated against, and persecuted, Christianity had become the bearer of the culture of the Roman Empire. Its political power and structure grew. “The hierarchical structure of the church characterized by a ‘monarchical episcopate’ clearly emerges in the canons of Nicaea.”³⁵ What were some of the underlying factors that had brought about these dramatic changes?

Starting from the fringes of the Roman Empire, Christianity slowly entered into the mainstream culture of the Empire by adapting itself to the Hellenistic culture. As the Christian faith gained some success among the upper class, Christian scholars such as Clement of Alexandria and Origen successfully and creatively translated the Christian faith into the Hellenistic terms and concepts making it intelligible and available for the prevailing Hellenistic culture of the Empire. In this regard, these Greek Fathers served as pioneers and champions in adapting and integrating the Christian faith into the Hellenistic culture.

By the mid-third century, we have clear evidence that a Christian teacher like Origen could offer a complete philosophical education, which paralleled that which was offered in schools all over the Graeco-Roman world. Christianity was developing its own *paideia* (‘education’, ‘training’), or at least appropriating and adapting that of the Graeco-Roman world.³⁶

However, the thoughts which these Greek Fathers adopted carried with themselves typical Hellenistic superior attitudes that often looked down on the *barbaroi* or the “uncivilized,” treating them as inferiors. Such an attitude once adopted proved to be destructive for Christian mission, especially when Christianity was declared to be the only religion of the Empire by the Emperor Theodosius in 380.

³⁴ D. BOSCH, *Transforming Mission*, 380.

³⁵ K. PENNINGTON, “The Growth of Church Law,” *CHC*, I, 386 – 402, 392.

³⁶ F. YOUNG, “Towards a Christian *paideia*,” *CHC*, I, 485 – 502, 485.

The creative tension in Christian mission was lost and the essential distance between Christianity and culture abandoned once Christianity and the Hellenistic culture were intimately linked. Once having gained the status of being “bearer of culture,” Christianity became the cultured and standard of civilization. Opposing views once predominant and had characterized cultural diversity in the earlier period, now casted as “heretical,” thus condemned. Joel Marcus noted:

In the Early Church the predominant form of Christianity was often one that would later termed heretical... ‘heretical’ views were widespread from the beginning, and in some areas predominated until the Roman emperor Constantine, following his conversion in 312, began to give ‘orthodox’ bishops the authority to root out heresy.³⁷

Furthermore, being Christian meant “civilized” and “enlightened,” whereas pagans (“those who lived in rural areas”) and heathen (those who lived in the uncultivated areas or wastelands) “uncivilized” or “unenlightened.” Hellenistic culture and Christianity were enmeshed into one another. As a result, Christian mission “became a movement from the superior to the inferior. Non-Christian faiths were inferior to Christianity first for socio-cultural reasons and eventually on theological grounds but for socio-cultural reasons.”³⁸ Even worse, non-Christians were eventually denied the same rights as Christians. “Missionary wars” were justified in order to compel the “unenlightened,” the “uncivilized,” or the non-Christians to come into the fold of Christianity. All was done for the good of the “unenlightened,” the “uncivilized,” or the non-Christian. Or so, it was considered. The expansion of Christianity was closely identified with the expansion of Christendom and later with the colonization process. Such a prevailing attitude and practices lasted throughout the Medieval Age.

³⁷ J. MARCUS, “Jewish Christianity,” *CHC*, I, 87 – 102, 97.

³⁸ D. BOSCH, *Transforming Mission*, 193.

The development of a Christian culture within the Hellenistic culture in itself was important and even considered essential survival for the growth of a young religion such as Christianity in the socio-political and religious context at the time. However, failure to foster and to preserve a distance from the cultural context in monopolizing culture proved to be a disaster for Christian mission in the Medieval Age. Fortunately, such a distance was not lost totally in Christianity. The monastic movements with the monks who “flew from the world” renounced the world with its glamour. In doing so, the monastic movement became both the “primary agent” of Christian mission, holding on to the essential characters of Christianity medieval and “the main instrument in reforming European society.”³⁹ The monks, whose lives exemplified the poor and humble Christ, whose works were done among the neglected and poor peasants held on to the essential characters of Christianity. Moreover, monasteries served not only as a place of hard manual labor but also as a center of culture and education. It was these monasteries that preserved tradition and customs and provided security and order after numerous barbarian invasions. In fact, monasteries were that which held society together socially and intellectually in the Medieval Age.⁴⁰

If the creative tension in Christian mission could be interpreted as the balance between Christianity and its host culture, then this balance was tipped and favored towards the side of Christianity that had functioned as the monoculture of Europe at the time. However, towards the end of fifteenth century and the beginning of sixteenth century, cultural and religious changes caused the shift of the balance in the opposite direction, placing more emphasis on the side of culture. Christian mission

³⁹ D. BOSCH, *Transforming Mission*, 231.

⁴⁰ D. BOSCH, *Transforming Mission*, 233; A. TORNOS, *Inculturación: Teología y método*, 72.

entered a new period of its history, the modern Enlightenment, to which this investigation will now turn its attention.

1.2.3 During the Modern Enlightenment

In the beginning of the sixteenth century, a series of events occurred. One by one, they began to rework the whole cosmological structure of the Medieval Age. These events together with their consequences eventually gave birth to a new period of Western European history, the Enlightenment. As the cultural context altered, Christian mission found itself confronting a new context filled with challenges and possibilities. The question of how Christianity would relate to its host culture was questioned and how Christian mission responded to the change was reexamined. Unlike the Medieval Age, culture was given the dominant role instead of Christianity during the modern Enlightenment. Thus, the creative tension in Christian mission was reduced. To gain a better understanding into how this shift took place, we need to go back to examine the socio-political and religious context of Europe towards the end of the fifteenth century.

During the Medieval Age, the cosmos was interpreted and followed this hierarchy: God dwelled on top, followed by the Church, then Kings and Nobles, then people, then animals, plants and objects that belonged to the bottom. The Protestant Reformation, which was heralded by Martin Luther (1483 – 1546), questioned the Church's credibility and authority and thus put an end to Christian unity in the Western Church. Consequently, the Church lost its position in this cosmological hierarchy. Next, the Age of Revolution in the eighteenth century that did away with Kings and Nobles assured ordinary people direct access to the Divine. Then came the Age of Science (also known as the Age of Reason) which relied solely on human

rationality, eliminated God from the scheme of things.⁴¹ The Age of Discovery continued to uncover new territories, opening Western European culture to new forms of culture and religions of the world. With the faith in the goodness of human nature and the individual which had been recovered in the Renaissance and equipped by the new tools in science, the individual human person stood in front of enormous opportunity being motivated and inspired towards progress in all aspects of human life.⁴² Thus, instead of the Divine, the human person emerged as the center of the cosmological order ready to tackle and to overcome any problem or tension by the newfound faith, ambitions, and most importantly, rationality.

While the newly emphasized role of rationality helped make religions (Christianity included) more intelligible and its tension with culture better understood, rationality and the overwhelming scientific achievements attempted to overcome the creative tension existing not only between religions and the culture, but also among different religions by explaining Christianity and other religions in its own terms. Religion was considered as a scientific project or an exercise of the mind. Its issue and tension could be solved and overcome by human rationality. Consequently, Western European missionaries who deemed themselves as being culturally superior, who possessed this enormous newfound wealth in scientific technology, were ready in one form or another to solve all cultural and religious problems and the creative tension between them to progress the world towards peace and harmony.

Regarding Christian mission, reacting against the modern Enlightenment, the Catholic Church responded by withdrawing itself from the modern ideas and its liberal attitude and by clinging to the centralized power and standardization as was found in the Medieval Age. At the same time, Protestant Churches continued to base

⁴¹ D. BOSCH, *Transforming Mission*, 263.

⁴² J. BURCKHARDT, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, 274.

its practice on the assumption of Western European culture as superior culture.⁴³ Such an assumption was further reinforced by recent scientific development. Either way, Christian missionaries who had “little doubt about the depravity of life in non-Western societies,” enthusiastically spread Christianity and European civilization to others. Such an action, which was explained and justified by Western rationality, was done so for others’ own goods.

In both isolated and failing to recognize how Western European-centered Christianity had become, Christian mission fell short of maintaining the creative tension not only between Christianity and its Western European cultural root, but also between Christianity and other religions in the missionary territories. For, on the one hand, in sealing itself off modernity, Christianity successfully maintained a distance from culture, thus generating a tension between Christianity and culture. However, such a tension was derived from resistance from culture as something negative instead of a creative tension that would result from the integration of faith into culture as something positive. On the other hand, in failing to maintain the critical distance from its Western European root, missionary practice often carried the risk of being used as a tool for the process of Westernizing the world into one culture: the Western culture, of course.

The modern Enlightenment that had embodied an overwhelmingly positive view of the individual person, the power of rationality and the social progress which it promised, came crashing down as the world was faced with the appalling experiences of the two World Wars. Instead of witnessing progress, the world witnessed human atrocities and sufferings as the product of what had been considered social intelligence and development. Christianity began to confront the modern cultures and

⁴³ P. SCHINELLER, *A Handbook on Inculturation*, 37.

to put its practices in question. Christian mission entered into a new era, the postmodern.

1.2.4 The postmodern

After having witnessed the two disastrous global wars (1914 – 1918 and 1939 – 1949) and the numerous devastating effects of Western colonialism and imperialism on what were considered Third World countries, the world has begun to challenge all the premises of the modern Enlightenment, namely on its interpretation of human rationality and social progress, so as to question them in all cultural aspects, academic disciplines, and social practices. Consequently, Christianity has opened itself to be scrutinized, its practices examined. The Second Vatican Council (1962 – 1965) and the establishment of the World Council of Churches (1948) have served a concerted effort in guiding Christianity into its self-understanding and its relevance in the modern world. One of the main issues which concerned both the Second Vatican Council and the World Council of Churches has been the topic of Christian mission. And one of the questions has remained, how could Christianity recover, deepen and develop the critical tension, and thus its prophetic role in its relationship with modern culture?

Regarding Christian mission, for its credit, the modern Enlightenment in its good faith of human rationality had tolerated diverse forms of culture and religions. However, such diversity was to be overcome and brought about by the one superior Christian culture that was closely identified with the Western European culture. In other words, diversity cannot co-exist with unity, but is to be won over by unity. Other cultures and religions do exist, however, Western European culture was

considered the “absolute end of history”⁴⁴ and Christianity the only one true faith. Thus, diversity, though recognized was conquered in the name of unity. In contrast, the post modern claims that not only diversity and unity can co-exist, but also their existence complements one another. In other words, the postmodern is convinced that it is the “unity which preserves diversity and diversity which strives after unity.”⁴⁵

Based on such postmodern conviction, one of the ways in which Christianity has maintained and advanced the creative tension between Christianity and culture is in its understanding of mission as contextualization. As the name indicates, the context in which Christianity was developed and arrived at and how such a context has influenced the expression of the Christian faith is rigorously investigated. Since the Christian faith always comes to people in various cultural forms, cultural contribution and influence, while not to be negated, must be investigated and recognized so that the Christian faith and culture, while interrelated remain independent with one another. In doing so, the Christian faith has striven to be free *from* any cultural affiliation in particular. Furthermore, as culture constantly engages itself in the process of becoming, the Christian faith once being free *from* its cultural affiliation is ready *for* adapting itself into an ever-changing cultural context. Thus, Christianity remains rooted in culture.

To face the shortcomings of the modern Enlightenment, postmodernity has developed various methods to address and to solve these issues in such a way that they remain in dynamic creative tension. Against the risk of relativism and the danger of absolutism of contextualization, Habermas’ theory of communication “rescues us from the distortions of modernity over-identified with reasons” by not abandoning

⁴⁴ D. BOSCH, *Transforming Mission*, 292.

⁴⁵ 465.

reasons but inviting all the “fragmented fields of modernity” into discourse.⁴⁶ Against the risk of cultural superiority and domination, Levinas’s ethics of love demands a face-to-face relationship, wherein, the face of the other serves as the manifestation of God’s revelation, whose eyes are calling us into love and service.⁴⁷ Against intellectualism, liberation theology grounded Christianity in praxis actively doing theology by engaging into and with the lives of those who live in the margin of the society. Theological theories, though not rejected, take on a secondary role behind human experience, especially those of the poor. These theories are the result of the reflection on the human experience that serves as the foundation on which the solution for the postmodern problem is built.⁴⁸

In light of these postmodern developments, contextualization theology has provided Christianity a new way of doing theology in a more inclusive and wholesome way⁴⁹: taking seriously its cultural context and its diversity, avoiding isolation from the culture, and embracing tension in such a creative way, both avoiding problems such as cultural relativism, reductionism, and ideology and engaging Christianity into the contemporary culture. To study how contextualization plays out in Christian missionary practice, this investigation will devote its last section investigating one of contextualization’s essential models, the model of inculturation.

2. INCULTURATION

As illustrated above, the history of how Christianity has penetrated its host culture has taken various shapes and forms through its mission. So far, this

⁴⁶ M. GALLAGHER, *Clashing Symbols*, 73.

⁴⁷ E. LEVINAS, *Totalité et Infini: Essai sur l’exteriorité*, Liberduplex, Espagne 2008, 77.

⁴⁸ D. BOSCH, *Transforming Mission*, 425.

⁴⁹ C. MÁRQUEZ BEUNZA, “La contextualización como nuevo horizonte de la teología,” *Contexto y Nueva Evangelización*, (G. Uríbarri, ed.), Universidad Pontificia Comillas 2007, 15 – 47, 46 – 47.

investigation have studied how well the Christian faith, though being grounded in culture, maintained a critical distance from it, so as to remain a transformative source for culture. Towards the end of the last section, contextualization was presented as one of the best postmodern approaches to deepen and further advanced this creative tension in the interaction of Christianity and culture and vice versa. And one of the best-known models of contextualization that has been recovered and often discussed in contemporary literature regarding Christian mission has been the model of “inculturation.”

2.1 Defining terms: acculturation, enculturation, and inculturation

Cultural anthropology uses various terms to describe interaction concerning cultures. *Acculturation* simply denotes a meeting between culture(s) and culture(s); whereas, *enculturation* “meant the process by which an individual becomes part of [the] culture.” The term *inculturation* was used to differ from *enculturation* in such a way that while *enculturation* indicates “the learning experience by which an individual is initiated and grows into his/her culture,” *inculturation* signifies “the process by which the Church becomes inserted in a given culture.”⁵⁰

As stated, the only difference between *enculturation* and *inculturation*, as interpreted in cultural anthropology, seemed to be the difference in the subject, the “individual” for the former, and the “Church” for the latter. However, such a difference carries enormous theological implication for two reasons. First, when one mentions “inculturation” one enters into a different system of language of theological anthropology that “acknowledges facts, relations, and attitudes which themselves are not relevant to cultural anthropology.” Second, unlike the “individual,” who is

⁵⁰ A. CROLLIUS, “What is so new about Inculturation?” 725. Also see Chapter two entitled, “Enculturation and Acculturation in Social Anthropology” in M. DHAVAMONEY, *Christian Theology of Inculturation*, 27 – 37.

mentioned in *enculturation* who comes yet without any form of culture, the “Church” that is mentioned in inculturation arrives already clothed in some form of culture.⁵¹ As a result, *inculturation* consists in itself of a process of *acculturation*, the meeting between the Christian culture and its host culture. After having recognized the differences, drawing a parallel study from the cultural anthropological understanding of *enculturation*, one can comprehend and appreciate the theological anthropological meaning of *inculturation* better.

Similar to the process of *enculturation*, *inculturation* embodies a three-dimensional process. First, *inculturation* consists of a growth of the Christian faith into a local community that has already embraced and possessed a culture of its own. This first stage is often referred to as the ongoing translation process where the Church comes in contact with new culture, presenting the Christian message and life in the forms of another culture. Second, as a cultural reality, *inculturation* is a continuous and unending process where constant changes are taking place, new situations confronted, negotiations made, and adaption adopted. This second stage is often known as the ongoing assimilation process where “the entire societies are brought into a crisis of identity”⁵² so as to be made anew. It is important to note that the proper process of inculturation begun to happen here when the local Christians served as the principal agents of assimilation adapting the Christian message into the local culture. Third, *inculturation* transforms culture. After having being conditioned and formed by the local culture, the Christian message, in turn, provides new orientation and alternative possibilities allowing the local culture “reconditioning [itself] to new modes of thought and conduct.”⁵³ This stage is often understood as the

⁵¹ A. CROLLIUS, “What is so new about Inculturation?” 726.

⁵² 729.

⁵³ 731.

ongoing transformation process where active recondition and reorientation of the local culture occur.

In summary, inculturation is the integration process that involves translation, assimilation and transformation of the Christian faith simultaneously. Furthermore, such an integration process occurs at two levels. On the first level, the integration of the Christian faith and life into a local culture creates a new expression of the Christian experience. On the second level, this new expression of the Christian faith is integrated into the life of the universal Church. Consequently, the process of *inculturation*, while safeguarding the essential character of the Christian faith and the encountered culture, enhances and enriches Christianity and the culture both locally and universally. Thus, *inculturation* could be defined as:

The integration of the Christian experience of a local Church into the culture of its people, in such a way that this experience not only expresses itself in elements of this culture, but becomes a force that animates, orients and innovates this culture so as to create a new unity and communion, not only within the culture in question but also as an enrichment of the Church universal.⁵⁴

It is time now to turn the attention of this investigation to how the process of *inculturation* has been practiced and manifested throughout the history of Christianity.

2.2 Historical development

2.2.1 Genealogy of “inculturation”

Though the term “inculturation” is a modern invention, its practice and manifestation have been found throughout the history of Christianity. It was Pierre Charles who first introduced the concept of “enculturation,” which was commonly used in the field of cultural anthropology, into the study of Christian mission in

⁵⁴ A. CROLLIUS, “What is so new about Inculturation?” 735.

1953.⁵⁵ Then, it was mentioned again by R.P. Segura in 1959.⁵⁶ And it was J. Masson who first used the expression “un catholicisme inculturé.”⁵⁷ The Federation of Asian Bishops’ Conferences (FABC) help in Taiwan in April 1974 described the local church as a “church incarnate in a people, a church indigeneous and inculturated.”⁵⁸ The term “inculturation” then gained its popularity and wide acceptance after having been introduced by the Jesuit superior general, Fr. Pedro Arrupe, to the Synod of Bishops in 1977.⁵⁹ (Earlier in 1974, the Thirty Second Congregation of the Society of Jesus had made “inculturation” one of the topics for its discussion and published it in its various decrees which will be discussed later in the chapter.) Pope John Paul II’s Apostolic Exhortation, *Catechesi Tradentae*, which was the direct fruit of this Synod [3], introduced the term “inculturation” into a papal document [53], thus gave it universal acceptance.

The use of the term “inculturation” was preferred over traditional terms such as “adaptation,” “accommodation,” and “indigenization” because of its more comprehensive and dynamic meanings, as explained above in comparison to other terms in capturing the dynamic interaction between Christianity and culture, and vice versa.⁶⁰ Having explained what the process of “inculturation” entails and its etymology, let’s examine how the concept of inculturation has been deeply rooted in Christian tradition.

⁵⁵ P. CHARLES, “Missiologie et Acculturation,” *NRTh* 75 (1953) 15 – 32, 19; R. ACOSTAR NASSAR, “El Uso del Término Inculturación en los documentos de la iglesia,” <http://www.inculturacion.net>, downloaded on May 17, 2011, 1- 40, 17.

⁵⁶ R.P. SEGURA, “L’initiation valeur permanente de l’inculturation,” *Museon Lessianum Section Missiologie*, 40 (1959) 219 – 235.

⁵⁷ J. MASSON, “L’Église ouverte sur le monde,” *NRTh* 84 (1962) 1032 – 1043; ID. “La mission à la lumière de l’incarnation,” *NRTh*, 108 (1976) 865 – 90; R. Acostar Nassar, “El Uso del Término Inculturación,” 17; M. Dhavamony, *Christian Theology of Inculturation*, 89 – 91.

⁵⁸ “Evangelization in Modern Day Asia” *FABC*, (Gaudencio B. Rosales et als., eds.), vol. 1, Claretian Publications 1997, 14.

⁵⁹ M. DHAVAMONY, *Christian Theology of Inculturation*, 91.

⁶⁰ A. CROLLIUS, “What is so new about Inculturation?” 722 – 723.

2.2.2 *In the Hebrew Bible*

In the Hebrew Bible, examples of inculturation can be found in the Psalms and in the Book of Wisdom. For example, Psalm 29 provides an excellent example of how the Jewish faith had been inculturated into the Canaanite culture.⁶¹ The psalm successfully employed the literary structure and pattern found in the Canaanite hymn to communicate authentic Israelite features of Yahweh as “the enthroned King forever” (29:10).⁶² Similarly, the Book of Wisdom also provided a good example of inculturation.⁶³ The Jewish community at the time was divided. There were Jews who had abandoned the Jewish faith due to the attraction of the new Hellenistic humanism. The author of the Book of Wisdom who was a Jew did not write in a typical Jewish manner such as found in the Book of Proverbs or Ben Sirach. Instead, he borrowed various literary techniques and genres from the Hellenistic culture to address this authentic problem of the community so as to bring back the unity in the Jewish faith. Interestingly, though written in Greek literary form and structure and did not include any biblical character, only those who had been formed in Judaism could understand the content of this book.⁶⁴ Thus, under the brilliant penmanship of the author of the Book of Wisdom, the Jewish wisdom was well inculturated into the Hellenistic culture, so as to pass on the religious content of previous generations to the new ones in the new cultural and religious setting.

⁶¹ A. SHORTER, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation* 109.

⁶² 110.

⁶³ M. GILBERT, *L'Inculturation et la Sagesse des Nations*, Centre Cultures and Religions, Pontifical Gregorian University, Rome 1984, 5.

⁶⁴ IBID.

2.2.3 *In the Christian Gospel*

Jesus' challenge to the Jewish religious authority in the Gospel served as an effective example for the theological concept of inculturation.⁶⁵ As a Jew, Jesus was thoroughly enculturated into the Jewish culture of the community that belonged to the Roman Empire (Lk 2:1-7). He was "born of a woman, born under the Law" (Gal 4:4). He grew in wisdom and power which was rooted in culture (Lk 2: 40, 51). As a member of the Jewish community, Jesus and his family observed Jewish law and customs (Lk 2:22, 39, 41). Jesus' teaching, while it observed even the "smallest letter" of the Jewish Law, (Mt 5: 7) represented an alternative interpretation of the Law from the interpretations taught by other Jewish leaders. In doing so, Jesus' teaching served as the model for inculturation "addressing the culture in question fundamentally and critically, [so] orientating and reforming it."⁶⁶

Jesus' Sermon on the Mount on murder (Mt 5:21-26) and on adultery (Mt 5:27-32), while rooted deeply in the Rabbinic teachings, challenged and reformed them. Dealing with the problem of murder, the Sermon, unlike the Rabbinic tradition, did not suggest extending the legal system. Instead, Jesus' teaching recommended the development of a sense of morality.⁶⁷ Against the problem of adultery, opposing the Pharisaic legal interpretation and practice of divorce in the manner to cover up the practice of adultery of the man, the Sermon stressed pardon and reconciliation among and with those who have sinned.⁶⁸ In both of these cases, Jesus' Sermon challenged certain aspects of the culture in which he was conditioned, so as to transform it.

⁶⁵ A. SHORTER, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*, 119.

⁶⁶ R. NEUDECKER, *The Sermon on the Mount as a Witness to 'Inculturation': The first two Antithetical Cases (Mt 5:21-32)*, PUG, Rome 1983, 88.

⁶⁷ 78.

⁶⁸ 86 – 87.

Furthermore, Jesus' teachings, which are illustrated through various cultural images, point his followers in the direction of inculturation. As "salt" enters the food enhancing its flavor (Mt 5:13), as "leaven" enters the dough enabling it to rise (Mt 13:33), as the "seed" falls and decomposes in the ground springing up (Mt 13:32; John 12:24), (noticing that in any of these cases the context is altered without being damaged, only enriched), God's Word enters into the world not to condemn the world but to save it (John 3:17), to bring life, and life to the full to the world (John 10:10). Also, as mentioned above, from Galilee to Jerusalem, Jesus communicated the same Good News to various groups playing different roles, e.g., to the Galileans a social reformer, to the Jews in Jerusalem a prophet. In doing so, Jesus was able to address them in the language they understand, so to transform their lives. In shorts, these stories demonstrated the inculturation of the Gospel following the supreme model of the incarnation of the Word of God. Thus, "the proclamation of the Gospel follows the logic of incarnation. The Gospel becomes a concrete word in and by a particular culture; the Gospel ought to be inserted in depth, up to the roots of every culture."⁶⁹

2.2.4 In the Early Church

Saint Paul and his mission exemplify the process of inculturation in the Early Church. According to Paul, the Christian faith which is rooted in the person of Jesus Christ, a Jew (Gal 4:4), "transcends all the cultural categories and expectations of both Jews and Greeks."⁷⁰ Paul declared to the Corinthians "if anyone who is in Christ, he is a new creation; the old has gone, the new has come" (2 Cor 15:17). Also, Paul insisted that his teaching and missionary practice be solely focused on the "crucified Christ" who serves as "a stumbling block to the Jews and foolishness to the

⁶⁹ M. DHAVAMONY, *Christian Theology of Inculturation*, 96.

⁷⁰ A. SHORTER, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*, 124.

Greeks” so through Christ crucified God’s wisdom is shown to “both Jews and Greeks” (1 Cor 1:23 – 25). Consequently, Paul’s beliefs and practice enabled the Gospels to be inculturated into any culture and social category so as to win that culture over for the Gospel’s sake.

Though I am free and belong to no man, I make myself a slave to everyone, to win as many as possible. To the Jews I became like a Jew, to win the Jews. To those under the law I became like one under the law (though I myself am not under the law), so as to win those under the law. To those not having the law I became like one not having the law (though I am not free from God's law but am under Christ's law), so as to win those not having the law. To the weak I became weak, to win the weak. I have become all things to all men so that by all possible means I might save some. I do all this for the sake of the gospel, that I may share in its blessings (1 Cor 9:16 – 23).

Therefore, the so-called Council of Jerusalem (Gal 2), under Paul’s conviction and direction, decided that “neither circumcision nor un-circumcision means anything; what counts is the new creation” (Gal 6:15). In other words, one does not have to be Jewish, but only to be baptized in Christ, to be a Christian. Such a decision, which centered Christian identity not on cultural custom and tradition but on Jesus Christ and the faith in him, indicated a significant step in the inculturation of the Early Church. “Because of this liberating decision, the mission of Paul continued with great success, and the church expanded far beyond the borders of Palestine... from the first epoch of Jewish Christianity to the second epoch of Gentile Christianity.”⁷¹

2.2.5 From the Early Church leading up to the Second Vatican Council

During the Early Church, evidences of inculturation were found in how Christians applied “pagan” literature to depict Jesus and composed their prayers. Recent archeological findings show an overhead mosaic Christ possessing typical features of the sun god: Jesus is riding a chariot carried by the four white horses crowned by a radiate halo, dressing in a tunic and cloak flying in the air driving

⁷¹ P. SCHINELLER, *A Handbook on Inculturation*, 30 - 31.

through the lush grapevine. His left hand holds the orb or the world while his right hand extending his greetings and blessings. By adopting these features of the sun god for Christ, early Christian was neither confused about the identity of their god, nor involved religious syncretism. Rather, “it demonstrates that Roman Christians chose to express their faith using an already-established and familiar symbolic vocabulary. Thus, what we see is neither religious confusion nor ambivalence, but the adaptation of familiar type, giving it a new, Christian significance.”⁷² Similarly, Clement of Alexandria (c. 190 – 200) appropriated the figure of Helios as a metaphor for the resurrected and cosmic Christ. In doing so, he was able to convey the Christian message in the language that were familiar and would have meaning for his audience.⁷³

The thread of inculturation continues to be kept alive by individual Christians who have continually sought God’s incarnated presence in all forms of culture throughout the Middle Age up to the Reformation even though at time unrecognized or even condemned by the Church whom they served. Time and time, upon encountering new cultural territory, these Christians continued to find ways to communicate their faith through recognizable forms that were generally understood within that particular cultural environment while reserving the authenticity of the Christian faith. Examination of these individual efforts to inculturate the Christian faith to their particular cultures remains beyond the scope of this investigation. However, their lives continue to serve as living witnesses of the continuity of the tradition of inculturated faith in the Church. Their names we ought to remember.

⁷² B. JENSEN, “Towards a Christian Material Culture,” *CHC*, I, 568 – 585, 570. Also read R. AGUIRRE, “La primera evangelización,” *Evangelización y misión*, (M. R. Canals, ed.), Universidad de Deusto, Bilbao 2006, 47 – 73, 70 – 73.

⁷³ B. JENSEN, “Towards a Christian Material Culture,” 572.

These exemplified Christians were: the Greek Fathers who adapted and integrated the Christian faith into the Hellenistic culture in the third and fourth century; Saint Gregory the Great's who showed great respect for the Angles and Saxon culture in the sixth century; Saints Cyril and Methodius founded and developed Slavonic Christianity in the ninth century; Saint Francis of Assisi genuinely engaged in dialogue with the Muslims in the thirteenth century; Bishop Bartolomé de las Casas spent his life defending the Amerindians in the sixteenth century; Jesuits like Matteo Ricci and Robert de Nobili paid high honor and respect for Chinese and Indian culture respectively in the seventeenth century. All of these Christian witnesses exemplify the Church's attempt to inculturate the Christian faith into native cultures at the time when such a term did not even exist. These are leading examples that set the Church on the path to what the Second Vatican Council pronounced and embraced in terms of the relationship and interaction between faith and culture.

2.2.6 *The Second Vatican Council*

The Second Vatican Council marked the Church's "first official self-actualization as a world Church."⁷⁴ The preparation process of the Council, which elicited responses from ecclesiastics and institutions of higher learning from around the world, showed a great respect for cultural diversity. Bishops who attended the Council came from 116 countries with 36 percent from Europe, 34 percent from the Americas, 20 percent from Asia and Oceania, and 10 percent from Africa.⁷⁵ The titles of the sixteen documents that were produced at the Council tell its global scope. The four Constitutions which are *Sacrosanctum concilium* (on Liturgy), *Lumen gentium* (on the Church), *Dei verbum* (on divine revelation) and *Gaudium et Spes* (on the Church

⁷⁴ K. RAHNER, "Towards a Fundamental Theological Interpretation of Vatican II," *Theological Studies*, 40 (1979) 716 – 727, 717.

⁷⁵ J. O'MALLEY, *What Happened at Vatican II*, 19 -23.

in the modern world); and the nine decrees which are *Inter merifica* (on the communication media), *Orientalium ecclesiarum* (on the Catholic Eastern churches), *Unitatis redintegratio* (on ecumenism), *Christus Dominus* (on bishops), *Perfectae caritatis* (on religious orders), *Optatam totius* (on the training of priests), *Presbyterorum ordinis* (on the life and ministry of priests), *Ad gentes divinitus* (on missionary activity), and *Apostolicam actuositatem* (on the apostolate of the laity); and finally the three declarations which are *Gravissimum educationis* (on Christian education), *Nostra aetate* (on non-Christian religions) and *Dignitatis humanae* (on religious liberty and church-state relations) include everyone in the human family and touch on all dimensions of human relationships.

After having recognized and embraced the cultural diversity that exists in the world and within the Church, the Council has identified inculturation as one of the ways in which this cultural reality is integrated into the Church's self-understanding, unity, and practices. One of the ways which the Council approaches inculturation has been its treatment and understanding of the relationship between local churches and the universal church. Speaking from a perspective of the universal church, the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World (*Gaudium et Spes*) speaks about the Gospel being independent of any particular cultural form so as to be available to enter into "communion with various cultural modes" [58]. Most especially, the Pastoral Constitution assures that such an insertion of the Christian faith into the culture will be beneficial for the Church's own enrichment and that of the culture. To the culture,

The good news of Christ constantly renews the life and culture of fallen man... It never ceases to purify and elevate the morality of peoples. By riches coming from above, it makes fruitful as it were from within, the spiritual qualities and gifts of every people and of every age. Thus by the very fulfillment of her own mission the Church stimulates and advances human and civic culture [58].

To the Church,

From the beginning of her history, she has learned to express the message of Christ with the help of ideas and terminology of various peoples, and has tried to clarify it with the wisdom of philosophers [58].

Both the Church and the culture enjoy mutual enrichment in the encounter.

Most importantly, the Council insists on the local churches as the location where inculturation is taking place concretely. The Degree on the Missionary Activity of the Church (*Ad Gentes*) recognizes the seed of the Word of God present in each particular culture. So, “from this ground [of the local churches] the seed draws nourishing elements which it transforms and assimilates into itself. Finally it bears much fruit” [22]. As shown above, such actions such as “assimilating” and “transforming” signify the inculturation process. Furthermore, the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (*Sacrosanctum Concilium*) instructs that the liturgy should not “impose a rigid uniformity” but “respects and fosters the spiritual adornments and gifts of the various races” [37]. Therefore, the Constitution allows the “revision of liturgical books for legitimate variations and adaptations to different groups, regions, and peoples, especially in mission lands. Where opportune, the same rule applies to the structuring of rites and the devising of rubrics” [38]. In addition, “translation from the Latin text into the mother tongue which are intended for use in the liturgy must be approved by the competent territorial ecclesiastical authority” [36]. Regarding the magnitude of the changes made by the Constitution, Rahner comments,

The victory of the vernacular in the Church’s liturgy signals unmistakably the coming-to-be of a world Church whose individual churches exist with a certain independence in their respective cultural spheres, inculturated, an no longer a European export.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ K. RAHNER, “Towards a Fundamental Theological Interpretation of Vatican II,” 719.

The Council, while it highlights and promotes the importance of the local churches, asks these particular churches to stay in communion with the universal church, so as to retain the unity in the Church. The Degree on Ecumenism (*Unitatis Redintegratio*) recalls the mystery of the Blessed Holy Trinity as the perfect model for Christian unity. The Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, though consisting of the three distinct Persons, remain in perfect unity of the One God [2]. Therefore, “far from being obstacle to the Church’s unity, such diversity of customs and observances only adds to her comeliness, and contributes greatly to carrying out her mission, as has already been recalled” [16].

The Degree on the Church’s Missionary Activity, which dedicates one of its entire chapters to the important role of particular churches, urges them to “mirror the universal church as perfectly as possible” and to “preserve an intimate communion with the Church universal” [19] – [20]. Perhaps, the Council echoes the postmodern conviction of the “unity which preserves diversity and diversity which strives after unity” as mentioned above. In encouraging the process of assimilation and transformation of the Christian faith in local churches and striving to maintain the unity among them, the Council directs the Church towards its need of being inculturated into the world today.

2.2.7 *In the Teachings of Pope Paul VI*

The inculturation process that captured some of the main attention at the Second Vatican Council continued to be investigated, articulated and carried out by Pope Paul VI and Pope John Paul II. Following the understanding of the Council on the role of the local churches, Pope Paul VI affirmed the essential role of African culture in the Church. In his message *Africae Terrarum*, addressed to the hierarchy and people of Africa, Pope Paul VI alluded to the need of inculturation in the Church

in Africa.⁷⁷ The pope announced the Church's deep respect and appreciation for the African culture as providential ground for the evangelization process.

La Chiesa considera con molto rispetto i valori morali e religiosi, della tradizione africana, non solo per il loro significato, ma anche perché vede in essi la base provvidenziale sulla quale trasmettere il messaggio evangelico e avviare la costruzione della nuova società in Cristo, come Noi stessi facemmo rilevare in occasione della canonizzazione dei Martiri dell'Uganda, primi fiori di santità cristiana dell'Africa nuova, spuntati sul ceppo più vivo dell'antica tradizione [14].⁷⁸

Therefore, what it means for an African to follow Christ, first and foremost, has to be grounded in the genuine appreciation of and deep integration in the African culture since that is where the mystery of Incarnation is taking place.

Such a strong emphasis on the particularity of the African church, however, needs to be balanced with its need to be in communion with the universal Church, so as to preserve the Church's unity. The words of Pope Paul VI spoken to the African Bishops in Kampala on the 31st of July 1969 responded to the burning question, “must the Church be European, Latin, Oriental... or must she be African?” The Pope was straightforward in his answer:

First, your [the African] Church must be first of all Catholic. That is, it must be entirely founded upon the identical, essential, constitutional patrimony of the self-same teaching of Christ, as professed by the authentic and authoritative tradition of the one true Church. This condition is fundamental and indisputable... We are not the inventors of our Faith; we are its custodians. Not every religious feeling is good; but only that religious sentiment which interprets the thought of God, according to the apostolic teaching authority established by the sole Master, Jesus Christ” [2].⁷⁹

In doing so, Pope Paul VI called the African Church to attend to the utmost importance of the Church's unity centered in Jesus Christ. And only in preserving

⁷⁷ A. SHORTER, *Towards a Theology of Inculturation*, 208.

⁷⁸ http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/paul_vi/apost_letters/documents/hf_p-vi_apl_19671029_africae-terrarum_it.html, downloaded on November 29, 2008.

⁷⁹ http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/paul_vi/homilies/1969/documents/hf_p-vi_hom_19690731_en.html downloaded on November 29, 2008.

this unity with other particular churches does inculturation begin to take place. After having insisted on the unity of the Church, the Pope moved to his second point:

The expression, that is, the language and mode of manifesting this one Faith, may be manifold; hence, it may be original, suited to the tongue, the style, the character, the genius, and the culture, of the one who professes this one Faith. From this point of view, a certain pluralism is not only legitimate, but desirable. An adaptation of the Christian life in the fields of pastoral, ritual, didactic and spiritual activities is not only possible, it is even favoured by the Church. The liturgical renewal is a living example of this. And in this sense you may, and you must, have an African Christianity. Indeed, you possess human values and characteristic forms of culture which can rise up to perfection such as to find in Christianity, and for Christianity, a true superior fullness, and prove to be capable for a richness of expression all its own, and genuinely African [2].

The two prepositions “in” and “for” are important since they signify the mutual enhancement and enrichment for both Christianity and the culture of Africa. Such a mutual enhancement and enrichment is the hallmark of inculturation.

Pope Paul VI’s interpretation and teaching on inculturation, first on the African Church particularly, was then made available and announced to the universal Church in his Apostolic Exhortation, *Evangelii Nuntiandi*, in 1975. Once again, the papal Exhortation warned the Church of the problem of “culturalism,” meaning, “sacrificing the content of the Gospel to incompatible cultural values or rendering the Gospel subject to culture.”⁸⁰ To avoid such a problem, the Pope, first, insisted that the Gospel, while maintaining a critical distance from culture, must be grounded in and thus transform culture. Second, the papal document, while it emphasizes the important role of the particular churches, demands these churches to remain in unity with the universal church.⁸¹ These two dimensions advised by Pope Paul VI against the problem of “culturalism” capture the essence of what the inculturation process entails.

⁸⁰ A. SHORTER, *Towards a Theology of Inculturation*, 218.

⁸¹ A. TORNOS, *Inculturación: Teología y método*, 125.

2.2.8 *In the Teachings of Pope John Paul II*

Pope Paul VI's implicit interpretation and teaching on inculturation was made explicit and improved upon by the teaching of Pope John Paul II. Pope John Paul II, who was the first non-Italian pope since the sixteenth century, symbolizes the catholicity and universality of the Church.⁸² Also, it was in the Pope's Apostolic Exhortation, *Catechesi Tradendae* ("Catechesis in Our Time"), in 1979 that the word "inculturation" appeared in any papal documents for the first time [53].⁸³ The pope though, seeming to use the terms *acculturation* and *inculturation* interchangeably, explicitly offers his interpretation, thus his teaching on inculturation, the same interpretation which he had communicated to the Pontifical Biblical Commission earlier in the same year. The Pope claimed:

As I said recently to the members of the Biblical Commission: "The term 'acculturation' or 'inculturation' may be a neologism, but it expresses very well one factor of the great mystery of the Incarnation.

Furthermore, through *Catechesi Tradendae* Pope John Paul II highlighted the two aspects which *Evangelii Nuntiandi* earlier had overlooked: the privileged place of biblical cultures in the dialogue and the historical character of the inculturation process.

We can say of catechesis, as well as of evangelization in general, that it is called to bring the power of the Gospel into the very heart of culture and cultures. For this purpose, catechesis will *seek to know these cultures and their essential components; it will learn their most significant expressions; it will respect their particular values and riches*. In this manner it will be able to offer these cultures the knowledge of the hidden mystery and help them to bring forth from their own living tradition original expressions of Christian life, celebration and thought. Two things must however be kept in mind.

On the one hand, the Gospel message *cannot be purely and simply isolated from the culture in which it was first inserted* (the biblical world or, more

⁸² P. SCHINELLER, *A Handbook on Inculturation*, 43.

⁸³ http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/apost_exhortations/documents/hf_p-ii_exh_16101979_catechesi-tradendae_en.html, downloaded on November 28, 2008.

concretely, the cultural milieu in which Jesus of Nazareth lived), nor, without serious loss, from the cultures in which it has already been expressed down the centuries; it does not spring spontaneously from any cultural soil; it has always been transmitted by means of an apostolic dialogue which inevitably becomes part of a certain dialogue of cultures.

On the other hand, *the power of the Gospel everywhere transforms and regenerates*. When that power enters into a culture, it is no surprise that it rectifies many of its elements. There would be no catechesis if it were the Gospel that had to change when it came into contact with the cultures.

To forget this would simply amount to what St. Paul very forcefully calls "emptying the cross of Christ of its power" [53]. *Italics are mine*.

Again and again, the pope called on the urgency of inculturation in various part of the world. On his apostolic pilgrimage to Africa in May 1980, Pope John Paul II asked

With serenity and confidence and with profound openness towards the universal Church, [that] the Bishops [of Ghana] must carry on the task of inculturation of the Gospel for the good of each people, precisely so that Christ may be communicated to every man, woman and child.

In this process, *cultures themselves must be uplifted, transformed and permeated by Christ's original message of divine truth, without harming what is noble in them*. Hence worthy African traditions are to be preserved. Moreover, in accordance with the full truth of the Gospels and in harmony with the Magisterium of the Church, living and dynamic African Christian traditions are to be consolidated [3].⁸⁴

Similarly, to the Bishops of Japan on their ad Limina visit on September 2nd 1985, the Pope highlighted the "great challenge of inculturation" in the context of Japanese society. He insisted,

[Evangelization] involves the question of method and *the incarnation of the Christian message in the lives of each people and each community*. We know the esteem that the Church has for proper inculturation linked to fidelity to the ageless and universal faith. And we know how much Christ himself truly desires, in the members of his body, to become fully one with them. And this is truly what happens as *Christ becomes Japanese in his Church* [2].⁸⁵

⁸⁴http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/speeches/1980/may/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19800509_bishops-ghana_en.html, downloaded on November 29, 2008. Italics are mine.

⁸⁵http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/speeches/1985/september/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19850902_vescovi-giappone_en.html, downloaded on November 29, 2008. Italics are mine.

Again, in his Apostolic Letter, *Oriente Lumen*, to the bishops, clergy and faithful in 1995, using the examples of Saint Cyril and Saint Methodius, the pope appealed to bishops, clergy and faithful to respect the rich heritage of the cultures of Eastern among the Eastern Catholic brothers and sisters.

At a time when it is increasingly recognized that the right of every people to express themselves according to their own heritage of culture and thought is fundamental, the experience of the individual Churches of the East is offered to us as an authoritative example of successful inculturation.

From this model we learn that if we wish to avoid the recurrence of particularism as well as of exaggerated nationalism, we must realize that the proclamation of the Gospel should be deeply rooted in what is distinctive to each culture and open to convergence in a universality, which involves an exchange for the sake of mutual enrichment [7].

In the encyclical *Redemptoris Missio* issued in 1990, Pope John Paul II further explains the inculturation process and what it entails. The pope admitted,

The process of the Church's insertion into peoples' cultures is a lengthy one. It is not a matter of purely external adaptation, for inculturation "*means the intimate transformation of authentic cultural values through their integration in Christianity and the insertion of Christianity in the various human cultures.*" The process is thus a profound and all-embracing one, which involves the Christian message and also the Church's reflection and practice. But at the same time it is a difficult process, for it must in no way compromise the distinctiveness and integrity of the Christian faith [52].⁸⁶

For the most part, Pope John Paul's teaching on the topic of inculturation echoes what the Second Vatican Council had instructed and what his predecessor, Pope Paul VI, had reinforced. However, in confronting the prevailing problem of postmodern relativism, Pope John Paul II approaches inculturation with a "certain skepticism," focusing more on the dangers rather than on the advantages of inculturation. Therefore, his teaching "tends to be prudential and cautionary."⁸⁷ The pope warned:

⁸⁶ http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/encyclicals/documents/hf_jp-ii_enc_07121990_redemptoris-missio_en.html, downloaded on November 29, 2008. Italics are mine.

⁸⁷ A. Shorter, *Toward a Theology of Inculturation*, 225.

Inculturation is *a slow journey which accompanies the whole of missionary life*. It involves those working in the Church's mission *ad gentes*, the Christian communities as they develop, and the bishops, who have the task of providing discernment and encouragement for its implementation [52].

2.2.9 Benedict XVI

For the main part, Pope Benedict XVI's teaching on inculturation echoes what has been taught since the Second Vatican Council and elucidated and advanced through the teachings of Pope Paul VI and Pope John Paul II. In his post-synodal Apostolic exhortation, *Sacramentum Caritatis*, the Pope reiterated the call of the Second Vatican Council to appropriately inculturate the Eucharistic celebration in different contexts and cultures, at the same time stress on the utmost importance of universality. Furthermore, the Pope believes that the communion that takes place in the Eucharist serves as the inspiration for not only where the dialogue of faith and culture occurs, but also "criterion" for its evaluation.

It is clear that the eucharistic mystery puts us *in dialogue* with various cultures, but also in some way *challenges* them. The intercultural character of this new worship, this *logiké latreía*, needs to be recognized. The presence of Jesus Christ and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit are events capable of engaging every cultural reality and bringing it the leaven of the Gospel. It follows that we must be committed to promoting the evangelization of cultures, conscious that Christ himself is the truth for every man and women, and for all human history. The Eucharist becomes a criterion for our evaluation of everything that Christianity encounters in different cultures [78].

Thus, the Pope focused on the universal dimension of the Eucharist as the universal truth that unites and challenges various cultures. In doing so, the Pope maintains the tension between universality and particularity of the Eucharist in its role of inculturation. Once after having embraced and appreciated this tension, the Pope, followed the teaching of Saint Paul in his First Letter to the Thessalonians, encouraged us to "test everything; and hold fast to what is good" (5:21) in regarding to the ongoing process of inculturation." However, to avoid "certain abuses," such a

process always has to be in balance, to be in accord with the general instructions and previous papal teachings of the Apostolic See to guarantee its universality [54].⁸⁸

As demonstrated, these papal teachings have indicated a genuine and fervent effort of the Holy See in safeguarding both the identity of the Christian faith and the particular culture in such a way that Christians can and should strive to maintain their cultural and religious identity. Thus, African Christian can and ought to be fully African *and* fully Christian; Asian Christian, fully Asian *and* fully Christian.⁸⁹

2.2.10 In the Documents of the Society of Jesus

a. The Thirty-Second General Congregation (Dec. 2, 1974 – Mar. 7, 1975)

To respond to the Second Vatican Council's call to "return to the sources of all Christian life and the original spirit of the institutes and their adaptation to the changed conditions of our time" (*Perfectae Caritatis* [2]), the newly elected Superior General of the Society of Jesus, Fr. Pedro Arrupe, S.J. convened its Thirty-Second General Congregation. Jesuit representatives from all over the world were gathered to respond to "the many requests from all parts of the Society for clear decisions and definite guidelines concerning [the Society's] mission today" (D. 4, no. 1) progressing ourselves on the way to the Lord (D. 1, no. 7). One of the issues that came up in the discussion of the delegates was the topic of inculturation, which eventually became the subject of the Congregation's fourth decree. Gracefully, the term "inculturation" was born out of this context.

It was the experience of a deep-rooted oneness at the heart of a wide-ranging variety: never had there been such diversity in a Jesuit assembly before, never such a problem of language – and yet there was real communication, seemingly effortless because of the overwhelming consciousness of belonging together, of having very much to share. It was even said that the tensions that

⁸⁸http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/apost_exhortations/documents/hf_ben-xvi_exh_20070222_sacramentum-caritatis_en.html, downloaded on November 29, 2008.

⁸⁹M. DHAVAMONY, *Christian Theology of Inculturation*, 103.

some members reported as existing in various quarters seemed so trifling, and paradoxically so serious, in the light of their own felt unity.⁹⁰

Having recognized that the cultural plurality exists in “different situations in different parts of the world,” the Society needs to “cultivate a great adaptability and flexibility within the single, steady aim of the service of faith and the promotion of justice” (D. 4, no. 7) both to what was known as the “mission lands” and to “traditionally Christian countries” (D. 4, no. 24). Furthermore, the Congregation warned that by being “insulated from any real contact... we run the risk of not being able to hear the cry for the Gospel” (D. 4, no. 35). The Congregation while recognizing that “new forms of apostolic involvement adapted to different places have already been developed” to respond to these needs insisted that, “wherever we serve we must be attentive to “inculturation.” That meant,

We must take pains to adapt our preaching of the Gospel to the culture of the place so that men and women may receive Christ according to the distinctive character of each country, class or group and environment (D. 4, no. 36).

The Congregation recognized that the effort did not come from the Society alone but the whole Church. However, the Society of Jesus because of its mission-oriented charism and tradition, the issue of inculturation was taken more seriously.

The Congregation declared,

We are members of a Society with a universal vocation and a missionary tradition. We therefore have a special responsibility in this regard. We have a duty to ensure that our ministry is directed toward incarnating the faith and life of the Church in the culture and tradition of the people among whom and with whom we work and, at the same time, toward communion with all who share the same Christian faith (D. 4, no. 55).

Consequently, the Congregation dedicated its whole Decree V to this subject under the title, “Inculturation of the faith and Promotian of Christian life.” For the first time in the history of the Society, a decree had been issued to officially recognize the

⁹⁰ Editor’s note in the introduction of Fr. Arrupe’s letter “On Inculturation to the Whole Society” dated May 14, 1978. P. ARRUPPE, *Other Apostolates Today: Selected Letters and Addresses – III*, ed. J. AIXALA, IJS, Saint Louis 1981, Midwest Jesuit Archive, 171.

urgent “necesidad e importancia de la inculturación para la evangelización y el crecimiento de la comunidad cristiana... honra la memoria de los eminentes exploradores apostólicos jesuitas en este campo.”⁹¹

Decree V consists of two points. First, it acknowledged the work of inculturation of Faith and promotion of Christian life in the Society with “maxima importancia.” Such a work has been initiated and carried out throughout the long history of the Society’s missionary practices. However, confronting the demands of the time, this work “merece un cuidado y solicitud cada día mayor por parte de la Compañía.” Furthermore, this work must be done with “mayor intensidad” by all members of the Society and always in accord with “la mente y doctrina auténtica de la Iglesia” (no. 1). Secondly, the Congregation entrusted Fr. Pedro Arrupe, the Superior General of the Society of Jesus, after diligently studying the subject with the help of experts, with the task of writing a letter of instruction to the Society to all members of the Society on the subject of inculturation so that,

En [la carta] ella y por ella, con el fin de que se haga patente con la mayor claridad a todos los nuestros el verdadero sentido, sobre todo teológico, la verdadera importancia de la obra y el proceso de la inculturación en la misión y apostolado actual de la Compañía (no. 2).

b. Pedro Arrupe’s *Carta sobre la Inculturación*

In response to the task which the Thirty-Second General Congregation of the Society of Jesus had entrusted to him, after three years of study and consultation, Fr. Pedro Arrupe (1907 - 1991), the twenty-eighth Superior General of the Society of Jesus (1965 – 1983) wrote *La carta sobre la Inculturación* addressing to the whole Society of Jesus on May 14, 1978.⁹² As noted earlier, one year before, acting as the

⁹¹ *Congregación General XXXII de la Compañía de Jesus: decretos y documentos*, Razón y Fe, Madrid 1975, 103.

⁹² Note from the letter’s editor in P. Arrupe, *Other Apostolates Today*, 172.

president of the Union of Religious Superiors General,⁹³ Fr. Arrupe had widely used the term “inculturation” in his intervention during the ninth session of the IV Synod of Bishops. It was from this Synod of Bishops that Pope John Paul II’s Apostolic Exhortation, *Catechesi Tradentae*, was born. The term “inculturation” first appeared in a papal document [53], thus being recognized and accepted universally among all Christian denominations.

Fr. Arrupe’s letter on inculturation echoed what the Second Vatican Council’s Pastoral Constitution [53] and Pope Paul VI’s Apostolic Exhortation *Evangelii Nuntiandi* [20] taught earlier. We read from Arrupe’s letter:

Inculturación es la encarnación de la vida y mensaje cristianos en un área cultural concreta, de tal manera que esa experiencia no sólo llegue a expresarse con los elementos propios de la cultura en cuestión (lo que no sería más que una superficial adaptación), sino que se convierta en el principio inspirador, normativo y unificador que transforme y re-cree esa cultura, originando así “una nueva creación.”⁹⁴

As stated earlier, the process of inculturation is based on the theology of Incarnation where the “*semina Verbi*,” the seed of God’s Word, is encountered and developed for the building up of truth in a particular local context.⁹⁵ As found in the Council’s decrees and papal teachings (illustrated above), Arrupe’s definition of inculturation, while placing emphasis on the importance of the local Church – its “traditional values and experience – it equally accentuates the significance of its universality. In this sense, the letter reinforces what had been taught by the Council and the teaching of Pope Paul VI.

The freshness in the letter is found in the way in which Arrupe has framed the challenge and its response according to the structure and the grace of the *Spiritual*

⁹³ Fr. Pedro Arrupe was elected the president of the Union of Religious Superiors General in 1967 and held the position for five consecutive terms until 1982 (*Pedro Arrupe: Essential Writings*, sel. by K. BURKE, Orbis Book, New York 2004, 21).

⁹⁴ P. ARRUPÉ, “Carta sobre la Inculturación,” *La identidad*, 95 - 102, 96.

⁹⁵ P. ARRUPÉ, *Other Apostolates Today*, 177.

Exercises of St. Ignatius. For Arrupe, how Christian faith can continue to “animate, direct, unify and transform” cultures in countries with a long Christian tradition as well as those that are recently received the Gospel remains the main challenge for the Society of Jesus. To respond to such a challenge, Arrupe, first, calls upon the *Presupposition* [22] of the *Exercises* that demands a spirit of openness at the moment of initial contact with culture. Secondly, the experience of God’s unconditional love helps us to become free to discern “correctly what is inalienable in Christian faith and what might be merely its cultural wrappings.”⁹⁶ Only after having been grounded in God’s love and the ability to discern, does Arrupe move to address the concrete situation where inculturation takes place. Here, Arrupe points out the fact that Ignatius in the *Constitutions* of the Society of Jesus has been adamantly forming Jesuits to pay attention so as to adapt to circumstances of country, place, language, different mentalities, and personal temperaments. In fact, there are more than twenty passages in the Constitution that repeatedly call for this type of attention and spirit of adaption. This is where particularity, thus diversity, is encouraged and valued in Jesuit spirituality.

Following the Ignatian *sensus Ecclesiae*, the process of inculturation, while taking place in the concrete particular context, needs to be done “with the Church” and “in the Church.” Arrupe advised Jesuits to avoid either being too “timid and passive” so as to inhibit Jesuit creativity or being too independent so as to ignore Church hierarchical structure. Rather, Jesuits should strive towards “*universal charity* which urges them to outstanding efforts as creators of communion, not only at the level of the local Church, but with concern for the communion of the entire pilgrim People of

⁹⁶ P. ARRUPÉ, *Other Apostolates Today*, 177.

God.”⁹⁷ Therefore, though Jesuits are formed and live in various provinces and countries, “total inculturation required of a Jesuit should never turn him into a hidebound nationalist or regionalist... [Jesuits] have to maintain in full vigor the disposition of availability, the fundamental attitude of every Jesuit, which makes him ready to go wherever there is hope of greater service of the Church.”⁹⁸

Concretely, Arrupe points out that such a process of inculturation, takes place both at the personal level and at the communal level. At the personal level, Jesuits who either live outside of their native culture or remain within their native culture, “need the ‘shock’ of a deep personal experience.” For those who are sent to live in a new country, it means immersing oneself into learning the language and custom of the country; whereas, for those who remain in their native country, it demands experiencing the different ways of life of the outcasts, the marginalized, intellectuals, students, etc., all of whom Jesuits are called to work for and with. At the communal level, countries with long Christian tradition and countries who have received the Gospel must engage themselves in the ongoing process of inculturation and re-inculturation, where mistakes are admitted, recognized and forgiven.

Either personally or communally, the process of inculturation is done with “*interior humility*, which makes us recognize our own errors and helps us to be understanding towards those of others;” “*persevering patience*, which is indispensable for studies in depth (psychological, anthropological, sociological, etc.) and for the unhurried experimental projects which will surely have to be undertaken;” and with “*caritas discreta*,” which enables “prophetic boldness and the fearless of apostolic zeal blended with the prudence of the Spirit.”⁹⁹ Fr. Arrupe’s letter “On

⁹⁷ P. ARRUPPE, *Other Apostolates Today*, 178.

⁹⁸ 179 – 180.

⁹⁹ P. ARRUPPE, *Other Apostolates Today*, 177.

Inculturation,” addressed to the whole Society of Jesus, which is profoundly grounded in the deep tradition of Ignatian spirituality, embracing both the spiritual and the practical aspects of the inculturation process, and has become the standard text and practice of inculturation among Jesuits since the Society’s Thirty Second Congregation.

c. Father General Peter-Hans Kovenbach, S.J. (1983 - 2008)

After having been elected as the Society’s twenty-ninth Superior General of the Society by the Thirty-Third General Congregation (1983),¹⁰⁰ Fr. Kolvenbach, in his letter to the Major Superiors and the dated May 3, 1985 reminded the Society of the missions which Pope John Paul II had given to the Society. One of those missions involved “el esfuerzo por seguir las iniciativas apostólicas del Vaticano II, (ecumenismo, diálogo de la Iglesia con las religiones no cristianas y con las culturas); la integración de la inculturación...”¹⁰¹ Furthermore, in an interview conducted in July 1989, Fr. Kolvenbach reiterated what the Thirty-Third General Congregation had asked all the members of the Society of Jesus to do. “Today, rather than new and lengthy declarations or new decrees, we ought to put into effect that which has been handed down to us, for love should manifested itself in deeds rather than words.”¹⁰² And one of the urgent needs had been how to put in effect the process of inculturation of the faith in all parts of the world, the issue that had taken much energy and passion from his predecessor, Fr. Arrupe, and the work of the Thirty-Second Congregation.

¹⁰⁰ *Jesuit Life & Mission Today: The Decrees & Accompanying Documents of the 31st – 35th General Congregations of the Society of Jesus*, (J. Padberg, ed.), IJS, Saint Louis 2009, 413.

¹⁰¹ P. KOLVENBACH, “Sobre la acogida da la Congregación General 33 (3 de Mayo de 1985,” *Selección*, Vol. I, 43 – 51, 44. The Homily of the Holy Father to the members of the 33rd General Congregation in the Chapel of the General Curia, 2 September 1983, [6].

¹⁰² P. KOLVENBACH, *Men of God: Men for Others*, Interviewed by R. GIACOMELLI, St. Paul Publications, Australia 1990, 44. Also mentioned briefly in *Jesuit Life & Mision Today*, 430.

When asked about how the increase in Jesuit vocations in Asia, Latin America, and Africa has affected the Society, Fr. Kolvenbach responded first by recognizing that, being an international Order, the Society has been gifted with the “richness of spiritual and cultural life” among her members. Secondly, he realized the challenge of inculturation that goes with such richness of cultural diversity especially in the current context. Fr. Kolvenbach stated:

As in the past years, under the Latin American influx, the Jesuits became more sensitized to the option for the poor, so today and in the immediate future no doubt we shall grow ever more sensitive to the apostolic problem of how to inculturate the faith in India and in Asia in general.”¹⁰³

The work of inculturation of the faith is not confined solely to the Asian context, but is needed throughout the world. Again in the Provincial Congregation of the Provincials in Loyola on September 20, 1990, Fr. Kolvenbach repeatedly admitted the challenges and difficulties uniquely found in the Society’s various cultural contexts, such as the West, the socialist countries, Latin America, Africa and Asia, thus, the necessity for inculturation of the faith to take deeper root in these regions.¹⁰⁴

Concurring with what has been taught before in the Magisterium and what has been instructed in the documents of the Society, Fr. Kolvenbach understood that the process of inculturation “means encountering people in the most deeply held values, right down at their roots, and there reinforcing the meeting with the Gospel.” Inculturation defined as such consisted of nothing new. What was new consists in the inherent tension, which Fr. Kolvenbach highlighted, that exists within what inculturation entails. He stated that “there is always a tension between the universal commitment to *make disciples of all nations* and inculturation, between the proclamation of the Word of the Lord everywhere and the culture of this or that

¹⁰³ P. KOLVENBACH, *Men of God: Men for Others*, 40.

¹⁰⁴ P. KOLVENBACH, “A la Congregación de Provinciales, sobre el estado de la Compañía (Loyola, 20 de septiembre de 1990),” *Selección*, I, 218 – 252, [12].

people,” the tension between the universality and the particularity. Maintaining tension, according to Fr. Kolvenbach, remains the hallmark of Ignatian spirituality.

Ignatian spirituality is a spirituality of tensions. The Society is simultaneously contemplative and active, universal yet part of a specific culture, organized as a community yet orientated towards mission. There is always a danger of losing the proper balance between these values in tension... [From the tension] two major features of the founder’s charism have been re-emerging among us: discernment, and solidarity with the poor.¹⁰⁵

Thus, inculturation of the faith, though demanding understanding and respect of values and custom of a particular culture, has to be done in communion with the universal Church.

With regard to the challenge of the African Churches, the issues lie in the failure to maintain the balance of this tension. According to Fr. Kolvenbach, in the past there were “moments of great sufferings for the local [African] Churches.”¹⁰⁶ Inculturation of the Christian faith into African church was resisted if not banned. In the contrary, in the modern day, the African Churches tend to retreat into cultures of their own overlooking the needs of the Universal Church. Similarly, the challenge of inculturation in Asian and Latin American Churches though each has unique aspects, can be reduced to how to maintain the tension of the demands of particular culture in communion with the Universal Church.

Whether it is in Africa or in Asia, Fr. Kolvenbach emphasized that genuine inculturation is concerned not with “quantity of converts” but the “quality of the new Christians and their communities.”¹⁰⁷ Finally, the solution which Fr. Kolvenbach pled for, is dialogue. “Dialogue is absolutely necessary; and it’s from lack of communication that conflictual situations arise... I must stress there’s an absolute

¹⁰⁵ P. KOLVENBACH, *Men of God: Men for Others*, 28.

¹⁰⁶ 35.

¹⁰⁷ 60.

need in the Church to strengthen communion, the will-to-dialogue.”¹⁰⁸ And dialogue remains indispensable in the inculturation process. "Evangelization is not possible without inculturation. Inculturation is the existential dialogue between a living people and the living Gospel.”¹⁰⁹ Fr. Kolvenbach’s emphasis on tension and dialogue that exists in the process of inculturation is clarified and further expounded in Decree IV of the Thirty-Fourth General Congregation.

d. The Thirty-Fourth General Congregation (Jan. 5, 1995 – Mar. 22, 1995)

The Thirty-Fourth General Congregation was convened to bring Jesuits from all over the world to revise the law of the Society and to orient the mission in response to the demand and challenge of the time, more concretely, “to enable Jesuits to put the character and mission of the Society into daily practice” (D. 1, no. 1). As part of normal proceeding, commissions were set up to tackle various topics that were raised and grouped by the delegates. One of the topics that was accepted by the delegates and then assigned to a commission for further discussion and development was topic number 7, entitled “Evangelization and culture/cultures: inculturation.”¹¹⁰ Decree IV of General Congregation Thirty-Four, “Our Mission and Culture” was written as the direct result of the work of this commission.

Decree IV started off by setting the context in which the issue of “Mission and Culture” would be discussed. First, the decree acknowledges the cultural diversity of the delegates representing the Society’s worldwide body (no.1). Secondly, it provides a brief review of what has been developed in papal teachings, especially those of Pope Paul VI and Pope John Paul II (no. 2), confirming inculturation as having “always been part of the life of the Church” (no. 4). Third, the decree presents a brief

¹⁰⁸ P. KOLVENBACH, *Men of God: Men for Others*, 69 – 70.

¹⁰⁹ 70.

¹¹⁰ *Jesuit Life & Mission Today*, 505 – 506.

theological summary similar to what has been presented in this investigation concerning what the process inculturation embodies.

The process of inculturating the Gospel of Jesus Christ within human culture is a form of incarnation of the Word of God in all the diversity of human experience... When the Word of God becomes embedded in the heart of culture, it is like a buried seed which draws its nourishment from the earth around it and grows to maturity. Inculturation can also be related to the Paschal Mystery: cultures, under the impact of the liberating power of the Gospel, rid themselves of their negative features and enter the freedom of God's Kingdom (no. 3).

Thus, through the process of inculturation, the Gospel offers something new to a culture while at the same time, the culture adds to the richness of the Gospel. Fourth, the decree updates in detail particular cultural challenges that confront the Church and the Society today (no. 5). After having established the context, Decree IV then offers the Jesuit approach to the issue at hand.

As Jesuits, the decree announced, “we have insisted on the inseparability of *justice, dialogue, and the evangelization of culture*” (no. 6). Translated into the process of inculturation, “it is never a question of choosing either God *or* the [culture]; rather, it is always God *in* the [culture], laboring to bring it to perfection so the [culture] comes, finally, to be fully *in* God” (no. 7). Therefore, to make the presence of the Crucified and Risen Christ felt in the diversity of human cultural experiences, so as to present the Gospel as Christ's explicitly liberating presence in the culture, remains the mission of the Society.

Our service of the Christian Faith must never disrupt the best impulses of the culture in which we work, nor can it be alien imposition from outside. It is directed towards working in such a way that the line of development springing from the heart of a culture leads it to the Kingdom (no. 8).

Having been blessed with an impressive history of outstanding examples in the effort of inculturating the faith (no. 10 & no. 11), as well as a list of failures to do so (no. 12), Jesuits are called to engage in dialogue with their own cultural context (no. 13).

The chief reason for Jesuits, disciples of the Risen Lord, to enter into dialogue with human culture lies in the deep Christian conviction that the “Paschal Mystery radiates throughout the whole of human history, touching every religion, every culture, and every person, including those who do not know him and those who, in conscience, cannot bring themselves to have faith in him” (no. 15). In this Paschal Mystery, the human family is held together. Only God knows how (no. 16). However, in engaging ourselves in dialogue with others, we are able to get in touch with and to deepen our sense with the divine life in our lives and the lives of other men and women enabling all to become aware of God’s presence already in the culture (no. 17). The dialogue that takes place is fourfold: dialogue of life, dialogue of action, dialogue of religious experience, and dialogue of theological exchange (D. 5, no. 4).

As Fr. Kolvenbach has pointed out, Jesuit dialogue with critical postmodern culture is only effective when it is able to maintain the essential tension. Though it is important to be ready to engage ourselves fully with the culture, we need to make sense of our own experience and understanding of God, so as to communicate them to the contemporary culture (no. 20), in other words, to maintain the healthy tension between individual and community. Furthermore, while dialogue is involved with the “genuine attempt to work from within the shared experience of Christians and unbelievers in a secular and critical culture, built upon respect and friendship” (no. 23), the Gospel of Christ “challenges men and women and requires of them a conversion of mind, heart, and behavior... Unless a Christian life distinctly differs from the values of secular modernity, it will have nothing special to offer” (no. 24). Thus, inculturation of the faith demands a life of witness. More especially, such a life of witness includes the preferential option for the poor (no. 28). In other words,

dialogue must maintain the creative tension between the Kingdom of God and the culture.

Overall, the Thirty-Fourth General Congregation offers an extensive treatment of the process of inculturation, recalling its historical presence within the Church's heritage. Some of this presence is noticeably found in the Society of Jesus and concentrates on the divine active engagement with human culture, thus emphasizing the need for dialogue among different cultures while maintaining its creative tension and solidarity with the poor. And finally dialogue takes time. "The inculturation of the Gospel may be slow simply because cultural changes are slow" (no. 27).

e. The Thirty-Fifth General Congregation (Jan. 5, 2008 – Mar. 6, 2008)

After having received the approval of Pope Benedict XVI for his resignation as Superior General, and having consulted his assistants and the provincials of the whole Society, Fr. Kolvenbach decreed the convocation of the Thirty-Fifth General Congregation to serve as the supreme government of the Society.¹¹¹ One of the themes which the *Coetus Praevius*, a commission charged with the immediate preparation of the General Congregation, proposed to develop into a decree of the Congregation was "a document on mission in order to reformulate the apostolic orientations of the 34th General Congregation (faith/justice, culture, dialogue)."¹¹²

Regarding the process of inculturation, General Congregation Thirty-Five once again confirmed and responded to what the Church has entrusted to the Society. In his address to the Congregation on the 21st of February 2008, Pope Benedict called attention to the Society's long tradition of inculturation and insisted on her continued effort in this mission.

¹¹¹ *Jesuit Life & Mission Today*, 709.

¹¹² 713.

In its history the Society of Jesus has lived extraordinary experiences of proclamation and encounter between the Gospel and world cultures – it suffices to think of Matteo Ricci in China, Roberto de Nobili in India or of the “Reductions” in Latin America. And you are rightly proud of them. I feel it is my duty to urge you to set out once again in the tracks of your predecessors with the same courage and intelligence, but also with an equally profound motivation of faith and enthusiasm to serve the Lord and his Church [5].¹¹³

In response to the Papal call, the Society accepts and renews its commitment and vocation “to serve as a soldier of God beneath the banner of the Cross... and to serve the Lord alone and the Church his spouse, under the Roman Pontiff, the Vicar of Christ on earth” (D. 1, no. 9). As a member of the Congregation, Fr. Benjamín Glz. Buelta recognized the significance and its implication of the Papal address to the Society.

Es significativo que rescatase esos nombres de la historia y los presentase a la Compañía como paradigmas, a pesar de haber sido descalificados por las autoridades eclesiales de su tiempo, reiterando que considera a los jesuitas “colaboradores suyos en su servicio a la Iglesia Universal.”¹¹⁴

Thus, the Pope emphasized the dimension of universality of Jesuit life and mission. In response, the Society reminded all of its members that “to be missioned to this work at the new frontiers of our times always requires that we also be rooted at the very heart of the Church. This tension, specific to the Ignatian charism, opens the way to true creative fidelity” (D. 1, no. 13). This “tension” indicates the harmony between the need for inculturation into the particular context and culture balancing with good and the well-being of the Universal Church.

Like the fire that has kept burning through innumerable social and cultural circumstances for nearly five hundred years (D. 2, no. 1), the Society’s mission of inculturation of the faith continues to penetrate into new frontiers of today’s world. In another words, the cultural context of today’s world has shifted, and thus demands a

¹¹³ Also D. 1, no. 6.

¹¹⁴ B. GONZÁLEZ BUELTA, “En un mundo global, Cuerpo y misión universales,” *Man* 80 (2008) 323 - 332, 326.

new vision *not* in the method of inculturation but in the knowledge of contemporary culture and in the urgent focus on the universality. Such knowledge in turn will make the inculturation process more effective.

Reflecting on our experience during GC 34, we discerned that the service of faith in Jesus Christ and the promotion of the justice of the Kingdom preached by him can best be achieved in the contemporary world if inculturation and dialogue become essential elements of our way of proceeding in mission (D. 3, no. 3).

The new “frontiers of culture and of religion” are made of cultural fragmentation that leads to cultural alienation, and eventually, interior emptiness. The new landscape of the world culture is a result of the “erosion of traditional beliefs and the tendency to homogenize culture” through the process of globalization (no. 22). Hence, “the tradition of Jesuits building bridges across barriers becomes crucial in the context of today’s world” (no. 17). Therefore, Jesuits are called to reconcile with God (no. 19 - 24), to reconcile with one another (no. 25 - 30), and to reconcile with creation (no. 31 – 36) for the good and the well being of the universal good of the Universal Church.

The Congregation dedicates one of its six degrees specifically addressing the universal mission of the Society. Decree five, “Governance at the Service of Universal Mission,” after having recognized the multinational and multicultural nature of Jesuit mission today, states at the beginning one of the three principles that guides the Society in its response to these new challenges. The Congregation determines that “our governance structures and ways of proceeding should flow from a perspective of greater universality” (no. 1). Thus, all the levels of the Society’s governance and function – the General Congregation, Father General, the Conference of Major Superiors, must be directed towards the universal mission and the good of the Universal Church (no. 4, no. 7, no. 18 respectively).

In short, after having recognized the challenge of cultural fragmentation of the contemporary society, one of the ways which General Congregation Thirty-Five responds, is to call attention to all Jesuits the utmost need of reconciliation with each particular context and culture while keeping the good of the universal mission and the Universal Church in focus. Thus, the Congregation highlights reconciliation and universality as essential dimensions for the ongoing process of inculturation in the Society's mission today.

3. CONCLUSION: TOWARDS A THEOLOGY OF INCULTURATION

Throughout this section, I have demonstrated inculturation as a concrete and practical way of living out Christian faith in the cultural context of the modern/postmodern world. Being rooted deeply in the Holy Scriptures and the tradition of the Church, inculturation has proved to be instrumental in helping the Church to be aware of the cultural diversity the world embodies, so as to become more effective in its work of evangelization to enrich the world and Christianity itself. Such awareness is guided by a particular way of thinking and doing theology. Here, I would like to briefly comment on how the process of inculturation understands theology, particularly in the areas of revelation, Christology, ecclesiology, and grace.

As stated in Fr. Arrupe's letter, inculturation is the "incarnation of christian life."¹¹⁵ However, such an "incarnation" does not mean something coming from the outside entering into the culture to perfect it. Following the teachings of the Second Vatican Council, inculturation interprets "incarnation" as the process of the *semina verbi*, which is the word of God that is found inside the culture, maturing into a tree that bears fruits for the world and for the Church both locally and universally.¹¹⁶ All

¹¹⁵ P. ARRUPE, *Other Apostolates Today*, 173.

¹¹⁶ *Ad Gentes* [6].

forms of culture possess this word of God; therefore, no cultural context is godless. Thus, Christians cannot simply say that we, with the gospel, have the truth of revelation and the non-Christians do not. Moreover, since God's word not only dwells in culture but also actively engages with it, culture remains the place where one encounters the divine, "the locus for God's past, present, and future revelation."¹¹⁷

As repeatedly illustrated above, inculturation, while it gives strong emphasis to cultural context, demands a critical distance from culture so as to avoid being over-identifying with culture as found in the problem of culturalism. Following this pattern of inculturation, one is challenged to identify the essential characteristic of Jesus Christ - the Word of God – so as to discern between what we could let go of (i.e. his Jewish clothes and custom) and what we must hang on to (i.e. Jesus' teaching on the Kingdom of God and on God's preferential for the poor). Therefore, inculturation interprets Christology in holding tension between the words of the Council that teach us that "the Church [the body of Christ] is not tied exclusively and indissolubly to any race or nation, to any one particular way of life, or to any customary practices, ancient or modern"¹¹⁸ and the words of Pope John Paul II that warns us that "the Gospel message cannot be purely and simply isolated from the culture in which it was first inserted (the Biblical world, or more concretely, the cultural milieu in which Jesus of Nazareth lived)." Therefore, inculturation understands Christology as a product of the discernment that embraces this tension and that which is done by the concrete individual in communion with the universal church.

¹¹⁷ P. SCHINELLER, *A Handbook on Inculturation*, 46.

¹¹⁸ *Gaudium et Spes* [58].

The dynamic between particularity and universality in inculturation points towards a unique way to understand the Church. Following the dynamic of the inculturation process, the Church is a result of the interdependent relationship between the particular churches and the universal Church. Since inculturation takes place first and foremost in the local culture, the hierarchical structure of the universal Church is challenged to shape itself in such a way to reflect such a reality. Furthermore, since inculturation insinuates an ongoing process which involves all individuals and all communities, the Church itself is continuously inculturated. Therefore, “every church is a mission church and every Christian is on mission.”¹¹⁹

The process of inculturation implies the imminence of God’s grace working in process within culture. Since God’s word is found in all cultures, God’s saving grace is at work enriching and transforming all cultures, at all of its levels and at all time. Furthermore, the inculturation process ensures enrichment and transformation for both the Christian faith and the culture. God’s transformative grace flows and is imminently found, so as to bring both culture and Christianity to its wholeness.

Finally, the creative tension, which is intrinsically embedded in the process of inculturation, serves as an excellent place for prayer and discernment. In the search for the place where theology speaks, Ward has recognized that,

This place ‘between’ is the place of prayer; prayer as simultaneously worship and intercession, confession and petition, doxology and yearning for the coming of the Kingdom. This yearning has depth – of experience, of knowledge, of passion – only in so far as it engages with the possibility of the impossibility. The relational activity experienced in the ‘between’ is prayer. The place of prayer is the place where the material and the spiritual inform each other, the place where the universal cannot be separated from the particular, where the eternal economics of divine givenness operate within history – as providence, as grace. Prayer is the realization of a place in Christ. Only in Christ it is prayer.¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ P. SCHINELLER, *A Handbook on Inculturation*, 51.

¹²⁰ G. WARD, *Cultural Transformation and Religious Practice*, 60.

This place of prayer is found in the faith being inculturated in the world today.

PART II

GUIDED ADAPTATION: *OUR WAY OF PROCEEDING*

*Our mode of proceeding is to trace the footprints of God **everywhere**, knowing that the Spirit of Christ is at work in all places and situations and in all activities and mediations that seek to make him more present in the world.*

GC 35, D. 2, no. 8

1.1 Introduction

In his address to the delegates of the 35th General Congregation of the Society of Jesus on the 21st of February 2008, Pope Benedict XVI called their attention back to the Society’s long and proud tradition of inculturation. He exhorted:

In its history the Society of Jesus has lived extraordinary experiences of proclamation and encounter between the Gospel and the cultures of the world – suffice it to think of Matteo Ricci in China, Roberto de Nobili in India, or the “Reductions” in Latin America – of which you are justly proud. Today I feel I have the duty to exhort you to follow in the footsteps of your predecessors with the same courage and intelligence, but also with as profound a motivation of faith and passion to serve the Lord and his Church [5].¹

Commenting on the significance of this passage, Fr. Benjamín Glz. Buelta, S.J., a member of the Congregation, notes:

Es significativo que rescatase esos nombres de la historia y los presentase a la Compañía como paradigmas, a pesar de haber sido descalificados por las autoridades eclesiales de su tiempo, reiterando que considera a los jesuitas “colaboradores suyos en su servicio a la Iglesia Universal (1, 13).”²

Indeed, what Matteo Ricci (1552 – 1610),³ Roberto de Nobili (1577 – 1656)⁴, and the Jesuits accomplished in China, India and Paraguay⁵ respectively was nothing short of

¹ *Jesuit Life & Mission Today: The Decrees & Accompanying Documents of the 31st – 35th General Congregations of the Society of Jesus*, (J. Padberg, ed.), IJS, Saint Louis 2009, p. 823.

² B. GONZÁLEZ BUELTA, “En un mundo global,” 327.

³ Matteo Ricci, S.J. was considered the founder of the Jesuit mission in China. He first arrived in Macao in August 1582, then lived and worked in various cities of the mainland China such as Guangzhou (1583), Shaozhou (1589), Nanjing (1595), and finally Pekín (1598). He served as the first superior of the Jesuit mission in China in 1604 when it was first broken off from the Jesuit Province of Japan. He widely wrote and published his works both in Latin and Chinese. Five of his works are kept in China’s *Four Great Books of Learning*. His method of cultural adaptation and accommodation to Chinese culture resulted in the controversy that was known as the Chinese Rites controversy (A. ROSS, *A Vision Betrayed: The Jesuits in Japan and China 1542 – 1742*, Orbis Press, New York 1994; J. SEBES, *DHCJ*, IV, 3351 – 3353; L. BROCKEY, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China 1579 – 1724*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge 2007; V. CRONIN, *The Wise Man from the West*, Harvill Press, New York 1962).

⁴ Robert de Nobili, S.J. was the first Jesuit missionary to the Brahman in India. He was born in Nápoles, Italy and sent to the newly found Malabar Province of the Society of Jesus in 1605. He left the coastal area where western missionaries lived and moved further inland. There, he followed the caste system and adopted the lifestyle of the Brahmans in order to win them over to Christianity (A. SAULIÈRE, *His Star in the East*, S. Rajamanickam (ed.), de Nobili Research Institute and Anan: Gurarat Sahitya Prakash, Madras 1995; *Preaching Wisdom to the Wise: Three Treatises by Robert de Nobili, S.J., Missionary and Scholar in 17th Century India*, (A. Amaladass and F. Clooney, transl. and

extraordinary. Their courage and perseverance in the midst of opposition from Church authorities at the time testify to their conviction, faith and love for the Universal Church. Their witness serves as paradigm for what it has meant to inculturate the Christian faith in the Jesuit mission for centuries. Thus, they are the predecessors whose footsteps the Pope urged all Jesuits to follow.

While we have these great figures to serve as paradigms for us to follow in our mission of inculturation of the faith, it is important to ask whose lives had served as a paradigm for Matteo Ricci, Roberto de Nobili, and the Jesuits of the Paraguay Reductions in their mission and their faith journey? Who were the predecessors whose footsteps they followed? More concretely, who or what had enabled them to go against church authorities at the time and to be convinced that God is to be found in the cultures of the native people? In other words, what was it in their vocation and their formation that had enabled them to engage in what we refer to as the process of inculturation of the faith? I am convinced that the answers lie in the Jesuit tradition and its spirituality, both of which these men embodied. To put it simply, these Jesuits had lived out their vocation and their witness of evangelization by following courageously and intelligently their *own* predecessors' "footsteps" that had been lived out, deliberated and passed down in the Jesuit "modo de proceder."⁶ New set of

intro.), IJS, St. Louis 2000; S. PONNAD, "De Nobili, Roberto," *DHCJ*, II, 1059 – 1061; V. CRONIN, *A Pearl to India: The Life of Robert de Nobili*, Rupert Hart-Davis Press, London 1959).

⁵The Paraguay Reductions of the latter part of the early 17th century was considered "las obras más famosas de los jesuitas" over all the old Paraguay Province of the Society of Jesus. It was here the Jesuit missionaries successfully adapted themselves to the guaraní culture (M.M. MORALES, "América Hispánica: reducciones," *DHCJ*, I, 111 – 114; S. PALACIOS y E. ZOFFOLI, *Gloria y tragedia de las misiones guaraníes: Historia de las Reducciones Jesuíticas durante los siglos XVII y XVIII en el Río de la Plata*, Mensajero, Bilbao 1991).

⁶ The expression that Ignatius often used in the *Constitutions* (17 times) and much more frequent in the *Epistolario* (Ignatius' letters and instructions). By "modo de proceder," Ignatius indicated: 1. "modo de vivir," meaning "declaraciones, reglas, configuración de la Compañía en *Constituciones*" [*Epp* I, 143; *Epp* I, 149]; 2. the corporate identity of the Society of Jesus – "como idea y concepción primigenia y original de la Compañía" [*Epp* VII, 509; *Epp* XI, 372]; 3. the characteristics of pastoral activities and that of the government in the Society of Jesus [*Epp* I, 355; *Epp* II, 12; *Co* 424.547.746.790]; 4. expected lifestyle in the Society of Jesus [*Epp* III, 162; *Epp* IX, 230; *Co* 134]. In

questions then arise. What does the Jesuit “way of proceeding” entail specifically regarding mission and culture? How did it come about? What does it consist of? How had it been formed, practiced and passed down? These questions serve as the topic of Part II of this investigation.

Following the work of biblical scholars who have engaged themselves in the cultural reading of the Bible and historians who have attempted to rewrite the history of the Church in terms of cultural pluralism, the rereading of the Society of Jesus’ history of mission from the same cultural perspective will certainly provide refreshing insights into the Society’s “way of proceeding.” Being one of the largest missionary religious orders of the Catholic Church,⁷ the Society of Jesus has long engaged with cultural diversity of the world both among its own members and with those whom they serve and labor. In return, cultural diversity has shaped Jesuit formation and mission throughout the world. Consequently, in Part II of the investigation, I am particularly interested in how cultural diversity is experienced, viewed and treated in the Society of Jesus, first from the life and experience of its chief founder, Saint Ignatius of Loyola, then from the Society’s founding documents which he developed.

1.2 Outline of Part II

For Part II of the investigation, I will be divided into two respective chapters:

Chapter 3 entitled “Ignatius of Loyola: *la prima forma et gratia*” and Chapter 4

January 18, 1979, Pedro Arrupe, the 28th General Superior of the Society of Jesus, published “El modo nuestro de proceder” as the first of his doctrinal trilogy addressing the identity of the Society of Jesus in the modern time. Arrupe’s publication “se trata de una reflexión sobre cómo ha evolucionado nuestro modo de proceder, en comparación con los orígenes de la Compañía de Jesús, cómo debiera haberlo hecho y cómo debería hacerlo en el futuro. Es prácticamente la única bibliografía sobre este tema específico” since Ignatius’ time and Nadal’s commentary and instructions on the Constitutions (I. IGLESIAS, “Modo de proceder,” *DEI*, II, 1269 - 1273).

⁷ In 1660, massive Christian missionary effort took place in the Spanish and Portuguese empires overseas. Among other religious orders, namely the Dominicans and the Franciscans, the Jesuits “became, with astonishing rapidity, the leading missionary society, with half of their 1,000 members working outside Europe by 1600” (A. ROSS, “Christian encounters with other world religions,” *CHC*, VII, 475 – 494, 475).

“God-centered Multiculture: an Ignatian paradigm of the world”. In Chapter 3, I will examine the cultural diversity that existed among the founders of the Society of Jesus. More specifically, I will retrace the footsteps of Saint Ignatius under the light of cultural pluralism to learn how, throughout his life, he was continually exposed and immersed in the cultural diversity of his time. In return, such diversity formed his sensitivity and respect for different levels of cultures. Also, in this section, I will highlight the fact that the Society of Jesus was found by a group of diverse individuals who came from distinct social and cultural backgrounds. Furthermore, early deliberation and discernment, which were done in such an environment of cultural diversity and richness, helped shape the universal nature of the Society and its mission. Thus, to learn how the founders of the Society of Jesus were deeply rooted in the cultural diversity will help us to better understand how the religious order which they found values and so deals with the cultural diversity among its members and those whom they serve and work with.

For Chapter 4, moving on from the life of the founders, I will focus the light of cultural pluralism on the founding documents of the Society of Jesus, namely, the *Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius*, the *Formulas of the Institute*, and the *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus* to show that these documents serve as instruments to capture and to institutionalize the tradition and the spirituality of the founders. In other words, these founding documents speak about the Jesuit “way of proceeding,” the “footsteps” for all Jesuits to follow. Consequently, this section will go back and reexamine how these founding documents have continually insisted on the necessity of cultural awareness and formation that would prepare Jesuits to be ready to adapt themselves into diverse cultural situations in their mission.

Through these two chapters, I will demonstrate that cultural adaptation and accommodation are rooted deeply in the charism of the Society of Jesus. It is part of the Jesuit “way of proceeding.” Thus, Jesuit vocation demands formation in and practice of cultural awareness and adaptation.

CHAPTER 3

IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA: La prima forma et gratia

The adaptation and renewal of the religious life includes both the constant return to the sources of all Christian life and to the original spirit of the institutes and their adaptation to the changed conditions of our time... It redounds to the good of the Church that institutes have their own particular characteristics and work. Therefore let their founders' spirit and special aims they set before them as well as their sound traditions—all of which make up the patrimony of each institute—be faithfully held in honor.

Perfectae Caritatis [2].

INTRODUCTION

Following the Second Vatican Council's call of adaptation and renewal of the religious life, the 35th General Congregation of the Society begins to address our "way of proceeding" in these words:

To find divine life at the depths of reality is a mission of hope given to us Jesuits. We travel again the path taken by Ignatius. As in his experience so too in ours, because a space of interiority is opened where God works in us, we are able to see the world as a place in which God is at work and which is full of his appeals and of his presence (D 2, 8).

Precisely rooted in these words of the Congregation, this investigation will embark on the task at hand, that is, to track down the spirit of the founders of the Society of Jesus under the light of cultural pluralism.

1. FROM ÍÑIGO TO THE COMPAÑÍA DE JESÚS

Ignatius himself did not leave us with much information about his youth¹, not until his conversion experience at the battle of Pamplona. In Ignatius' *Autobiografía*,

¹Various accounts of the life of Saint Ignatius were written during his lifetime. In 1546, the young Ribadeneira attempted to write one. A year later, Juan Polanco asked Diego Laínez who was one of Ignatius' intimate friends to write down all that he knew and found out about Ignatius. In Polanco's letter to Laínez dated May 11, 1547, we read: "El sumario prometido para cuando aflojen las ocupaciones que por el común bien so toman, esperaré con deseo y en él recibiré mucha carida" (*Epp* I, 520). Responding to Polanco's request, Laínez wrote what would be the first account of Ignatius' life

which Gonçalves de Câmara recorded between 1553 - 1555, we encounter these few words, “hasta los veintiséis años de su edad fue hombre dado a las vanidades del mundo, y principalmente se deleitaba en ejercicio de armas, con un grande y vano deseo de ganar honra” [Au 1]. However, many studies have been done to provide further information on the cultural diversity that formed the man to be the chief founder of the Society of Jesus. The journey begins with Íñigo in his family’s castle in Loyola.

1.1 Cultural formation before conversion

1.1.1 Loyola: a Basque caballero in the culture of caballería

The Basque culture into which Íñigo López de Loyola was born was diverse with “doble fidelidad.” On the one hand, the Basque culture presented something distinctly unique. The Basque people were “los únicos y más legítimos descendientes de los primitivos pobladores de la península ibérica.” And their language, la lengua euskera, was considered as “una de las setenta y dos que se produjeron en la

which could be found in *MHSI*, *MScripta* I 98 -129.129-152 or in *FN* I 54 -145, recently published A. ALBURQUERQUE, *Diego Laínez, S.J. Primer biógrafo de S. Ignacio*, M-ST, Bilbao – Santander 2005, 124 - 240). Based on what Laínez had written, between 1547 – 1548, Polanco provided a sketch of the Society’s origin and initial progresses in which he told many of Ignatius’ interesting characters. He continued to write on the topic, thus extended his narration of Ignatius’ life until 1551. His work which entitled *Sumario de las cosas más notables que a la institución y progreso de la Compañía de Jesús tocan* is kept in *FN* I 146 – 256. However, the *Autobiografía* has distinct value of being written up from Ignatius’ own spoken narrative. Both Jerónimo Nadal and Gonçalves da Câmara were largely responsible for this work. Since 1552, Nadal had insisted on having Ignatius to tell his life story before his death so to give “a la Compañía un modelo” to follow and to prove that Ignatius was the true founder of the Society. Unlike Nadal, Gonçalves da Câmara wanted to “observar al Santo en los pequeños incidentes de la vida cotidiana.” After having spent time in prayers for this specific intention as requested by Ignatius, Nadal came back pressing Ignatius to do so. Ignatius finally promised to do what he was asked. From August of 1553 until October of 1555, Ignatius met with Câmara three different times to tell his life story. The first took place from August to September of 1553, the second on March 1555, and the third from September to October of 1555 (*A Pilgrim’s Testament: The Memoirs of St. Ignatius of Loyola*, Luis Gonçalves da Camara (transcribed), P. Divarkar (transl.), IJS, Saint Louis 1995; *Obras de San Ignacio*, I. Iparraguirre, C. Dalmases, and M. R. Jurado (trans., intr. y notas), Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos: Madrid 1997, 76 – 80; *Saint Ignatius of Loyola Personal Writings: Reminiscences, Spiritual Diary, Select Letters including the text of The Spiritual Exercises*, J. Munitiz and P. Endean (Trans, intro., and notes), Penguin Books, London 2004, 3 – 12. For this investigation, I will use the version of the *Autobiografía* found in the *Obras of San Ignacio de Loyola* otherwise noted).

confusión de la torre de Babel.”² On the other hand, the Basque embodied a rich diversity in its people and history. The ethnologist Julio Caro Baroja noted that “en espacio de pocos kilómetros, nos encontramos con que existen seres humanos con personalidades variadísimas, desde los puntos de vista cultural y social.”³ The Basque country is known by various names such as “País Vasco, Euskalerra, Vasconia, Provincias Vascongadas, and Euskadi.” The town Azpeitia, where Íñigo was born was founded by the Castilian King Fernando IV, civilly belonged to the Guipúzcoa⁴ Province, and ecclesiastically, to the Diocese of Pamplona (San Sebastián of modern day).⁵

When the Guipúzcoans decided to split their alliance with Sancho el Fuerte, the monarch of Navarre, and surrendered themselves under the protection of King Alfonso VIII de Castilla in 1200, they still managed to reserve their “fueros, buenos usos, costumbres y libertades.”⁶ This alliance between the Guipúzcoans and the kings of Castile, which lasted for seven centuries, was further solidified when their combined forces defeated the French and the Navarrese during the battle of Beotibar in 1321.⁷ This union carries important cultural implications for the house of Loyola and, especially for our interest, for the cultural formation of the young Íñigo that will be discussed later in this section.

² R. GARCÍA MATEO, “El mundo caballeresco en la vida de Ignacio de Loyola,” *Ignacio Loyola: Su espiritualidad y su mundo cultural*, Instituto Ignacio de Loyola, Mensajero, Bilbao 2000, 21-47, 21.

³ J. CARO BAROJA, *Vasconia (De Historia y Etnología)*, Madrid 1957, 12 -3.

⁴ Guipúzcoa used to be part of Cantabria Province. The “cántabros” consist of “los vizcaínos, los guipuzcuanos,” and those of the Santillana. These three regions, Biscayan, Guipúzcoa, and Santillana were tightly knit with one (S. COVARRUBIAS HOROZCO, *TLC*, 670). The Nadal’s writing in 1554 confirmed this fact about the location of Ignatius’ family. Nadal wrote, “Es Ignacio español, y procede de la primera nobleza de la Provincia de Guipúzcoa en Cantabria...” (P. LETURIA, *El gentilhomme Íñigo López de Loyola en su patria y en su siglo*, Labor, S.A. Barcelona²1949, 49).

⁵ R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola: Nueva Biografía*, BAC, Madrid 1986, 29.

⁶ R. GARCÍA MATEO, “El mundo caballeresco,” 24. It was also noted by the same author in this article, that the “las Juntas Generales vascas nunca abandonaron su derecho de poder nombrar nuevo rey o señor” ever since the Basque Country united with the Castilian crown, and later with the Spanish State (22). In another words, the Basque people always retain their independence.

⁷ R. GARCÍA MATEO, “El mundo caballeresco,” 25.

a. An authentic Basque

The Loyola⁸ House became part of the Guipúzcoan legend when Juan Pérez de Loyola and his seven sons handily defeated the French and the Navarrese at the battle of Beotibar in 1321. Consequently, a dance named “el bordon bantza,” which recalls Loyola’s feat, is performed and sung on the feast of John the Baptist every year both in Castilian and Basque realms still to the present day. Hence, the Loyola house became part of the Guipúzcoan popular culture and earned high honor and respect from the Castilian crowns.⁹ Even when Íñigo’s grandfather, Don Juan Pérez rebelled against the king and so was expelled to fight against the Moors in Andalusia in 1457, the Castilian crown continued to look upon the Loyola family with favor. Don Juan Pérez was allowed to return to his land in 1460 and was given permission to rebuild the “Casa torre de Loyola” as a sign of his faithfulness and distinguished service to the king.¹⁰ More importantly for the cultural study of the House of Loyola, after having spent time in Andalusia, Don Juan Pérez added another cultural dimension to the House of Loyola, the Moorish culture. Upon his return, he integrated the “estilo mudéjar” into the reconstruction of the family’s castle.¹¹ Doing so, the Loyola became “como prenuncio de tiempos nuevos, es ese – si no el primero – uno de los más antiguos y típicos ejemplares de tinte arabesco en Guipúzcoa.”¹²

Thus, cultural diversity was not foreign to the House of Loyola.

⁸ In Basque, the word “Loyola” is made of *loi* and *ola*. *Loi* means “barro” (mud); whereas, *ola* is taken as simple locative suffix. Therefore, the word means a “sitio lodoso o abundancia de barro,” commonly characteristic of lowlands next to the rivers, in this case the Urola River. In Loyola, long ago “los lobos” (wolves) and “la olla” were found in the Urola plain of the Iraurgi valley and the Oñas mountains. The combination of “lobos y la olla” also resembles the name “Loyola.” For this reason, Juan Polanco, the secretary of Ignatius in Rome, once said, “Ambas casas [de Oñaz y Loyola] se hallan cerca de Azpeitia, porque es costumbre de aquella región que sus casas nobiliarias radiquen fuera de las poblaciones (*Chron* I, 9)” (J. C. COUPEAU y R. GARCÍA MATEO, “Loyola,” *DEI*, II, 1143 – 1149, 1143).

⁹ R. GARCÍA MATEO, “El mundo caballeresco,” 25 – 26.

¹⁰ R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 43.

¹¹ *IBID.*

¹² P. LETURIA, *El gentilhombre*, 19 - 20.

As the Guipúzcoans came under the protection of the Castilian kings, the “vasco-castellano” culture became more prevalent in the Loyola family. In fact, like other Guipúzcoan nobles, the young Íñigo was bilingual since

la familia de San Ignacio sin duda era bilingüe: vascohablante por el contexto social, castellano hablante por pertenecer a la nobleza y estar en continua comunicación con sus reyes, así como en viajes por el resto de España y sus dominios europeos y americanos.¹³

Consequently, the young Íñigo was immersed and trained in the cultural diversity that surrounded him and his family. “En ellos debieron de correr en un solo cauce el castellano, medianamente concertado, de su padre y hermanos mayores, con el vascuence de la madre y la nodriza.”¹⁴ So, he learned how to adapt himself accordingly and happily immersed his youth in the Basque and the Castilian cultures enjoying “los pichones y la blanca harina de la casa solariega, con la abundancia da castañas asadas, tradicional en los caseríos.”¹⁵

The death of his mother¹⁶ soon after his birth resulted in Íñigo’s being nursed by the only adult woman available in the castle of Loyola, María de Garín, the young wife of the local blacksmith. Only when his second oldest brother, Martín García,¹⁷ became the heir to the castle of Loyola and married to Magdalena de Araoz, was Íñigo at the age of seven taken back and placed under the care of his sister-in-law.¹⁸

¹³ G. M. VERD, “De Íñigo a Ignacio,” *AHSI* 60 (1991) 113-160, 121.

¹⁴ P. LETURIA, *El gentilhombre*, 48.

¹⁵ *IBID.*

¹⁶ Doña Marina Sáenz (or Sánchez) de Licona was the daughter of doctor Martín García de Licona who was closely related to the Castilian court and kings, who served as both auditor of the Chancillería de Valladolid and advisor of the Catholic Kings. She married to Don Beltrán, the heir of the Loyola House, in Loyola on the 13th of July 1467. (R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 46 – 47).

¹⁷ María de Garín, the wife of Errazti, the blacksmith who lived in Eguibar, near Loyola, became Ignatius’ wet nurse after his mother passed away. She was a strong woman both in her health and in her religious devotion. It was she who taught Íñigo the Basque language, customs and folklores. Also, she was the one who first instilled the seed of love and the devotion of the Virgin of Olaz into the heart of the young Íñigo (R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 61).

¹⁸ Originally of the Vergara, Magdalena de Araoz was very dear to Queen Isabel. It was the Queen who gifted her the oil painting of the Annunciation of Mary, the *Vita Christi* by Cartujano and the *Flos sanctorum*, all of which had great influences on Ignatius’ conversion during his time of recovery in

Consequently, Íñigo had to learn how to cope and to adapt himself to these new social circumstances from birth.

The three fundamental characteristics – “solar, apellido¹⁹, y escudo de armas”²⁰ – of the culture in which Íñigo was brought up demonstrated the ability to maintain tension in the Loyola family. The first two speak about how closely knitted and deeply rooted the Loyola House was in their land and their tradition, while the third refers to the adventurous culture of arms and chivalry which the House of Loyola passionately embraced. Therefore, on the one hand, the young Íñigo was well grounded and protected within the culture of the Loyola estate, “por un caserío cercado de heredades, con prados, montes, y aguas propias... mitad labradores, mitad gente dispuesta a defender con las armas los intereses de familia.”²¹ The name Íñigo is “un antiguo nombre hispánico” which can be traced all the way back to the Medieval Age.²² As mentioned above, the Loyola House became part of the Guipúzcoan legend in the early fourteenth century. As a member of the House of

Loyola. Furthermore, after his mother passed away, Íñigo always looked up to her as his mother (R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 51).

¹⁹ During the Middle Ages, feudal lords and nobility adopted the name of their estates or lands as a family name which then passing on, along with the property, to their sons and heirs. “Apellido” thus shows the lineage of the family. In Spain, a complete name of a person consists of the “nombre de pila” or given name and the “apellido” of the father first, then and that of the mother. A woman when being married retains her “apellidos” joining those with her husband, and more frequently only the first “apellido” of her husband, e.g. María Lopez de Fernández. One could refer to a group of people with the same apellidos either in plural form such as “los Borgias” and “los Gómez” or in singular form such as los “Borgia” and “los Gómez” (M. MOLINER, *Diccionario de uso del Español*, Gredos, Madrid 1983, 211). For Ignatius’ family, the lineage of Loyola is one of the twenty-four Parientes Mayores of feudal nobility in the Guipúzcoan Province. The name of the members of Ignatius’ family often consisted of the personal name from baptism and a name arbitrarily taken from the family tree, while their apellido could be *Oñaz* or *Loyola*, or both. For example, Ignatius’ father name is Beltrán Yáñez de Loyola. His oldest brother signed his name as Martín García de Oñaz. Ignatius name at birth was Íñigo López de Loyola. Oñaz was the very old name of the noble family who lived in the Oñazmendi Hill not that far from the Loyola. The Oñaz and the Loyola united in the marriage between Lopez García de Oñaz and Inés de Loyola in 1260 (R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 29 – 30; also R. GARCÍA MATEO, “El mundo caballeresco,” 26).

²⁰R. GARCÍA MATEO, “El mundo caballeresco,” 22. “Escudo” signifies the defensive arm used to cover and protect the body which is usually carried in the left arm. “Escudo de armas” or “coat of arms” – a surface or space of specific figure on which certain blazon is painted to depict a particular State, family, or corporation (*Diccionario enciclopédico Espasa 1*, Espasa-Calpe, Madrid ²1985, 633).

²¹ IBID.

²² G. M. VERD, “De Íñigo a Ignacio,” 114 – 115.

Loyola, Íñigo was deeply immersed and deeply rooted in the Basque tradition and culture. On the other hand, the culture of arms and “caballeros” opened the House of Loyola’s imagination and spirit of adventure well beyond the confinement of the family property.

b. *Caballeros* culture

In the Middle Age, the “caballeros” were combatants on “caballos” (horses) no matter what their social position was. However, later on, this title was designated to all who were armed. They included noble, “hidalgo,” and poor combatant. In the case of the poor combatant, they usually worked for a feudal lord who in return provided them land and life subsistence.²³ “Hidalgo” which is a class below nobility etymologically derived from the phrase “hijo de algo,” that is to say, “hijo de bien” or “son of a good and respected family.”²⁴ The splendor of “caballería” began in the XI century together with the ongoing revolution of the Medieval social system into forming the new feudal system. For the latter, the castles and their militaries served as principle forces.²⁵

The term *caballero* was first applied to warriors but only those combatants of the elite who rode on a horse and armed. In the first place, it evoked no other connotation other than arm services. A noble talked about his “caballeros” as their dependent subjects who owed him obedience and service. However, for the most part of the XII century, the term took on new meanings of honorific character and, at times, ethical character especially towards the end of the century.²⁶ The *caballería* triumphed as the principalities and after, the monarchies acquired new force to rely

²³ *Diccionario enciclopédico Espasa*, Vol. 1, 278.

²⁴ R. GARCÍA MATEO, “El mundo caballeresco,” 32.

²⁵ J. FIORI, *Caballeros y caballería en la Edad Media*, Paídos Barcelona 2001, 93.

²⁶ J. FIORI, *La caballería*, Alianza Editorial, Madrid 2001, 20.

themselves precisely in their fortresses and in their *caballería* which in turn protected them. Consequently, during this time (the XII century), the *caballería* achieved a new ethic, a new ideology, and their social outlook. Therefore, being a *caballero* signified more than a function, more than a profession, but becoming more as an honorific title. This gradual change occurred throughout the XIII century and completely finished at the beginning of the XIV century. In the XIV and XV century, the word *caballero* designated a title of nobility expressing the aristocratic character of the social elite.²⁷ The House of Loyola was part of this culture of *caballero*.

The characters that defined the House of Loyola were “la rebeldía, la pasión, y la violencia.”²⁸ Íñigo’s grandfather, Don Juan Pérez, “pendenciero y revoltoso,” was exiled to Andalucía. Once allowed to return, he brought back with him part of the Moorish culture. He did all of that before completing his fortieth year of age.²⁹ Íñigo’s father, Beltrán Yáñez de Loyola, “generoso caballero, gran soldado,” rendered to King Don Enrique IV, the Catholic kings, and also the kind of Navarre. To recognize the loyalty of the Loyola to the Castilian crown, King Fernando and Queen Isabel restored to Don Beltran the two former charters of privileges of the Loyola House, the annual income of 2,000 coins over the iron work of Barrennola and Aranaz, and the right of patronage over the church of Azpeitia on the 10th of June, 1484.³⁰

²⁷ J. FIORI, *Caballeros y caballería en la Edad Media*, 93.

²⁸ R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 38.

²⁹ 43.

³⁰ 44.



Escudo de Loyola

The spirit of adventure, thus engaging in cultural diversity continued among Íñigo's brothers. Íñigo's oldest brother, Juan Pérez joined the force of the Castilian and Aragonian crowns to fight against the kingdom of Naples. Íñigo's second oldest brother, Martín García, (whose wife took Íñigo under her care after their marriage), fought in the wars against the Navarre and the French winning favor of King Fernando and Queen Isabel. His third brother Beltrán fought and died at Naples. Another brother of his, Ochoa Pérez, offered his service to Queen Juana in the Low Countries and Spain. And another, Hernando left for the New World and died among the Native Americans. The only one who remained at home was Pero López, who followed an ecclesiastical career taking over the House of Loyola's patronage of the church in Azpeitia.³¹ Hence, cultural diversity was never lacking but always welcome in the House of Loyola.

The spirit of adventure and exploring foreign cultures, while remaining deeply rooted in their own cultures, had been part of the tradition and culture of the Loyola

³¹R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 50 – 55. Also see R. GARCÍA MATEO, “El mundo caballeresco,” 30.

family. Consequently, the young Íñigo who grew up in this rich cultural diversity and adversity would have learned how to adapt to the various social circumstances and how to live the tension of being immersed and rooted in the long and proud tradition and culture of the Loyola family while, at the same time, being exposed and animated by the cultural pluralism embodied by the lives of his brothers beyond the walls of the Loyola castle. Íñigo's ability to adapt and to maintain the balance in this tension was further honed when he himself was moved outside of not only the Loyola castle but the Basque culture to be formed into a man following the chivalrous culture of the Castilian court in Arévalo.

1.1.2 Arévalo: A gentleman at the court

As commonly practiced among the noble families, Íñigo was sent to Arévalo,³² south of Guipúzcoa, to the household of Juan Velázquez de Cuéllar.³³ The Velázquez had long been in the royal service as counselors and judges, and thus were well connected with the Castilian crowns and the Catholic kings. Juan Velázquez was the son of the *licentado* Don Gutierre Velázquez (d. 1492), who was part of the

³²Arévalo was a town known to belong to the bishopric of Ávila. *Arévalo* was considered one of the old towns of *arévacos*. Also, it was thought that Arabic scholars wanted to develop the word into their own sound, from the Hebraic root of the word, *arreb-al* or *arrabal* to designate the outskirts of some big town where mass of people had come to live and expanding it (S. COVARRUBIAS HOROZCO, *TLC*, 204). During Íñigo's time, Arévalo held a strategic place as the "corazón de Castilla" (R. GARCÍA MATEO, "El mundo caballeresco," 72) reaching to the provinces of Ávila and Segovia, a middle road between the main commercial centers such as Valladolid, Ávila, Segovia and Salamanca. During her reign, Queen Isabel often came and visited Arévalo. As will be demonstrated in this section, Arévalo played a significant role in forming Ignatius as a man and his spirituality. "Hoy no podemos entender las futuras decisiones y experiencias del fundador de la CJ sin los aprendizajes vital de este periodo [Ignacio había pasado en Arévalo]" (Í. ARRANZ, "Arévalo," *DEI*, I, 192-195, 194; see also J. ITURRIOZ, "Años juveniles de S. Ignacio en Arévalo (1506 – 1517)," *Ignacio de Loyola en Castilla*, Provincia de Castilla de la Compañía de Jesús, Valladolid 1989, 45 -71; P. LETURIA, *El gentilhombre*; and R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 72 - 78).

³³Juan Velázquez married to Doña María de Velasco, who related to Íñigo's mother (see footnote 42 below). Together they had twelve children, six boys and six girls. Of the six boys, three chose career in military and public administration, the other three clerical careers. Juan Velázquez's sons: Miguel, Agustín, Juan, and Arnao; together with one of their servants, Alonso de Montalvo remained Ignatius' intimate friends (Í. ARRANZ, "Arévalo," 193). When Ignatius was in Rome, he wrote to one of Juan Velázquez's daughter, Doña Catalina, "reconociendo la casa en que había estado" (J. ITURRIOZ, "Años juveniles de S. Ignacio en Arévalo," 47).

Counselor of King John II (d. 1454) and was a mayordomo of Queen Isabel de Avis (d. 1496). Don Gutierre had earned a great trust and personal connection to the future powerful Catholic King and Queen who knew his son, Juan Velázquez, from his birth. In fact, the Velázquez was given person access (“tercias reales de Madrigal”) to the royal family when Queen Isabel began her reign. And in 1505, they granted Juan Velázquez the possession of their Arévalo fortress with 290,000 Spanish coins of income.³⁴ It was during this period when the young Íñigo was incorporated into the household of Juan Velázquez.

When the young Íñigo arrived at his palace in Arévalo, like his father, Juan Velázquez – who was related to Íñigo’s mother’s side of the family by marriage³⁵ – had absolute trust and confidence of the Catholic Kings and Queen.³⁶ Earlier, Don Velázquez had asked Don Beltrán de Oñaz, Íñigo’s father, to send “uno de sus hijos para crialle en su casa como propio y ponelle después en la casa real.”³⁷ After the death of Íñigo’s father, Juan Velázquez took special care in treating him as one of his sons. Forty years later, Íñigo, now Ignatius, the Superior General of the newly found Society of Jesus, recalled his experience of Juan Velázquez with fond memories. “De la memoria del Sr. Juan Velázquez,” he wrote from Rome, “me he consolado en el Señor nuestro, y así V.md. me la hará de darle mis humildes encomiendas, como de inferior que a sido, y es tan suyo y de los señores su padre y abuelo y toda su casa, de lo qual todavía me gozo y gozaré siempre en el Señor nuestro.”³⁸

³⁴ R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 78 – 80

³⁵ Doña María de Guevara, niece of the Condestable de Castilla, who is the mother of María Velasco (Juan Velázquez’s wife) married into the family of Marina Sáenz de Licona, Íñigo’s mother, daughter of Doctor Martín García de Licona who was the auditor of the Chancillería de Valladolid and Counselor of the Catholic Kings (Í. ARRANZ, “Arévalo,” 194).

³⁶ R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, 78 – 80.

³⁷ J. ITURRIOZ, “Años juveniles de S. Ignacio en Arévalo,” 45 -71, 46 – 7.

³⁸ Ignatius’ letter to the Licentiate Juan Mercado written from Rome on January 1548 to extend his greetings to one of Velázquez’s grandson in 1548 (*Epp* I, 705).

For the next seven years, living in the Velázquez's palace in Arévalo, the young Íñigo was educated and immersed deeply in the culture of the royal court and learned all the proper protocols of the court such as “decoro, dignidad, distancia, la equitación, el manejo de espalda, los torneos”³⁹ observing closely how the rituals, manners and decorum were conducted in details in the household of Juan Velázquez. The people whom the young Íñigo lived with and met in the palace were no longer the simple, homogeneous, rugged lads of Guipúzcoa but men of diverse social and cultural background.

No sólo en Arévalo pudo Íñigo conocer a los reyes y a otros personajes que seguían al monarca: grandes del reino, obispos, altos funcionarios, et. También en otras ciudades castellanas, como Segovia, Burgos, Valladolid, Tordesillas, Medina del Campo, Madrid, por convocación de cortes o por otros asuntos particulares.⁴⁰

Those who frequently visited and did the trading and exchanged business at the Velázquez's palace included “los eclesiásticos, los nobles, los aristócratas del reino, los oficiales reales, los duques, los marqueses, los políticos, los administrativos, los condestables, los plateros, etc.”⁴¹ It wasn't difficult to realize that the culture in which the young Íñigo was immersed and educated in was much superior than that of Loyola.⁴²

Having lived and being exposed to such a cultural diversity, the young Íñigo must have detected the importance of appropriate manners and etiquette used for each specific occasion, how and when. Hence, Íñigo must have observed the importance of adaptation and accommodation upon seeing the “extraordinaria colección de camisas que Juan Velázquez luciría en los días de grandes solemnidades en la corte a

³⁹ R. GARCÍA MATEO, “El mundo caballeresco,” 31.

⁴⁰ R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 80.

⁴¹ L. FERNÁNDEZ MARTÍN, “El hogar donde Íñigo de Loyola se hizo hombre 1506 – 1517,” *AHSI* 49 (1980) 21 – 94, 56 - 57.

⁴² J. ITURRIOZ, “Años juveniles de S. Ignacio en Arévalo,” 54.

la vista de sus hijos y de Íñigo de Loyola, penetrante observador de cuanto pasaba a su alrededor.”⁴³ Upon witnessing different cultures both inside and outside of the Velázquez’s palace, the young Íñigo must learn to adapt and to accommodate accordingly to certain codes of manner and conduct. This was something which he not only applied to himself, but also, in turn, later instructed members of the Society of Jesus which he founded to do the same.

Along with the diverse people whom he met and the various rituals and vestments which he observed, one other equally important dimension, if not the most important, that helped form Íñigo’s imagination, conduct, and perspective on the world was the books which he found and fell in love with while reading them at the Velázquez’s palace in Arévalo. Pedro de Ribadeneira, the author of *Vita Ignatii Loyolae*, which appeared in 1572,⁴⁴ recalled Íñigo as a young man “muy curioso, y amigo de leer libros de cavallerías.”⁴⁵ Íñigo admitted himself after his conversion in his *Autobiografía* that “the tenía todo el entendimiento lleno de aquellas cosas, *Amadís de Gaula* y de semejantes libros” [Au 17]. Most certainly, the curious and book-lover Íñigo easily found these popular chivalrous writings in the library of the

⁴³ L. FERNÁNDEZ MARTÍN, “El hogar donde Íñigo de Loyola se hizo hombre,” 84 – 85.

⁴⁴ Pedro de Ribadeneira was born on the 1st of November, 1526 in Todedo, Spain. He was a son of the Toledo’s judge Álvaro Husillo Ortiz de Cisneros and de Catalina de Villalobos. He adopted the name from his maternal ancestors who originated from Galicia, Riba de Neira. In 1539, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese took Ribadeneira to Rome hoping to form him into a page. Once arrived Rome, he escaped to the house of the Society of Jesus where Saint Ignatius lived seeking permission to enter the Society. At his request, Ignatius admitted into the Society. Beginning in 1546, he began to collect notes about Ignatius with the desire to write about his life someday. Twenty years later, Saint Francisco de Borja as the third Superior General officially commissioned him to compose the life of Ignatius in 1567 (*Obras de San Ignacio*, 3 -5). *Vita Ignatii Loyolae*, which was written in Latin, appeared first in 1572, then translated in Spanish eleven years later, in 1583, by Ribadeneira himself. Ribadeneira’s *Vita Ignatii Loyolae*, which can be found in FN IV, was praised for its style and language as “el libro de valor histórico más acendrado de nuestro siglo de oro” however, was criticized for “no hay en ella anécdota, frase ni palabra que no lleve la garantía de un documento escrito o de un testimonio ocular.” Thus, it “simplifica demasiado los problemas y se queda en la superficie externa del proceso espiritual o histórico de su biografiado” (*Obras de San Ignacio* 5). His other writings about the Society of Jesus included *Del Instituto de la Religión de la Compañía de Jesús*, and *Illustrium scriptorum religionis Societis Iesu catalogus* (M. RUIZ JURADO, “Pedro de Ribadeneira,” *DHCJ*, IV, 3345 – 6; *Obras de San Ignacio de Loyola*, 86 - 89).

⁴⁵ FN IV, p. 87.

Velázquez⁴⁶ and read them during his time in Arévalo.⁴⁷ Thus, the chivalrous culture portrayed through various literatures at the time captured the young Íñigo's heart and imagination.

The widespread chivalrous literature combined with the historical movements within all the kingdoms in Spain, especially in the Castilian kingdom, to create the ideal of “un pueblo especialmente designado por Dios, un sentimiento y unos deseos de grandeza y heroísmo.”⁴⁸ And Íñigo, as he admitted in his own words, gave himself over fully to the romance and vanities of chivalrous ideals and courtly love “con grande y vano deseo de ganar honra” [Au 1]. The chivalrous ideals and courtly love, however vain and romantic they may have been, nevertheless offered some of the most fundamental elements of Ignatian spirituality.

On the one hand, the romantic love provided Íñigo of Loyola “su sensibilidad y su gran capacidad de ‘imaginar’ situaciones en la que volcaba su compasión.”⁴⁹ The chivalrous codes⁵⁰ encouraged the person to freely explore his individual

⁴⁶ The books in the library of Juan Velázquez's house, which were bought by his wife, María de Velasco, and most likely read by Íñigo included “libros de oraciones” and devotion, some about the life of Christ, such as *Vida de Christo* by fraticelo Ubertino de Casale published in 1485, *Vida de Christo* translated by Ambrosio de Montesino in 1504, devotions to Our Lady such as “Preciosa Señora,” and those of the Saints such as San Francisco, S. Agustín, S. Bonaventure, etc... Most notably among these was the *Imitation of Christ*. Others consisted of “un quaderno scripto de mano, en papel, que trata de la Tierra Santa,” “Reforma de las fuerzas del ánimo,” and one “libro de caballerías.” Perhaps, one of the books that was related to *Flos Sanctorum* which Íñigo read later during his recovery was a Spanish translation of *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* of Guillaume de Guileville (J. ITURRIOZ, “Años juveniles de S. Ignacio en Arévalo,” 53 – 54; L. FERNÁNDEZ MARTÍN, “El hogar donde Íñigo de Loyola se hizo hombre,” 21 – 94, on the books Íñigo might have read, 62 - 66).

⁴⁷ J. BLECUA, “Del gentilhombre mundano al caballero ‘a lo divino’: los ideales caballerescos de Ignacio de Loyola”, *Ignacio de Loyola y su tiempo*, pp. 129 – 159, here quoted from 136 – 137.

⁴⁸ Historical events during this time included the union of the Castilian and Aragonian crowns in 1479 through the marriage of King Fernando and Queen Isabella, the successful conquest of Granada, the last Arab-Muslim state in the Iberian peninsula in 1492, the “discovery” of America by Christopher Columbus in the same year, the Castile crown gained the Castilian crown half of the extra-European world by the Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494, and the campaigns against the kingdom of Naples in 1497 (R. GARCÍA MATEO, 33).

⁴⁹ J. BLECUA, “Del gentilhombre mundano al caballero,” 144. Also see J. PLAZAOLA, “Genio y figura de Ignacio de Loyola: la realidad y el mito,” *Letras de Deusto*, 21, 50 (1991), 29 – 49.

⁵⁰ Towards the end of the XV century, the code of chivalry had moved from dealing with the war and its aftermath to focus more on social issue. While for the former, the codes dealt with topics such how to treat prisoners ranging from paying their lives, “perdón de la vida,” “palabra de honor,” and “la

adventure, pledging his allegiance and service to a lady figure at the court and earning his own honor and fame. Thus, as for other young men, the chivalry codes and ideals presented Íñigo an individual goal, thus a direction towards which he strove to achieve. On the other hand, in a world dominated by cultural and social diversity even to the point of violence, even with individuals continually seeking and pursuing their own places of honor and fame in the court, chivalrous codes and ideals such as “religiosidad, constancia, moderación, liberalidad, ejemplaridad, justicia, protección de desvalidos y pobres”⁵¹ served as a kind of universality that united and inspired all the knights. In a world that was subjected to a profound crisis, “esta idealización de la existencia también debe entenderse como el reverso sublimado de los actos cotidianos, en un mundo en el que domina la violencia de las armas nada caballerescas.”⁵²

For better or worse, being deeply trained and immersed in the chivalrous codes and courtly love, Íñigo lived and learned how to hold the tension between the particularity of one’s personal pursuit of pride, honor and fame at all cost, while striving to adhere to the universality of ideals promoted and praised in the codes of chivalry. Hence, Íñigo’s experience during his time in Arévalo deepened his awareness of the tension between particularity and universality. While adapting and accommodating oneself to different particular situations was necessary, there remained a set of codes and standards which the adaptation and accommodation were

solidaridad entre caballeros” (J. FIORI, *Caballeros y caballería*, 165 – 175); the latter formed a more “arquetipo literario, una figura estética... suficientemente atractiva para trascender a épocas posteriores y alrededor de la cual va a surgir una cultura, un modo ser y de comportarse” (R. GARCÍA MATEO, “El mundo caballeresco,” 32). For example, the chivalrous novel *Cristián de Troyes* refined the moral chivalrous codes not only in the romance but in the reality adding the dimension of “defensa de los pobres y de los débiles, y la de los huérfanos, y casi siempre la de las viudas” (J. FIORI, *Caballeros y caballería* 255). The novel, *Amadís de Gaula* which Ignatius was familiar with [*Auto* 17] whose new concept of faithful love formed the code of honor for many later generations (R. GARCÍA MATEO, “El mundo caballeresco,” 38 – 39).

⁵¹R. GARCÍA MATEO, “El mundo caballeresco,” 32.

⁵²J. BLECUA, “Del gentilhombre mundano al caballero,” 136 – 137.

to be measured against and followed. The young Íñigo had to grow up and to learn how to maneuver this cultural tension during his time in Arévalo. This period of Íñigo's life, though being less known, remains “una de sus épocas más fundamentales, ya que en esos años juveniles las vivencias ahondan más enraizadamente en el alma, de suerte que perduran y operan en alguna forma durante toda la vida.”⁵³

In Arévalo, Íñigo had energetically engaged himself in the process of learning and practicing these chivalrous codes under the safe roof of the Velázquez's palace and his patron, dreaming one day he would be able to pursue his own fame and honor. The opportunity came unexpectedly when the fortune of the king's treasurer general turned for the worse. After a series of political upheavals and decisions,⁵⁴ Velázquez, ended up in heavy debts, eventually retired from the court and withdrew to Madrid. His last days were filled with sadness and despair. He died in Madrid on the twelfth of August, 1517.⁵⁵ With the downfall of the Velázquez's fortune, Íñigo's dream of a

⁵³ L. FERNÁNDEZ MARTÍN, *Ignacio de Loyola en Castilla*, 21.

⁵⁴ King Fernando, before his death on the 23rd of January, 1516, had appointed Carlos I (who is also known as Charles V as Holy Roman Emperor), his Flemish-born grandson, to be in charge of Castilian Kingdom in place of his mentally-ill mother, Juana the Mad (1479 – 1555). After having succeeded his power, King Carlos I decided that instead of charging on the revenue on the Naples Kingdom as directed by King Fernando, he charged people of Arévalo, Olmedo, and Madrigal for Queen Germana's income during all the remaining days of her life. Juan Velázquez and the people Arévalo whose loyalty and fidelity had been closely connected with Queen Isabella I (1470 – 1498), decided to resist against the new arrangement of Carlos I, out of the respect and honor of the Castilian crown. In a bigger scale, the resistance of Juan Velázquez and the people Arévalo represented “las resistencias populares de Castilla contra la extranjerización de una Corte, que se llevaba grandes sumas hacia tierras de Flandes” (J. ITURRIOZ, “Años juveniles de S. Ignacio en Arévalo,” 56). From November of 1516 to March of 1517, Juan Velázquez led the Arévalo resisting the King's order which was carried out by the regent of Spain, Cardinal Ximénez de Cisneros. Facing the Cardinal's force and his oldest son's death on 22nd of February, 1517, Juan Velázquez finally surrendered and gave himself in. Juan Velázquez, distraught and despaired of the politics, saddened by his son death, refused the Cardinal's offer to be “cerca del rey, como por amigo” withdrew to Madrid in June of 1517. On the 12th of August, 1517, he died “la muerte al noble y desgraciado caballero” (R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 105). Three years later, Juan Velázquez and the case of the people of Arévalo was vindicated. On the 9th of September 1520, King Carlos I issued the statement declaring “atendiendo las súplicas de los vecinos de Arévalo... haber sido y ser ninguna e de ningund efecto e valor la merced que de la dicha villa aviamos fecha e feímos...” (R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, 105 - 106). In the end, Velázquez and his family successfully defended their loyalty and fidelity to the Castilian crown (R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 101-107 and J. ITURRIOZ, “Años juveniles de S. Ignacio en Arévalo,” 54 – 58).

⁵⁵ R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 101-107 and J. ITURRIOZ, “Años juveniles de S. Ignacio en Arévalo,” 54 – 58.

career in the court vanished. And after having been given five hundred escudos and two horses by the Treasurer's widow, and at her advice, Íñigo left Arévalo to seek a new patron under whom he could pursue his future career.⁵⁶

1.1.3 On the road to Pamplona: A captain on the battlefield

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, Europe witnessed the development of national states emerging out of medieval institutions. France was among the first European countries that had successfully transformed itself into a modern state, consolidating its power both by centralizing its government and extending its forces and influences to neighboring empires. King Charles VIII, (1470 – 1498) who succeeded his father, King Louis XI, in 1483, embarked upon the Italian expedition that involved France with the Empire and with Spain in 1494. King Louis XII (1462 – 1515) and King Francis I (1494 – 1547) followed the same policy. The reign of Francis I, until its end, was marked by wars between France and Spain.⁵⁷

The region where Íñigo found himself after Arévalo was “one of the theaters of that continental struggle.” Navarre, where he spent his brief career as a soldier before his conversion, held an important strategic position in the military conflict between France and Spain. From Navarre, French troops could gain access to move directly to Zaragoza in Aragon and to Burgos in Castile.⁵⁸ The politics that took place in Navarre during Íñigo's time not only entailed the recent French and Spanish conflict, but also involved cultural clashes among rival ethnic groups in this Basque mountain country. For nearly a century, the dispute between the *oñacinos* and the *gamboinos*, the *beaumonteses* and the *agramonteses* had threatened the unity of the

⁵⁶ J. ITURRIOZ, “Años juveniles de S. Ignacio en Arévalo,” 57, also see R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 107 - 8.

⁵⁷ P. LETURIA, “Al servicio del ‘Rey Temporal,’” 73 – 74.

⁵⁸ 74.

Kingdom of Navarre.⁵⁹ In addition, the Comuneros uprising in 1520,⁶⁰ which rebelled against the foreign influence on the Castilian crown, further indicated the cultural diversity and its tension in the politics of the region into which Íñigo dove in to pursue after Arévalo to fulfill his ambition.

The effect of the *comunero* uprising, which triggered conflict between cities and town people against their lords, finally reached Najera and Guipúzcoa in 1520. Facing its spreading fire, the Duke of Najera⁶¹ wrote the Emperor on the 20th of September 1520, “la conservación de su Reino de Navarra, porque estando en su frontera sería causa de alteración, en el que pudiera redundar daño irreparable a

⁵⁹ P. LETURIA, “Al servicio del ‘Rey Temporal,’” 74 - 76.

⁶⁰ Before his death on the 23rd of January, 1516, King Ferdinand entrusted the crowns of the Spanish kingdoms to his grandson Carlos I (1500 – 1558), who was born in the Flandes and, at the time, was ruler of the Netherlands and heir to the Habsburg dominions in Austria and Southern Germany. Carlos I was later crowned Holy Roman Emperor 1519. During his early reign in Spain, uprising of rebellious force to denounce publicly against “los extranjeros que empobrecían el país y lo regían con espíritu contrario al tradicional” (R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 135). They then were armed and formed the Junta santa on July 29, 1520 to fight against the emperor’s forces. The uprising lasted for almost a year. On April 23, 1521, the decisive battle, which was fought in Villalar, resulted in the capture and beheading of the rebellion’s leaders, thus ended the uprising (R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 133 - 139).

⁶¹ The Duke of Nájera, whose real name was Antonio Manrique de Lara came from a long line of Navarre’s nobility. His father, Don Pedro Manrique de Lara served as the first Duke of Nájera and as the Count of Treviño under the Catholic Kings. Through the campaign and negotiation of the regent, Cardinal Ximénez de Cisneros, the emperor Charles V appointed his son, Don Antonio Manrique de Lara, the second Duke of Nájera, to be the viceroy on the 22nd of May, 1516. As Duke and viceroy, he was entrusted with three residences: Navarrete, Nájera, and Pamplona. Navarrete was located on the right of the Ebro Valley stretching two “leguas” (1 legua = 4.2 km) long in the Logroño area known for its production of rich grapes and cereals. Nájera though being a relatively small town was raised to the noble status since many Navarre’s kings had chosen it to be their favorite headquarters. Nájera was proud of its splendid monuments such as la Colegiata de Santa María la Real and the pantheon of the Navarre’s monarchs. Finally, Pamplona was where the palace of the viceroy located. Earlier in 1516, Cisneros ordered a citadel to be built as part of the newly constructed walls of Pamplona, so that Pamplona would be watched and guarded from the highest point. The regent favored the second Duke of Nájera as the candidate for the position as the viceroy due to the Duke’s being the head of the Oñacinos, thus his friendly relationship with the Beaumontais who provided critical help in case of the future attack from the French from the north. The Oñacinos and the Beaumontais had been long time ally fighting against the Gamboinos and the Agramontais. All four were different ethnic clans found in the Basque country. Since the Loyolas belonged to the Oñacinos, Íñigo de Loyola was welcome into the Duke’s company (R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 112 – 114; also see P. LETURIA, *El gentilhomme Íñigo López de Loyola*, 106 - 109). Later, in 1541, Pierre Favre, one of Ignatius’ first companions, told of his experience of meeting with the Duke’s brother, Don Francisco Manrique de Lara and the impression of Francisco’s relationship with Íñigo, “toda la vida de Íñigo después de su conversión, que en lo de hasta allí él estaba muy bien al cabo, como quien tanto tiempo le había conocido en su casa” (*MFab* 111). Recalling his affection for the Duke’s family, Ignatius wrote to the Viceroy’s son, the then Duke of Nájera, Don Juan Esteban Manrique, on the 26th of August, 1552, “de mostrar la afición que yo debo a la persona y casa de vuestra Señoría por los favores y amor con que sus antepasados a ello me obligaron” (*Epp* IV, 395).

vuestro real estado y servicio.”⁶² Waiting for neither the response from the emperor, nor his counterparts in Vizcaya, Guipúzcoa, and Alava, the Duke led the troops to fight against the September 15th uprising.⁶³

Íñigo de Loyola was found in the forefront of the attack. He was “de grande y noble ánimo liberal también dio muestra, especialmente cuando siguiendo al duque, cuyo gentilhombre era, tomaron a Nájera y la saquearon; que aunque él pudiera mucho tomar de la presa, le pareció caso de menor valer, y nunca cosa alguna quiso de toda ella.”⁶⁴ Íñigo was also known of having participated in two other negotiations that took place in Guipúzcoa as part of service under the Duke of Nájera. The first one involved with the defeat of Count of Salvatierra’s rebellion at Alava and the subsequent negotiation for the pacification of the Guipúzcoan on the 12th of April 1521. The second concerned the Council of San Sebastian and that of Hernani over the appointment of Cristobal Vasquez de Acuña to be the Governor of the Province. Íñigo who successfully convinced the both sides to accept the Duke as the arbiter and to agree to his term.⁶⁵

As a person who had been living and trained in cultural adversity and tension since his birth, it came as a no surprise that Íñigo was able to successfully navigate his way in the company of the Duke of Nájera and earned the Viceroy’s trust. Polanco wrote us in 1548,

Siempre se observaron en él (I. de Loyola) muchos ejemplos de ánimo generoso y cristiano; ... También dio muestras en muchas cosas de ser ingenioso y prudente en las cosas del mundo, y de saber tratar los ánimos de los hombres, especialmente en acordar diferencias o discordias. Y una vez se

⁶² M. DANVILA, *Historia crítica y documentada de las comunidades de Castilla*, Est. Tip. de la Viuda e Hijos de M. Tello, Madrid 1897-1899, II, 154 – 55; carta del 20 de setiembre. El previo requerimiento del duque a la ciudad lo publicó F. G. OLMEDO, *Introducción a la vida de S. Ignacio*, 182 – 84.

⁶³ R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 140 - 1.

⁶⁴ *Chron.* I, p. 13.

⁶⁵ P. LETURIA, “Al servicio del ‘Rey Temporal’” 81 – 85.

señaló notablemente en esto, siendo enviado por el visorrey de Navarra, a procurar de apaciguar la provincia de Guipúzcoa, que estaba muy discordes; y hubo tanto buen modo de proceder, que con mucha satisfacción de todas partes los dejó concordos.⁶⁶

In the battle of Pamplona, before he was injured, while both his brother and his commander had left, the former out of anger at the Pamplona's Council and the latter out of distrust of Pamplona's people, Íñigo remained. As a Guipúzcoan, he singlehandedly convinced the Pamplona's governor and the rest of the knights to fight against the overwhelming French troops.⁶⁷ After he was injured and the garrison immediately surrendered, the French troops entered and began to slay their opponents. With regard to Íñigo, however, they not only spared his life but also had their doctors tend to his wounds. In exchange, "les daba con amor y liberalidad los dones que podía, hasta dar a uno su rodela, a otro su puñal, a otro sus corazas."⁶⁸ Finally, according to his words, it was neither the Navarrese nor the Guipúzcoans, rather the French soldiers, who only a couple of days before had been his enemies, who carried Íñigo on their shoulders back to his home in Loyola.⁶⁹ Thus, Íñigo was able to move adapting and accommodating among these cultural differences with relative ease, negotiating and bringing all parties together for his personal gain and ambition.

Íñigo's ability at cultural adaptation and accommodation can thus be credited to the formation that he had received in his days at Loyola Castle and in how he had been trained in Arévalo. Together with the daring spirit that was instilled in him from the House of Loyola's bloodline, the news of victory over the French campaign in Navarre opened Íñigo's eyes towards the world and its glorious promises as he tried

⁶⁶ *FNI*, p. 156.

⁶⁷ P. LETURIA, *El gentilhomme Íñigo López de Loyola*, 134.

⁶⁸ *FNI*, 156.

⁶⁹ *MScripta* I, 38. However, it is not certain, as *FNI*, 365, note 7, warns.

to recuperate from his wound. Hope of rewards for past deeds and expectations for his future career filled his thoughts.

Estas noticias abrían a los ojos de Íñigo perspectivas de inmensa y jubilosa grandeza. ¿Qué marco más a propósito para dar resalte a sus propias hazañas? ¿No es verdad que en cuanto su pierna lo permitiese, podría presentarse con la frente erguida ante el duque de Nájera y ante el mismo Emperador, y engolfarse de nuevo en su carrera heroica, lo mismo en Francia que en Flandes, que en Italia, que en las Indias?⁷⁰

Up until the accident in the battle of Pamplona, the young Íñigo had been trained and immersed in the *caballería* culture. He had successfully navigated his way through cultural diversity and complexity, thus had earned the trust and respect in the world of caballeros. However, it wasn't Íñigo who was the one to act but “trabajan en su interior unos modos de proceder (valores, ideales, actitudes, comportamientos...) propios de la mentalidad y el ambiente caballerescos en los que Ignacio se formó.”⁷¹ In other words, Íñigo's behaviors were conditioned by the *caballero* culture. His actions were the product of what the *caballero* culture had trained him to do. For Íñigo's world, to be a caballero was more than a military exercise, but a “modo de existir.”⁷² Thus, the *yo* was dormant in the young Íñigo.

El yo, la capacidad de manejar y procesar lo que pasa por su interior, detecta los nuevos elementos procedentes de las lecturas pero, en estos primeros momentos, no los interpreta, no los critica, sencillamente nos asume desde *una* mentalidad ya estructurada y orientada caballerescamente.⁷³

From the perspective of cultural pluralism, during the initial stage of his life, the young Íñigo was functioning within the mono-cultural mentality and structure of the world. As the conversion took place, such a mono-cultural paradigm began to give way to the one of multicultural.

⁷⁰ P. LETURIA, *El gentilhomme*, 142 - 143.

⁷¹ J. GARCÍA DE CASTRO, “La mística de Ignacio: cultura y costumbre,” *Man* 76 (2004) 333 – 353, 336.

⁷² 337.

⁷³ 338. *Italic is mine.*

1.2 Cultural and religious formation after conversion

The Thirty-Fifth General Congregation described what Ignatius experienced on his bed at Loyola after the battle at Pamplona as the process of

Conversion *from* and conversion *for*... [There,] he gradually came to realize that those things in which he took delight had no lasting value but that responding to Christ beckoning instilled peace in his soul and a desire to know his Lord better. But – as he came to see later – this knowledge could only be won through confronting the falseness of the desires that had driven him (D. 2, no. 4).

Thus, Íñigo's conversion meant neither doing away with nor resolving the cultural and social tensions as stated above, but reorienting the goal and the direction to the much greater tension beyond anything which Íñigo could dream or imagine.

1.2.1 From Loyola to Manresa: a soldier for Christ

While lying in bed at Loyola waiting to recover, Íñigo dreamt of personal fame and honor in winning as the mono-cultural world of *caballero* had informed and formed him, Íñigo's eyes were opened to different forms of culture through reading the “*Vita Christi* y un libro de la vida de los Santos en romance” [Au 5]. These religious books “supuso para Ignacio la apertura hacia otros modos de ser y de estar en el mundo.”⁷⁴ Upon reading “la vida de nuestro Señor y de los santos” [Au 7] new culture began to appear influencing Íñigo's imagination and awaking his *yo interno*. “¿Qué sería, si yo hiciese esto que hizo San Francisco, y esto he hizo Santo Domingo?” [Au 7] These two books, which Íñigo read during his recover in Loyola were *La Vida de Cristo* and *Legenda aurea*. Due to its significant influence on Ignatius and Ignatian spirituality, they deserve some attention here.

a. *La Vida de Cristo*

La Vida de Cristo was Spanish translation of the *Vita Iesu Christi e quatuor Evangeliiis et scriptoribus orthodoxies concinnata* written by the Carthusian monk

⁷⁴ J. GARCÍA DE CASTRO, “La mística de Ignacio,” 338.

Ludolfo (Rudolfo) de Sajonia (c. 1377-1377/78). In *La Vita Christi*, Ludolfo narrated a complete story of Christ by incorporating all of the stories gathered from the four Gospels. It “combina los episodios, con extensos comentarios de los Santos Padres, en un libro erudito, pero al mismo tiempo interesante, que pone al lector directamente en contacto con los aspectos físicos de la vida y hechos de Cristo, pero sin perder nunca de vista su Naturaleza Divina.”⁷⁵

Originally, the Latin version consisted of an introduction (*Proemium*) and 182 chapters, each of which is divided into three parts: *lectio*, *meditatio*, and *oratio*. This work of Ludolfo “gozó de gran popularidad entre los siglos XIV and XVI” and “tuvo una influencia decisiva en el movimiento *Devotio Moderna* del siglo XV, y en su renovación espiritual posterior.”⁷⁶ From 1502 – 1503, followed the order of Cardinal Cisneros, the Franciscan poet Ambrosio Montesino translated the *Vita Christi* into Spanish. *La Vida Cristo* was published and commonly known as *El Cartujano*.⁷⁷ Its publication, which was among the “primer fruto de las ‘vírgenes’ prensas de Alcalá” was dedicated to King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella “como obra deseada y pedida por ellos.”⁷⁸

La Vida de Cristo appeared in four volumes. The first volume was printed in Alcalá on the 27th of February 1503, the second the 24th, the third the 13th, and the fourth the 9th of September of the same year. The printer was called at times Stanislao Polono and at other Lançalao de Polonia⁷⁹ During the XVI century, six editions of *La Vida de Cristo* were published. Ludolfo’s *Vita Christi* and its Spanish version had profound influence on Ignatius and the Spiritual Exercises. “El impacto

⁷⁵ P. SHORE, “Ludolfo de Sajonia,” *DEI*, II, 1149 – 1153, 1149.

⁷⁶ 1150

⁷⁷ *Obras de San Ignacio de Loyola*, 102.

⁷⁸ P. LETURIA, *El gentilhomme Íñigo de Loyola*, 151.

⁷⁹ R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 158.

de la *Vita* en Ignacio no se limitó simplemente a atraer su atención. Al mismo tiempo que la *Vita* fue un estímulo para el desarrollo espiritual de Ignacio, también representó un modelo de estructura y organización que Ignacio emplearía al componer los Ejercicios.”⁸⁰

b. *Leyenda aurea*

Leyenda aurea was composed in Latin by a Italian Dominican friar Jacobo de Varazze (de Voragine died in 1298 as archbishop of Génova). There were various Spanish translations such as *Flos sanctorum, a honor e alabanza de Neustro Señor Jesu Christo* (1480) and *Legenda seu Flos sanctorum* (Toledo 1511)⁸¹. Although the book consists of serious critical and linguistic defects including bizarre stories, at times even grotesque, its popularity was enormous through Western Europe. Before 1500, there were 74 editions in Latin, 13 Italian, 8 English, 6 French, 3 Dutch, 2 Bohemian, and 1 German known in print. The version which Íñigo most likely read during his recovery was the Spanish version *Flos Sanctorum* edited by the Cistercian friar Gauberto Maria Vagad, or a reprint at Toledo in 1511. This edition was done in a showy fashion that includes engravings to add special effects to decorative stories of pious devotion and bizarre fantasy. The book is distinguished for its rich and picturesque gallery of heroes and heroines whose lives are told through extravagant episodes and chilvaresque adventures, all of which certainly appealed to Íñigo during his time of recovery in Loyola. It is also interesting to note that Íñigo was probably

⁸⁰ P. SHORE, “Ludolfo de Sajonia,” 1151-2. For more reference on *La Vita de Cristo* and its influence on Ignatius and Ignatian spirituality, please see R. GARCÍA MATEO, “La Vita Christi de Ludolfo de Sajonia y los misterios de Cristo en los Ejercicios ignacianos,” *Greg* 81 (2000), 287 – 307; P. LETURIA, *El gentilhombre*, 155 – 160; P. SHORE, “The Vita Christi of Ludolph of Saxony and Its Influence on the Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius of Loyola,” *SSJ* 30 (1998); V. POGGI, “El Oriente en las fuentes de los Ejercicios a través de la “Vita Christi” de Ludolfo,” *Las Fuentes de los Ejercicios Espirituales de San Ignacio*, Actas del Simposio Internacional (Loyola, 15 – 19 septiembre 1997), Ediciones Mensajero, Bilbao 1998, 187 - 205.

⁸¹ R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 160.

quite familiar with the editor of *Flos Sanctorum* since Gauberto Vagad had been a well known figure at King Ferdinand's Court. It would explain Íñigo's readiness to receive the book from his sister-in-law, Magdalena⁸² and how attractive the book to him. "Este fray Gauberto no pudo menos de dar a su lenguaje y estilo cierto aire caballeresco y militar, que nuestro Íñigo leería con emoción, imaginando que tenía entre las manos un *Amadís* a lo divino."⁸³

Back to the main topic, *La Vida de Cristo* and the saints which presented Íñigo cultures contrasting to the one which Íñigo had been immersed in, thus offered him alternative mode of being, alternative cultures to contemplate. "Comienza a ser introducido en otra cultura, en la que irrumpe el modo medieval, *enfrentándose* a sus elementos: su yo frente a los santos de las fantasías, todavía los nuevos caballeros a los que habría que vencer si se diera la oportunidad: 'pues yo lo tengo de hacer' [Au 7]."⁸⁴ These alternative forms of culture in turn triggered Íñigo's imagination, step by step opened his mind to the world of diversity.

"Empezó a maravillarse desta *diversidad*, y a hacer reflexión sobre ella, cogiendo por experiencia que de unos pensamientos quedaba triste y de otros alegre, y poco a poco viniendo a conocer la *diversidad* de los espíritus que se agitaban, el uno de demonio y el otro de Dios [Au 8]."⁸⁵

In other words, Íñigo had begun to be aware of, so as to discern and elect between the diversity of the spirits that were acting upon him. As a result, the ability to differentiate the good from the bad spirit enabled Íñigo to elect and to adapt to various possibilities of how to live.

Equally important, experience of consolation, which is the true criteria of examining the *yo interno*, had opened Íñigo's eyes to the complexity of his internal

⁸² P. LETURIA, *El gentilhomme Íñigo López de Loyola*, 154 – 160

⁸³ R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 160.

⁸⁴ J. GARCÍA DE CASTRO, "La mística de Ignacio," 340.

⁸⁵ Italic is mine.

world. There, he came to realize that the spirit working in his life “viniéndole tanto al contrario desto, y tan súbitamente, que parecía haberse le quitado la tristeza y desolación, como quien quita una capa de los hombros a uno” [Au 21]. In other words, Íñigo came to recognize that no longer him being in control of his life, and that not all depending on him, as he used to think. And he was fully aware of the new culture he had begun to enter. “¿Qué nueva vida es esta que agora comenzamos?” [Au 21]

Equipped with the new awareness and vision, Íñigo began to examine his life, “pensar más de veras en su vida pasada” and to plan his future, to go to Jerusalem, then come back “vivir siempre en penitencia” [Au 12]. However, Íñigo pursued these actions “no tanto como experiencia religiosa, sino como repuesta a una necesidad de justificarse y reconstruirse desde lo que puede entender” following the footsteps of the saints. In so doing, Íñigo was “asumido en una nueva cultura, la cultura de Jesús”⁸⁶ where he had to learn to overcome himself in order to “sentir Su presencia como voluntad y alentar el deseo que le anime a cumplirla.”⁸⁷ And God continued “de la misma manera que trata un maestro de escuela a un niño, enseñándole” [Au 27].

From the perspective of cultural pluralism, Íñigo’s conversion signifies a paradigm shift moving from that of a mono-cultural to that of cultural pluralism, meaning, Íñigo no longer being the center where everything depending on him so he had mistakenly thought in the monocultural mindset previously, but God being the true center where everything revolve around or orient towards. As a result, he is opening himself to be taught by God, who “de la manera que trata un maestro de escuela a un niño, enseñándole” [Au 27]. Íñigo’s next part of his journey, his

⁸⁶ J. GARCÍA DE CASTRO, “La mística de Ignacio,” 344.

⁸⁷ 345.

pilgrimage to Jerusalem, served as actual and concrete steps into the new culture pluralism where he had to learn to rely and to trust on God alone.

1.2.2 *The Pilgrimage to Jerusalem: a peregrino*

Jerusalem presented Íñigo's first concrete steps into the culture of Our Lord and of the saints. In Loyola, Íñigo was daydreaming about the new culture, desiring to imitate the live of the saints [*Au* 7] and to go to Jerusalem barefoot, eating nothing except herbs [*Au* 8]. (These desires were drawn out from the text of Ludolfo de Sajonia's *la Vida de Cristo*⁸⁸). To set foot on the pilgrimage to Jerusalem,⁸⁹ Íñigo had begun to live the actuality of what the new culture entailed.

As a pilgrim, Íñigo had to renounce the former culture of self-centered, weathering and navigating through the God-centered culture in the midst of its human diversity and complexity. He avoided attention and special treatment refusing to disclose the purpose of his pilgrimage “por la causa que él no osó decir que iba a Jerusalén fue por temor de la vanagloria; el cual temor tanto le afligía, que nunca osaba decir de qué tierra ni de qué casa era” [*Au* 36]. (For similar reasons, Íñigo avoided the crowd and “huía la estimación” of the nobility and aristocrats who came to see the newly elected Pope Adriano VI in Barcelona [*Au* 18]. Such the decision charged him longer stay in Manresa. Instead of staying in a hospital in Manresa for a few days as originally planned [*Au* 18], Íñigo ended up in Manresa for ten months.⁹⁰) On his way, Íñigo had tried to stay away from any possible distractions by refusing to

⁸⁸ J. MARTÍN MORENO, “Jerusalén,” *DEI*, II, 1064 – 1070, 1064.

⁸⁹ Besides the *Autobiografía*, other sources that provided details Íñigo's pilgrimage to Jerusalem included Ignatius' letter written to his friend, Inés Pascual de Barcelona on the eve of leaving Jerusalem, the testimony of descendents of Inés Pascual, los Sagristás, during the process of beatification of Ignatius (which though are lost, believed to be read by Ribadeneira in 1583 and written down in his *Vida*), two journals kept by Íñigo's companions on the journey, Pedro Füessli and Felipe Hagen, and other documents kept by the Franciscans who lived and worked in the Holy Land during Íñigo's time (J. MARTÍN MORENO, “Jerusalén,” 1064).

⁹⁰ J. MARTÍN MORENO, “Jerusalén,” 1065.

take a companion [Au 35], and begging for what he needed for sustenance [Au 36]. Like other pilgrims, “Ignace a montré les exigences premières: partir vers une destination sûre, en renonçant à tout, seul, toujours disponible, sacrifiant tout à la plus grande gloire de Dieu parmi tous les hommes.”⁹¹

With his eyes kept in God’s direction, Íñigo was continually touched by the cultural and social complexities and adversities of the time throughout his pilgrimage. He was enraged with the violence and sexual abuse in Barcelona to the point of shouting out loud, “¿Esto se ha de sufrir?” [Au 38]. His Spanish nationality assisted him to obtain more easily the blessing from Pope Adrian VI [Au 40] since the reigning pontiff formerly was a mentor to Charles V and later regents of Castile after Cisneros.⁹² The situation that resulted from the Turkish capture of the Rhodes⁹³ caused tension, thus delaying his sail to Jerusalem [Au 43]. The relationship between Christians and non-Christians in the Holy Land was in such turmoil that some had been taken prisoners. Others had died. Due to this very cultural tension, the Franciscans, to whom the Holy See had delegated its authority over the Holy Land, asked Íñigo to go back under the pain of excommunication [Au 47].

On his way back to Spain, once again, he was caught up in the ongoing military conflict between the Spanish and the French for the hegemony of Europe. But this time it happened in Northern Italy.⁹⁴ As a result, the Spanish seized, stripped and imprisoned him, for they thought he was a spy [Au 51]. They only let him go when the captain decided that he was insane [Au 53]. The French arrested him and only by chance was he set free by the French captain whose hometown neighbored

⁹¹ M. JOURDIN, “Saint Ignace et les pèlerinages de son temps,” *Ignacio de Loyola y su tiempo*, pp. 161 – 178, here quoted on 164. (Ignatius has shown the first requirements: leaving for a definite destination, renouncing everything, alone, always available, sacrificing everything for the greater glory of God among all people.)

⁹² R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 179.

⁹³ The Turks captured and seized Rhodes on the 12th of December 1522.

⁹⁴ R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 256.

Íñigo's Guipúzcoa [Au 53]. Reflection on Íñigo's pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Martín-Moreno wrote,

Ignacio, como un río, se acomoda a las sinuosidades de recorrido, pero conserva bien clara la dirección. El río por muchas vueltas que dé nunca sube, siempre baja porque tiene una cita con el mar, e Ignacio no ha olvidado su cita con Jerusalén.⁹⁵

In all the “sinuosidades” of misfortunes and good fortunes of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Íñigo learned to discern the will of God better. So he thought.

As inspiring as the pilgrimage though was, Íñigo continued to function out of the mindset of a *caballero*. His principal motivation of going to Jerusalem, whether he admitted or not, remained one of great feats which a *caballero* ought to desire and to do. On Íñigo's pilgrimage, O'Rourke noted,

Going barefoot to Jerusalem on a vegetarian diet in imitation of saintly rigors is not necessarily progress beyond going shod to Pamplona beefed up in imitation of knightly rigors. Loyola has not yet experienced a true conversion of interior disposition. He is merely exchanging one set of appearances and allegiances for another. Whether in arms or in asceticism, his values remain agonistic. His object is to be observed and praised for excellence: vainglory... Although Loyola's penitential exercise is voluntary rather than judicial, ... he promises it to himself, not to God.⁹⁶

The decision of the Franciscan superior in Jerusalem asking him to leave under the pain of excommunication [Au 46], threw a tough blow on Íñigo's ego and his plan to remain in Jerusalem and forced him to completely breaking off with the former cultural framework. Consequently, “tener que partir de Jerusalén contra su voluntad cierra una etapa cronológica en la vida de Ignacio y abre un nuevo ciclo en el Espíritu.”⁹⁷ Only here, for the first time in the *Autobiografía*, Ignatius used the expression “voluntad del Señor” to admit that “no era voluntad de nuestro Señor que él se quedase en aquellos santos lugares” [Au 47]. (And only here, interestingly, we

⁹⁵ J. MARTÍN MORENO, “Jerusalén,” 1065 – 6.

⁹⁶ M. O'ROURKE BOYLE, *Loyola's Acts: The Rhetoric of the Self*, University of California Press, Berkeley 1997, 38.

⁹⁷ J. GARCÍA DE CASTRO, “La mística de Ignacio,” 346 – 7.

are told about Íñigo's second crisis since Loyola⁹⁸). Since roots of the former culture ran deep,

La conversión va trabajando a niveles más hondos que el de las prácticas penitenciales de comienzo, tan externas como llamativas, pero más desorientadas. Se está dando transformación, que en Ignacio empieza a consistir en un aprender a post-ponerse, ab-negarse ante un Proyecto Mayor que le sobrecoge: lo Absoluto de Dios.⁹⁹

Stripping of his own will and submitting to the will of God, Íñigo continued his journey embracing a new identity, no longer a caballero of the caballería but a caballero of God. In the cultural pluralist perspective, with the disorientation which Íñigo experienced after having been ordered to leave Jerusalem, the deconstruction of the self-centered monoculture is completed. The reconstruction of Íñigo in the multicultural God-centered world continued.

1.2.3 Barcelona, Alcalá, and Salamanca: un caballero de Dios

Back to Spain, Íñigo could initially deny the existence of the Jews to the Inquisition but he could not be blind to the cultural and religious diversity that existed in the Iberian Peninsula. The three cultural currents that dominated Spain were *Limpieza de sangre*, the *alumbrados*, and the Inquisition, all of which intertwined with Íñigo's time in Spain thus deserve some attention here.

a. Limpieza de sangre

The terms, *Limpieza de sangre*, which means "purity of blood," signifies a long history of discrimination against Jews in Spain. During the Council of Elvira in 306, the council fathers met in southern Spain decreed: "if any cleric or one of the faithful takes a meal with Jews, they are ordered to abstain from communion." In the Visigothic Spain, King Sisebut ordered the Jews either to be baptized or exiled in 613.

⁹⁸ J. GARCÍA DE CASTRO, "La mística de Ignacio," 347.

⁹⁹ IBID.

As a result, many fled while others converted. In 653, King Recceswinth forced all Jews to sign a oath that made the practice of Judaism impossible. Violations of the oath would result in death by fire or stone. King Egica (687 – 702) and the Sixteenth Council of Toledo (693) forced Jews to sell their property and slaves at a fixed price. The property was then given to the nobles or clergy. Decrees of the Seventeenth Council of Toledo (694), which accused Jews of conspiring with other Jews in North Africa to surrender Spain to the Moors, reduced Jews to perpetual slavery, confiscated their goods, and dispersed them to various provinces. All Jewish children above the age of seven were taken from their parents to be raised as Christians. These discriminatory policies, however, were turned over under the Christian Spain from the eleventh to fourteenth centuries. King Ferdinand I of Castile (1027 – 1065) granted Jews equal rights with Christians and offered them important positions in his court.¹⁰⁰

After three centuries of enjoying their rights, the Jews found themselves once again being discriminated against in Spain. In 1446, the choirmaster of the cathedral of Cordova, Fernando Ruyiz de Aguago, refused anyone of Jewish origin or Jewish blood to be a chaplain or a sacristan. In May 1449, the mayor of Toledo, Pero Sarmiento, published a law that considered “los dichos conversos descendientes del perverso de los judíos, en cualquier guisa” to be “infames, inhábiles, incapaces, e indignos,” thus being kept from “todo oficio e beneficio público y privado” throughout Toledo. In 1471, various social groups, namely *la cofradía de la Hermandad de la Caridad de Córdoba* and *el cocejo municipal de Córdoba*, implanted the statutes of *limpieza de sangre* denying people of Jewish of origin of the membership and public office. The confrontation between the Franciscan and the

¹⁰⁰ J. REITES, “St. Ignatius of Loyola and the Jews,” *SSJ* 13 (1981), 2 - 4.

Jerónimos led to the exclusion of the *conversos* to enter the Jerónimos in 1486. Pope Alejandro VI ratified the exclusion later on the December 22, 1495.¹⁰¹

On March 31, 1492, after having united Spain, the Catholic Kings signed a decree expelling the Jews from the newly united Spain. Any Jew who chose to remain was to be baptized all others were to leave. By July 30, 1492, “not one Jew remained in Spain.” As a result, about 50,000 Jews converted to Christianity, and were known as *nuevos cristianos* or *conversos*.¹⁰² Eventually, the statute of *limpieza de sangre* prohibited entrance or membership to various religious orders, schools and institutions in Spain: el Colegio de Santa Cruz in 1488, el Colegio de San Antonio de Sigüenza in 1497, el Colegio Viejo de Salamanca in 1498, the Benedictines of Montserrat in 1502, the Chapter of Sevilla Cathedral in 1515, the Franciscan Observance in 1525, the Chapter of Cordova Cathedral in 1530, the metropolitan church of Toledo in 1547 under Bishop Juan Martinez Siliceo.¹⁰³ It was into this cultural tension Íñigo immersed himself in when he returned from Venice to Barcelona in 1525.

b. Los *alumbrados*

The *alumbrados* also known as *iluminados*, not as *aluminados* as commonly mistaken,¹⁰⁴ was a “secta española” that was born during those early years of the XVI centuries (1519 – 1529) in Toledo. The word *alumbrado* is the past participle of the Spanish verb *alumbrar* that means “to light up” or “to give light.” The term *alumbrado* whose religious meaning did not appear until 1523 in the Castilian region

¹⁰¹ J. ORELLA UNZUÉ, “La Provincia de Guipúzcoa y el tema de los judíos en tiempos del joven Íñigo de Loiola (1492 – 1528),” *Ignacio de Loyola y su tiempo*, 847 – 868, here quoted at 852 – 3.

¹⁰² J. REITES, “St. Ignatius of Loyola and the Jews,” 5; also J. ORELLA UNZUÉ, “La Provincia de Guipúzcoa,” 853.

¹⁰³ J. ORELLA UNZUÉ, “La Provincia de Guipúzcoa,” 854.

¹⁰⁴ A. HUERGA, *Historia de los alumbrados: Temas y Personajes (1570 – 1630)*, Fundación Universitaria Española, Madrid 1994, 24.

of Madrid, Guadalajara, and Toledo, was first used to refer to a group of seculars known especially for their devotion and piety. However, such use of the term quickly came to an end. Instead, it was used pejoratively to ridicule someone, especially the heretics those who were condemned by the Spanish Inquisition in the Edict of 1525 and in the *auto de fe* of Toledo in 1529.¹⁰⁵

The *alumbrado*'s doctrines could be summarized in three principle tenets. First of all, the *alumbrados* denied any intermediary or sacramental elements between God and human beings. Consequently, they violently rejected any form of external rituals or outward forms of the Church such as vocal prayers, corporal penitence, obedience to superiors, meditation on the Passion of Christ. Also, they seemed to negate the existence of hell, the divine origin of confession, the validity of religious orders, the authority of the doctrine of the saints. Secondly, while objecting a lot of Church teaching and practice, what they affirmed was vague, or “movimientos sensibles,”¹⁰⁶ or remained at a minimal level, for example, “que aunque adam no pecara no entrara el hombre en cielo, si el hijo de dios no muriera” or “que el amor de dios en el hombre es dios.”¹⁰⁷ Thirdly, while denying the perfection of monastic life, they exalted the life of laity especially those of marriage. In all, they highly praised the direct and immediate personal religious experience above all others including Holy Scriptures.

Their doctrine of *dejamiento*, which emphasized on the personal interiorized relationship with God, promoted complete abandonment and total submission to the direction of the Holy Spirit working from within the individual. And their doctrine of the *superhombre* or *deificación* believed that the love of God completely divinizes

¹⁰⁵ A. MÁRQUEZ, “Alumbrados,” *DHEE*, 47 – 50, 47; also see A. Huerga, *Historia de los alumbrados*, 46 – 57.

¹⁰⁶ A. HUERGA, *Historia de los alumbrados*, 63

¹⁰⁷ A. MÁRQUEZ, “Alumbrados,” 48.

human beings.¹⁰⁸ Though the *alumbrados* existed in various towns, the only ones that worth mentioned were that of Toledo, appeared from 1519 – 1529, Llerena from 1570 to 1579, and Sevilla in 1623.¹⁰⁹ Suspicion on Íñigo’s connection with the *alumbrados* [Au 58] wasn’t without cause. He was know of having interacted with various *alumbrados* with the purpose of training and teaching them proper Christian doctrine and Christian way of life.¹¹⁰

c. The Spanish Inquisition

The Spanish Inquisition, which was established by the Catholic Kings in 1478, had its origin in the Medieval Inquisition or “episcopal” Inquisition.¹¹¹ The Inquisition as commonly called is a short abbreviation for the Holy Office of the Inquisition or the Holy Office of the Faith (*Tribunal de la Fe*). As an organization of the Catholic Church, its principal purpose is to ensure the authenticity of the faith by both investigating the errors committed (*inquisitio*) and sanctioning punishment accordingly (*auto de fe*). As an organization of the Catholic Church, its principal purpose is to ensure the authenticity of the faith by both investigating the errors committed (*inquisitio*) and sanctioning punishment accordingly (*auto de fe*).¹¹²

This authority of Holy Office of the Inquisition is based on the legal Roman Rights embedded in a long canonical history that had originated during the time of the New Testament and of the Early Fathers to deal with the sources of revelation. There, the Church declared certain teachings or practices that interfered or worked against the Church and her teaching as heresy and used certain means to suppress it including

¹⁰⁸ A. HUERGA, *Historia de los alumbrados*, 123.

¹⁰⁹ A. MÁRQUEZ, “Alumbrados,” 48 – 49.

¹¹⁰ R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 291. For a further analysis on “Íñigo de Loyola y sus ‘ejercicios espirituales’ en el ojo de la inquisición” from the perspective of the *alumbrados*, see A. HUERGA, *Historia de los alumbrados*, 221 – 236.

¹¹¹ R. SANZ DE DIEGO, “Inquisición y San Ignacio,” *DEI*, II, 1023 - 1027, 1023.

¹¹² A. MÁRQUEZ, “Inquisición,” *DHEE*, 1194 – 1199, 1195.

the use of the sword (*ius gladii*). For the most part, the declaration of heresy and its sanctioned penalty was done in the name of the public good (*causa publica*). Later on, the inquisitional penal system gained its full force when Christianity became the official religion of the Empire and the Papacy and the Emperor presumably shared the same interests.¹¹³

Based on these dogmatic and canonical objectives, Pope Gregorio IX formally institutionalized the Church's power and its practices through the Papal Bull *Excommunicamus* published in 1231. Consequently, office of the inquisition was established in various parts of Europe and came to be known as Medieval or Papal inquisition, first in Rome (1231), Spain (Aragón 1232), and France (1233). These medieval inquisitions though located in various kingdoms observed and maintained to its minimal details the centralized universal papal legislation codes of practice. The Inquisitor General or the Grand Inquisitor named by the Holy See belonged to a religious order (most often Dominicans, Franciscans, and Cistercians) that remained outside the authority and jurisdiction of the local bishops.¹¹⁴

The Spanish Inquisition (except the one of Aragon) though being founded chiefly on the premises of these medieval institutions, deviated from them by decentralizing the papal legislative authority and entrusting it to that of Spain. Its establishment, which was requested by the Catholic Kings and approved by Pope Sixto IV in 1478 through the bull *Exigit sinceræ devotionis*, was born out of the need of fighting against certain dissident, rebellious or subversive forces that were danger to the newly united Spain religiously as well as politically, namely, *los nuevos cristianos* or *los conversos*, *los alumbrados*, *los moriscos*, *los erasmistas*, and *los*

¹¹³ A. MÁRQUEZ, "Inquisición," 1194 – 1195.

¹¹⁴ 1195 – 1196.

luteranos. For this reason, the Spanish Inquisition was unique in its being inseparable with the secular political power.¹¹⁵

Scholars often divided the Spanish Inquisition into three different historical periods: its establishment (1478 – 1525), its climax (1525 – 1700), and its decline (1700 until its suppression in 1834). Inquisitor Generals or Grand Inquisitors during the period of establishment such as Torquemada (1483), Deza (1498), Cisneros (1507), Manrique (1523), and Valdés (1547) were the true architects constructing the general *Instrucciones* that consisted of *Instrucciones antiguas* (Torquemada – Deza) and *Instrucciones nuevas* (Manrique – Valdez) that were to be used for the next three centuries. For the first fifty years, inquisitorial tribunals were created throughout Spain, just to name a few, Sevilla (1480), Córdoba (1482), Toledo (1483), Valladolid (1485) and Granada (1526).¹¹⁶

Regarding its structure, the Spanish Inquisition was intricately linked with that of the government. Since 1480, the Inquisition functioned as one of the Councils of the Kingdom on par with other Councils such as that of Castile, the State, Treasury, and the Indies. The Inquisition's "ejecución de las sentencias competía también al 'brazo secular.'"¹¹⁷ The President of the Council, who was also the Grand Inquisitor or the Inquisitor General, was named by the King and approved by the Pope to preside over the Council of the Supreme and General Inquisition (also known as "Council of the Supreme") whose members were appointed by the King. In turn, the Inquisitor General named other inquisitors who work in different tribunals of the Inquisition.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁵ A. MÁRQUEZ, "Inquisición," 1196; M. SANZ DE DIEGO, "Inquisición y San Ignacio," 1023.

¹¹⁶ IBID.

¹¹⁷ M. SANZ DE DIEGO, "Inquisición y San Ignacio," 1023.

¹¹⁸ A. MÁRQUEZ, "Inquisición," 1196.

According to the *Instrucciones*, the Inquisition's process began with the *Edict of Grace* that consisted of a period of grace generally extending from 30 to 40 days where the self-incriminated received possibility of reconciliation without severe punishment. For the self-incrimination to be effective, one is required to denounce other accomplices including members of one's own family. During the XVII and XVIII century, the *Edict of Grace* was replaced by the *Edict of Faith* to do away with the quick, painless reconciliation.¹¹⁹

Denunciations were obligatory and identity of the denouncer was kept in secrecy. So were all of Holy Office's other operations. Violation to secrecy was to be punished severely. The inquisitional process generally took a lot of time. After a denunciation had been made, the accused was imprisoned in jails whose locations also were kept in secret. The accused's property was usually confiscated and used to pay for expenses of the process. The central part of the inquisitional process was the trial that involved testimony of denouncers and defense of the accused dealing with the accusations which were made without the accusers' names ever being mentioned. To interrogate the accused, torture was used during this part of the process. After the trial, various forms of sentence were made ranging from recantation *de levi*, fines, condemnation to life in seclusion, to death either by strangulation (*garrote*) or fire. After the sentence, the accused was handed over to the secular authority to carry out any form of temporal punishments, especially that involved with death. The most serious form of punishment was the "relajación" which meant burning at the stake. The inquisitional process was closed by the *auto de fe* where the sentence was

¹¹⁹ A. MÁRQUEZ, "Inquisición," 1196.

pronounced and followed by other religious ceremonias such as procesión, granting indulgentes, sermon, etc., all performing in public.¹²⁰

During its more than three hundred years of existence, there were various attempts to suppress or to limit the power of the Spanish Inquisition were made such that by *las Comunidades* (1519 – 1521) and King Felipe I (1478 – 1506). However, the first decree that tried to abolish the Inquisition was issued during the reign of José Bonaparte (1808 – 1812) on the 4th of December, 1808. The Cortes of Cádiz debated its abolition from 1811 until 1813. And the Inquisition was declared incompatible with the Constitution on February of 1813. King Ferdinand VII reconstituted it in 1814 but then suppressed it in 1820. The ultimate and definitive decree issued by María Cristina “en nombre de mi excelsa hija D.^a Isabell II, oído el consejo del Gobierno y el de Ministros, ... *se declara suprimido definitivamente el Tribunal de la Inquisición*” on July 15, 1834.¹²¹ The Inquisition and the inquisitors are mentioned eleven times in the *Autobiografía*.¹²² And through Ignatius’ letter to King John III of Portugal dated March 15, 1545, we learned that he was trialed eight times by the Inquisition: 3 times in Alcalá, 1 Salamanca, 2 París, 1 Venecia, and the last one Rome.¹²³

Back to the investigation...

After having left Barcelona and entering Alcalá in 1526, Íñigo experience the hostile cultural currents of his time on the first hand. After having been jailed for seventeen day in Alcalá [Au 61], Íñigo was asked whether he would recommend observance of the Sabbath to others or not, to which he responded “For el sábado tenía devoción a Nuestra Señora; que no sabía otras fiestas, ni en mi tierra había

¹²⁰ A. MÁRQUEZ, “Inquisición” 1196 -7.

¹²¹ 1198 – 9.

¹²² *Concordancia* 659 – 660.

¹²³ *Epp* I, 296 – 298.

judíos.”¹²⁴ Íñigo’s attitude and relationship towards the Jews eventually improved after he moved from Spain to study in Paris. And in Rome, he was one of the few voices defending their rights in the Church. For the time being, the religious diversity and tension in the Peninsula, however, remained one of the greatest tensions and challenges for Spain in general and for Íñigo in particular.

Beside the tension that associate him with the Jews and the newly convert (*los conversos*), most ecclesiastical conflicts during Íñigo’s stay in Spain dealt with issues and challenges due to diverse teachings and practices that existed within both the universal Church and the Church in Spain. As for other Western European countries, the Protestant Reformation (1517 – 1648) posed serious challenges to the integrity of Church teachings and authority. Since the Counter Reformation or the Catholic Reformation did not officially begin until the Council of Trent (1545 – 1563), there was no conclusive explanation of Catholic doctrines and tradition. It was left to “religious elites and multiple recognized authorities” to determine whether any teachings or practices were sound or not.¹²⁵

While the Church hierarchy struggled to organize its structure of authority, Christians in Spain, both laity and clergy, had become more knowledgeable about their faith. This was largely thanks to the recent boom of the Spanish printing press and the widely available vernacular literature on Christian subjects in the early sixteen century. Furthermore, Spain boasted higher literacy rates than its European counterparts during this time period. “Spanish population as a whole had greater access to more written religious doctrine between 1500 – 1536 than in any previous

¹²⁴ *FN* I, 174. “Nec in patria mea Judaei esse solent” (*Chron* I, 37). “Diecisiete días estuvo en la prisión... al fin de los cuales vino Figueroa a la cárcel y le examinó de muchas cosas, hasta preguntarle si hacía guardar el sábado” [Au 61]. This question was a cryptic way of asking whether or not Ignatius was a secret Jew.

¹²⁵ L. A. HOMZA, “The religious milieu of the young Ignatius,” *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits*, (T. Worcester, ed.), Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2008, 13 – 31, 13.

period.”¹²⁶ Consequently, greater religious diversity existed in the Spanish Church that was heading towards reform.

One of the leading figures in the Spanish reform of the Church was Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros¹²⁷ (1436 – 1517), the former cardinal archbishop of Toledo, inquisitor general, and twice regent of Spain. In 1499, in order to cultivate better-educated secular clerics, Cardinal Cisneros founded the University of Alcalá¹²⁸ in 1508 where, twenty-six years later, Íñigo sought his education training. As a student, Íñigo certainly benefited from the work that had been promoted by the cardinal regent. At the university, students were to engage in diversity of theological

¹²⁶ L. A. HOMZA, “The religious milieu of the young Ignatius,” 12.

¹²⁷ Francisco Jiménez was born of a noble family. His parents, Alfonso Jiménez and María de la Torre, came from Cisneros of the Palencia Province. After having earned his bachelor degree in law at the University of Salamanca, he was aspired to be in ecclesial administration. He was sent to Rome for training and back to Spain in 1471 as archpriest of Uceda. In defending his right as archpriest against Alfonso Carrillo, the Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of Spain, he was sent to jail and only got out with the help of Cardinal González de Mendoza. In 1484, he joined the Franciscan of the Primitive Observance at the Convent of San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo, and was chosen to be the confessor of Queen Isabel in 1492. In 1495, the Queen named him the Archbishop of Toledo. From 1495 until his death in 1517, he worked tirelessly to reform the Church and Spain. Besides of leading a ascetic life, Cardinal Regent Jiménez was known for his genius in creating various cultural and scientific institution that served as the foundation for his effort in ecclesial and social renovation. The University of Alcalá highly exemplified his achievement in this area. Inspired by the University of Paris, he converted Alcalá into an academic center of humanistic-theological studies where students were educated by some of the best scholars in their fields where original texts were available for research, most importantly, where diverse religious opinions were freely discussed and pursued (E. RUMMEL, *Jiménez de Cisneros: On the Threshold of Spain's Golden Age*, Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Tempe 1999; J. GARCÍA ORO, “Jiménez de Cisneros, Francisco, OFM,” *DHEE*, 1238 – 9; ID., *Cisneros: el cardenal de España*, Ariel, Barcelona 2002).

¹²⁸ Cardinal Cisneros found the University of Alcalá in 1508 in the effort of church reform by raising the standard of cultural and intellectual excellence among the clergy. For the better service of the Church, the Cardinal wanted the best of the Renaissance spirit to be taught at the University of Alcalá, that meant, students besides the traditional studies of philosophy and theology had to engage in studies of literature, classics, and humanity. In order to accomplish this goal, the Cardinal invited some of the most distinguished professors from Spain and Spanish professors who had been working as heads of different academic departments from Paris. (It is interesting to note that Erasmus was also invited to come to the University. However, “the prince of Humanism” turned down the invitation.) Consequently, though being fairly young, the University of Alcalá had gathered a team of renowned professors whose expertise included classical and oriental languages, art, philosophy, theology, Scripture, Canon Law, and medicine. Soon, the University had become the center for scientific renovation, humanism, *erasmism*, *alumbradism* and above all, spiritual renovation. The publication of the *Poliglotta Complutensis*, which was printed by Arnao Guillén de Brocar from 1514 – 1517, served as “blasón del Humanismo filológico y puerta áurea de la genuina teología” involving collaborative effort with other scholars in Hebrew and classical languages (Hellenist) at the University of Alcalá (R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 272 – 273; R. M^a SANZ DE DIEGO, “Alcalá de Henares,” *DEI*, I, 113 – 116; ID., “San Ignacio de Loyola en Alcalá de Henares (1526 – 1527). Andanzas de un universitario atípico,” *Ignacio de Loyola y su tiempo*, Congreso Internacional de Historia (9-13 de septiembre de 1991), J. Plazaola (ed.), Mensajero, Bilbao 1991, 883 – 900).

approaches ranging from Thomistic knowledge and reason to Scottish love and will to nominalist mercy and trust. Emphasis on both Scripture and medieval authorities was made. The publication of the *Poliglotta Complutensis* Bible, whose project was initiated in 1510 and advanced by Cisneros, presented the first printed polyglot of the entire Bible. This multilingual edition of the Old and New Testaments, which was done in Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, and Latin, remained one of the world's greatest literary achievements.¹²⁹ Thus, students - Íñigo included - who came to the university were exposed to a wide range of cultural and theological diversity. More importantly, for Íñigo, the University of Alcalá was his first contact with a university and where he came to deepen his vocation.

Íñigo, who was thirty-five years old at the time, arrived Alcalá in 1526 and remained there for “quasi año y medio” [Au 57]. Academically, studying was difficult for him due to his age. Consequently, he only managed to learn a little [Au 64].¹³⁰ However, what Íñigo had experienced in Alcalá proved to be immensely valuable for him and for members of the Company that he founded later. First of all, it was in Alcalá where Íñigo first came in contact with a university being educated in the *modus parisiensis*, encountering various new religious movements such as *alumbradismo* and *erasmismo*,¹³¹ and with the hierarchical Church notably through his encounter with the Inquisition. Through all these encounters, he grew more in his

¹²⁹ L. A. HOMZA, “The religious milieu of the young Ignatius,” 3.

¹³⁰ The *Física de Alberto* which Ignatius recalled [Au 57] was only the *Philosophia* or *Physica Pauperum* (a compendium written by Alberto Magno) published in Spain to help students who were not very learned (A. Suquía Goicoechea 183 – 184, a Spanish summary on page 194 – 195).

¹³¹ Íñigo's encounter with Erasmus in Alcalá was noted by Cámara apart from his *Memorial*. “Elle mesmo (Ignacio) me contou que, quando estudava em Alcalá, ihe aconselhavão muitas pessoas, e ainda seu proprio confesor – que entam ero o P. Meyona (Manuel Miona), portugues, natural do Algarve, que depois entrou e morreo na Companhia, e ya naquelle tempo ero tido por homem de gran virtude – , lesse pollo *Enchiridion militis christiani* de Erasmo; mas que o não quisera fazer, porque ouvía a alguns pregadores e pessoas de autoridade reprimir ya antão este autor, e respondía aos que lho recomendavão, que alguns libros averia, de cuyos autores ninguem dicesse mal, e que esses queria ler” (FNI, 585).

knowledge of the world that he desired to help and the best way to go about fulfilling such desire. Secondly, it was in Alcalá where Íñigo further advanced his giving exercises ministry. “Aunque ya en Manresa hablaba de cosas espirituales con algunas personas (cf. [Au 26.34]), en Alcalá comienza a dar Ejercicios, aunque limitados.”¹³² Thirdly, it was in Alcalá where Íñigo had first contemplated the idea of creating an apostolic group that followed his way of life. Íñigo and his friends who followed him from Barcelona “no siendo ellos religiosos, no parecía bien andar todos de un hábito” [Au 58].¹³³ Finally, facing various investigations and demands of Church authority had had on his teachings, it was in Alcalá where Íñigo realized the importance of theological education and the necessity of being officially recognized and credited by the Church in order to help souls. Therefore, Ignatius organized his studies different when he was studying in Paris, and later instilled this insight into the Jesuit formation found in the Constitutions. “Al menos esta experiencia [en Alcalá] y los meses posteriores en Salamanca le convencieron de que el estudio requiere al hombre entero [Co 340] y por eso en París organizó su vida de otra manera.”¹³⁴ Together with this insight, the priestly vocation began to grow on Íñigo during his time in Alcalá. With these reasons, Íñigo left Alcalá “más hecho espiritual y humanamente, ya que no intelectualmente” to pursue further studies in Salamanca.¹³⁵

The University of Salamanca where Íñigo arrived in July 1527 was considered one of the leading educational centers of Europe.¹³⁶ Like what happened in other

¹³² R. SANZ DE DIEGO, “Alcalá de Henares,” *DEI*, I, 113 – 116, 116.

¹³³ It is interesting to note that Íñigo’s future early companions, namely, Laínez, Salmerón, Bobadilla, Nadal, Manuel Miona, los hermanos Diego y Esteban de Eguía, Martín de Olave y S. Francisco de Borja also studied at the University of Alcalá around Íñigo’s time there (R. SANZ DE DIEGO, “Alcalá de Henares,” 116).

¹³⁴ R. SANZ DE DIEGO, “Alcalá de Henares,” 115.

¹³⁵ 116.

¹³⁶ The University of Salamanca was found during the reign of King Alfonso IX (cf. XIII) as an “oasis de la paz y del estudio” where professors and students were brought together for the educational purpose. The university created its own residence to house both professors and students providing

European cities at the time, Salamanca was filled with arguments over los *alumbrados*, Erasmus and his humanist teachings. The Inquisition held its sessions in the city to deal with these groups. And Íñigo and his teaching were not exempt from the inquiry. After “diez o doce días” of staying in Salamanca, Íñigo was asked to come in to be interrogated about his preaching and teaching [*Au* 64 – 65]. And out of the less-than-two-month stay, Íñigo spent “veintidós días” in jail [*Au* 70]. Consequently, Íñigo who interrupted his stay in Alcalá looking for a more suitable environment to further his studies was disappointed at what he had encountered in Salamanca. However, his disappointment served as a source for his ongoing discernment confirming what he had desired through his experience in Alcalá. Ignatius told us himself.

Pues, como a este tiempo de la prisión de Salamanca a él no le faltasen los mismos deseos que tenía de aprovechar a las ánimas, y para el efecto estudiar primero y ajuntar algunos del mismo propósito y conservar los que tenía; determinando de ir para París, concertóse con ellos que ellos esperasen por allí, y que él iría para poder ver si podría hallar modo para que ellos pudiesen estudiar [*Au* 71].

Here, we found Íñigo as someone practical, prudent and well balanced in the midst of the tension continually discerning his future studies and ministry. Facing the tension between his need for further studies and his desires for prayers and spiritual matter, he entrusted the decision to higher authority, namely, his teacher in Barcelona

means for better interaction between them. As a result, these housings, which were always short from students' demand, were built all over the city. Thus, the city and the university were united into one. Management of the university involved not only educational matters but also other administrative policy as well as social related issues such as housing, how students would live and interact, (*convivencia*), how various nationalities being treated, etc.. All of this was aimed to provide students and professors a propitious environment for studying and good education. Consequently, at the dawn of XVI century, the University of Salamanca had become one of the first modern universities in Europe, only behind Paris or Bologna. Even so, its faculties in arts, philosophy, and law were better than these two. Its faculty of theology since the beginning of XV century was inferior to none. The renovation in philosophical and theological methods together with the advance in studies of classical languages surrounded by the fervent spirit in scientific, literary, and spiritual research helped to build Salamanca to be “la Atenas española” (P. VALERO GARCÍA, “La Universidad de Salamanca en el siglo XVI,” *Ignacio de Loyola y su tiempo*, 199-219; R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 294 – 5).

[Au 54 -55] and the Archbishop of Toledo in Valladolid [Au 63]. Dealing with the Inquisition, while respecting Church authority and following what it commanded, he remained faithful to his desire and the mission of helping souls [Au 70]. When the cultural and religious tension proved no longer viable for him to carry out his mission to teach spiritual matters and to do goods for the soul, he left to pursue his studies in Paris [Au 70 – 71]. It was true that Íñigo’s decision to go to Paris to pursue further study was conditioned by the cultural dynamics and challenges surrounding him in Alcalá and in Salamanca. However, his response no longer “espontánea y acriticamente de acuerdo con el sistema de valores predominante en su cultura,” but resulted from a process of internal examination opening to conversation and to trust, first and foremost, God and the good Spirit that had been working in him. Observing Íñigo’s ongoing transformation, J. García de Castro noted,

Aprendió a *aumentar* el tiempo de reacción ante todo lo que le era dado como posible para ser hecho para gloria de su yo, que habría de guiarle hacia la desolación; y por otra parte, al sentir de la consolación, aprendió a *disminuir* el tiempo de reacción ante un modo cristiano de estar en el mundo. A esta progresiva reducción para alcanzar el corazón verdadero del mundo la llamó *discreción*.¹³⁷

Thus, Íñigo slowly abandoned the self-centered monocultural paradigm out of which he used to behave and function and immersed himself in the God-centered multicultural world as he continued his journey to Paris.

1.2.4 University of Paris: *Amigos en el Señor*

Recalling the important place of the University of Paris in the formation of Ignatius and birth of the Society of Jesus, Jerónimo Nadal wrote in his *Apología* in 1557:

It was in your midst that Ignatius and his companions first imbibed that spirit from which this religious Order has blossomed and has become so well

¹³⁷ J. GARCÍA DE CASTRO, “La mística de Ignacio,” 348 – 9.

known, so numerous, and so helpful to the Christian Church. It was from your midst that our Fathers set out for Rome, where they first presented the Rule of our Order to the Holy See; and we believe that the Supreme Pontiff was moved to confirm it more readily not of other reasons alone, but especially because he was aware that Farther Ignatius and his companions had been trained both in philosophy and in theology in your Academy. And so, highly esteemed masters, we owe everything to you, and we are happy to have it so.¹³⁸

Indeed, the University of Paris held an utmost significant place in the formation of Ignatius, his companions and the Society they founded. For it was in Paris that they had been educated and formed in the *modus Parisiensis* and later adapted it to the Jesuit *Ratio studiorum*. It was Paris that Ignatius composed the *Versio prima* of the *Spiritual Exercises*¹³⁹ along with the *Reglas el sentido verdadero que en la Iglesia militante debemos tener* [Ej 352 – 370]. Finally, it was Paris where Ignatius and the First Companions vowed to lead a life together for the good of souls [Au 85].¹⁴⁰ Being important as it was, Ignatius in his reminiscences only gave us a few brief accounts of his seven years living there. Like in previous sections, what I will be

¹³⁸ J. NADAL, *Apologia contra censuram facultatis theologiae Parisiensis* [1557], *Fontes narrativi de S. Ignatio de Loyola et de Societatis Iesu initiis*, Vol. II: Narrations scriptae annis 1557 – 1574, ed. Candidus de Dalmases, S.J., *Monumenta Ignatiana*, 4: *Scripta de S. Ignacio*, 2, MHSI, 73 (Rome, 1951), p. 57. English translation is found in J. FARGE, “The University of Paris in the time of Ignatius of Loyola,” *Ignacio de Loyola y su tiempo*, 221 – 243, 239. Original text reads:

“Nec hoc est solum quapropter vos ego, tum Societas nostra honore quovis dignos existimat, atque omni amore presequitur; sed illo nomine praeterea vestrum ordinem suspicimus at que observamus vehementer; nam (ut de me nihil dicam, qui nihil sum), Patrem nostrum omnium ac Societatis institutorem Ignatium primos eius 9 socios, scimus vestrae esse Accademiae alumnus; a vobis philosophiae ac theologiae facultatem, quantacumque in eis fuit, hausisse; a vobis igitur instituti sunt, qui nos omnes nostramque Societatem instituerunt; apud vos illum spiritum hauserunt primum, quemadmodum Carthusiani, ex quo spiritu haec effloruit religio tam celebris, tam ampla, tam utilis Ecclesiae christianae. E vobis venerunt Patres nostri Romam, ubi primum obtulerunt Apostolicae Sedi formulam nostrae religionis; quod ut libentius confirmaret, credimus permotus Summum Pontificem non aliis nominibus solum, sed etiam quod videret et Patrem Ignatium et eius socios in vestra Academia et in philosophia et in theologia fuisse institutos.”

¹³⁹ *Exercitia Spiritualia*, ed. J. Calveras, and C. Dalmases, *Monumenta Ignatiana*, 2nd series, Vol. I, MHSI 100, p. 109. “Cum a. 1535, antequam in Hispaniam discederet, Inquisitori parisiensi Vincentio Liévin librum Exercitiorum roganti tradidit... Prima ergo Versio dicenda est facta Lutetiae, inter annos 1528 et 1535, probabilis inicio commorationis parisienses sancti Ignatii.”

¹⁴⁰ On the 15th of August, 1534 Ignatius and six other companions (Favre, Xavier, Laínez, Salmerón, Rodrigues, and Bobadilla) had made some kind of joint commitment to “go to Venice and Jerusalem and to spend their lives in what was beneficial to souls. And if permission was not given them to remain in Jerusalem, they were to return to Rome and present themselves to Christ’s vicar, so that he could employ them wherever he judged to be more for the glory of God and the good of souls” [Au 85]. The original text of their commitment has not been preserved.

doing in this section is to highlight various cultural events in Ignatius' life that highlight the ongoing formation in him within the newly found God-centered multicultural paradigm, so to understand the spirituality that functioned underneath Ignatian cultural adaptation and accommodation.

Paris where Íñigo found himself in 1528 was a city rich of cultural diversity and tension. Immigrants from all parts of the world flocked to the city. In 1530, sixty percent of Paris' population consisted of immigrants. The war between France and Spain, which didn't end until the Treaty of Cambrai in 1529, had created a situation difficult for these immigrants. Immigrants were often associated with "mauvais garçons" or beggars, and thus often blamed for any misdeeds in the city. As a result, some city ordinances were passed to chase these beggars out of the city.¹⁴¹

Íñigo was certainly aware of the national conflict between the French and the Spanish both before and after his having been to Paris. Before arriving in Paris, his friends had warned him of "las grandes guerras que había, contándole ejemplos muy particulares, hasta decirle que en asadores metían los españoles" discouraging him to go [Au 72]. Therefore, once having been in Paris and having experienced the cultural tension, and following the advice of a Spanish monk, he went begging only among wealthy Spanish merchants in Flanders and even all the way to London from 1528 to 1530 [Au 76].¹⁴² In Bruges, Ignatius found Gonzalo de Aguilera (ca. 1510 – 1595) a wealthy Spanish merchant to be his benefactor.¹⁴³ Finally, Ignatius' decision to move to the Collège Sainte-Barbe was also culturally related since he wanted to study with

¹⁴¹ P. LÉCRIVAIN, *Paris au temps d'Ignace de Loyola (1528 – 1535)*, Editions facultés jésuites de Paris, Paris 2006, 34.

¹⁴² "Los viajes a Flandes y a Inglaterra en los años 1529 – 1531 podrían haber sido uno de los orígenes en la decisión de Ignacio de incluir la peregrinación en las seis experiencias probatorias principales para los candidatos a la Compañía de Jesús [Co 67]" (P. BEGHEYN, "Amberes-Brujas-Londres," *DEI*, I, 136 – 8, 136).

¹⁴³ R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 311 – 313; P. BEGHEYN, "Amberes-Brujas-Londres," 137.

the Spanish regent Juan de la Peña instead of Noel Beda, a Frenchman, at the Collège of Montaigu.¹⁴⁴ Though Íñigo initially relied on the Spanish community for financial support and friendship, he eventually reached out and immersed himself in the cultural diversity of the University of Paris.

The University of Paris¹⁴⁵ where Íñigo arrived on the 2nd of February, 1528¹⁴⁶, furthering his studies was perhaps the most culturally diverse center of theology in Europe. The University was best known for its *modus Parisiensis* that took high esteem in being well organized and so achieved highest academic performance and excellence of its time. Structurally, the university is divided into the four faculties: Arts, Theology, Law and Medicine. The Faculty of Arts was divided into the four Nations: France, Normandy, Picardy, and Germany. Students from Italy and the Iberian Peninsula – thus Íñigo and his companions – were assigned to the Nation of France.¹⁴⁷

Academically, the teachings in these faculties were as diverse as its student composition. In the Faculty of Arts, both traditions of Via Antiqua and Moderna were presented. Therefore, students could select their own orientation in these traditions. In the Faculty of Theology, diverse topics ranging from the omnipotence of God to the Immaculate Conception of Mary to the authority of bishops were debated. A full spectrum of theological schools ranging from Nominalist to Thomist

¹⁴⁴ J. FARGE, “The University of Paris in the time of Ignatius of Loyola,” *Ignacio de Loyola y su tiempo*, 221 – 243, 230 - 231.

¹⁴⁵ The University was found in the middle of the XII century. Working hand in hand with the Parlement, it functioned as one of the most powerful institutions pontificating over social, political, and ecclesiastical issues of France since the early 16th century all the way until the French Revolution at the end of 18th century (J. FARGE, “The University of Paris in the time of Ignatius of Loyola,” 221 – 243; also see P. LÉCRIVAIN, “Paris,” *DEI*, II, 1412-1417).

¹⁴⁶ Ignatius’ letter to Agneti Pascual written from Paris on the 3rd of March, 1528. *Epistolae MHSH I*, p. 74. “Con próspero tiempo y con entera salud de mi persona, por gracia y bondad de Dios N.S., llegué en esta ciudad de Paris á dos dias de Hebrero, donde estoy estudiando hasta que el Señor otra cosa de mí ordene.”

¹⁴⁷ J. FARGE, “The University of Paris,” 223 – 4.

was represented.¹⁴⁸ The Collège of Montaigu, where Erasmus spent one year studying in 1495 and later Ignatius studied in 1529, was the first among all the colleges of the University to establish a system of classes, or levels, of instruction.¹⁴⁹

Being part of one of the most important theological centers in Europe at the time, the Faculty of Theology of the University played a critical role in Church reform, and specifically its response to the works of Erasmus (prob. 1469 – 1536)¹⁵⁰ and his endorsed Humanism.¹⁵¹ The very morning after Íñigo first arrived in Paris, the

¹⁴⁸ J. FARGE, “The University of Paris,” 224.

¹⁴⁹ J. FARGE, “The University of Paris,” 231; G. CODINA MIR, *Aux sources de la pédagogie des Jésuites: le “modus parisiensis,”* IHSI, Roma 1968, 101, 102.

¹⁵⁰ Erasmus’ real name is Desiderius Roterodammensis or Roterodamus. His birth origin remained unclear. He adopted the name “Desiderius” as a Latinized form of the Greek name “Erasmus” in which he was christened. Early in his career, he was trained in the Classics and the writing of the Early Fathers. In 1492, he was ordained a priest. In 1495, to further his study he came to the University of Paris residing at the College of Montaigu. In 1499, he moved to Oxford, England pursuing his Scriptural studies with a great suspicion of Scholasticism. In 1500, he returned to France and rigorously pursued Greek. He returned to England and wrote his Latin translation of the New Testament. After England, he sojourned Italy from 1506 – 9 hoping to find intellectual stimulation there. Unable to find what he was looking for, he returned to England and became the first teacher of Greek in Cambridge. In 1516, he accepted an invitation to come to Brussels where Charles V made him a royal counselor. In 1521 he settled permanently in Basle. However, when the Reformation arrived Basle, he fled to Freiburg in Breisgau and lived there until 1535. He passed away in 1536 in Basle. Some of Erasmus’ well known works included the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* (1504) that demonstrates the usefulness of scholarship for Christian formation and the *Seu Laus Stultitiae* (1509) that criticizes monasticism and corruptions of the Church. Erasmus remained a renown scholar and great thinker of the Church (J. OLIN, *Six Essays on Erasmus and a Translation of Erasmus’ Letter to Carondelet, 1523*, Fordham University Press, New York 1979, special attention to chapter 5 entitled “Interpreting Erasmus” 57 – 74, and chapter 6, “Erasmus and St. Ignatius Loyola” 75 – 92; ID., *Erasmus, Utopia, and the Jesuits: Essays on the Outreach of Humanism*, Fordham University Press, New York 1994; *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd Edition, (F. Cross and E. Livingstone, eds.), Oxford University Press, Oxford 1974, 466 – 7; reference on “Erasmismo y alumbradismo” please read A. HUERGA, *Historia de los alumbrados*, 169 – 187).

¹⁵¹ Generally, humanism as a historical movement between XIV – XVI century has often been mistakenly confused with the Renaissance since the two movements ran parallel to each other and in some cases intimately related in certain historical figures. Unlike other scholars’ opinions, (e.g., Jacob Burckhardt who wrongly ascribed Humanism as one of the roots and essential components of the Renaissance and Konrad Burdach who identified movements of social and religious reform as the origin of Humanism), humanism of the XIV – XVI is the growth of interest in recovering the classical Greek and Latin (more Latin than Greek) cultures, so from them, to learn and to integrate their elegance and wisdom into the current culture. This humanist movement, which was born in Italy through the work of Francesco Petrarca (1304 – 1374), his friends and followers, signified the reaction against scholastic thoughts that dominated the previous century. Inspired by the writings of the Early Fathers, humanists ardently worked towards social, religious and cultural renewal. Consequently, humanist renovation promoted (a) knowledge with piety that means religious doctrine must inspire piety and vice versa; (b) wholesome integration of scientific knowledge and life experience. Science was not done for the sake of science but for the sake of humanity and God; and finally (c) Latinization or Romanization that passionately pursued classical Latin and Cicero. Though humanists remained in love with Platonism, they prefer to read him through Cicero whom they considered the great

Council of Sens convened bishops from the eight dioceses around Paris to deal with heresy and Church reform.¹⁵² Studies of how humanism and effort in Church reform affected Ignatius, his companions while they were at Paris, and later on the Society they founded have been extensive and are beyond the scope of this investigation.¹⁵³ The point, which I want to stress here, is even in the midst of the University's cultural and religious diversity (which inevitably had influence on his social, religious and cultural formation), Íñigo refused to adhere or to identify himself with any single form of culture, but continued to deepen himself in the God-centered multicultural world looking for the goods in each of the individual culture and directing them in the direction towards God.

Having found himself in the midst of the controversy between “positive theology,” which was taught by the Church's Early Fathers and was highly favored among humanistic theologians, and scholastic theology, which had been developed through the Middle Age and taught at the University, Íñigo avoided being caught in an either/or position and drew the best out of the two traditions for those who follow his *Spiritual Exercises*. In the eleventh *regla para el sentido verdadero que en la Iglesia militante debemos tener*, Íñigo wrote:

Alabar la doctrina positiva y escolástica; porque assí como es más proprio de los doctores positivos, assí como de Sant Hierónimo, Sant Augustín y de Sant Gregorio, etc., el mover los afectos para en todo amar y servir a Dios nuestro Señor, assí es más proprio de los escolásticos, así como Sancto Thomás, San Bonaventura y del Maestro de las Sentencias, etc., el diffinir o declarar para

transmitter of classical wisdom. More than often, humanists were wrongly accused of being irreligious, laicism, hedonism, rationalism, and skepticism. But those accusations could easily be proven wrong. Modern studies on humanists including some of its most vocal and hard critics of the Church showed deep affection and firm adherence to the Church and the Roman Pontiff (R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, “Humanismo español,” *DHEE*, 1110 -1113).

¹⁵² J. FARGE, “The University of Paris,” 234.

¹⁵³ For references please see J. O'MALLEY, “The Jesuits, St. Ignatius, and the Counter Reformation,” *SSJ* 14 (January 1982); ID., “Renaissance Humanism and the Religious Culture of the First Jesuits,” *The Heythrop Journal* Vol. XXXI, No. 4, October 1990; ID., “Renaissance Humanism and the first Jesuits” *Ignacio de Loyola y su tiempo*; A. TENENTI, “Ignace, Calvin, et l'humanisme,” 271 – 283, found in the same book.

nuestros tiempos de las cosas necesarias a la salud eterna, y para más impugnar a declarar todos errores y todas falacias [*Ej* 363].

Consequently, Íñigo urged his early companions, whose diverse background and interrelationships I will discuss in the next chapter, to pursue their theological studies in various schools at the University and with various religious orders, namely, both with the Franciscans and the Dominican.¹⁵⁴

One of the most significant cultural changes in Íñigo's personal life during his time in Paris showed his ability to let go something very dear to him for the universal good. Íñigo adopted Ignatius as his official name when he joined the Collège Sainte Bárbara in the fall of 1529. While W.W. Meissner posits that the change from Íñigo to Ignatius “may have reflected a humanist trend to Latinize names”¹⁵⁵ and John O'Malley, suggests that “he mistakenly thought [Ignatius] was a variant of [Íñigo],”¹⁵⁶ detailed research by Gabriel María Verd demonstrated a deliberate and practical choice of Íñigo to adapt and to accommodate himself to the international environment of the University for the universal good.¹⁵⁷ Being a proud Basque who was deeply grounded and proud of his culture and heritage, it is difficult to imagine that Íñigo would have committed such a mistake, especially since the two names are not related. If any mistake had been committed, perhaps it must have on the part of those who

¹⁵⁴ Of the seven theologians whom Ignatius and the early companions called “our most esteemed masters” in 1538, Thomas Laurent and Jean Benoist were Dominicans. Jacques Berthélemy was at the Collège de Sorbonne, François Le Picart and Jean Adam were at the Collège de Navarre, and Pierre de Cornibus was a Franciscan. Their other correspondes included the Dominicans Matthieu Ory and Gilles Binet and the Franciscans Michel Foullon and Richard Du Mans. One of their fondly correspondences also included of Marial Mazurier who sympathized with humanism and the Reformation (J. FARGE, “The University of Paris,” 232; P. LÉCRIVAIN, *Paris au temps d'Ignace de Loyola*, 153 – 159).

¹⁵⁵ W. MEISSNER, *Ignatius of Loyola: The Psychology of a Saint*, Yale University Press, New Haven 1992, 154.

¹⁵⁶ J. O'MALLEY, *The First Jesuits*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge 1993, 29.

¹⁵⁷ G. M. VERD, “De Íñigo a Ignacio,” 113 – 160, 145 – 6.

registered Íñigo at the University.¹⁵⁸ Regarding Ignatius' conscious choice of using various titles to address others, Ribadeneira observed:

Antes que la Compañía se juntase solía llamar a todos ‘vos’, aunque fuessen príncipes y señores grandes, eclesiásticos o seglares y la causa creo que era por desfraçarse, y dar a entender al mundo que no era hombre que entendía su lenguaje; pero después mudó estilo por acomodarse al común, aunque con los de la Compañía guardó el suyo antiguo, y aun duró hartos días, después que le hizieron General, que los otros Padres le llamaban a él ‘vos’ y deste lenguaje gustaba mucho nuestro Padre, por paresçerle que era semejante a el que Christo nuestro Señor usava con sus discípulos, y ellos entre sí. También en el scrivir usó varias maneras al principio scriví: - De bondad pobre, Ignigo -; después: -Vuestro, en el Señor nuestro, Ignigo -; después tomó de Ignatio por ser más universal; y en fin se acomodó en las cortesías al uso común, porque omnia omnibus factus erat, ut omnes lucrifaceret.”¹⁵⁹

The last phrase “omnia omnibus factus erat, ut omnes lucrifaceret” refers to St. Paul's famous policy of adaptation in his ministry in the Corinthian community (1Cor 9:19 – 26).

Relying on Ribadeneira's explanation, Verd concluded that “San Ignacio no se cambió su nombre. Es decir, no intentó cambiarse de nombre. Lo que hizo fue adoptar para Francia e Italia un nombre que creía que era una simple variación del suyo, y que era más aceptable en el extranjero que la forma que se creía una variante de España.”¹⁶⁰ In fact, Ignatius continued to use the two names interchangeably, “Íñigo” among his intimate friends such as Pierre Favre¹⁶¹, Diego Laínez¹⁶² and Francisco Javier,¹⁶³ and “Ignatius” as the first General of the Society of Jesus and in its official documents. Ignatius who was born as a bilingual and bicultural person, once again found himself a person in the multicultural world with the one clear direction. He acknowledged, respected and valued the differences among various

¹⁵⁸ G. M. VERD, “De Íñigo a Ignacio,” 147 – 8.

¹⁵⁹ P. RIBADENEIRA, *De actis Patris nostri Ignatii*, n. 111. FN II 393 and *MScripta* I 392.

¹⁶⁰ G. M. VERD, “De Íñigo a Ignacio,” 157.

¹⁶¹ M. CERTEAU, “Le texte du Mémorial de Favre,” *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique* 36 (1960), 89 - 101.

¹⁶² Francisco Xavier's letter to Laínez's from Lisboa in 1542 aluding to the illness of “the stomach of Father Ynigo.” *Xavier* I, 88.

¹⁶³ L. GONZÁLEZ DE CAMARA, *Memorial*, n. 142 (FN I, 613).

cultures so as to appropriately adapting himself, even it means letting go of his proud Basque heritage, all for the universal good of souls and the greater glory of God.

Finally, in letting go of the self-centered culture, Ignatius found permanent companions who with him vowed to work together in the service of the Church during his time studying in Paris. I will discuss in detail the cultural diversity in existed in life and social background of Ignatius' early companion and how they come together to share the vision and to live out the God-centered multicultural paradigm later. For now, the gather of the first companions, the change in his name, and Ignatius' theological stand on humanistic and scholastic theology proved that the transformation process from the self-centered mono-culture to the God-centered multicultural world was complete as Ignatius' and the early companions' time of study in Paris drew to the end. And together, they embarked on the new journey “volver a Roma y presentarse al Vicario de Cristo, para que los emplease en lo que juzgase ser de más gloria de Dios y utilidad de las almas” [Au 85].

1.2.5 Rome: the General of the Compañía de Jesús

After parting with the companions in Paris, at the doctor's prescription for recuperation from illness Ignatius headed home to his hometown to take in “el aire natal” in Azpeitia [Au 84 – 85] arriving in April 1535.¹⁶⁴ In Azpeitia, Ignatius stayed at the Santa María Magdalena hospital “vivir con los pobres mendigos, comer y dormir con ellos.”¹⁶⁵ During the three months staying in Azpeitia, Ignatius spent time preaching outside of the “pequeña iglesia (de la Magdalena) fuera en el campo,”¹⁶⁶ teaching “la doctrina cristiana todos los días a los niños,” [Au 87]¹⁶⁷ and by preaching

¹⁶⁴ *Obras de San Ignacio de Loyola*, 50; R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 373.

¹⁶⁵ R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 372.

¹⁶⁶ Testimonio de Domenja (Dominica) de Ugarte on August 15, 1595 (*MScripta* II, 183 – 4).

¹⁶⁷ *FN I*, 484.

and teaching catechism with “gran de espíritu y fervor” reforming and transforming the moral life of the town¹⁶⁸ and its clergy.¹⁶⁹ Also, together with the help of his brother, Martín García de Oñas established provisions in favor of the poor.¹⁷⁰ And of course, he came to Loyola to visit the “casa de sus parientes.”¹⁷¹ Ignatius’ short stay yet impressive works in Azpeitia gave witness to a transformed man of service and of grace, and by “por gracia [de Dios] se hizo mucho fruto” [Au 87]. After three months of ministering and recuperating his health, Ignatius left Azpeitia for Venice to gather with his companions as previously planned [Au 85].

Ignatius arrived Venice at the end of December of 1535 ahead of the companions to continue recuperating his health and to finish his theological studies.¹⁷² Unlike his companions, Ignatius arrived in Venice through Bologna where he had hoped to complete his studies of theology.¹⁷³ However, due to the unfavorable weather condition in Bologna that caused him sick, he moved on to Venice [Au 91].

Venice though could be taken as nothing more than a passageway for Ignatius’ journey served as a key leading us to better understanding and appreciation of what had taken place in the pilgrim not only because of its social, political, cultural and religious landscape, but also precisely because Ignatius spent some time in the city on three different occasions during his journey [Au 42, 50, and 92]. During Ignatius’ time, Venice served as point of convergence for Europe. Politically, it remained a

¹⁶⁸ *MScripta* II, 206, 217 – 18, 220, 245.

¹⁶⁹ 209

¹⁷⁰ R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 386 – 7.

¹⁷¹ *MScripta* II, 188; *FN* III, 333.

¹⁷² Ignatius’ letter to the archdeacon and later bishop of Barcelona, Jaime Cazador (Cassador) dated on the 12th of February 1536 read, “determiné de venir a Venecia, donde habrá mes y medio que estoy, en gran manera con mucha mejoría de mi salud, y en compañía y casa de un hombre mucho docto y bueno; que me parece que más a mi propósito en todas estas partidas no pudiera estar” (*Epp* I, 93-94).

¹⁷³ Ignatius was attracted to the University of Bologna because of its resemble of University of Paris where he had studied early. More especially, at the time the University of Bologna was considered the “cuna de la ciencia del Derecho,” and later, with the addition of various Faculties such as Medicine, Arts or Philosophy, and Theology, was known as “uno de los cuatro más altos faros” radiating the light of science over all Europe during the Middle Age (R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 399).

strategic point between Western Europe and the Turks. Culturally, it was a place where the occidental met the oriental. Socially, the city presented a stark contrast between the various neighborhoods of excessive wealth and pockets of the extreme poverty filled with a great number of orphans and widows. And religiously, it served as the dividing line between the Protestant in the north and the Catholic in the south. As a result, one could find great errors and weaknesses in Christianity at the same time encounter strong movement of Catholic reform. Overall, Venice was a city “verdaderamente cosmopolita confluían razas y pueblos diversos, ..., un punto de convergencia y de choque de las más diversas y opuestas ideas teológicas.”¹⁷⁴

Given its cultural and religious background, a comparison of Ignatius’ attitude and behavior on the three different occasions illustrated how he had progressed in his spiritual transformation. His first stay in the city, which took place from mid-May of 1523 to mid-July 1523,¹⁷⁵ showed a man who though committed to trust in God alone, wanted to do so on his own terms. He was determined to go to Jerusalem with a “grande certidumbre en su alma, que Dios le había dubdar sino que había de hallar modo para ir a Jerusalén” [*Au* 40]. However, he struggled with receiving help of others remained scrupulous of his “desconfianza” [*Au* 40, 42]. So, while Ignatius’ commitment to trust God alone was genuine, he still lack “una verdadera libertad interior frente a los medios naturales.”¹⁷⁶

During his second stay in Venice, which lasted less than a month from January to February of 1524, we witnessed a man “titubeante y desconcertado.”¹⁷⁷ Having been turned away from the Holy Land (which for him was a holy thing to do), he engaged in a new pilgrimage, and for the first time, acknowledging “la voluntad de

¹⁷⁴ M. COSTA, “Venecia,” *DEI*, II, 1757 – 1766, 1763.

¹⁷⁵ 1757.

¹⁷⁶ 1759.

¹⁷⁷ 1761.

Dios” working in his life [Au 50]. What happened to Ignatius though on the superficial level seemed like a step backward in his spiritual journey “ha obrado cambios profundos en su espíritu y su persona.”¹⁷⁸ In other words, Ignatius’ self-centeredness began to be shaken up and to be replaced by God-centeredness. As a result, he was free to accept alms from the Venetian man and to take care of his health more properly [Au 50].

Ignatius’ third and final stay in Venice, which lasted from the end of 1536 until the end of October 1537, showed a man transformed. While he remained passionate in his faith “s’exercitava in dare gli exercitii et in alter conversationi spirituali,” [Au 92] he was not only being cared for by “un hombre mucho doctor y bueno” [Epp I, 94] but also took time to cultivate relationship with people of distinguished background, namely, Master Pietro Contarini, Master Gasparo de Dotti and “un spagnuolo, chiamato por nome Roças” (whom the editors of *Monumenta Iganaciana* identified as Rodriguez Rozas, a friend of Ignatius and D. Láinez¹⁷⁹), and Diego de Hoces¹⁸⁰ “il bacigliere” [Au 92], all of whom played important role in the history of the *Compañía* which Ignatius and his companions later found. Unlike previous stay in Venice, this time Ignatius was no longer alone but accompanied by

¹⁷⁸ M. COSTA, “Venecia,” 1761.

¹⁷⁹ 1762.

¹⁸⁰ According to a letter from Cardenal Gerónimo Ghinucci signed April 30, 1537 in Rome to Pope Paul III, it confirmed that Diego Hoces was a priest the Diocesis of Malaga. There we read, “había dado facultad a los reverendos señores Pedro Fabro, maestro en Artes, Antonio Arias, bachiller en Teología, y Diego Hoces, bachiller en Artes, sacerdotes de las respectivas diócesis de Ginebra, Toledo y Málaga, para que pudieran oír las confesiones de todos los fieles y absoverlos también de todos los reservados episcopales” (Originally in ARSI: Hist. Soc. 1b., n. 49; also *MFab* 7-8). We also learned that “el bachiller Hoces trataba mucho con el Peregrino y también con el obispo de Chieti (Carafa)” (*FNI*, 490 – 2). He made the Exercises with Ignatius who in turn presented him to the companions in Venice on January 8, 1537 (G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francisco Javier: su vida y su tiempo (1506 – 1541)*, F. Ariznabarreta (trans. castellana), Vol I, Mensajero, Bilbao 1992, 403; R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 423; W. SOTO ARTUÑEDO, “Diego de Hoces. El primer jesuita malagueño,” *Isla de Arriarán VI* (1995), 309 – 323, 315). After more than a year with the first companions, Diego de Hoces passed away in March, 1538 (G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francisco Javier*, Vol. I, 505; R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 435 – 6; W. SOTO ARTUÑEDO, “Diego de Hoces,” 318 listed the day as March 13, 1538).

nine companions [Au 93]. More importantly, while he and his companions had their hearts set on the Holy Land, they had alternative plan “se no gli fosse data licencia di restare in Hierusalem, ritornarsene a Roma et presentarsi al Vicario di Cristo, acciò gli adoperasse dove giudicasse esser più a gloria di Dio et utile delle anime” [Au 85]. Experience had opened Ignatius’ vision towards God’s different possibilities. The doubts, which Ignatius expressed in the same letter to Jaime Cassador concerning the uncertainty of where the Lord wanted him to help souls [Epp I, 93 – 99],¹⁸¹ demonstrated a profound freedom and trust in God. During the third and final stay in Venice, Ignatius was transformed, no longer stuck in the self-centered culture but taken completely into the God-centered multicultural world. Hence, with the newly found freedom and trust in God, “poi, finito l’anno, et non si trovando passaggio, si deliberorno di andare a Roma” [Au 96].

After having been in Venice for more than a year and unable to find any passage to the Holy Land, Ignatius and the companions decided to go to Rome [Au 96]. Comparing to the Rome where Ignatius visited fourteen years earlier, the city where Ignatius and the early companions arrived in November of 1537, had gone through devastated political conflicts and violence. The Sac of Rome in 1527 incited subsequent murders, rapes, and vandalism that left the city in great damage. The flood in 1530 that followed by a famine in 1532 further destroyed the city. All had devastated the city physically, morally and psychologically.¹⁸² Thus, Rome was very much in need of being renovated at the time Ignatius and the early companions arrived.

¹⁸¹ “Esto se debe entender, clauue non errante, si fuera de España en cosas más afrontosas y trabajosas para mí, Dios N.S. no me pusiere, *lo que no soy çierto de lo vno ni de lo otro*; mas siempre en estado de predicar en pobreza, y no con la largueza y enbaraços que al presente con el estudio tengo.” *Italic is mine.*

¹⁸² P. HURTUBISE, “Rome au temps d’Ignace de Loyola,” *Ignacio de Loyola y su tiempo*, 441 – 471, 441 – 442.

The election of Pope Paul III (1468 – 1549) in 1534, the first Roman citizen elected to the papacy in almost 100 years since Martin V (1368 – 1431), initiated a Catholic reform.¹⁸³ One of the main measures which Pope Paul III took was to reorganize the demographic of the culturally diverse and populated city. The reorganization of the city consisted of first regrouping its population of 50,000 to 55,000 based on nationality and profession, then redistributing 80% of its population along the side of the Tiber River. Ignatius and his early companions did not belong to this 80%. Instead, they chose to live in the heart of the city¹⁸⁴ near the Jewish quarter.¹⁸⁵ The city was culturally and religiously diverse. Out of the total population, 60% were Italians, 20% Spanish, French, and German, and 20% other nationalities. Among the Italians, 12% originated from the Papal State, 12% from Milan, 11% from Tuscany, and the rest from other provinces. Though the percentage of Roman citizens who lived in the city had increased comparing to previous years, in 1547 the Roman Marcella Alberini continued to lament about the fact that he and his fellow Romans were considered as a minority in their own city. And thirty-four years after him, Montaigne did not hesitate to call Rome a “city of outside scavengers.”¹⁸⁶

Religiously, church reform was promoted and carried out by diverse groups such as the *spirituali* and the *zelanti* and individuals such as Philipe Neri and Cardinal Gian Pietro Carafa, later Pope Paul IV, to provide Rome with a better Christian outlook.¹⁸⁷ Coming to Rome, Ignatius and the companions entered right into its network of cultural and diversity of Rome, its dynamic and spirit of reform. And in return, the city seemed opened its arms welcoming their presence and what they

¹⁸³ R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 233.

¹⁸⁴ P. HURTUBISE, “Rome au temps d’Ignace de Loyola,” 447 - 452.

¹⁸⁵ P. TACCHI VENTURI, “Le case abitate in Roma da Ignazio de Loiola secondo un inedito documento del tempo,” *Studi di Storia e Diritte* (Rome, 1899), XX, 318 – 319.

¹⁸⁶ P. HURTUBISE, “Rome au temps d’Ignace de Loyola,” 454.

¹⁸⁷ 462 – 466.

offered. Ignatius' vision at La Storta on his way from Venice to Rome [*Au* 96] where God the Father had promised him that, “*Ego ero vobis Romae propitius*”¹⁸⁸ foreshadowed such a favorable context where Ignatius and his early companions began to make their dream and vision into reality.

Given the newly found freedom and trust in God who “le ponía con Cristo,” it came as a no surprise that Ignatius chose the name *Compañía de Jesús* for his group of companions during the deliberation in Vincenza from September to October of 1537. Polanco told us,

Cuanto al nombre de la Compañía y modo cómo se hizo y confirmó etc., lo que de información y escrituras de los mimos padres de la Compañía he podido saber, es lo siguiente. El nombre es la Compañía, y tomóse este nombre antes que llegasen a Roma que tratando entre sí cómo llamarían a quien les pidiese qué congregación ere la suya (que era de 9 ó 10 personas), comenzaron a darse a la oración y pensar qué nombre sería más conveniente; y visto que no tenían cabeza ninguna entre sí, ni otro propósito sino a Jesucristo, a quien sólo deseaban servir, parecióles que tomasen nombre del que tenían por cabeza, diciéndose la *Compañía de Jesús*.¹⁸⁹

Clearly, the reason for which Ignatius chose *Compañía de Jesús* for his group revealed the kind of culture he and his companions embraced and fostered for future generations, the culture where Jesus is the head or the center of all who they are and of all that they do. Thus, Ignatius' cultural and spiritual transformation came to its fullness as he and his companions arrived to Rome. Ignatius who began his journey as a solitary caballero locked up in the self-centered culture restlessly giving himself over to “vanidades del mundo” had become a member of the *Compañía de Jesús* laboring side by side with other companions striving towards God's glory and the good of souls.

¹⁸⁸ *FN I*, 313. In the note of Saturday, the 23rd of February 1544 of his *Diario espiritual*, Ignatius again recalled the vision at La Storta “cuando el Padre me puso con el Hijo” [67].

¹⁸⁹ *FN I*, 203 – 204. Italic is mine.

While God's grace certainly was at work in Ignatius, his early companions, and their mission, it took a person such as Ignatius who possessed a deep trust in God and tremendous cultural skills to navigate his way among the complicated network of Roman cultures and politics in order to have the Society of Jesus approved on the 27th of September, 1540 by the Roman Curia whose attitude at the time was against the establishment of any new religious order,¹⁹⁰ and to guide the newly found Society under the not so friendly papacy of Paul IV (1555 – 1559).¹⁹¹ As the First General of the Society of Jesus, Ignatius, whose policy concerning mission and culture will be discussed later in the chapter, witnessed the worldwide growth of the Society of Jesus. By the time of his death on July 31 of 1556, Jesuits were in four corners of the world extending from Europe to India (1542), Japan (1549), Africa (1548), and Brazil (1549).¹⁹² Their ministry included education, foreign missions, retreats, diplomatic missions, and reform of religious communities.¹⁹³ The cultural and spiritual transformative experience and formation of the then Íñigo and now Ignatius had become the life, the mission, and the vision of the *Compañía de Jesús* reaching out to the world. And how fittingly that the multicultural Society of Jesus was not found by Ignatius alone but a band of culturally diverse companions who worked not for their own goods but towards God's glory and the good of souls. In this regard, the *Compañía de Jesús* itself exemplifies what it means to live in the God-centered multicultural world.

¹⁹⁰ J. CONWELL, "Cardinal Guidiccioni and Ghinucci Faced with the Solemn Approbation of the Society of Jesus," *AHSI* 66 (1997) 3 - 50, 6 – 7.

¹⁹¹ J. O'MALLEY, *The First Jesuits*, 161.

¹⁹² W. BANGERT, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, IJS, Saint Louis 1986, 29 - 39.

¹⁹³ 45.

1.3 Los primeros compañeros y las deliberaciones 1539

How do the first companions of the Compañía de Jesús lived out their call and mission in the God-centered multicultural world at the practical level? *Las deliberaciones de 1539*¹⁹⁴ provided us the first glimpse into the Compañía's first practical business of how Ignatius and the first companions went about to decide on “la forma de vida que deberían seguir en el futuro,”¹⁹⁵ thus making a conscious decision on the cultural form in which they and the future companions will live. Due to the scope of this investigation, I will not provide in detail the cultural background of each of the early companions. However, what I am doing is to emphasize *Las deliberaciones de 1539* and the fact that these had taken place in the midst of the cultural diversity that was embedded in the companions' background and further diversified in their mission. Through the deliberations of 1539, the first companions consciously and unanimously decided to confirm for themselves and to adopt the God-centered multicultural paradigm for all members of the Compañía de Jesús. Thus, to enter into the Compañía de Jesús consists of trans-forming oneself into this God-centered multicultural Society.

As previously planned the ten companions, who had vowed together in Montmartre (Paris)

¹⁹⁴ The “Deliberaciones 1539” refers to a document written in Latin found in *MCo* I, 1-7, narrating precisely about the deliberation of the first companions in 1539. The document whose Latin title is *Deliberatio primorum patrum* is “el más antiguo entre los que se consideran como antecedentes de las *Constitutiones* de la CJ, y fundamento de todos ellos.” As indicated in the document, the deliberation took place towards the end of Lent [L1,1]. In 1539, Ash Wednesday or the beginning of Lent fell on February 19th; Easter Sunday, April 6th. Thus, the deliberation of the first companions took place some time between the end of March and the beginning of April of 1539. Among the ten companions who participated in the deliberation, Jean Codure was thought to be its possible scribe. However, Dalamases following Schurhammer's opinion suggested that the document was recorded by Antonio Estrada who were living with the companions during those days (J. CONWELL, “Deliberation 1539,” *DEI*, I, 549 – 553, 549). The Spanish translation is found in A. COEMANS, “La Formula del Instituto aprobada por Paulo III y Julio III,” *Introduccion al estudio de la Formula del Instituto S.I., CIS*, Roma 1974, 7 -58). The English translation is found in “The Deliberation of Our First Fathers,” *Woodstock Letters* 95 (1966): 325 -333, translated by D. Maruca. I will use the Spanish version, otherwise noted.

¹⁹⁵ R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, 461.

Ir a Venecia y a Jerusalén, y gastar su vida en provecho de las almas; y si no consiguiesen permiso para quedarse en Jerusalén, volver a Roma y presentarse al Vicario de Cristo, para que los emplease en lo que juzgase ser de más gloria de Dios y utilidad de las almas [*Au* 85],

gathered themselves in Venice at the beginning of 1537 [*Au* 93]. And after having waited for more than a year and unable to find passage to the Holy Land, they left Venice and went to Rome to offer themselves to the Vicar of Christ.¹⁹⁶ At their offerings, Pope Paul III (1468 – 1549)¹⁹⁷ asked the companions to stay in Rome to help with the spiritual renovation that he had started.¹⁹⁸ So, they obeyed the papal request and immediately engaged themselves in various ministries. We read from R. García-Villoslada the works that were asked and demanded upon the early companions.

Lo hicieron en verdad, de mil amores, pero cada día llegaban más frecuentes peticiones de obispos, de príncipes, de embajadores, que conociendo la transformación religiosa y oral que se notaba en todas las ciudades donde estos operarios apostólicos predicaban con la fuerza persuasiva de la palabra y con la santidad de la vida, suplicaban a Ignacio les mandase alguno de su compañía para algunas semanas o para varios meses, o mucho más, para tierras lejanas, como las Indias.¹⁹⁹

At the time of the deliberation, Broet and Rodríguez were about to be sent by the Pope to Siena; Favre and Láinez to Parma; and Bobadilla, to Naples.²⁰⁰ Therefore, having anticipated of being dispersed on different missions, the early companions had to deal with the practical questions of whether “sería más expediente que estuviésemos de tal suerte unidos entre nosotros y coligados en un cuerpo que

¹⁹⁶ *Epp* I, 132.

¹⁹⁷ Pope Paul III whose real name was Alessandro Farnese was one of the four popes which Ignatius and the early companions served as Vicar of Christ. His pontificate, which began in 1534 and ended in 1549 when he died, took place right after the Sac of Rome (1527) and when the Catholic Church began to undergo her own reformation following the Protestant Reformation (1517 – 1648). As a result, Pope Paul became one of the great figures in the Catholic reform in the XVI century. It was him who provided decisive steps to find and to consolidate the Society of Jesus (J. PADBERG, “Papa,” *DEI*, II, 1408 – 1412).

¹⁹⁸ R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 461. We heard from Polanco that Pope Paul III “no quiso que pasasen a Tierra Santa, sino que quedasen para servir a Dios a la Iglesia en estas partes” (*PoCo* I, 509 – 510).

¹⁹⁹ R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 461.

²⁰⁰ “The Deliberation of Our First Fathers,” 327.

ninguna división de cuerpos, por grande que fuese, nos separase” [3]? And if they chose to remain united, how were they going to maintain such unity given the diverse nature of their mission and location [4]? From the cultural perspective, the first question dealt directly with the issue of which form of culture which the first companions wanted to lead their life and their mission, the self-centered monocultural or the God-centered multicultural? And the second, if they chose the latter, how were they going about to maintain the unity in the midst of diversity?

Prior to engage in any discussion, the companions having recognized their cultural plurality and its complexity²⁰¹, “unanimously devoted themselves to prayer, fasting, and meditation in a manner even more fervent than usual” so to “discover the gracious design of God’s will within the scope of our vocation” [1]. In doing so, the companions had committed themselves to the God-centered multicultural paradigm. Consequently, they collectively resolve the first question without any great difficulties, that is, to commit themselves “not to sever what God has united and bound together, but to confirm and strengthen the bond of union, forming ourselves into a single body centering on “whatever the Lord inspired and the Apostolic See subsequently confirmed and approved” [3].

The second issue of how to maintain the unity among the diversity was met with more difficulty. The question was asked,

Si sería expediente, digo, hacer otro tercer voto, de obedecer a alguno de nosotros, para que con mayor sinceridad, alabanza y mérito, pudiésemos en todo y por todo hacer la voluntad de Dios N.S., y juntamente la libre voluntad y precepto de Su Santidad, a quien gustosísimamente habíamos ofrecido todas nuestras cosas, la voluntad, el entendimiento, el poder y la hacienda [4].

²⁰¹ Of the ten companions, Ignatius and Javier were Basque; Lainez, Salmerón, and Bobadilla Castilian; Rodríguez Portuguese; Fabre and Jay of Savoy, south of France; Broet of Picardy, north of France; and Codure of Provence, south of France (J. CONWELL, “Deliberaciones 1539,” 550). Also, they came from different social classes, and their ages ranged from nineteen to about forty-three (J. O’MALLEY, *The First Jesuits*, 32).

How the first companions went about to resolve the issue at hand provided a model of discernment for all Jesuits who engaged in the God-centered multicultural world. After having recognized the resisting challenge, instead of continue to address the issue directly, the companions looked for new ways of obtaining the solution. In other words, they decided to deliberate on how to deliberate. Various alternatives were proposed.

Si convendría retirarnos todos a algún desierto, y estarnos en el por 30 o por 40 días, empleándonos en meditación, ayunos y penitencias, para que el Señor oyera nuestros deseos, y se dignara de imprimir en nuestras mentes la solución? O si irían tres o cuatro allá, en nombre de todos, para el mismo efecto? O si, en caso de que ningunos hubiesen de ir al desierto, que dándonos dentro de Roma, aplicaríamos la mitad del día a este nuestro negocio principal, para que tuviésemos mayor y más cómodo lugar de meditar, pensar y orar, y el resto del día gustaríamos en nuestros acostumbrados ejercicios de predicar y de oír confesiones? [5]

At the end of deliberation and examination, they decided not to go away but to continue the process of deliberation in the midst of Rome's cultural diversity and complexity. They did so for two reasons: the first is to avoid any possible scandals among the faithful who associated with them, and the second is not to loose any fruits from their effective labors which they had started [6]. It is important to note that the motivation behind both of these reasons remained for the good of souls.

What the companions determined to do next was to entrust the task on each individual member of the group, making sure the integrity of individual discernment.

First, each must strive to, insofar as it depends *on his personal efforts*, so to dispose himself that he would rather obey than command, whenever glory to God and praise to His Majesty would follow in equal measure. Second, no one should talk over this matter with another or ask his arguments *so not to be swayed by another's* reasoning or disposed more favorably towards embracing obedience rather than towards rejecting it, or vice versa. Thirdly, each should consider himself unrelated to our company, into which he never expected to be received... As an extern, he might *freely advance for discussion his opinion* concerning the taking or rejecting of obedience, ... promote God's greater service and assure the Society's permanence [6]. (*Italics are mine*)

Interestingly, by assuring the integrity of the discernment at the individual level, the early companions also preserve and protect the diversity of the group. Thus, for the early companions, diversity and unity serve not as conflicting but complementary forces that originate in God and moving towards God. With these dispositions of mind and heart, their decision was unanimously affirmative, *non per plurium vocum sententias, sed nullo prorsus dissidente*, that “it would be more advantageous and even essential for us to vow obedience to one of our number” [8].

Both Villoslada and Conwell pointed out the fact that the early companions did not invent these steps of discernment at the deliberation, but acted out of the grace of the spiritual transformation that resulted from having made the *Spiritual Exercises*. What they did during the deliberation was to follow the guidelines and instructions, which the *Spiritual Exercises*, namely, [178 – 188] provides.²⁰² Hence, the *Deliberaciones 1539*, a practical manifestation of the *Spiritual Exercises*, illustrates how the early companions had embraced and embodied the God-centered multicultural Compañía de Jesús. As the early companions had lived and practiced it, so it is essential that all members of the Compañía to follow. Thus, culturally, to become a member of the Compañía de Jesús means engaging in the ongoing process of transforming and adapting oneself to the God-centered multi-cultural family.

2. CONCLUSION

So far, in this chapter, this investigation has retraced the origin of the Compañía de Jesús, tracking the spirit of its chief founder, Saint Ignatius of Loyola and the original inspiration and discernment that embodies that spirit. Ignatius’ life experience: his transformation and his zeal for service, all of which had been

²⁰² R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 463; J. CONWELL, “Deliberaciones 1539,” 551.

immersed and molded by God through the diverse cultural currents of his time. Ignatius who was stripped of his own will adopted and adapted the will of God allowing himself to be taught by God “de la manera que trata un maestro de escuela a un niño, enseñándole” [Au 27]. In the next chapter, we will see how Ignatius distilled what he had learned and instilled them into the foundational documents of the Society of Jesus.

Before moving on, however, in reexamine Ignatius’ life, it is important to take time to give thanks to Our Lord who has graciously granted the Society of Jesus its *prima forma et gratia*,²⁰³ for “a Ignacio tomó Dios por medio para comunicar esta gracia, y quiso que fuera ministro desta vocación, y en él nos ha puesto un vivo ejemplo de nuestro modo de proceder.”²⁰⁴ Thus, in Ignatius’ own spiritual itinerary, we found the “original spirit of the institutes” which the Second Vatican Council asked all Jesuits to return, so renew their lives and their vocation.

²⁰³ FN I, 11; II, 2.5.6.43.143.165.227

²⁰⁴ FN II, 309.

CHAPTER 4

GOD-CENTERED MULTICULTURE: *An Ignatian Paradigm*

The understanding that Ignatius received taught him a contemplative way of standing in the world, of contemplating God at work in the depths of things, of tasting “the infinite sweetness and charm of the divinity, of the soul, of its virtues and of everything there.” Starting from the contemplation of the incarnation it is clear that Ignatius does not sweeten or falsify painful realities. Rather he begins with them, exactly as they are – poverty, forced displacement, violence between people, abandonment, structural injustice, sin – but then he points to how God’s son was born into these realities; and it is here that sweetness is found. Tasting and seeing God in reality is a process.

GC 35, D. 2, no. 6

1. FOUNDATIONAL DOCUMENTS OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS

“The original inspiration of the Society [of Jesus],” confirmed by the 32nd General Congregation, is found in “the *Formula of the Institute* and the *Constitutions*¹” (2, 10). Furthermore, the 35th General Congregation teaches us that in the *Spiritual Exercises* “we find the origins of the mysticism of service of St. Ignatius and his First Companions” (4, 2) and in the *Constitutions* “the spiritual formation to prepare Jesuits in formation for apostolic life in the Society” (4, 7) and “the fundamental virtues of apostolic life in the Society” among formed Jesuits (4, 8). Truly, the *Spiritual Exercises* reflected Saint Ignatius’ personal spiritual journey and conversion, and the *Formula of the Institute* and the *Constitutions* reflected the

¹ In the Society of Jesus, the *Formula of the Institute* and the *Constitutions* relate to one another intimately. In fact, they are like the two sides of the same coin. They share the same founder and author. The Formula often refers to the Constitutions as the source of its interpretation, “as will be explained in the Constitutions” (FI 6) or “as will be explained more fully in the Constitutions” (FI 9). Thus, through the Constitutions, the author gave the “exact interpretation of what might be doubtful in the Formula as he understands it himself,” to explain and to complete “what the Formula may have left implicit.” Therefore, the Constitutions “can be said to be the Formula expounded and developed by the author himself” (A. ALDAMA, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus: An Introductory Commentary on the Constitutions*, IJS, Saint Louis 1990, 35; J. CORELLA, “¿Qué es la Fórmula del Instituto y cómo se hizo?” *Constituciones de la Compañía de Jesús. Introducción y notas para su lectura*, edited by S. Arzubialde et als., Mensajero – Sal Terrae, Bilbao – Santander 1993, 13 – 2; P. KOLVENBACH, “A la Congregación de Provinciales en el 450 Aniversario de la aprobación de la Fórmula del Instituto por el Papa Paulo III (Loyola, 26 de septiembre de 1990),” *Selección*, 253 – 268).

apostolic zeal of Saint Ignatius and his first companions. Hence, the *Spiritual Exercises*, the *Formula of the Institute* and the *Constitutions* consist of fundamental and foundational elements that constitute the spirituality of the Society of Jesus, its life and mission. Commenting on the intimate relationship between the *Spiritual Exercises* and the *Constitutions*, Iparraguirre wrote,

Las *Constituciones* de la Compañía de Jesús y los *Ejercicios espirituales* no sólo son las dos obras maestras de San Ignacio; son dos escritos que se complementan mutuamente. Los *Ejercicios* son la medula íntima, el núcleo sustancial de espíritu del Santo. En las *Constituciones* vive el mismo espíritu, pero con cuerpo concreto al que da vigor y energía. Los *Ejercicios* necesitan de las *Constituciones* como el alma del cuerpo, del órgano en que pueda desenvolverse la materia y realizar sus funciones más vitales. Las *Constituciones* necesitan de los *Ejercicios* como el fruto de la semilla.²

The intimacy between the *Spiritual Exercises*, the *Formula of the Institute*, and the *Constitutions* is clear and beautifully expressed. In this chapter, I wish neither to explore any further this intimate relationship since both lie beyond the scope of this investigation. What I intend to do is, as in the previous section, to focus the light of cultural pluralism on these foundational documents to learn how the original charism of the Society of Jesus understands and treats the question of cultural plurality, so to discern for more practical and effective means of inculturation of the Christian faith in today's multicultural world. Because of their fundamental role in the life of the Society of Jesus, a brief historical background on these documents deems necessary.

² *Obras de San Ignacio*, 433. More on the relationship between the *Exercises* and the *Constitutions*, please see A. ALDAMA, “¿Los Ejercicios son el alma de las Constituciones?” *Man* 48 (1975) 129 – 140; M. RUIZ JURADO, “Ejercicios y Constituciones,” *Man* 43 (1971) 149 – 166; M. COSTA, “Ejercicios Espirituales y Constituciones: Significado de la ‘experiencia’ en la relación mutua entre ambos textos,” *Man* 63 (1991) 441 – 34; “Introductory Discourses of Father General” at the 34th General Congregation, *Jesuit Life & Mission Today*, 673 – 692; H. ALPHONSO, *Placed with Christ the Son: Glimpses into the Spirituality of the Constitutions*, Gujarat Sahitya Prakash, Anand 1993).

1.1 Historical background

1.1.1 *The Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius of Loyola*

The Spiritual Exercises were written and completed in various phases during Saint Ignatius's spiritual journey. The first phase was his convalescent period in Loyola (1521 – 1522), when he began to note his experience of the movements of different spirits. The second phase was from the time when he was in Manresa until his time in Salamanca (1522 – 1527). What Ignatius noted during his time in Manresa corresponded to the three different spiritual episodes that he experienced, namely, the grand fervor and serenity, the temptation and scrupulosity, and the beatific vision at the Cardoner. Furthermore, it was towards the end of this period, in Alcalá de Henares in 1526, that Ignatius first gave people the rudimentary form of the First Week of the *Exercises* [Au 57]. The third phase was Ignatius' time studying in Paris (1528 – 1535). It was in Paris where Ignatius first gave the *Exercises* to the Spanish nationals with his Spanish notes.³

A Latin version of the *Exercises* was needed when Ignatius met and wanted to give the exercises to non-Spanish, such as Pierre Favre⁴ and Claude Jay⁵ (of Savoy,

³ S. ARZUBIALDE, *Ejercicios*, 31 – 62.

⁴ Pierre Favre together with Francisco Javier was the first companion of Ignatius at the College of Saint Barbara of Paris in 1528. Also, he was one of the first seven companions who pronounced their vows at Montmartre on the 15th of August 1534. Pierre Favre was born on the 13th of April 1506 as a shepherd in Villareto, of the high country of Savoy (Haute-Savoie). At the age of nineteen, he attended University of Paris and enrolled at the College of Saint Barbara where he befriended with Francis Xavier. He obtained the Licentiate Degree in Arts on the 15th of March 1530. He first met Iñigo de Loyola in October 1528. In 1534, he completed the Spiritual Exercises under the Ignatius' direction, and in turn, gave them to the others. Among the first companions, Ignatius considered Favre to be the best person who directed the Spiritual Exercises (FN I, 658), while Lainez referred to him as "hermano mayor de todos" (FN I, 104). For the mission, he traveled extensively to various parts of Europe, namely, Rome, Italy, Germany, Portugal, and Spain as a theological adviser, retreat director, and confidant to different bishops. In 1546, he was called to Rome to attend the Council of Trent. He arrived Rome but never made it to the Council since he fell ill and passed away there on the 1st of August 1546 (A. ALBURQUERQUE, "Fabro, Pedro," *DEI*, I, 863 – 868; S. LEITNER, "The Spirituality of Peter Faber," *Review of Ignatian Spirituality*, 36/106 (2005), 1 – 23; G. MELLINATO, "Pierre Favre 1506 – 1546," *AHSI* (1990) 185 – 190; J. GARCÍA DE CASTRO, "Pedro Fabro (1506 – 1546). Inspirador y constructor de la primera Compañía de Jesús," *Estudios eclesiásticos* 82 (2007) 235 – 276; M. CERTEAU, "Pierre Favre and the Experience of Salvation," *The Way* 45/4 (2006) 21 – 40).

south of France), Jean Codure⁶ (Provence, south of France), and Paschase Broët⁷ (Picardy, north of France). Thus, the *Versio prima latina*, the first Latin translation often known as (P1), of the *Exercises* was done by J.B. Viola from May to July of 1541 through different stages of redactions.⁸ The first redaction, which begun in

⁵ Claude Jay was one of the ten first companions of the “grupo de París.” He was born around 1504 in Vulliet, a little Saboyan town of Genova. He was the boyhood friend of Pierre Favre and remained an intimate friend for the rest of his life. Both Favre and Jay studied Latin and Greek classics under Pierre Velliard’s tutorship. In 1528, he was ordained to the priesthood in Genova. In 1534, at Favre’s encouragement he came to Paris and enrolled himself at College of Saint Barbara. While at the College, he made the Exercises with Favre, who in turn recruited him along with Paschase Broët and Jean Codure to join the other six companions to be “amigos en el Señor.” For the mission, he worked in Rome, Germany, Ingolstadt, Augsburg, and Vienna as a confessor, preacher, and catechist. He was presented at the *Deliberation of 1539* and was among the six who signed the document. Also, he was sent to the Council of Trent by the bishop of Augsburg and attended the opening of the Council. His discourse on the Scripture and tradition played a significant role in the first part of the Council. He spent the last years of his life working on opening a new Jesuit school in Augsburg. He passed away on the 6th of August 1552. J. Polanco described Claude Jay as “un hombre amable con todos por su humildad, admirado por su prudencia y santidad” (*Chron II*, 572; J. GARCÍA DE CASTRO, “Jayo, Claudio,” *DEI*, II, 1054-1061; ID. “Claudio Jayo (Vulliet Ca. 1504 – Viena 1552: compañero, teólogo, apóstol,” *Estudios Eclesiásticos* 80 (2005) 485 – 542; J. PADBERG, “The Three Forgotten Founders of the Society of Jesus: Paschase Broët, Jean Codure, Claude Jay,” *SSJ* 29/2 (1997); L. SZILAS, “Claude Jay c. 1500 – 1552,” *AHSI* (1990) 227 – 237; W. BANGERT, *Claude Jay and Alfonso Salmeron: Two Early Jesuits*, Loyola University Press, Chicago 1985).

⁶Jean Codure was perhaps the least known companion among the first ten companions (Primi Patres) of the Society of Jesus. He was born in Provence (France) on the 24th of June 1508. His growing years remain largely unknown. In 1534, he came to Paris to study and there he befriended and made the Spiritual Exercises with Favre. Through Favre’s recruitment, he joined the group of the First Companions pronouncing the Montmartre vows on 15th of August 1536. J. Codure played an important role in developing and redacting the founding documents for the newly born Society, participated and signed in the Deliberations of 1539, signed the “Votes of Obedience” in 1539, helped to redact the so called Constitutions of 1541 and the document to found Jesuit schools. He passed away on the 29th of August 1541 (C. de DALMASES, “Juan Codure, autor probable de la explicación de los Ejercicios atribuida a Polanco,” *AHSI* 37 (1968) 145 – 151; J. GARCÍA DE CASTRO, “Codure, Jean,” *DEI*, 329-331; J. PADBERG, “The Three Forgotten Founders of the Society of Jesus”; M. COLPO, “Jean Codure 1508-1541,” *AHSI* 59 (1990) 315 – 322).

⁷ Like Claude Jay and Jean Codure, Paschase Broët became one among the last who joined the “grupo de París.” He was born around 1500 in the village of Betrancourt in Picardy. He was ordained to the priesthood in 1524. In 1534, he came to Paris to complete his studies. While studying in Paris, like Claude Jay and Jean Codure, he met Favre who directed him through the Spiritual Exercises and recruited him to join the group. On 15th of August 1536, he pronounced the vows at Montmartre with the other nine founding fathers (Primi Patres) of the Society of Jesus. For the first part of his life in the Society, he worked mostly in Rome and Italy as preacher, confessor, and reconciler. In fact, he was the first companion who received the mission of Pope Paul III, who in 1539 sent him to Sienna to appease a community of Benedictine nuns. For the most of the last ten years of his life, he worked in Paris protecting and defending the Society from the opposition of the French Parlement. He passed away on the 14th of July 1562 (J. GARCÍA DE CASTRO, “Broët, Pascasio,” *DEI*, I, 246-250; J. PADBERG, “The Three Forgotten Founders of the Society of Jesus”; M. COLPO, “Paschase Broët 1500-1562,” *AHSI* 59 (1990) 239 – 256).

⁸ S. ARZUBIALDE, *Ejercicios*, 41. Juan Bautista Viola was one among the “nombres que aparecerán frecuentemente en la historia de los primeros años de la Compañía.” He made the Spiritual Exercises under the guidance of Pierre Favre and Diego Laínez when they came to Parma in April 1539 at the request of Cardenal Filonardi for the reform of the city. J.B. Viola entered the Society in 1540, made

February of 1528 and ended in April of 1535 when Ignatius left Paris, consisted of corrections made by Ignatius, Favre, and Juan Peña when the three were studying together in Paris. Also, the J. Helyar text, which was written in Paris in 1535, served as a source of redaction for P₁ during this first stage.⁹

The second stage, which started in 1536 and ended in 1541 during Ignatius' time in Rome, went through two different phases. The first phase ran from 1536 until 1539, during which Favre and Salmerón served as “segundo corrector y tercer traductor” of the text into Latin. The second phase took place from 1539 to 1541, during which P₁ was completed. Most significantly, subsequent to these two phases, further redaction of P₁ was done with the assistance of the *Autógrafo*, a Spanish manuscript, which though not written by Ignatius, bore numerous notes and corrections by his hands, between 1544 and 1547.¹⁰

The third stage ran from 1546 to 1547 during which Andrés des Freux,¹¹ a French Jesuit who was well trained in classical Latin, was commissioned by the

his novitiate in Rome and spent his years of philosophy studies at the College of Lombardi. In 1549, he was authorized by Ignatius to pronounce his vows as a spiritual coadjutor and superior of the scholastic community in Paris. He held the position until 1553 when Broët took over due to the hostile situation created by the French Parlement and the University of Paris (A. ALBURQUERQUE, “Historia de la Vulgata,” *Las Fuentes de los Ejercicios Espirituales de San Ignacio*, 13 – 63; R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 622 – 3; A. RAVIER, *Ignacio de Loyola: Fundador de la Compañía de Jesús*, Espasa – Calpe, Madrid 1991, 114).

⁹ S. ARZUBIALDE, *Ejercicios*, 41 – 49. The Helyar text is earliest text of the *Exercises* which we have. It was written in 1535 either by Ignatius or most probably by Favre while directing the English priest John Helyar, who was seeking refuge in Paris during the persecution in England by Henry VIII (I. de LOYOLA, *Ejercicios Espirituales*, 30).

¹⁰ S. ARZUBIALDE, *Ejercicios*, 49 – 60.

¹¹ Andrés des Freux was born in Chartres, France in 1515. He came to Rome in 1541 and there he met Juan de Polanco. Lainez gave both of them the Exercises in 1541, after which they both entered the Society in the summer of the same year (*Chron* I, 91). From 1542 to 1546, he studied theology in Padua. He returned to Rome and was entrusted with the task of translating the Exercises into Latin by Ignatius between September of 1546 and March of 1547 (A. ALBURQUERQUE, “Historia de la Vulgata,” 13 – 63, 15 – 20; also L. LUKÁCS, “Frusius (des Freux), Andreas,” *DHCJ*, II, 1537). Regarding his skills, here is what Ignatius said about him: “Maestro Andrés, que va por lector, no sé de qué, porque es para todo, con aver seydo diligente, y ser docto en artes y en theología scholástica y en la Scriptura, tiene eminentia en las lenguas latina y griega, y también sabe la hebrea. Y aunque es rethórico, tiene especial don de Dios en verso; porque es así que no sé de hombre oy, que más docta y pía y generosa musa (todo juntado) tenga que él, ni más natural y fácil. Es también entendido en matemáticas, y sutil en hazer los instrumentos” (*Epp* II, 26).

Society to produce a better Latin translation of the *Exercises* to be approved by the Holy See. Pope Paul III approved Freux's work, the *Vulgata*, on July 31, 1548. Later on, both the *Versio prima latina* and the *Vulgata* were approved by examiners who were appointed by the Holy See, namely, Cardenal Juan Alvarez de Toledo, O.P., Gil Foscarari, 'Maestro del Sacro Palacio', and Felipe Archinto, Papal Vicar in Rome.¹²

Regarding the content and source of inspiration of the *Exercises*, there were two competing schools of thought in the 20th century. The first, whose representatives were A. Codina, I. Casanovas, J. Calveras, and M. Ruiz Jurado, believed that Ignatius's Manresa experience remained the foundation of the *Exercises*. The other school, whose representatives were H. Watrigant, P. Leturia, and M. Batllori, was convinced that the *Exercises* were influenced and drew upon the various texts, which Ignatius read during his spiritual conversion and formation.¹³ In either case, one can conclude for sure that the *Spiritual Exercises* reflected Ignatius' personal experience and his encounter with other spiritual traditions on his journey.¹⁴

1.1.2 The Formula of the Institute

In the decree 4 of the 31st General Congregation of the Society of Jesus, we learn:

The *Formula of the Institute*, or fundamental Rule of the Society, has primacy of dignity and authority in the Institute. It was set down first by Paul III, then more exactly and greater detail by Julius III, was approved in forma specifica by many of his successors, and has obtained in a special way the status of pontifical law... For the *Formula* exhibits the fundamental structure of the Society, based, with

¹² *Obras de San Ignacio* 206 – 207; S. Arzubialde 60 - 62.

¹³ C. DALMASES, "Textos latinos de los ejercicios," *Ejercicios Espirituales*, 26; J. MELLONI, "Ejercicios espirituales," *DEI*, I, 685 – 689, here noted at 685.

¹⁴ A rich reference on the sources of the Exercises can be found in *Las fuentes de los ejercicios espirituales de San Ignacio*, Actas del Simposio Internacional (Loyola, 15 – 19 septiembre 1997), Mensajero, Bilbao 1998; also M. RUIZ JURADO, "El texto de los Ejercicios de San Ignacio," *Man* 70 (1997) 171 – 186.

the help of grace, on Gospel principles and the experiences and wisdom of our Holy Father Ignatius and his companions.¹⁵

According to Nadal, the origin of the *Formula* and its essential character were drawn from Ignatius' experience during his time in Manresa, “especialmente en dos ejercicios: del Rey y de las Banderas..., en tendió su fin y aquello a que todo se debía aplicar..., que es el que tiene ahora la Compañía.”¹⁶ However, Ignatius and the first companions only began to compose the *Formula* during the *Deliberaciones 1539* when they came together deciding on “reduciéndonos a un cuerpo.”¹⁷

Guided by concrete living experiences of Ignatius and the first companions, the *Formulas of the Institute* (thus in plural form) were written, revised and approved through various drafts “because of the lessons learned through experience and usage, but in the same spirit.”¹⁸ And Ignatius had gone through the process completely entrusting himself and the Institute in God's hand through prayers and devotions. We read from Ignatius' own handwriting in a document dated on July 1549,

Y aun en las bullas [“that is in the *Formula*”¹⁹] algunas cosas se an comenzado á remirar, encomendando á Dios N.S. el todo, y no con pocas missas y oraciones y lágrimas, y no para relaxar lo bien fundado, mas para más perfeccionar, porque de bien en mejor se pueda proçeder á maior gloria divina.²⁰

Consequently, the *Formula of the Institute* of the Society of Jesus was born. Its first draft was created between April 15 and June 24 of 1539.²¹

¹⁵ *Jesuit Life & Mission Today*, 59 -60.

¹⁶ *MNad* V, 40.

¹⁷ *MCo* I, 1 - 8 *Deliberatio primorum patrum*, n. 3 “reducendo nos ad unum corpus”; a Spanish translation *Deliberaciones previas de los primeros Padres* can be found in A. COEMANS et als. *Introducción al estudio de la Fórmula del Instituto*, 10 – 17.

¹⁸ *MCo* I, 375. Nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum, vt formulam, qua praedictae Societatis institutum exactius et distinctius quam antea, edocente exerientia ac usurerum, expressum, eodem tamen spiritu comprehenditur, confirmare dignaremur.

¹⁹ Noted by A. ALDAMA in *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, 32.

²⁰ *Epp* XII, 645.

²¹ A. ALDAMA, *Notas para un comentario a la Fórmula del Instituto de la Compañía de Jesús*, CIS, Roma 1981, 31.

The *Formula* is divided into five “chapters” or articles and a conclusion. The first chapter deals with the aim of the Society and its institutionalization. The second chapter treats the vow of obedience to the pope; the third chapter the vow of obedience to the superior of the Society; the fourth the vow of poverty. The fifth chapter takes up the two particular issues of Jesuit life, namely, choir and common life in externals. The fifth chapter is followed by short concluding remarks that serve as both an encouragement to future Jesuits to remain steadfast in the aim of the *Formula* and a warning to not admit anyone who does not fit into the Institute. The *Formula* ends with a prayer and a doxology.²²

As mentioned above, the *Formula* underwent a long process of revising and papal approvals. Hence, there are various existing versions of the *Formula*: The *Formula of the Institute (FI)* without date, referred to the one approved by Pope Julius III in the apostolic letter *Exposcit Debitum*. The *Formula of the Institute of 1539 (F39)*, also known as the *Five Chapters of 1539*, to the one that was approved “viva voz” by Pope Paul III on September 3rd of 1539. The *Formula of 1540 (F40)*, the one approved by Pope Paul III, who confirmed the Society of Jesus in the Papal Bull *Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae* dated September 27, 1540. Finally, the *Formula of the Institute of 1550 (F50)* to the one that was revised and approved by Pope Julius III on July 21, 1550 through the papal bull *Exposcit Debitum*.²³ The original Latin text of the *Five Chapters of 1539*, which is the foundational document of the Institute can be

²² J. CORELLA, “Fórmula del Instituto,” *DEI*, I, 891 – 901, 893; Id., “¿Qué es la Fórmula del Instituto y cómo se hizo,” *Constituciones de la Compañía de Jesús*, 13 – 29; *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus: The Formula of the Institute*, noted and commented by A. Aldama, translated by I. Echániz, IJS, Saint Louis 1990; A study of the biblical inspiration of the Formula can be found in C.M^a. MARTINI, “Fundamentos bíblicos de la *Fórmula del Instituto*,” *Introducción al estudio de la Fórmula del Instituto S.J.*, edited by A. Coemans et als, CIS, Roma 1974, 61 – 71.

²³ A. ALDAMA, *The Formula of the Institute*, 1 - 33; J. CORELLA, “Fórmula del Instituto,” *DEI*, I, 891 – 901, 893; ID., “¿Qué es la Fórmula del Instituto y cómo se hizo,” 13 – 29. M. RUIZ JURADO, “Espiritualidad ignaciana en la Fórmula del Instituto S.J.,” *Man* 48 (1976) 309 – 322; ID., “Nadal y Polanco sobre la Fórmula del Instituto de la Compañía de Jesús,” *AHSI* 47 (1978) 225 – 240.

found in *MCo* I, 16 – 20; whereas, the *Formula of the Institute of 1550* in *MCo* I, 375 – 381.

Though officially considered as the Rule of the Society,²⁴ Ignatius and his companions perhaps had avoided explicitly naming it so. Instead, they named it “Formula” to indicate a particular way of life (a *formula vivendi* or *forma vitae*) they chose to pursue. Later on, the title “Formula” was used to name the whole document; whereas, “Institute” for such that particular way of life.²⁵ Thus, we read the phrase “our Institute as comprised in this Formula”²⁶ in the final draft. Thus, the name *Formula of the Institute* came about. On the 450th anniversary of the first official approval of the *Formula* by the papal bull *Regimini militantis Ecclesiae*, Fr. Kolvenbach, the 29th General of the Society of Jesus, noted the challenge and necessity of actualizing what Ignatius and his companions instilled in the *Formula* in the life and the mission of the Society of Jesus today:

No sin dificultad ni sin ser obligada a una larga espera, la experiencia apostólica de los “amigos en el Señor” fue reconocida como “inspirada por el Espíritu Santo.” Prudentemente, la bula pontificia limita las atrevidas iniciativas de la joven Compañía y traduce en términos tradicionales la novedad radical del carisma ignaciano. Sin embargo, “Regimini militantes Ecclesiae” sigue siendo su punto de referencia dinámica, porque el texto revela toda una serie de desafíos que, todavía hoy, interpelan a la Compañía de Jesús en su vida y en su trabajo.²⁷

1.1.3 *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*

Like the Spiritual Exercises and the Formula of the Institute, the composition of the *Constitutions* of the Society of Jesus underwent various stages.²⁸ According to

²⁴ GC V, d. 58; GC XXVII d. 12; GC XXXI d. 4, n. 2; Ignatius himself and his companions often call it “this Rule of ours” (A. ALDAMA, *The Formula of the Institute*, 33).

²⁵ A. ALDAMA, *The Formula of the Institute*, 33 -34.

²⁶ *F50*, 2.

²⁷ P. KOLVENBACH, “Alocución a la Congregación de Provinciales en el 450 Aniversario de la aprobación de la Fórmula del Instituto por el Papa Julio III (Loyola 26 de septiembre de 1990)” *Selección*, I, 253 – 268, [2].

²⁸ A. ALDAMA, “La composición de las Constituciones de la Compañía de Jesús,” *AHSI* 42 (1973), 211 – 245; ID., *Iniciación al estudio de las Constituciones*, CIS, Rome 1981; A. JAER, *Together for*

André de Jaer, the development and the composition of the *Constitutions* of the Society of Jesus can be divided into three different stages, namely, organization, experimentation, and formulation, all of which took place from 1540 to 1590.²⁹ The organizational stage first began when Ignatius and the first companions gathered and vowed to spend their lives together for the benefits of the souls in Montmartre on August 15, 1534. And it ended at the offering of the Society to God during the profession of the First Companions at St. Paul’s outside the Walls on April 22, 1541, when the First Companions delegated Ignatius and J. Codure to write the *Constitutions* in the same year.³⁰ Most notably, as mentioned above, the *Formula of the Institute (F40)* was approved during this period.

The experimental stage began in 1541 when Ignatius, who was elected Superior General of the Society in 1541, intensely dedicated himself to pray and to work on the topics of poverty and of mission in the Society. In 1546, the first version of the *General Examen*, which was written to answer questions and provide criteria for accepting postulants into the Society, marked the end of the second stage. The final stage – the period of formulation – commenced with the arrival of J. Polanco³¹ to Rome to serve as Ignatius’ secretary in 1547.

Mission: a Spiritual Reading of the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus, trans. by F. Brennan, IJS, St. Louis 2001, 10; also J. C. COUPEAU, “Constituciones,” *DEI*, I, 435 – 444, 436.

²⁹ A. JAER, *Together for Mission*, 10; also J. C. COUPEAU, “Constituciones,” *DEI*, I, 436.

³⁰ A. JAER, *Together for Mission*, 10; also J. C. COUPEAU, “Constituciones,” 436.

³¹ Juan Alfonso de Polanco was born on December 24, 1517 in Burgos, Spain. He was “bajo de estatura, de rostro compuesto, frágil mirada y apto para el trabajo” (*FN* III, 515, n. 91). At the age 13, he came to study humanity and philosophy in Paris where he knew of Íñigo and “los Iñiguistas.” In 1541, he worked as a “notario o scriptor apostolicus, copiadador de bulas pontificias y otros documentos oficiales” (J. GARCÍA DE CASTRO, “Polanco, Juan Alfonso de,” *DEI*, II, 1462 – 1471, 1463). He entered the Society with A. Frusio in 1541 after both of them having made the Exercises directed by Lainez (*Chron* I, 91; see footnote 7 above). He completed his philosophy and theology studies in Padua and was ordained a priest in 1546. In March 1547, Ignatius called him to Rome to work as the Secretary of the Society of Jesus, the position he held for 26 years under three different Generals. As Ignatius’ Secretary, Polanco was instrumental in working closely with Ignatius to compose the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus so much so that “the problem of authorship [of the Constitutions] cannot be resolved by facily attributing the contents of Ignatius and the form to Polanco” (J. O’MALLEY, *The First Jesuits*, 7; also see; A. ALDAMA, *An Introductory Commentary on the*

Polanco worked tirelessly, on the one hand, gaining the deep knowledge of the Institute of the Society, its origin, and its pontifical approbations so far and other documents prior to his time. On the other hand, he read and educated himself about the rules and constitutions of other venerable religious orders. As a result, Polanco provided himself as an indispensable secretary, both as an organizer and as a redactor assisting Ignatius, who remained the inspiring author of the *Constitutions*.³² Regarding the authorship of the *Constitutions*, Nadal declared publicly that “ningún elemento que toca a la substancia en las Constituciones es de Polanco, exceptuando algo en la parte de los colegios y universidades, y aun esto lo puso conforme a la mente del P. Ignacio.”³³ On the same topic, Aldama provided more valuable detailed insights into how the *Constitutions* were composed. He concluded:

En las Constituciones (porque el Examen es más universalmente ignaciano) las “cosas”, o sea, las ideas, los pensamientos, los principios, las normas... son de san Ignacio – originadas de él (la mayor parte) o, al menos, aprobadas por él y hechas suyas (como las pero que la redacción, la expresión, la dicción..., y quizás también la división y el orden son *generalmente* de Polanco. Subrayamos el adverbio “generalmente” porque hay documentos ignacianos incorporados (como las “Constituciones circa misiones”) y muchas correcciones y aun constituciones y declaraciones enteras de mano de san Ignacio; además, hemos visto con cuánta fidelidad conservaba Polanco aun la expresión misma del santo, y no cabe duda que en otras ocasiones, cuando el

Constitutions, 8 – 11; J. C. COUPEAU, “Haced como os pareciere; yo me remito libremente a vos,” *AHSI* 78 (2009) 277 – 298; M. RUIZ JURADO, “Escritura de Polanco o de S. Ignacio?” *AHSI* 77 (2008) 321 – 346). “Redactó casi en su totalidad el primer texto de las Constituciones (text a, fin de 1549), ya estructurado en 10 partes; preparó el segundo (A, septiembre de 1550) que contiene numerosas correcciones de Ignacio, presentado en 1551 a los profesos congregados en Roma, con ocasión del Jubileo (J. GARCÍA DE CASTRO, “Polanco,” 1465). Besides his work with the *Constitutions*, some of his important works are *Sumario de las cosas más notables que a la institución y progreso de la Compañía tocan* (FN I, 151 – 256), *Chronicon latino* (*Vita Ignatii Loyolae et rerum Societatis Iesus historia*, (6 vols) recalling the life of the Society since the arrival of the first companions in Venice (1537) until the death of Ignatius (1556) (J. GARCÍA DE CASTRO, “Polanco,” 1468). J. Polanco is considered “el primer historiador de la Compañía” (C. de DALMASES, “Polanco, Juan Alfonso de,” *DHCJ*, IV, 3168 – 3169).

³²On the topic of the working relationship between Saint Ignatius and J. Polanco, see especially A. ALDAMA, “La composición de las Constituciones de la Compañía de Jesús,” *AHSI* 42(1973), 211 – 245; ID., *Iniciación al estudio de las Constituciones*; J. C. COUPEAU, “Haced como os pareciere; yo me remito libremente a vos” los hápax, la base de datos Polanco y la evolución del lenguaje ignaciano,” *Greg* 91/1 (2010), 43 – 90.

³³FN III, 637.

secretario quería enunciar el pensamiento del Fundador, se sirvió de las mismas palabras que le había emplear a él.³⁴

The first full text of the *Constitutions*, also known as “text a” was completed in 1550. However, as soon as this rudimentary work was finished, another text of the *Constitutions*, text A, was composed and finished in 1551. In contrast with text a, we can find the handwriting of Ignatius at some 230 places in text A. From 1551 to 1556, after having submitted it to the judgment of the Fathers in Rome, Ignatius added notes to text A and, together with Polanco, corrected it to produce text B of the *Constitutions*. In 1558, text B was translated into Latin, which became text C, subsequently approved in Rome by the First General Congregation in the same year. In 1590, text D, a Spanish text derived from text C was composed and later approved by the GC 5 in 1593³⁵. Both text C and text D are considered official *Constitutions* of the Society of Jesus.³⁶ The 34th General Congregation, which took place in 1995, took note of those elements in these texts that were no longer applicable and modified any other points in need of updating in light of current circumstances. From these, the Congregation developed the *Complementary Norms* and placed them next to the latest edition of the *Constitutions*.³⁷

The development of the *Complementary Norms* and its placement next to the *Constitutions* symbolize the Congregation’s faithfulness to the original inspiring spirit

³⁴ A. ALDAMA, “La composición de las Constituciones de la Compañía de Jesús,” 236.

³⁵ For further detailed information on these decrees, please read *For Matters of Greater Moment: The First Thirty Jesuit General Congregations – A Brief History and a Translation of the Decrees*, (J. McCarthy et als, eds.), IJS, Sain Louis 1994, 187- 215.

³⁶ A. ALDAMA, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, 6 – 8; A. de JAER, *Together for Mission*, 10 – 11; J. C. COUPEAU, *From Inspiration to Invention*, 437; *Obras de San Ignacio* 444 - 446.

³⁷ A. de JAER, *Together for Mission*, 9. English version of the *Complementary Norms* can be found in *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and Their Complementary Norms: A Complete English Translation of the Official Latin Texts*, IJS, Saint Louis 1996; The Spanish version in *Constituciones de la Compañía de Jesús anotadas por la Congregación General XXXIV y Normas Complementarias aprobadas por la misma Congregación*, Curia del Preósito General de la Compañía de Jesús, M-ST, Bilbao – Santander 1996; Also read U. VALERO, “La revisión del derecho propio de la Compañía de Jesús en la Congregación General 34. Crónica del proceso,” *AHSI* 72 (2003) 81 – 103; ID. “El gobierno de la Compañía de Jesús al comienzo del tercer milenio,” *Man* 76 (2004) 5 – 23.

of Saint Ignatius and the First Companions and its faithfulness to the ongoing renewal of Jesuit vocation and mission in the modern world. What the Society accomplished through the work of GC 34 was like “injerta esta rama nueva en el tronco añoso y robusto de la misión que la caracteriza.”³⁸

1.2 Outline of the chapter

The cultural conversion and formation instituted in the *Spiritual Exercises*, the *Formula of the Institute* and the *Constitutions* involve a wholesome process that follows a designed program consisting of various steps and structures. The structure of the *Spiritual Exercises* is divided into four subsequent “weeks”; the *Formula of the Institute* into five chapters spelling out the aim and the way of life in the Society of Jesus; the *Constitutions* ten parts progressing through different stages of formation in the Society, from admission (part I and V) to dismissal (part II), from governance (part VIII and IX) to preservation and growth (part III and X), from training (Part IV and VI) to mission (part VII). However, these documents function as more than a set program or rigid rules where all the steps and its order have to be followed and observed exactly as they are written.³⁹ While one must respect and pay attention to the *Exercises*’, the *Formula*’s, and the *Constitutions*’ content and order, the materials are meant to be used interchangeably and adapted accordingly to the personal needs and context of the individual.⁴⁰ This section, while investigating and examining this

³⁸ I. IGLESIAS, “Constituciones para hacer constituciones,” *Man* 70 (1997), 157 – 170, 168.

³⁹ Ignatius never used the term “rule” to refer to either the *Formula* or the *Constitutions*. Instead, he used “reglas” which means “a series of minute regulations on deportment and other such detailed provisions. Ignatius regarded the *Constitutions* as the written expression of the Institute or ‘our way of proceeding’” (J. C. COUPEAU, *From Inspiration to Invention*, 8).

⁴⁰ The division in the *Exercises* was made mainly for three organizational purposes: first, according to the goal at which each of these exercises aim, and so each of them could be found; second, according to the materials that are being treated; third, according to the “disposición subjetiva’ de la persona, en orden a hallar la gracia que se pretende.” It is essential to note that the length of each of these weeks is not set, but remains flexible adapting to the need and the pace of the one who makes the exercises (S. ARZUBIALDE, 66; also see M. IVENS, *Understanding the Spiritual Exercises*, Gracewing, Leominster 1998, 6). Regarding the use of the *Constitutions*, we read in the preface of the first edition

characteristic of adaptation in depth, will also practice it at the same time, moving back and forth, in and out between the different “weeks” of the *Exercises*, “chapters” of the *Formula*, and “parts” of the *Constitutions* to illustrate the point in discussion.

Also in this chapter, under the light of cultural pluralism, I will thus show that these three documents, namely, the *Spiritual Exercises*, the *Formula of the Institute*, and the *Constitutions* strive to foster and to form the God-centered multicultural paradigm that serves to reorder one’s life, reorienting its direction towards serving God in helping others. I will isolate some of the spiritual dynamics and movements, which were first born in Ignatius’s and the First Companions’ spiritual journey, then instilled in these three documents. These dynamics and movements serve as forces converting and liberating those who are locked up in their self-centered mono-cultural world. Consequently, the converted and liberated are inspired and sent out into the world to engage and to live out the God-centered multicultural vision. Like Ignatius, this ongoing conversion demands and necessitates cultural awareness and formation in such a way as to prepare the individual to be open and ready to adapt and to integrate his/her faith to the diverse cultural settings and situations of the world. Hence, practices of cultural adaptation and integration, which root themselves deeply in these three foundational documents of the Society of Jesus remain one of the fundamental characteristics of its life and mission.

Before going into the analysis of those dynamics and movements in these documents, I will offer some preliminary steps of preparation and the basic attitudes,

of the *Constitutions*, which is traditionally attributed to Pedro de Ribadeneira, “el sentido de nuestra vocación está ciertamente contenido en la Fórmula del Instituto, tal como lo declaran las Letras Apostólicas. Éstas lo exponen de modo más bien genérico. Por ello pareció necesario redactar constituciones que especificasen cada cosa con mayor detalle... Aquí hallaremos el modelo que imitar, el camino que andar, la luz que seguir, la perfección a que aspirar, el espejo al que mirar para ver el ideal de nuestra vida... Busquemos todos diligentemente en ellas la ilustración requerida para el cumplimiento exacto de los deberes de nuestro estado” (*Constituciones de la Compañía de Jesús y Normas Complementarias*, 21 – 22).

which these documents demand. Once these steps of preparation are established, the investigation will move forward examining the Ignatian paradigm of the God-centered multicultural world by breaking it down and studying its two complementary components, namely, the God-centered culture and the multicultural God. After having done so, I will reassemble the system as a whole, learning how the system works and how these dynamics complement each other in the whole scheme of what Ignatian spirituality entails. Having explained the basic outline of this section, this investigation will now turn its attention to the preliminary preparation.

2. PRELIMINARY PREPARATIONS

2.1 Awareness of cultural diversity

2.1.1 Cultural inclusivity

The authors of the *Exercises*, the *Formula*, and the *Constitutions*, were well aware of the diversity that exists among those who are engaged in the conversion process, thus insisted on cultural inclusivity and adaptation by taking into account the individual's cultural background and situation.

The three *Annotations* 18, 19, and 20 prior to the *Exercises* remind us of “la máxima expresión de la idea de S. Ignacio sobre la universalidad de sus Ejercicios.” These annotations “contempla las diferentes clases de personas que desean hacer los Ejercicios, las diversas disposiciones en que se encuentran, los varios momentos en que pueden vivir la experiencia de oración y búsqueda de la voluntad de Dios.”⁴¹ Furthermore, some of the key meditations and contemplations of the *Exercises* call the retreatants' attention to the cultural pluralism of the world in which they live and on which they meditate and contemplate. For example, the first exercises of the First

⁴¹ J. E. GONZÁLEZ MAGAÑA, “Anotaciones,” *DEI*, I, 170 – 176, 175; also see C. de DALMASES, “Los Ejercicios dados según la Anotación 18; historia y método,” *CIS* 10 (1980) 11 – 21; S. ARZUBIALDE, *Ejercicios espirituales*, 65 – 86.

Week invite the retreatants to meditate on the human sins committed by the individual recalling on “cuantas veces yo merecería ser condenado para siempre por mis tantos pecados” [48]; and by the human community “trayendo a la memoria ... cuánta corrupción vino en el género humano, andando tantas gentes para el infierno” [51].

If the first exercises of the First Week [50.51.52] has invited the retreatants to meditate on the pluralistic nature of human sinfulness, then the first contemplation of the Second Week [106]⁴² directs the retreatants’ attention towards the divine vision and action to save the world in all of its multicultural diversity. The Contemplation on the Incarnation invites the retreatants to gaze at the world through the eyes of the three Divine Person in “toda la planicia o redondez de todo el mundo llena de hombres” [102] with “tantas y tan diversas gentes” [103], seeing and listening to people in their immanent diversity, “unas y las otras; y primero, las de la haz de la tierra, en tanta diversidad, así en trajes como en gestos; unos blancos y otros negros, unos en paz y otros en guerra, unos llorando y otros riendo, unos sanos, otros enfermos, unos naciendo y otros muriendo, etc.” [106]. And into these multi layers of cultures and of human diversity and complexity, we listen to the voice of the three Divine Persons saying, “hagamos redención del género humano” [107], and followed by the concrete action of the incarnation of the Second Person in the birth of Jesus in Bethlehem [111 – 114]. The reality of cultural pluralism found in meditation and

⁴² The contemplation reads: “*El primer punto* es ver las personas, las unas y las otras; y primero, las de la haz de la tierra, en tanta diversidad, así en trajes como en gestos: unos blancos y otros negros, unos en paz y otros en guerra, unos llorando y otros riendo, unos sanos, otros enfermos, unos naciendo y otros muriendo, etc; *segundo*, ver y considerar las tres personas divinas, como en el su solio real o trono de la su divina majestad, cómo miran toda la haz y redondez de la tierra, y todas las gentes en tanta ceguedad, y cómo mueren y descienden al infierno; *tercero*, ver a nuestra Señora y al ángel que la saluda; y reflectir para sacar provecho de la tal vista” [Ej 106].

contemplation such as these “da a la salvación de Cristo su verdadera universalidad”⁴³ and forms the “las bases del universalismo apostólico ignaciano.”⁴⁴

More practically, Ignatius’ own directives on how to give the *Exercises*, which can be found in his various letters and notes, show the diversity of those to whom the *Exercises* could be given. During the last years of his life, Ignatius commissioned J. Polanco to write various letters insisting on how the *Exercises* were given to men as well as women, people of importance as well as students, Jesuits as well as other religious, and religious as well as married.⁴⁵ Later, Ignatius also mentioned women, married ladies, and young women.⁴⁶ To all of them, taking account of their social background and availability, the *Exercises* were given. Also, Ignatius’ First Companions, who came from very diverse social and cultural backgrounds,⁴⁷ all made the *Exercises*. It comes as no surprise that in the *Official Directory of 1599*, we read that the *Exercises* are:

Necesarios para todos. Más aún habría que arrancar de los hombres la idea de que los Ejercicios convienen solamente a los religiosos o a los que quieren hacerse religiosos. Pues, necesitando todos la gracia de Dios, no sólo los religiosos, sino también los seculares, a causa de los peligros en que continuamente viven, también ellos deben buscar aquellas ayudas con las cuales mejor se dispongan a obtener esta gracia [18].⁴⁸

⁴³ R. GARCÍA MATEO, “‘Hagamos redención del género humano...’ [107] Universalismo ignaciano,” *Man* 72 (2000), 211 – 220, 214.

⁴⁴ 217.

⁴⁵ From a letter of Juan Polanco, who was commissioned by Ignatius, written to Father Philippo Leerno from Rome on February 3, 1554 (*Epp* VI, 280). “Circa li essercitii spirituali, m. ha comesso N.P. de esser. ricordo in ogni banda che uedessero di adoperarli con huomini et etiam donne.”

⁴⁶ From a letter of Juan Polanco, who was commissioned by Ignatius, written to Father Jean Pelletier from Rome on May 30, 1556 (*Epp* XI, 469). “Li essercitii della prima setimana si estendono a molte persone, etiam donne et maritate; ma, fatta la confessione generale et lassato qualche ricordo et instructione del modo di orare et examinar sua coscienza, non si passa oltre.”

⁴⁷ Of the ten companions, Ignatius and Javier were Basque; Láinez, Salmerón, and Bobadilla Castilian; Rodríguez Portuguese; Fabre and Jay of Savoy, south of France; Broët of Picardy, north of France; and Codure of Provence, south of France (J. CONWELL, “Deliberaciones,” 550). Also, they came from different social classes, and their ages ranged from nineteen to about forty-three (J. O’MALLEY, *The First Jesuits* 32). The “los primeros de París” include “los siete primeros,” “los tres olvidados” and “los dos desconocidos” J. GARCÍA DE CASTRO, “Los primeros de París: Amistad, Carisma y Pauta,” *Man* 78 (2006) 253 – 275, 256 – 261.

⁴⁸ “Directorio Oficial,” *Los Directorios de Ejercicios 1540 – 1599*, (M. LOP SEBASTIÀ, trad., notas y estudio), M-ST, Bilbao – Santander 2000, 318 – 389, 323.

Earlier, *Directory 33* (*Directorium Variorum*⁴⁹) validated this necessity “por cierto, talvez más.”⁵⁰ Therefore, the challenge in giving the *Exercises* does not lie in its exclusion of particular groups of people but remains in its inclusivity, tending to all according to the individual’s social and cultural background and circumstances.⁵¹

The inclusivity shown in the *Exercises* continues to be practiced through the *Constitutions*. The *Constitutions* of the Society was written during one the most challenging periods, when membership to religious orders excluded the *crístianos nuevos*, those who converted from Judaism and Islam. However, the Society of Jesus refused to adhere to this policy of exclusion.⁵² The *General Examen*, which provides criteria for thoroughly examining and accepting candidates into the Society, doesn’t mention race as an impediment⁵³ and admits candidates into the Society “regardless of his lineage.”⁵⁴ The only reason for which questions regarding candidates’ religious origins are asked remains to “gain a better knowledge of the candidates” [34]. Moreover, nowhere in all the various texts of the *Constitutions* is such a statement of exclusion based on race found.⁵⁵ Furthermore, such a practice of exclusion according

⁴⁹ As the name indicates, *Directory 33* was formed by the various fragments found in other Directories such as that of Vittoria, Polanco, Miró, Gil González (*Los Directorios de Ejercicios 1540 – 1599*, 318)

⁵⁰ *Los Directorios de Ejercicios 1540 – 1599*, 323, footnote 11.

⁵¹ As evidently pointed out in the Index of *Los Directorios de Ejercicios 1540 – 1599*, 690 – 1 regarding the inclusivity of annotation 18, 19, and 20.

⁵² R. MARYKS, *The Jesuit Order as a Synagogue of Jews: Jesuits of Jewish Ancestry and Purity-of-Blood Laws in the Early Society of Jesus*, Koninklijk Brill, the Netherlands 2009, xx – xxiii.

⁵³ Impediments to admission to the Society were defined since were first defined in 1541, before Ignatius and his First Companions’ final profession and the election of the first superior general. Their first version appeared in 1546. Originally, there were seven in the first text (a) and three were added in Text A. However, the number of impediments was reduced due to Salmerón’s suggestion. Consequently, five impediments remain: the first two regarding defects in the Christian faith, (namely, declared heretic, excommunicated from the Church, homicide or other mortal sins), the third, previous entry into another religious order, the fourth, common law of marriage and legitimate servitude, the fifth, mental illness [22 – 29] (A. ALDAMA, *Constitutions*, 27 – 29).

⁵⁴ R. MARYKS, *The Jesuit Order as a Synagogue of Jews*, 58, 63 – 64.

⁵⁵ E. REY, “San Ignacio de Loyola y el problema de los cristianos nuevos,” *Razón y Fe* 153 (1956): 117-204; F. MEDINA, “Ignacio de Loyola y la ‘limpieza de sangre’,” *Ignacio de Loyola y su tiempo*, 579 – 615, 596. Also see in alphabetical order of author’s last name J. DONNELLY, “Antonio Possevino and Jesuits of Jewish Ancestry,” *AHSI* 109 (1986) 3-29; I. IANUZZI, “Mentalidad inquisitorial y jesuitas: el enfrentamiento entre el Cardenal Silíceo y la Compañía de Jesús,” *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna* 24 (200), 11 – 31; R. MARYKS, *The Jesuit Order as a Synagogue of Jews*; ID.,

to Ribadeneira goes “contra las constituciones [de la Compañía]... contra el espíritu y sentimiento de N.P. Ignacio ... contra el espíritu y juicio del Padre Maestro Láinez... contra el espíritu y uso del Padre Francisco de Borja... contra el uso y plática de toda la Compañía.”⁵⁶

The two data mentioned above, taken in the context of the time period during which the *General Examen* and the rest of the *Constitutions* were composed,⁵⁷ especially the last ten years of Ignatius’ life (1546 – 1556), demonstrate how determined Ignatius and the early Jesuits were in maintaining the non-discriminatory and inclusive character of the Society which they founded. Confronted with pressure both inside and outside the Society, the former mainly concerning Antonio de Araoz (1515 – 1573),⁵⁸ the provincial of Spain in 1547, and much later from Jesuits in Portugal,⁵⁹ the latter from Juan Martínez Silíceo (1477 – 1557)⁶⁰, the Archbishop of

“The Jesuit Order as a ‘Synagogue of Jews’: Discrimination against Jesuits of Jewish Ancestry in the Early Society of Jesus”, *AHSI* 78 (2009), 339 – 416; J. REITES, “St. Ignatius of Loyola and the Jews,” *SSJ* 13 (1981), 20 – 21; ID., “Los no cristianos en las Constituciones,” *Man* 58 (1986), 187 – 192; A. SIRCROFF, *Los estatutos de Limpieza de Sangre: controversias entre los siglos XV and XVII*, Taurus, Madrid 1985; *The Mercurian Project: Forming Jesuit Culture*, (T. McCOOG, ed.), IJS, Saint Louis 2004; especially F. MEDINA’s articles “Everard Mercurian and Spain. Some Burning Issues,” 945 - 966 found in the same book;

⁵⁶ *MRib* II, 374 – 384; P. RIBADENEIRA, “Las razones que se me ofrecen para no hacer novedad en el admitir gente en la Compañía. Madrid, 1593” found in *Confesiones: Autobiografía documentada*, Edición y selección de documentos por M. Sebastià, M-ST, Bilbao-Santander 2009, 201 - 203.

⁵⁷ Please see the section on the *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus* written above.

⁵⁸ Ignatius’ nephew (R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 148), Antonio de Araoz came from the Guipúzcoa Province of the Basque country. Since his family was well connected with the Court and the Monarchy, he quickly rose to a position of power and authority in Spain. He made the *Exercises* and entered the novitiate in 1538. In 1539, Ignatius sent him back to Spain to preach in Barcelona and in the courts in Valladolid and in Vasconia. For this reason, he was considered the “first” Jesuit who came to the Iberian Peninsula (at the time when the Society was not even canonically approved yet). From that time, he held position of power both inside the Society (provincial of Spain in 1547, provincial of Castilla in 1554, and Commissary of the Peninsula in 1562), and outside the Society, (confessor at the court). He refused to leave the court even it meant to attend the first two general congregations. In his absence, he was unanimously elected to be the Assistant of Spain. Yet he refused to move and remained living in the court until his death in 1573 (J. MARTINEZ de la ESCALERA, “Araoz, Antonio de,” *DHCJ*, I, 215 – 6). Because of his position as the provincial of Spain, he was the main correspondent with Ignatius over the issue of accepting the *cristianos nuevos*, which he opposed (J. Reites 22). More on Antonio de Araoz, please see R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 675 – 707.

⁵⁹ Lead by Manuel Rodrigues (1534 – 1596), the Assistant of Portugal (1581 – 1594) (J. CARVALHO, “Rodrigues, Manuel,” *DHCJ*, IV, 3390), who based his position against accepting the *nuevos cristianos*

Toledo from 1545 until his death as cardinal in 1557, who strongly supported and endorsed the statue of *limpieza de sangre*⁶¹ in the church, the policy of non-discrimination and inclusivity held up in the *Constitutions* of the Society. Until the end of his life, Ignatius remained keen on the inclusive character of the Society. In his letter written on October 29, 1555, nine months before his death, to Pedro de Zárate, who had earlier informed Ignatius about “el señor conde Ruygómez está algo mal contento de que se acepten ó recojan muchos xpianos,” we read Ignatius’ response:

Nuestro instituto no puede excluir, ni deue, del todo esa gente; pero ay más considerati6n y delecto de lo que se deue de dezir, quando se murmura del recojer semejantes personas; pero esta materia, si en ella se entrasse, pide más luengo tractado de lo que sufre la breuedad de la letra. Esto solo puede V.md. de aquí colligir: que, como la acceptati6n de personas en general no conuiene en nuestra Compañía, ni la exclusi6n de vnas ó de otras maneras de hombres que tienen talento para el diuino seruicio en ella, assí en lo particular se mira muy bien qui6n y d6nde seadmitte, no rescuiendo á quien no da edificaci6n con su entrar. Y tambi6n diré esto: que ay algunos desta calidad de gente en la Compañía, que ni á xpianos. viejos, ni á hidalgos, ni caualleros, dan ventaja ninguna en todas las partes de buen religioso y vtil al bien vniuersal: y si esto supiesse tam bien como nosotros el Sr. Ruig6mez, no dudo sería de nuestro mesmo parecer.⁶²

For Ignatius, membership in the Society does not entail cultural exclusion. The Call of Christ Our Lord, the eternal King, is extended to “quien quisiere venir conmigo ha de trabajar conmigo, porque, siguiéndome en la pena, también me siga en la gloria” [Ej 95]. Inspired by Christ Our Lord who “escoge tantas personas, ap6stoles,

in the Society in part on Francis Xavier’s letter that was sent from Goa to Gaspar Barceo in 1552 (F. MEDINA, “Ignacio de Loyola y la ‘limpieza de sangre,’” *Ignacio de Loyola y su tiempo*, 587 – 8).

⁶⁰ Juan Martín Silíceo, the Archbishop of Toledo, was known for the lack of science and virtues. Instead, he possessed an inhuman character and a heart of stone, as his last name, *Siliceus*, indicated. He was against the Society in two aspects. First, he was a strong opponent of the work of the Society, attempting to disapprove the *Exercises* and any Jesuit works in his archdiocese (R. García-Villoslada 763). Second, he was an outspoken proponent of the statue of *limpieza de sangre* prohibiting admission of *nuevos cristianos* into the metropolitan churches of Toledo in 1547 (J. ORELLA UNZUÉ, “La provincia de Guipuzcoa y el tema de los judios en tiempos del joven Iñigo de Loiola (1492 – 1528),” *Ignacio de Loyola y su tiempo*, 847 – 868, 854).

⁶¹ For an overview of the history of *limpieza de sangre* in Spain, please see R. MARYKS, *The Jesuit Order as a Synagogue of Jews*, 2 – 40.

⁶² Written from Roma 29th of October 1555 commissioned to Polanco to Petro de Zarate, *Epp X*, 61.

discípulos, etc., y los envía por todo el mundo, es parciendo su sagrada doctrina por todos los estados y condiciones de personas,” [Ej 145] the Society of Jesus excludes no one both in its membership and in its mission.

In composing the *Constitutions*, Ignatius fully supported the cultural diversity both regarding the Society’s membership and its mission. In the *Constitutiones circa missiones*, Ignatius wrote:

Porque como fuésemos de diuersos reynos y prouincias, no sabiendo en qué regiones andar, o parar entre fieles o infieles, por no errar in via Domini, y por no ser seguros adónde a Dios nuestro Señor más podríamos seruir y alabar mediante su gracia diuina hizimos la tal promesa y uoto para que su santidad hiziese nuestra diuisión o misión a maior gloria de Dios nuestro Señor conforme a nuestra promesa y intención de discurrir por el mundo; y donde no hallásemos el fructo spiritual deseado en vna ciudad o en otra, para pasar en otra y en otra, y assí consequenter discurriendo por villas y por otros lugares particulares a maior gloria de Dios nuestro Señor y a maior prouecho spiritual de las ánimas.⁶³

Thus, this cultural inclusivity was once again clearly indicated in the *Formulas of the Institute* of the Society of Jesus. There, we read:

Whoever wishes to serve as a soldier of God beneath the banner of the cross⁶⁴ in our Society, which we desire to be designated by the name of Jesus, and to serve the Lord alone and his vicar on earth, should keep in mind that once he has made a solemn vow of perpetual chastity he is a member of a community founded chiefly for this purpose: to strive especially for the progress of souls in Christian life and doctrine and for the propagation of the faith by the ministry of the word, by spiritual exercises and works of charity, and specifically by the education of children and unlettered persons in Christianity [1].

To whom the Society of Jesus serve was further clarified later in the *Formula* approved and confirmed by Pope Julius III in the apostolic letter *Exposcit debitum*

⁶³MCo I, 160.

⁶⁴ Original in Latin, “*quicumque* in Societate nostra, quam Jesu nomine insigniri cupimus, vult sub crucis vexillo Deo militare et soli Domino” (MCo I, 16; 26).. The three redactions of the *Fórmula* in Spanish begin with, “*Cualquiera* que en nuestra Compañía, que deseamos se distinga con el nombre de Jesús, quiera ser soldado para Dios bajo la bandera de la Cruz, y servir al sola Señor” (S. ARZUBIALDE, *Constituciones de la Compañía de Jesús*, 30). Italic is mine.

dated July 21, 1550⁶⁵, however the Latin word “*quicumque*” (“whoever”) could be admitted into the Society remains unchanged throughout the development and composition of the *Formula*. In other words, the aims of the Society constitute its membership, not the other way around. Consequently, when candidates’ social and cultural background compromised the aim of the Society, Ignatius prudently maintained the goal of the Society adapting it consistently “según las personas, tiempos, lugares, y circunstancias” [Co 64. 66. 71. 136. 211. 238. 301. 395. 458. 462. 508. 581. 671. 747] out of the interest and the good for the universal Church. And only when such effort proved to be impossible, Ignatius had to let go in order to preserve the aim of the Institute. However, such an aim is always kept in balanced with the universal good.

Having anticipated the tensions and challenges of its culturally diverse members “tan esparcidos en diversas partes del mundo entre fieles y entre infieles,” [Co 655], the Society maintains its unity and discerns its mission following the principle of “el bien quanto más universal, es más divino” [Co 622]. Regarding this discernment principle, R. García Mateo notes:

Tal es el universalismo ignaciano que procede del mensaje de Cristo. Por encima de las fronteras geográficas, raciales, políticas, culturales o confesionales, se trate, no de eliminar, sino de conciliar las diferencias “en el Señor nuestro”, que hace posible que en medio de las cosas que dividen a la humanidad se busquen vías de entendimiento, de diálogo y de convivencia.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ The phrase “to serve the Lord alone and his vicar on earth” was edited and changed to “serve the Lord alone and the Church, his spouse, under the Roman pontiff, the vicar of Christ on earth.” Ignatius made this change to make it clear that the Society “serves the Church inasmuch as it is the Spouse of Christ, one thing with Him, and inasmuch as it is under Christ’s vicar, who is the universal shepherd, to whom Christ has entrusted the whole of His flock. By serving the Church, the Society serves Christ and his vicar on earth” (A. ALDAMA, *Formula of the Institute*, 40). In Spanish, “servir al solo Señor y a su Vicario en la tierra” (F39) y “servir al solo Señor y a la Iglesia su Esposa bajo el Romano Pontífice Vicario de Cristo en la tierra” [F50] (*Constituciones de la Compañía de Jesús*, ed. S. ARZUBIALDE et als., M-ST, Bilbao – Santander 1993, 30).

⁶⁶ R. GARCÍA MATEO, “Hagamos redención del género humano,” 217.

Two standout examples exemplified Ignatius' practice of such a universalism. Both involve the issue of membership in the Society of Jesus. The first deals with the *crístianos nuevos*, and the second, women.

a. Admission of the *crístianos nuevos* in the Society of Jesus

As mentioned above, the *Constitutions* do not exclude membership to the Society based on race. However, dealing with the loathing for and outrageous protest against the *crístianos nuevos* in Spain under the Archbishop of Toledo, Juan Martín Silíceo's archbishopric and later cardinalate (1545 – 1557), Ignatius allowed the possibility of not admitting them into the Society in Spain for the time being. However, suitable candidates of *crístianos nuevos* background from Spain were still accepted into the Society. For the sake of the Society and the candidates' wellbeing and mission, Ignatius sent these candidates to different houses of the Society where conditions were favorable. In one of Polanco's letters commissioned by Ignatius and written to Araoz on the subject, we read:

Del no accettar christianos nuevos no se persuade N.P. sería Dios seruido, pero bien le parece se debría de tener con los tales más circunspección. Si allá por los humores de la corte ó del rey no pareciere *(l.r.) se deban admitir, imbiense acá, siendo buenos supósitos, como ya está escrito otras vezes, que acá no se mira tan al sutil de qué raça sea el que se vey ser buen supósito, como tampoco basta, para que vno se accepte, la nobleza, si las otras partes no concurren*(d.r.)... Y por dezir la verdad, no le pesa á N.P. de aberlos aceptado, avnque dijo que pudiera proceder con ellos de otra manera, si estuuiera informado. En lo demás la dificultad que ay con personas, que ya vienen spirituales á la Compañía suo modo, acá vey no ser pequeña *(l.r.); pero á la fin haze cuenta que con el tiempo se acomodarán, ó se despidirán.⁶⁷

Thus, this adapted non-exclusion policy became the common practice under Ignatius' leadership. And Ignatius did so creatively to avoid problems with the local church authority. A few examples here show how Ignatius and the early Jesuits practiced this non-exclusion policy.

⁶⁷ *Epp* V, 335, written from Rome, on the 14th of August, 1553.

In January 1552, Borja admitted into the Society Dr. Gaspar Loarte (c. 1498-1578),⁶⁸ the head of the theology department at the University of Baeza in Andalucía, and Diego de Guzmán (c. 1522 - 1606)⁶⁹, a noble from Sevilla, both of who had had problems with the Inquisition in Spain. To resolve the situation, Ignatius called both of them to Rome where he named Guzmán minister of the professed house and Loarte rector of the Génova College. In August 1553, Ignatius admitted Alfonso de Pisa (1528 – 1598)⁷⁰, a well-known doctor and professor of mathematics of the Toledo Academy and sent him to Rome to be the head of the Physics department of the Roman College. Similarly, in 1554, Nadal accepted Luis de Santander (c. 1527 - 1599)⁷¹, a graduate from Écija, Andalucía into the Society and sent him to teach theology in Gandía. In 1555, Ignatius insisted Pedro Navarro (c. 1520 – 1580)⁷², the minister at the Granada College to admit Moorish candidates whose mother tongue was Arabic for the mission in Granada and North Africa.⁷³ In the Far East, Francis Xavier applied similar tactic. Though “advised debarring candidates of ‘Hebraic lineage’,” he continued to admit such candidates into the Society, namely, Gaspar

⁶⁸ He was born in Medina del Campo. Ordained a priest before enter the Society and made his first vows in 1554, later. professed in 1560. Attended the Second Congregation (1565) as elector from the Sicilian Province. Dedicated his later year to the Jesuit apostolate to *moriscos* (M. RUIZ JURADO / F. MEDINA, “Loarte, Gaspar,” *DHCJ*, III, 2402 – 3; F. MEDINA, “La compañía de Jesús y la minoría morisca (1545 – 1614),” *AHSI* 57 (1988) 3 – 136; R. MARYKS, *Discrimination against Jesuits of Jewish Ancestry*, 346).

⁶⁹ He was born in Sevilla, entered the Society in 1552, professed in 1560. Served as a confidant of the Duchess of Tuscany, taught catechism in many parts of Italy (F. MEDINA, “Guzman, Diego de,” *DHCJ*, II, 1857 - 9; R. MARYKS, *Discrimination against Jesuits of Jewish Ancestry*, 359).

⁷⁰ He was born in Toledo, entered the Society in 1553, ordained a priest in 1555, and professed in 1564. Taught physic and metaphysic at the Roman College from 1554 – 6 and 1558 – 9. Attended the 3rd General Congregation as elector of the Germany Province (F. MEDINA, “Pisa, Alonso de,” *DHCJ*, IV, 3146 – 8; R. MARYKS, *Discrimination against Jesuits of Jewish Ancestry*, 359).

⁷¹ He was born in Écija (Sevilla), entered the Society in 1554, ordained a priest in 1553, and professed in 1565. Served as rector of various colleges: Segovia (1574 – 82), Valencia (1567 – 71), Alcalá (1571 – 2), and Pamplona (1582 – 5). Worked with moriscos and was confessor of Teresa de Ávila whom he helped founding one of her convents in Segovia (F. MEDINA, “Santander, Luis de,” *DHCJ*, IV, 3499 - 350; R. MARYKS, *Discrimination against Jesuits of Jewish Ancestry*, 347).

⁷² He was born in Zaragoza, entered as a priest in 1549, professed in 1567. He was named rector of Granada University in 1564 and again from 1566 – 1569 (N. GRIFFIN, “A Curious Document. Baltasar Loarte, S.I., and the years 1554 – 1570,” *AHSI* 45 (1976) 66 – 67; F. MEDINA, “Navarro, Pedro,” *DHCJ*, III, 2803).

⁷³F. MEDINA, “Ignacio de Loyola y la ‘limpieza de sangre’,” *Ignacio de Loyola y su tiempo*, 606 -7.

Rodrigues (d. 1552) in 1548 as a lay brother working as missionary in Goa, Miguel da Nobrega (d. 1558) in 1550, Gomes Vaz (c. 1542 - 1610)⁷⁴ as a missionary in Goa, whose grandparents were burned by the Inquisition in Serpa, and Antonio Dias (d. 1581) who worked in Goa for thirty years. This policy of non-exclusion continued after Xavier's death in 1552.⁷⁵

Observing the practice of this policy, Medina noted:

Ignacio se mantuvo inalterable en el principio de la no exclusión [regarding racial and ethnic background of the candidates], pero dejó también claramente asentado el principio del bien universal sobre el particular y la norma de prudencia de no irritar los ánimos y acomodarse a los “humores”, “en lo exterior”, aunque los reprobese.⁷⁶

Regrettably, the Society's non-exclusion policy regarding the admission of the *cristianos nuevos* into the Society came to a halt at the Fifth General Congregation (1593 – 1594). In the 52nd Decree, we read:

No one will hereafter be admitted to this Society who is descended of Hebrew or Saracen stock. And if any one of them will have been admitted by mistake, he should be dismissed from the Society as soon as this impediment has been shown to exist. The entire congregation then decided to decree, as is affirmed by this present decree, that in no case is any one of this sort, that is to say, one of Hebrew or Saracen stock, henceforth to be admitted into the Society... No superior, not even the superior general himself, may give dispensation from it; and hence it is hereafter to be kept entire and inviolate in the Society.⁷⁷

However, individual efforts to overturn this decree, most notably that of Antonio Possevino (1533 - 1611)⁷⁸ continued. Possevino based his arguments on the

⁷⁴ He was born in Serpa (Portugal), entered the Society in 1562, ordained a priest in 1568, professed in 1584. He was the first *cristiano nuevo* to make the profession in Goa (J. WICKI, “Vaz, Gomes,” *DHCJ*, IV, 3910; R. MARYKS, *Discrimination against Jesuits of Jewish Ancestry*, 349).

⁷⁵ R. MARYKS, *The Jesuit Order as a Synagogue of Jews*, 73 – 75.

⁷⁶ F. MEDINA, “Ignacio de Loyola y la ‘limpieza de sangre’,” *Ignacio de Loyola y su tiempo*, 600.

⁷⁷ *For Matters of Greater Moment*, 204.

⁷⁸ He was born in Mantua (Italy), entered the Society in 1559, ordained priest in 1561, and professed in 1569. Prior to his entering the Society, he was established as a scholar among the Roman intellectual circle. During his novitiate, Father General Diego Lainez sent him on a special mission in Piedmont-Savoy. After novitiate, he lived in France for ten years where he served as rector at Avignon and Lyons. Upon being named visitor of France, Mercurian chose Possevino as his companion due to his well knowledge of the country. At the death of Father General Francis Borja, he was an official visitor to the province of Aquitaine which elected him as its delegate to the Third General Congregation (1573). At the Congregation, the newly elected Mercurian appointed him secretary of the Society. He

ground that such a decree was contrary to the spirit of Scripture and that of Ignatius. It promoted factionalism and hatred within the Society.⁷⁹ Furthermore, it alienated New Christians who had been generous benefactors of the Society and opened the door to subsequent exclusion. Finally, many New Christians most especially D. Laínez and J. Polanco had contributed themselves greatly to the founding of the Society.⁸⁰ He was not alone. Along with Possevino, Diego de Gúzman, Pedro de Ribadeneira (1526 - 1611)⁸¹, García Girón de Alarcón (1534 – 1597)⁸² were some of

held this position for the next five years before being sent to Sweden as its papal legate in 1577. After three year in Sweden, he returned to Rome and was named Vicar Apostolic Vicar of Hungary, Poland, Moscow, Lithuania, and Sweden. He spent his last years writing and preaching back in his hometown Mantua, Venecia, and Bolonia (J. DONNELLY, “Antonio Possevino and Jesuits of Jewish Ancestry,” 3 – 29; ID., “Antonio Possevino *From Secretary to Papal Legate in Sweden*,” *The Mercurian Project*, 323 – 349; M. SCADUTO, “Possevino, Antonio,” *DHCJ*, IV, 3210 – 3203; R. MARYKS, *Discrimination against Jesuits of Jewish Ancestry*, 349).

⁷⁹Possevino wrote a long memorial encouraging Father General Mercurian in 1576 to write a “lettera di unione” to address the growing divisions within the Society, specifically about rivalries between Spanish and Portuguese Jesuit in which problem of lineage was a part of and to demand those who were responsible to stop. And he warned that “if a remedy had not been introduced it could have caused an irremediable schism in the Society (ARSI, Cong. 20/B, ff. 206 – 212, 206). More detailed information could be learned in T. COHEN, “Nation, Lineage and Jesuit Unity in Antonio Possevino’s Memorial to Everard Mercurian (1576),” *A Companhia de Jesus na península ibérica nos séculos XVI e XVII: Espiritualidad e cultura*, Universidade do Porto, Porto 2004, 543 – 61. Such factionalism and division had been found during the Third General Congregation, namely, “resentment and dissatisfaction” growing in France and Italy against the Spanish dominance in the Society’s leadership position through Europe. Furthermore, a strong antipathy against New Christians, such as Polanco, was growing in the Society, especially in Spain and Portugal. Such prejudice both within the Society and from papal intervention paved the way for the congregation to elect Mercurian instead of Polanco, a leading candidate prior to the election (J. PADBERG, “The Third General Congregation (April 12 – June 16, 1573),” *The Mercurian Project*, 49 – 75.

⁸⁰J. DONNELLY, “Antonio Possevino and Jesuits of Jewish Ancestry,” 10 – 11.

⁸¹He was born in Toledo, entered the Society in 1540, ordained a priest in 1553, and professed in 1560. Under Ignatius, he was sent to Flandes to explain the newly approved Constitutions of the Society. Under Laínez, he was named supervisor of the Collegium Germanicum (1559), visitor of the colleges in Amelia Perugia, and Loreto, visitor and provincial of the Tuscan Province (1560 – 1), visitor and provincial of the Tuscan Province (1569 – 70). Attended the General Congregation II (1565). Served as superintendent of the Roman College and later all the colleges and seminaries in Rome. Named the visitor of the Province of Lombardy, later assistant of Spain and Portugal and attended the General Congregation III (1573). He spent his later years in Toledo, his hometown writing and publishing. Due to his prolific literary works (*Vita Ignatii Loyolae* being one of his masterpieces appeared in 1572 and its Spanish version in 1583), he is counted among the classical writers of the Spanish “siglo de oro” (M. RUIZ JURADO, “Ribadeneira, Pedro de,” *DHCJ*, IV, 3345 – 6; R. MARYKS, *Discrimination against Jesuits of Jewish Ancestry*, 348). On this topic, he wrote 3 letters, one in 1593 before GC 5 (*MRib*. II, 374 384), one in 1597 after GC 5 (*MRib*. II, 189 – 193), and one in 1608 before GC 6 (*MRib*. II, 241 – 245) to Father General Aquaviva to testify against the exclusion policy of the *nuevos cristianos* (*Confesiones: Autobiografía documentada*, 201 – 215).

⁸²He was born in Albaladejo, entered the Society in 1555 as a former Jeromite, ordained a priest in 1567, and professed in 1570. In 1578, Mercurian appointed him visitor for the Province of Andalusia and provincial later. As provincial he attended the Fourth General Congregation (1581). At the

the most critical voices within the Society speaking out against the discriminatory decree. From their tireless and concerted efforts, the Sixth General Congregation (1608) after having wrestled with the issue of Jewish exclusion “during three sessions,” decreed that those who are good-standing Christian of Jewish origin “taken to fifth degree of family lineage” could be admitted into the Society [28].⁸³ Not until the 29th General Congregation (1946), this exclusion policy was completely overturned.⁸⁴

b. Women’s membership in the Society of Jesus

While discussing the Society’s policy of inclusiveness, the issue of women’s membership in the Society, though beyond the scope of this investigation, merits brief mention here. Both Pope Paul III’s concession to establish the Society of Jesus did not require the Society to accept women and the *Constitutions* teach Jesuits “ought not to take on the care of souls, and still less ought they to take charge of religious women or any other women whatever to be their regular confessors or to direct them” due to the reason that “the members of this Society ought to be ready at any hour to go to any part of the world where they may be sent by the sovereign pontiff or their own superiors” [588]. However, Ignatius did accept the vows of Doña Isabel Roser (d. 1554) and her two companions in 1545⁸⁵ and admitted another, Doña Juana de Austria (1535 – 1573) to simple vows like other Jesuits in 1554.⁸⁶

Congregation, he was elected as assistant general to Acquaviva for Spain. He remained in this office until the Fifth General Congregation (1593 – 4) (R. MARYKS, *Discrimination against Jesuits of Jewish Ancestry*, 343).

⁸³ *For Matters of Greater Moment*, 204.

⁸⁴ *For Matters of Greater Moment*, 625. “Regarding the impediment of origin, ... the present congregation did not wish to retain it as a secondary impediment, but substituted for it a statement reminding the provincials, in accord with the *General Examen* ... whether he is suited for the life of the Society or is likely to persevere in it” (d. 8).

⁸⁵ There exist doubts whether their vows included entrance into the Society of Jesus. Isabel Roser’s vows translated into Spanish state: “La que subscribe, Isabel Roser, viuda, promete y hace voto solemne a nuestro Señor Dios Omnipotente, en presencia de la Santísima Virgen María, mi Señora, del glorioso San Jerónimo y de toda la corte celestial del Paraíso y ante los aquí presentes, y ante Vos,

Ignatius first met Doña Isabel Roser, a wealthy married lady who was without any children, in Barcelona in 1523. Since then they developed a great friendship where Ignatius became her spiritual mentor and she one of his benefactors helping to finance his studies in Paris. In one of Ignatius' letter dated November 10, 1532 written to Elisabethae Roser from Paris, we learn of how Ignatius valued her and appreciated her support:

A la fin, quando yo no bastare [á]complir lo que deuo en esta parte, no tengo otro refugio sino que,contados los méritos que yo alcançare delante de la diuina magestad, ganados tamen mediante su gracia, que el mismo Señor los reparta á las personas á quienes yo soy en cargo, á cada vno según que en su seruicio á mí me ha ayudado, *máxime á vos, que os deuo más que á quantas personas en esta vida conosco*; y como [lo] conosco, espero en Dios N.S. que me ayudará y aprouecharé en este conocimiento. Assí pensad que de ay adelante vuestra voluntad tan sana y tan sincera por mí será recebida tan lleno de plazer y gozo espiritual, como con todo el dinero que embiarme pudiérades;⁸⁷ (*Italics are mine*).

And from of one of Ignatius' lengthy letters from Rome to her dated December 19, 1538, we learned of how confident and closely connected he was to her. We read in part:

Pues auéis entendido nuestras cossas en que términos están, por amor y reuerencia de Dios N.S. os pido, nos ayamos con mucha paciencia, desseando, lo que más en su gloria y alabanza sea, quiera obrar en nosotros; que cierto las cossas están al presente en mucha importancia y pesso. *Yo os daré auisso más á menudo de lo que passa; que sin dubitar os digo, si os oluido, pienso de ser oluido de mi criador y señor*. Por tanto, no tengo tanto cuydado en cumplir ó rengraciar con palabras; mas que desto seáys cierta, que vltra que delante de

Reverendo Padre Maestro Ignacio, prepósito de la Compañía de Jesús, que tenéis el puesto de parte de Dios, de pobreza perpetua, según las ordenaciones que Vuestra Reverencia me dará, de castidad y obediencia según el modo de vida que me será encomendado. Hecho en Roma, en la Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de la Strada, el día de Natividad de Jesucristo 1545" (The text is originally written in Catalan. Found in Archivo Romano SJ. Cod. Italinao, folio 11). I've learned of this text from R. GARCÍA MATEO, "Mujeres en a vida de Ignacio de Loyola," *Man* 66 (1994), 339 – 353, 349 footnote 33. J. Padberg interprets it as "una práctica no rara en aquella época: votos privados ante una persona, en cuanto director espiritual" (J. PADBERG, "Los jesuitas y las mujeres, las mujeres y los jesuitas," *Man* 81 (2009) 59 – 74, 61).

⁸⁶ J. PADBERG, "Los jesuitas y las mujeres," 60 – 63; J. REITES, "Ignatius and Ministry with Women," *The Way Sup* 74 (1992) 7 – 19, 13 – 16; L. FULLAM, "Juana, S.J.: the Past and the Future? Status of Women in the Society of Jesus," *SSJ* 31 (1999), 14 – 31; R. GARCÍA MATEO, "Mujeres en la vida de Ignacio de Loyola," *Man* 66 (1994) 339 – 353, 349 – 351; R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 758 – 768.

⁸⁷ *Epp* I, 85.

Dios N.S. viue todo lo que en mí auéys hecho por su amor y reuerencia, que en todas cossas que su diuina magestad fuere seruido obrar por mí, haciéndolas meritorias por su diuina gracia, todos los días que viuiere seréys enteramente participante, como en su diuino seruicio y alabanza me auéys siempre ayudado y tan especialmente fauorecido.⁸⁸ (*Italics are mine*).

In 1542, after the death of her husband, she expressed to Ignatius her determination to go to Rome with the intention of entering the newly found Society of Jesus.⁸⁹ We read in her letter to Ignatius dated November 6, 1542, “en otras os escriuí cómo mi determinación sea de yrme á Roma y veros antes que muera.”⁹⁰ Early summer of 1543, she arrived in Rome with Francisca Cruyllas and Lucrezia di Bradine submitting themselves under vows of obedience to Ignatius. At first, Ignatius refused to receive them since the three-year-old Society of Jesus had experienced a great deal of challenges and difficulties. At Ignatius’ refusal, she went directly to Pope Paul III and obtained his permission at which Ignatius could not deny. On Christmas of 1545, Doña Isabel and her two companions pronounced their vows in Ignatius’ presence.⁹¹

Doña Isabel’s and her two companions’ membership in the Society of Jesus was short lived. Having already been closely connected with Ignatius and a longtime benefactor of the Society, she saw herself as a privileged member in the young Society. Also, some of her unresolved family problems surfaced especially when her nephews came trying to reclaim money from the community.⁹² Both of these issues caused great tension in the community. Most importantly, however, unlike their brother companions, due to the social and cultural climate at the time, these women could not engage fully in the apostolic mobility that is so central to the nature of the

⁸⁸ *Epp* I, 143 - 144.

⁸⁹ R. GARCÍA MATEO, “Mujeres en la vida de Ignacio de Loyola,” 345.

⁹⁰ *Epp Mixtae* I, 117.

⁹¹ See footnote 85 above.

⁹² L. FULLAM, “Juana, S.J.: the Past and the Future,” 19.

Society. Consequently, in 1546, after having successfully convinced the Pope and with his approval, Ignatius released Doña Isabel and her two woman companions from their vows and from the Society's responsibility. We learned about Ignatius' decision in a letter to from Rome dated October 1st of the same year informing her:

tamen, para ello no hallando en mí disposición ni fuerzas quales deseo, por las mis assiduas indisposiciones, y ocupaciones en cosas, por las quales tengo principal obligación á Dios N.S. y á la *(l.r.) santidad de nuestro señor en su nombre; assímismo, viendo, conforme mi consciencia, que á esta [mínima] *(l.r.) Compagnía no conuiene tener special cargo de dueñas con votos *(l.r.) de obediencia, etiam *(l.r.) según que haurá medio año que á S.S. expliqué largo, me ha parecido, á maior gloria diuina, retirarme y apartarme de este cuidado de teneros por hija spiritual en obediencia, mas por buena y piadosa madre, como en muchos tiempos me hauéis seydo á maior gloria de Dios N.S..⁹³

At first she was very unhappy with Ignatius' decision and left Rome for Barcelona. Towards the end of the same year while in Barcelona, she wrote Ignatius recognizing her errors and “en esta humildemente os pido perdón, confesando [su] imperfección y miseria.”⁹⁴ Later, she opened a home for orphan children. In 1550, she entered a Francisco convent and died there as a Franciscan in 1554.⁹⁵ Regarding her companions, Lucrezia di Bradine entered a convent in Naples; whereas Francisca Cruyllas worked in the Hospital of the Cross in Barcelona for the rest of her life.

Unlike Doña Isabel Roser, Doña Juana de Austria pronounced her vows as a Jesuit and died as a Jesuit. Doña Juana de Austria was born in Madrid on the 24th of June, 1535, as one of the two daughters of King Carlos V (1500 – 1558) and Queen Isabel of Portugal (1503 – 1539). From a very young age, she was entrusted to

⁹³*Epp* I, 424.

⁹⁴*Epp Mixtae* I, 449s.

⁹⁵C. de DALMASES, “Jesuitas,” *DHCJ*, III, 2148 – 9; ID., “Roser (Rosé, Rosell), Isabel,” *DHCJ*, IV, 3413; J. PADBERG, “Los jesuitas y las mujeres,” 59 – 74; H. RAHNER, *Ignace de Loyola et les femmes de son temps*, Desclée De Brouwer, Paris 1964; R. GARCÍA MATEO, “Mujeres en la vida de Ignacio de Loyola,” 339 – 353.

Francis Borja (1510 - 1572)⁹⁶ for religious formation and spiritual guidance. In 1552, she was married to the future king of Portugal, Don Juan Manuel (1537 – 1554). However, only two years after the marriage, she became widowed at the age of 19. In the same year, she gave birth to the future king of Portugal, Don Sebastián (1554 – 1578). In the absence of her brother, Don Felipe II (1527 – 1598), who went to England to marry Queen Maria Tudor (1516 - 1558), Doña Juana was named the Regent of Spain in 1554. She handed this position back to his brother in 1559, when he came back to Spain permanently. Earlier in 1554, when she was a Regent, she had vowed to become a Franciscan nun. However, at the recommendation of Francis Borja whom she knew and admired, she asked to be admitted into the Society of Jesus that was then fourteen years of age.⁹⁷

At the news of her request, after having consulted with his administrative team, Ignatius admitted Doña Juana, a nineteen-year-old widow, to a two-year

⁹⁶ *Saint Francisco de Borja* was the 4th Duke of Gandía. His father, the 3rd Duke of Gandía, was the paternal grandson of Rodrigo de Borja, later Pope Alejandro VI (1431 – 1503). As a child, he wanted to be a monk. However, his family sent him to be trained and to enter in the service of the imperial court of Charles V (1500 – 1558) where he excelled and proved to be one of its most distinguished the negotiators. In 1529, he married to Doña Leonor de Castro y Meneses. Together they had eight children. His career seemed taking off as he was named viceroy of Cataluña administering the province. However, at the deaths of his father in 1543 and of his wife in 1546, he retired to a more quiet life of devotion. After having made the Spiritual Exercises in 1546, he entered the newly founded Society of Jesus in July of the same year. Such news, according to Ignatius, was like a “estampido” for the world (*Epp* II, 444). Trained as an administrator, he naturally adapted to the new role of administrator in the new Society. In 1554, he was named the Jesuit commissary-general of Spain; in 1565 the Vicar General to Fr. Lainez (1512 - 1565), the second General of the Society of Jesus; in 1565 at the death of Fr. Lainez, the third General by the Second General Congregation (1565). As the General, he worked hard to consolidate the internal organization of the young Society in the mist of its expansion. After having spent seven years in office as General, Fr. Borja passed away on September 30th, 1572 in Rome. He was beatified in Madrid on November 23rd, 1624 by Pope Gregory XV (1554 - 1623) and canonized on June 20th, 1670 by Pope Clement X (1590 - 1676) (C. de DALMASES, *El Padre Francisco de Borja*, BAC, Madrid 2002; its English version *Francis Borgia: Grandee of Spain, Jesuit, Saint*, (C. Buckley, transl.), IJS, St. Louis 1991 with one additional chapter; ID., “Generales 3. Borja, Francisco de,” *DHCH*, II, 165 – 1611; J. MARTÍNEZ de la ESCALERA, “Borja, Francisco de”, *DEI*, I, 241 – 246; I. IPARAGUIRRE, “Francisco de Borja visto a través de sus biógrafos,” *Man* 44 (1972) 195 – 206; M. RUIZ JURADO, “Francisco de Borja y el Instituto de la Compañía de Jesús,” *AHSI* 41 (1972) 176 – 206; ID., “Entrada del duque de Gandía en la Compañía de Jesús”, *Man* 44 (1972) 121 – 144; M. SCADUTO, “Il governo di S. Francesco Borgia, 1565 – 1572,” *AHSI* 41 (1972) 136 – 175).

⁹⁷J. PADBERG, “Los jesuitas y las mujeres,” 61 – 63;

probation in the Society of Jesus in October of 1554. From the note of the discussion we read:

Mirando de vna parte las constitutiones nuestras, que vieden tal admisión, y el privilegio de nuestras bullas, que no podemos ser forzados á tomar tal cargo; y de otra parte entendiendo que fueron admittidas tres personas semejantes al principio, y lo que contenía la bulla arriua dicha, nos resolvimos en lo siguiente, y es:

Que podía ser admittida esta persona, y conuenía que se admittiese, al modo que se rescien de la Compañía, á probación, declarándole que por dos años (y más, si al superior pareciese) es lo ordinario estar en probación, hasta el qual término las constitutiones nuestras no obligan á hazer voto ninguno; pero si alguno los haze por su uoluntad antes de este tiempo, conformemente al instituto de la Compañía,... Y el que tiene tal voto es relligioso de la Compañía, como en la 6.^a parte se vey.⁹⁸

However, due to her political position and authority, her admission to the Society of Jesus was kept in secret to avoid jealousy and hostility from anti-Jesuit forces, first and foremost from her father the Emperor. The *Litteræ et instructions* continues:

Asimesmo juzgaron los arriua dichos que esta persona, quienquiera que sea, pues con priuilegio tan special, y sola, es admittida en la Compañía, tenga su admisión debaxo de sigillo de secreto y como en confesión: porque, sabiéndose, no fuese ejemplo para que otra persona tal diese molestia á la Compañía por tal admisión.⁹⁹

Consequently, she was referred to as Mateo Sánchez among other superiors of the Society of Jesus.

Upon her entrance to the Society, she gave money to found a Jesuit College in Valladolid. In addition, using her authority, she intervened to save the persecution of Jesuits in Zaragoza in 1555. Also, it was she who recommended the Society to Pope Paul IV who was not particularly friendly to Ignatius and the young Society.¹⁰⁰ However, like Doña Roser and her companions, due to the social, cultural climate at

⁹⁸ *Litteræ et instructions*, MHSI Vol. 34, 7: 686. I've taken this quote from L. FULLAM, "Juana," 23 – 24.

⁹⁹ L. FULLAM, "Juana," 23.

¹⁰⁰ J. PADBERG, "Los jesuitas y las mujeres, las mujeres y los jesuitas," 64 – 65.

the time and her own social status, Mateo Sánchez was not able to live out her life as a Jesuit fully, especially regarding the vow of poverty and the fourth vow of availability¹⁰¹ (presumably that she were to take it).

Upon Ignatius' death on the 31st of July, 1556, Doña Juana continued to be a strong support for the young Society. Upon the return of her brother, Don Felipe II, to Spain, and after having handed over the Regency to him, she withdrew herself to the Convento de las Descalzas Reales de la Orden de Santa Clara in Madrid where she passed away on the 7th of September, 1573 at the age of 38 as a Jesuit.¹⁰²

After Doña Juana, no other women has been known to be admitted into the Society of Jesus.¹⁰³ The project of women membership in the Society was short lived mainly due to two main reasons: first, the apostolic character of the Society that requires mobility and availability among its members; second, the difficulties and nearly impossibility (of course, with the exception of Doña Juana, “an extraordinary person in extraordinary circumstances”¹⁰⁴) of the social condition and cultural context that allowed women to pursue such a life in the Society of Jesus.¹⁰⁵ Lisa Fullam captured it succinctly:

Most women in Ignatius's time could not embody the availability for mission that is essential to the Jesuit charism. Ignatius's group was a religious order. The question of admission of women to the Society was, in most cases, a non-starter in Ignatius's time, because women were either cloistered if they were religious, or not religious if they were not cloistered.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰¹ L. FULLAM, “Juana,” 27.

¹⁰² L. FULLAM, “Juana,” 28; R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 768.

¹⁰³ In a recent study, J. Martínez de la Escalera tells us that “en la fiesta de S. Juan Bautista de 1600,” with the approval of Father General Aquaviva and in the presence of the local Jesuit authority and community and her family, Doña Catalina de Mendoza (1542 – 1602) pronounced “perpetua castidad, pobreza y obediencia al Reverendo Padre Claudio Aquaviva, Prepósito General de la Compañía de Jesús, y al muy R. P. Hernando Lucero, Provincial, y a todos los que sucedieren en su lugar” (J. MARTÍNEZ de la ESCALERA, “Mujeres Jesuíticas y Mujeres Jesuitas,” *A Companhia de Jesus na península ibérica nos séculos XVI e XVII: Espiritualidad e cultura*, 369 – 384, 382).

¹⁰⁴ L. FULLAM, “Juana,” 31.

¹⁰⁵ R. GARCÍA MATEO, “Mujeres en la vida de Ignacio de Loyola,” 221; J. PADBERG, “Los jesuitas y las mujeres,” 67 – 68; T. CLANCY, *Introduction to Jesuit Life: The Constitution and History through 435 Years*, IJS, Saint Louis 1976, 60.

¹⁰⁶ L. FULLAM, “Juana,” 30.

Though the Society of Jesus since then did not admit any women into its membership, the Society has enjoyed and benefited from various forms of relationship of successfully working and collaborating with various women. From Ignatius' time, these relationships have been identified as *patronage*, *advocacy*, and *active collaborative work*.¹⁰⁷ Also, various women's religious congregations have attempted to adopt and to adapt Ignatian spirituality and Jesuit *Constitutions* into the rules of their own institutes and their ways of life. For example, Mary Ward (1585 – 1645) attempted to model her Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary (also known as the Loretto Sisters) on the *Formula* of the Society of Jesus in the early seventeenth century.¹⁰⁸ Jean Pierre Medaille (1610 – 1669), a Jesuit, helped found the Congregation of Sisters of St. Joseph in 1650.¹⁰⁹ In the early nineteenth century, several women's religious orders had successfully built their own *Constitutions* on that of the Society of Jesus.¹¹⁰

The Society of Jesus itself also has gone through its own soul-searching process, speaking out against the social inequality and injustice which women have endured and remained one of the main tensions that lied underneath the issue of women membership in the Society and seeking various means to reconcile these tensions. The 33rd General Congregation (1983) brought attention to the whole Society “the unjust treatment and exploitation of women” (1, 48).¹¹¹ The 34th General Congregation (1995) reserves Decree 14 addressing the issue of “Jesuits and the Situation of Women in Church and Civil Society” calling for “conversion from the

¹⁰⁷ J. REITES, “Ignatius and Ministry with Women,” 7 – 19.

¹⁰⁸ G. SIMMONDS, “Women Jesuits?” *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits*, 120 – 135, 123 – 129.

¹⁰⁹ 129 – 30.

¹¹⁰ A. CALLAHAN, “The Society of Jesus: A Priestly Order,” *The Way Sup* 70 (1991) 114 – 124, 120. For the names of various women congregations found on the *Constitutions* of the Society during this period see J. CHARRY y D. ORTIZ, “Institutos religiosos femeninos,” *DEI*, II, 1035 – 1040, 1037.

¹¹¹ *Jesuit Life & Mission Today*, 453.

regrettable situation of civil and ecclesial tradition that has offended against women” (9) “appreciation for [the] generous contribution of women in nurturing our faith and our ministry” (10) and “ways forward concretely at least [finding] some ways in which Jesuits may better respond to this challenge to our lives and mission” (11).¹¹²

The decree was praised by some of the women as a “prophetic gesture” and an encouragement for “honest conversation... serious commitment... a decisive step towards ‘listening to women’ and, therefore, to being challenged by what women has to say.”¹¹³ Consequently, given the changes in social understanding and condition of women’s roles in both the society at large and the Society of Jesus, new questions related to the issue of women membership in the Society of Jesus have emerged, such as:

“What is ‘ad majorem Dei gloriam?’ “How may God be better served in the work and lives of Jesuits in our time? If the mission of the Society is to be people ‘for others,’ would the inclusion of women in its life and work enhance its availability, its flexibility, its ability to speak to modern cultures in a way that is both familiar and prophetic, both encouraging and challenging?”¹¹⁴

Solution to these questions, like that of the admitting *nuevos cristianos* in the Society, asks for an ongoing process of deep reflection and in-depth analysis where both Jesuits and non-Jesuits commit themselves to serious discernment and honest dialogue on how the Ignatian charism is to be preserved and fostered in the cultural context of today’s world. Particularly, how the spirit of cultural inclusivity, which is deeply rooted in the founding documents of the Society, to be honored and celebrated given the new understanding of women’s role in society and in the Church. However, one of the greater questions that lies underneath these issues consists of how has the Society of Jesus inculturated itself in the midst of the ever changing cultures? In

¹¹² *Jesuit Life & Mission Today*, 617.

¹¹³ P. TERRONI, “Listening to Women’s Experience: A Challenge for Jesuits,” *The Way Sup* 93 (1998) 120 – 129, 128.

¹¹⁴ L. FULLAM, “Juana,” 32.

other words, how has the Society of Jesus adapted itself and its charism into the various cultural contexts which it has encountered and of which it is a part? And how do those cultural contexts continue to enrich the Society and its spirituality? Such questions remain at the heart of this study and to which this study will turn its attention now.

2.1.2 Cultural adaptation

a. The *Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius of Loyola*

Adaptation is the indispensable preparation and attitude, which director and the exercitant¹¹⁵ must have in their engaging the *Exercises*. The last three “annotations” of the *Exercises* clearly spell out the need for adapting the *Exercises* to the personal situation of each individual exercitant:¹¹⁶ the 18th *annotation* asks the director to pay attention closely to the exercitant’s “edad, letras, o ingenio” [18¹], his/her natural gifts and suitability for the *Exercises*, “es rudo o de poca complisión¹¹⁷ cosas que no pueda descansadamente llevar y aprovecharse con ellas” [18²], his/her physical well being, his/her “deseo de aprovechar”) [18³]. In this annotation, Ignatius “no le interesa salvar un método, sino extenderlo a muchos ... [animando] a acomodar el método para que, de manera realista, responda a las necesidades.”¹¹⁸

Furthermore, the 19th *annotation* inquires about his/her social situation, commitment and availability, “embarazado con cosas públicas o negocios convenientes, quier letrado, o ingenioso, tomando una hora y media para se exercitar”

¹¹⁵ Following the Spanish, I will refer to those who are making the *spiritual exercises* (los *ejercicios*) as “exercitant” throughout this investigation.

¹¹⁶ According to Nadal, these three Annotations (18 – 20) serve as the norm and the foundation for Ignatian accommodation. We read in his directives of the Exercises, “parece bien se den exactamente según la cualidad de las personas, conforme a lo que dicen las 18, 19 y 20 anotaciones de los mismos Ejercicios” (D. 7, 25).

¹¹⁷ “rudo, o de poca complisión” significa “corto de ingenio o débil de complexión” (S. ARZUBIALDE, *Ejercicios*, 70)

¹¹⁸ T. OLENIACZ, “La acomodación de los Ejercicios Espirituales de San Ignacio según el libro de los Ejercicios y los Directorios,” *Man* 72 (2001) 95 – 106, 99.

[19]. Finally, the 20th *annotation* questions his/her ability and possibility of withdrawing him/herself into isolation, “desembarazado y quen en todo lo posible desea aprovechar,..., tanto más se aprovechará quanto más se apartare de todos amigos y conocidos y de toda solicitud terrena” [20]. In all, these three annotations mainly ask the director to examine

al ejercitante real y posible y, partiendo su situación personal, releen el método mismo, que tratan de garantizar, y lo convierten en instrumento vivo, ágil, capaz de servir a muchos.¹¹⁹

Thus, Arzubialde succinctly summarized that “la experiencia [de los *Ejercicios*] siempre habrá de ser *personalizada*.”¹²⁰

Accordingly, Ignatius offered detailed directives in giving the *Exercises* both in a positive sense (encouraging) and in a negative sense (withdrawing). Positively, Ignatius’ own handwritten notes in the *Directorio autógrafo* reveal a thorough care for the exercitant’s needs, namely, reminding him/her of the usefulness of these “annotations” [1], of the place where the exercitant makes the *Exercises* [2], of providing food to the him/her as he/she requests [3], of his/her confessor being someone other than the director [4], of always soliciting his/her experience [5], and of the director’s freedom [7].¹²¹ Negatively, Ignatius was well aware of the cultural climate at the time and the risk involved, specifically in giving the *Exercises* to women. Consequently, Ignatius prudently observed all the measures to avoid these risks both for the good of the woman and the good of the ministry. We read in one of Polanco’s letters commissioned by Ignatius and written to Gaspar Loarte dated June 5th 1556:

¹¹⁹ I. IGLESIAS, “...Se han de aplicar los tales ejercicios’ (EE. 18 o la Anotación 18ª y la evangelización hoy),” *Man* 65 (1993) 251 – 268, 252.

¹²⁰ S. ARZUBIALDE, *Ejercicios*, 81.

¹²¹ *Los Directorios de Ejercicios 1540 – 1599*, 19 – 22.

Quanto al dar gl. essercitii, se si trata de donne, non acade darli in altro luogo che in chiesa pubblica *(l.r.); et se non uengano loro di, o uero ogni tre di, che non se li diano. Quanto agl. huomini maritati, et altri finalmente che non sonno atti al stato di religione, se gl. potran dare, uenendo loro alla chiesa o casa: et tanto ogni alle donne, quanto alli tali, bastano quelli della prima 7.na., agiongendo qualche cosa del modo di orare et essaminar sua conscienza.”¹²²

On first glance, the *Breve instrucción sobre el modo de dar los ejercicios* sounds offensive, condescending, and inappropriate to women of modern time. In the *instrucción*, we read:

con las mujeres hay que proceder como con los niños, que se confiesan frecuentemente con los nuestros, según se ha dicho poco antes, o como dijimos debía procederse con los más rudos [75].¹²³

However, taking the directory in the social condition and the cultural context of the time when women were considered inferior to men, we can see that the directive was understandably appropriate and perfectly followed Ignatius’ norm. Immediately following, we read in the *Breve instrucción*,

aunque si parecen dotadas de gran ingenio y espíritu, se podría seguir el mismo método que para los ingeniosos o letrados, pero ocupados en negocios, a fin de darles por espacio de una hora y media o dos.¹²⁴

Thus, the awareness of the background both of who is making and who is giving the *Exercises*, of the time during which the *Exercises* happens, and the place where it takes place all play an essential role in cultural adaption of the *Exercises*.

In the *Exercises*, the knowledge and awareness of the social and cultural context not only deal with the director and the retreatant, but also with what is being meditated. The “composición viendo el lugar,” which can be found in the first

¹²² *Epp XI*, 495.

“As for giving the Exercises, in the case of women they should be given nowhere but in the public church; and unless they come every day, or every other day, the Exercises should not be given to them. As for married men and any others not suited for the religious state: they can be given the Exercises by coming to either the church or the house. Both for women and for such men the Exercises of the First Week are sufficient, with the addition of something on the manner of praying and examining their consciences” (translated by M. PALMER, *On Giving the Spiritual Exercises: The Early Jesuit Manuscript Directories and the Official Directory of 1599*, IJS, St. Louis 1996, 25).

¹²³ *D.18*, 76.

¹²⁴ *D.18*, 75.

preámbulo of the First Week’s first meditation, six times in [Ej 47] and the second *preámbulo* of the Second Week’s contemplations, one time in [Ej 138], carefully give a physical context or a body to the contents of what is meditated and contemplated directing towards a personal encounter between God and the ejercitant.¹²⁵ Through the creative use of imagination, meditation and contemplation become personalized from the two different perspectives. First, once the physical context is created, the content of what has been mediated and contemplated slowly becomes “carne” in the retreatant.

Haciendo esto el ejercitante en realidad ‘encarna’ la oración, para evitar que se convierta en un ejercicio ‘hetéreo’ y sin referencia alguna. Así como el Verbo se hizo carne, así mediante a composición de lugar la escena o la verdad considerada se hace ‘carne’ en el ejercitante.¹²⁶

Second, since the physical context, which was constructed by the retreatant’s imagination, reflects his/her personal experience and history, each meditation and contemplation scene is a result of the interaction between God’s grace and the individual retreatant’s personal world and history. Altogether, these meditation and contemplation scenes “permite que la revelación se haga presente en ‘su’ mundo personal, y simultáneamente, el ejercitant se introduce con su ‘mundo’ y su ‘historia’ en el escenario de la revelación, verificándose de este modo un ‘tiempo’ y un ‘lugar’ para el encuentro entre ambos, es decir, entre Dios y el ejercitante”¹²⁷ and facilitate a personal encounter between the ejercitant and God in the person of Jesus Christ, the “God-experience of a person,” which remains at the heart of the *Exercises*.¹²⁸ In all,

¹²⁵ D. ASSELIN, “Notes on Adapting the Exercises of St. Ignatius,” *Notes on the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola*, The Best of the Review -1, RR, Saint Louis 1983, 292 – 301; D. GIL, “Imaginación y localización. Algo más sobre la composición de lugar en los Ejercicios,” *Man* 43 (1971) 225 – 244; N. STANDAERT, “The Composition of Place: Creating Space for an Encounter,” *The Way* 46 (2007) 7 – 20; R. ZAS FRIZ, “Composición de lugar,” *DEI*, I, 359 – 362, 360.

¹²⁶ R. ZAS FRIZ, “Composición de lugar,” 361.

¹²⁷ IBID.

¹²⁸ N. STANDAERT, “The Composition of Place,” 17; M. AMALADOSS, “Inculturation and Ignatian Spirituality,” *The Way Sup* 79 (1994) 39 – 68, 43.

“la composición de lugar es un medio importante para la realización de los Ejercicios ignacianos de manera personalizada.”¹²⁹

The adaptation to make the *Exercises* personal not only took place in meditation and contemplation, but also was manifest in the production of various texts of the *Exercises*. As demonstrated above, the production of the Latin text of the *Exercises* resulted from cultural demands. During his time of study in Paris (1528 – 1535), Pierre Favre needed a non-Spanish version of the *Exercises* in order to give the *Exercises* to his non-Spanish friends, namely, Claude Jay of Savoy from southern France, Jean Codure of Provence and Paschase Broët of Picardy; both from Northern France.¹³⁰ A translation of Ignatius’ notes in Spanish was needed. Thus, the first Latin translation was made due. The Latin text that was composed for the approval of the Holy See came more than ten years later.¹³¹ Commenting on the existence and genesis of various texts of the *Exercises* and all the redaction and correction that occurred in those texts during the composition process of the *Exercises*,¹³² Arzubialde concluded,

En mi opinión, en el conjunto de este proceso final de añadiduras, prevalece *la adaptación*, el hallazgo del medio y la moderación, a saber, el ideal tradicional de la *discretio*.¹³³

Most concretely, the existence of annotations [18], [19], and [20] in the *Exercises* explicitly “respondían precisamente a esas exigencias de la adaptación.”¹³⁴

¹²⁹ R. ZAS FRIZ, “Composición de lugar,” 362.

¹³⁰ J. GARCÍA DE CASTRO, “Los primeros de París,” 253 – 275, 259; ID., “Claudio Jayo (Vulliet Ca. 1504 – Viena 1552): compañero, teólogo, apóstol,” *Estudios eclesiásticos* 80 (2005) 485 – 542; Also see A. ALBURQUERQUE, “Fabro tuvo el primer lugar en dar los Ejercicios,” I, *Man* 65 (1993) 325 – 348; II, *Man* 66 (1994) 67 – 86; J. GONZÁLEZ MAGAÑA, *El “taller de conversión” de los ejercicios*, Universidad Iberoamericana, México 2002, 333 – 340.

¹³¹ S. ARZUBIALDE, *Ejercicios*, 41. The official Latin text was not approved by the Holy See until 1548 (*Obras de San Ignacio* 207).

¹³² See footnote 1 above.

¹³³ S. ARZUBIALDE, *Ejercicios*, 62.

¹³⁴ J. GONZÁLEZ MAGAÑA, *El “taller de conversión” de los ejercicios*, 69.

b. The *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*

Since the *Constitutions* of the Society of Jesus were born out of the Spiritual Exercises,¹³⁵ the *Constitutions* serve as one of the specific ways to live out virtues, which the *Exercises* foster and cultivate such as “a familiaridad con Dios, abnegación de voluntad y juicio; da cuenta de conciencia; obediencia pronta y alegre; indiferencia; intención recta; penitencia con discreción; amor a la cruz (oprobios y ofrendas); amor a Dios puesto en obras y en celo de las almas”¹³⁶ in different cultural conditions and circumstances.

The personable character accomplished through adaptation, which the *Exercises* demand, persist in the *Constitutions* of the Society. In fact, the *Constitutions* reiterated what has been stated regarding the adaptability of the *Spiritual Exercises* to the individual found in *Annotation* 18 [Co 649]. At the first glance, [Co 659] seems to be a statement of restrictedness and elitism. However, a more closely read illustrates that

Ignacio concibe sus Ejercicios de manera que puedan adaptarse a la condición espiritual y cultural de cada sujeto, convencido por experiencia de que lo que había sido posible y bueno para él, camino de liberación personal, podía serlo, en principio para todos.¹³⁷

Accordingly, the *Exercises* are “for anyone who has goodwill seems to be capable of these exercises” [Co 659]. For Ignatius, “lo que le preocupa a Ignacio no es salvar un método, sino extender al máximo una ayuda.”¹³⁸ Therefore, Jesuits who faithfully live out the *Constitutions* ought to adapt themselves to different cultural settings and conditions according to its people, places and circumstances.

¹³⁵ J. RAMBLA, “El hombre de las Constituciones como prolongación del hombre de los Ejercicios,” *Man* 70 (1997) 359 – 372, 361.

¹³⁶ 362.

¹³⁷ I. IGLESIAS, “... Se han de aplicar los tales ejercicios,” 254.

¹³⁸ 255.

In fact, the phrase “según las personas, tiempos, lugares, y circunstancias” becomes one of the mantras found in the *Constitutions* of the Society of Jesus. The “Preamble to the Declarations and Observations about the Constitutions,” which sets the tone for the document, clearly indicates the necessity and demand for adaptation. We read in the preamble:

The *Constitutions* and the *Declarations* both treat of matters which are unchangeable and ought to be observed universally; but they must be supplemented by other ordinances which can be *adapted to the times, places, and persons in different houses, colleges, and employments of the Society*, although uniformity ought to be retained among all the members as far as possible [136].¹³⁹

Accordingly, the *Constitutions* repeatedly reinforces the necessity of adaptation “in the light of circumstances of persons, times, and places” regarding the topics of the admission of candidates [64. 66 .70.71], the purpose and the binding force of the *Constitutions* themselves [136], defects that result in dismissal [211], those who are received back to the Society [238], the rule of preservation of the body [301], instruction to extern students [395], on prayers [343], on how to studies [382], on subjects to be taught [449], on care for the students [458. 462], on how various positions of authority are recognized in Jesuit colleges and universities [508], the individual’s material needs [581], clothing and vestment for Eucharistic celebration [671], on mission [603], on visit of Jesuit superior [669] and how the General Superior exercise his authority [747]. All need to be adapted. In the *Carta sobre la Inculturación*, written to the whole Society on the 14th of May 1978, Pedro Arrupe, the 28th Superior General of the Society of Jesus, reemphasized the characteristic of adaptability of the *Constitutions*. We read from the letter:

¹³⁹ *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and their Complementary Norms: A Complete English Translation of the Official Latin Texts*, edited by J. PADBERG, IJS, Saint Louis 1996, 58. Italics are mine. I will use this English version of the Constitutions throughout the investigation unless otherwise noted.

En San Ignacio esta actualización [capacidad para adaptarse] es una constante de su pensamiento y de su gobierno – aparece en más de 20 pasajes de las Constituciones – e insiste incesantemente para que se tomen en consideración las circunstancias del país, los lugares, y lenguas, la diversidad de mentalidades, los temperamentos personales.¹⁴⁰

Along side with the mantra of “in the light of circumstances of persons, times, and places” demonstrated above, other dynamics are operating in the *Constitutions*. All of them direct towards discernment and adaptation.¹⁴¹ First of all, the verb “convenir,” which is a “verbo de discernimiento,”¹⁴² floods the *Constitutions* (165 times to the exact). Expressions that are associated with the verb “convenir”¹⁴³ such as “todo lo que conviene,” “como conviene para el fin,” “cuando conviene,” “lo que halla más y menos conveniente,” ... appeared 85 times.¹⁴⁴ In all of these, “Ignacio supone que el jesuita que busca ‘lo que conviene’ lo hace orientándose y orientando las circunstancias cambiantes de su vida... para el fin que somos criados,”¹⁴⁵ that is, “to praise, reverence, and serve God Our Lord, and by so doing to save his or her soul” [*Ej* 23].

Secondly, the expression “lo posible” which occurred 34 times¹⁴⁶ reminds Jesuits of Ignatius’ intention of maintaining the *Constitutions* as remained open,¹⁴⁷ “a la creatividad que el Espíritu promueva en los individuos ‘según las ocurrencias en el

¹⁴⁰ P. ARRUPE, “Carta sobre la Inculcación,” 98.

¹⁴¹ I. IGLESIAS, “Constituciones para hacer Constituciones,” 157 – 170.

¹⁴² 163.

¹⁴³ The Spanish verb “convenir” was derived from the verb “venir” around 1206, which denotes “ir a un mismo lugar, juntarse” (J. COROMINAS y J.A. PASCUAL, *Diccionario Crítico Etimológico Castellano e Hispánico* (6 vols.), Gredos, Madrid 1990, 771). Later, “convenir” means “ser de un mismo parecer y dictámen, conformarse con el de otros y sentir y seguir lo propio que ellos” (*Diccionario de Autoridades* (3 vols), Gredos, Madrid 1983, 576. According to S. COVARRUBIAS, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana (1611)*, “convenir una cosa” signifies “ser a propósito (354). In English, “convenir” is translated as “to come to an agreement,” “to assemble,” or “to be suitable” (*El Diccionario New World Inglés-Español Español-Inglés*, (S. RAMONDINO, ed.), Simon and Schuster, New York 1968, 59.

¹⁴⁴ *Concordancia* 246 – 250.

¹⁴⁵ I. IGLESIAS, “Constituciones para hacer Constituciones,” 162 – 3.

¹⁴⁶ 996 – 7.

¹⁴⁷ P. KOLVENBACH, “Introductory Discourses of Father General - C: On Our Law and Our Life,” given on the 7th of January 1995 during GC 34th (January 5th – March 22nd of 1995), *Jesuit Life & Mission Today*, 690. Italic is mine.

Señor nuestro’.”¹⁴⁸ Finally, the emphasis on the meticulous details such as: regarding death of a Jesuit [*Co* 595 – 601], pertaining to poverty [*Co* 553], and the frequency of communication between local superior and his provincial [*Co* 674]

llama atención a la fluidez de las situaciones para las que se legisla, como apertura de puertas y ventanas a las posibilidades que entraña la propia ley, como invitaciones, por lo tanto, a la creatividad de la observancia. La regla ignaciana de la aplicabilidad de los Ejercicios a diversísimas situaciones personales, tiene su equivalente en esa contemplación móvil de una realidad, que él sabe plural y que quiere que sea contemplada como tal.¹⁴⁹

The combination of these three dynamics - “lo que conviene,” “lo posible,” and the meticulous details – calls Jesuits forth towards discernment, dialogue, and adaptation.

Such a process of discernment, dialogue and adaptation called for in the *Constitutions* was put in practice through the process of their own revision during the 34th General Congregation (January 5th – March 22nd of 1995). Given the new cultural context of the “*new evangelization, on the brink of the third Christian millennium,*” Pope John Paul II (1920 - 2005) called the Society to be faithful to its charism in “discerning [the Society’s] specific contribution ... as well as to *updating* the internal organization and legislation of the Society of Jesus so that it can render ever more faithful and effective service to the Church” [2].¹⁵⁰ In respond, the opening statement of Decree 1 of the GC 34 gives indication of the needs for updating and adapting the *Constitutions* in context of today’s world in the most concrete way. In the opening paragraph of the Decree 1, we read:

The major work of GC 34 has been the revision of our law and the orientation of our mission for today. The first project had two goals: to provide an annotated text of the *Constitutions* capable of influencing the present-day life of the Society and to make available a set of *Complementary Norms to the*

¹⁴⁸ I. IGLESIAS, “Constituciones para hacer Constituciones,” 165.

¹⁴⁹ 164.

¹⁵⁰ “Allocution of Pope John Paul II,” on the 5th of January 1995 at the opening of the 34th General Congregation, *Jesuit Life & Mission Today*, 667.

Constitutions, derived for the most part from general congregations, to enable Jesuits to put the character and mission of the Society into daily practice [1].¹⁵¹

Both the pope and the Society of Jesus anticipate the cultural changes of the new millennium, then, act accordingly to the spirit of the *Constitutions* renewing and revising them, so, to adapt them to the diverse cultures where Jesuits encounter. Such a cultural adaptation is made explicit in the *Complementary Norms*. We read in its opening paragraph:

The Society of Jesus intends always to take a very close look at its own nature and mission, in order that, faithful to its own vocation, *it can renew itself and adapt its life and its activities to the exigencies of the Church and the needs of the men and women of our times*, according to its proper character and charism [NC 1].¹⁵²

The creation of the *Complementary Norms* once again gives living witnesses to the commitment of the Society of Jesus to be faithful to its charism and the spirit found in the *Constitutions* in constantly renewing and adapting itself “en situaciones personales y a lo largo de momentos culturales muy diversos... en otro contexto histórico, cultural y eclesialmente muy diverso.”¹⁵³

The change in Jesuit formation serves as concrete example of how the spirit of the *Constitutions* to be adapted to the modern world as directed in the *Complementary Norms*. The purpose and the goal of Jesuit studies, that is “for the glory of God and the good of souls” [Co 360; NC 106 §1], remains unchanged. What was updated in the *Complementary Norms* has been how such studies should be done. According to the *Constitutions*, Jesuit scholastics are to be “sent or admitted” and “stationed” in the Society’s colleges [333] where poor and non-Jesuit students could be admitted [338]. According to the *Complementary Norms*, a new attitude is adopted. In light of recently general congregations, specifically GC 32, Jesuits are to be more assertive in

¹⁵¹ *Jesuit Life & Mission Today*, 513.

¹⁵² *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, 59. Italics are mine.

¹⁵³ I. IGLESIAS, “Constituciones para hacer Constituciones,” 167.

admitting themselves to the poor [NC 106 §3] actively involving not only with local cultures and also in a culture other than one’s own [NC 110]. While according to the former, Jesuit formation was confined to the world of the Society’s colleges and its cultures, the latter insisted on extending it to “different forms of cultures, diverse civilization, and different mentalities” of the world [NC 111].

In summary, the *Constitutions of the Society* serve neither a rigid structure nor a “cut-and-dried system, [nor] a spirituality that is closed in on itself” but the “interior law of charity and love which the Holy Spirit writes and imprints upon [Jesuits’] hearts” [Co 134] that need to be open to discern the “sign of times” so to “respond to the new challenges and involvements” in today’s world.¹⁵⁴ In other words, the *Constitutions*, which were born out of the experience of the *Spiritual Exercises*, call Jesuit towards adaptation of Jesuit spirituality into the diverse cultures of the world today.

3. GOD-CENTERED MULTICUTURAL VISION: AN IGNATIAN PARADIGM

3.1 God-centered culture

Ignatius’ insistence on cultural inclusivity and adaptation according to circumstances of person, time, and place has its deep roots in how Ignatius viewed and comprehended creation and its intimate relationship with God, the Creator. Such a vision and comprehension was given to Ignatius during his mystical experience on the side of the Cardoner River.¹⁵⁵ There, what he experienced surpassed “todo el

¹⁵⁴ P. KOLVENBACH, “On Our Law and Our Life,” 689 - 90.

¹⁵⁵ Cardoner is a stream that passes through Manresa, a little before joining with the Llobregat River. The Cardoner is about 90 km in length, usually dried in the summer and flooded in the fall. Its water originates in the Pyrenees and empties in the Mediterranean Sea by way of Barcelona. The name “Cardoner” came from the verb “cardar” which means to straighten or separate wool fibers. The name “Cardoner” referred to neither this type of work being done nor to its beauty, but the wool trading business that was carried out there (J. MELLONI, “Cardoner,” *DEI*, I, 279 – 286, here referred to on 279 – 280). According to Nadal, “aquí le comunicó N.S. los Ejercicios, guiándole desta manera para que todo se emplease en el servicio suyo y salud de las almas, lo cual le mostró con devoción specialmente en dos ejercicios, scilicet, del Rey y de las Banderas. Aquí entendió su fin y aquello a

discurso de su vida, hasta pasados sesenta y dos años,¹⁵⁶ coligiendo todas cuantas ayudas haya tenido de Dios, y todas cuantas cosas ha sabido” [Au 30]. We read in the

Autobiografía:

se le empezaron a abrir los ojos del entendimiento; y no que viese alguna visión, sino entendiendo y conociendo muchas cosas, tanto de cosas espirituales como de cosas de la fe y de letras y esto con una ilustración tan grande, que le parecían todas las cosas nuevas [Au 30].

Numerous writings, which have attempted to unravel this mystical experience of Ignatius only reinforce or repeat what we read in the *Autobiografía*. Only those who knew him intimately perhaps could comment a few words on what this experience meant to Ignatius and its implication for Ignatian spirituality.¹⁵⁷ J. Nadal (1507 – 1580)¹⁵⁸, one of Ignatius’ most trusted confidants, helps us to understand that this

que todo se debía aplicar y tener por escopo en todas sus obras, que es el que tiene ahora la Compañía (FN I, 307). More reference can be found in *El Peregrino: Autobiografía de San Ignacio de Loyola*, intro., notas, y comentario por J.M.^a RAMBLA BLANCH, M-ST, Bilbao – Santander 1991, 47 – 48, 120 – 1; J. CALVERAS, “La ilustración del Cardoner y el Instituto de la Compañía de Jesús según el P. Nadal,” *AHSI* 25 (1956) 27 -54; J. GARCÍA DE CASTRO, *El Dios Emergente: Sobre la “consolación sin causa,”* M-ST, Bilbao – Santander 2001, 309 – 29; J. MELLONI, “Manresa,” *DEI*, II, 1192 – 1195; ID., “El conocimiento interno en la experiencia del Cardoner,” *Man* 71 (1999), 5 – 18; R. SILOS, “Cardoner in the Life of Ignatius of Loyola,” *AHSI* 33 (1964) 3 – 43.

¹⁵⁶ According to Polanco, Ignatius was born in 1493. Thus, he was sixty-three years old when he passed away in 1556 (FN II, 512).

¹⁵⁷ R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 218.

¹⁵⁸ Jerónimo Nadal was born in Palma de Mallorca. After having spent 5 years of studying at the University of Alcalá, he further pursued his studies in Mathematics and Theology in Paris, where he knew of Ignatius and his companions. At that moment, he refused to join them. In 1538, he was ordained a priest and received his doctorate in theology in Avignon and returned to his hometown to teach. While he was teaching, inspired by one of Francis Xavier’s letters from India, he left Mallorca and came to Rome to learn more about the Society. In Rome, he was encouraged by Ignatius to make the Exercises, which he did with Jerónimo Doménech in 1545. During the Exercises, he decided to join the Society and eventually took his first vows in January 1546. Ignatius immediately recognized his talents, named him the minister of the house only three months later, and elected him superior of the Jesuits in Messina, Sicily three years later. In 1552, Ignatius entrusted to Nadal the Society’s one of the most important tasks, to promulgate the Constitutions in various parts of Europe. For the next twenty years, he traveled throughout Europe, e.g., Messina (1552), Portugal and Spain (1553 – 1554), Italy, Austria, and Germany (1555) to teach the next generation what it means to be a Jesuit. Commenting on Nadal’s character and his relationship to Ignatius, Polanco wrote in his letter dated June 7, 1553 to Jacobo Mironi from Rome “Es persona de grande entendimiento speculatiuo y práctico; y así, no solamente es doto en todos géneros de letras, y prudente en el gouerno y enderezo de las cosas agibles, pero señalado en la una parte é la otra, como allá uerán, si le trattan. Quanto al espíritu, es persona que muy de ueras se ha dexado poseer de la diuina gratia; y sería muy larga historia contar sus cosas después que entró en la Compañía aquí en Roma, uiniendo al concilio, abrá 8 ó 9 años. Tiene mucho conocimiento de N.P.Mtro. Ignatio, porque le ha tratado mucho, y parece tiene entendido su espíritu, y penetrado, quanto otro que yo sepa en la Compañía, el instituto della” (*Epp* V, 109). In sending Nadal on the task, Ignatius wrote on April 10, 1553, “qui mentem nostram omnino noverit, et

extraordinary illumination “se le representó una nueva verdad sobre todas las cosas, una inteligencia elevadísima”¹⁵⁹ and “se le abrieron los principios de todas las cosas.”¹⁶⁰ For Jesuits of later generations, one of the ways to gain better knowledge of Ignatius’ mystical experience at the Cardoner so as to better comprehend the Ignatian vision of “cosas,” as García-Villoslada suggested,¹⁶¹ is to trace back the ramification of Ignatius’ mystical experience at the Cardoner and its implication which Ignatius inculcated in his works, namely, the *Exercises*, the *Constitutions*, and his letters. This investigation does not intend to resolve Ignatius’ mystical experience on the Cardoner. What it strives to do is to elicit certain spiritual dynamics that serves as foundational for Ignatian adaptation.

3.1.1 “Buscar en todas cosas a Dios nuestro Señor” [Co 288]

Throughout his works, Ignatius seemed to be obsessed with “la cosa” and “las cosas,”¹⁶² because he was convinced that in “todas las cosas,” we are able “hallar y encontrar a Dios.” Such a conviction is consistently found throughout Ignatius’

nostra auctoritate fungitur” [he altogether knows my mind and enjoys the same authority as myself” (*MNad* I, 144). At the end the *Autobiografía*, we are told that “las otras cosas podrá contarlas el Mro. Nadal” (*Au* 98) (J. C. COUPEAU, “Nadal y Arrupe, dos intérpretes del carisma ignaciano e inspiradores de su práctica,” *Man* 79 (2007) 325 – 338; ID., “Cronologías de Nadal y Arrupe,” found in the same edition from 389 – 402; J. CAÑELAS, *Jerónimo Nadal, vida e influjo*, Mensajero – Sal Terrae, Bilbao – Santander 2007; J. O’MALLEY, “To Travel to Any Part of the World: Jerónimo Nadal and the Jesuit Vocation,” *SSJ* 16 (1984); M. RUIZ JURADO, “Nadal Jerónimo,” *DHCJ*, III, 2793 – 2796; ID., “Cronología de la vida del P. Jerónimo Nadal S.J. (1507 – 1580),” *AHSI* 48 (1979) 248 – 276; R. MARYKS, “Nadal, Jerónimo,” *DEI*, II, 1315 – 1319; W. BANGERT, *Jerome Nadal, S.J., 1507 – 1580: Tracking the First Generation of Jesuits*, (T. McCOOG, ed.), Loyola Press, Chicago 1992).

¹⁵⁹ *FN* II, 239.

¹⁶⁰ *FN* II, 406.

¹⁶¹ R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 218. Also see P. KNAUER, “Cosa,” *DEI*, I, 495 – 6.

¹⁶² It is noticed that Ignatius used the word “cosa” 2,820 times in the *Epistolario*, 225 times in the *Ejercicios Espirituales*, the *Diario espiritual*, the *Constituciones*, and the *Autobiografía*; its plural form, “cosas” 2,242 times in the *Cartas* and 377 in others. The plural form in Italian, “cose” appears 2,119 times in the *Cartas* and 15 times in the *Autobiografía*. He used the term rather loosely to include things in heaven as well as on earth, material things as well as persons (P. KNAUER, “Cosa,” 495 – 6).

works. In the letter written to his sister, Magdalena de Loyola,¹⁶³ from Rome dated May 24, 1541, we read these very words of Ignatius:

me gozé mucho con ella en el Señor nuestro, á quien plega por la su infinita y summa bondad os aumente siempre en amarle *en todas cosas*, poniendo, no en parte, mas en todo, todo uuestro amor y querer en el mismo Señor, y por él en todas las creaturas.¹⁶⁴

Again, in the letter to P. Antonio Brandano written from Rome dated June 1, 1551, Ignatius clearly instructs:

attento el fin del studio, por el qual no pueden los scholares tener largas meditaciones, allende de los exercitios que tienen para la virtud, que son, oyr missa cada día, vna hora para rezar y examen de conciencia, confessar y comulgar cada ocho días, se pueden exercitar en buscar la presencia de nuestro Señor *en todas las cosas*, como en el conuersar con alguno, andar, uer, gustar, oyr, entender, y en todo lo que hiziéremos, pues es verdad que está su diuina magestad por presencia, potencia y essentia *en todas las cosas*. Y esta manera de meditar, hallando á nuestro señor Dios *en todas las cosas*, es más fácil que no aleuantarnos á las cosas diuinas más abstractas, haziéndonos con trabajo á ellas presentes, y causará este buen exercitio disponiéndonos grandes uisitaciones del Señor, aunque sean en vna breue oración.¹⁶⁵

Thus, Ignatius was convinced that God is forever near and “accessible” to humans in “todas las cosas,” laboring from within in order to bring them towards their fulfillment and redemption.¹⁶⁶

Consequently, Ignatius worked tirelessly to instill such a conviction into the *Exercises*, repeatedly asking for the grace of “hallando a nuestro señor Dios en todas las cosas.” According to Nadal, in writing the *Anotaciones* of the examen in 1557, Ignatius “sentía y contemplaba a Dios tanto en todas las cosas, actividades, conversaciones, a la manera de in actione contemplativus, lo cual solía explicar: que

¹⁶³ One of Ignatius’ five sisters who was married to Juan López de Gallaiztegui, el notario (public notary) of Anzaola, a señor of the Ozaeta and the Echeandía (R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 55).

¹⁶⁴ *Epp* I, 170. Italics are mine.

¹⁶⁵ *Epp* III, 510. Italics are mine.

¹⁶⁶ J. GARCÍA DE CASTRO, “La revelación, el lugar del Mundo,” *Man* 81 (2009) 175 – 189, 182 – 187.

encontraba a Dios en todas las cosas.”¹⁶⁷ As a result, many points and meditations in the *Exercises*, namely [*Ej* 16.38.39.60.173.235-237], are designed to ask for the grace of “buscar a Dios en todas las cosas.”

Such a grace is not only found in prayer and meditation during the *Spiritual Exercises* but is to be lived out in the Society of Jesus. For J. Nadal, the designated promulgator of the *Constitutions* of the Society, this grace of “hallar y encontrar a Dios en todas las cosas” is “la razón de todo el Instituto de la Compañía”; una espiritualidad para el mundo, en el mundo, cuyo horizonte es buscar y atrevidamente *hallar* a Dios en el corazón de lo real.”¹⁶⁸ Therefore, the *Constitutions* exhort all Jesuits in formation “to seek God our Lord in all things, removing from themselves as far as possible love of all creatures in order to place it in the Creator of them, loving him in all creatures and all creatures in him, in conformity with his holy and divine will” [288].

The reason for Ignatian adaptation “según las personas, tiempos, lugares, y circunstancias” is amply clear, because in all “las personas, tiempos, lugares, y circunstancias,” God can be sought and found. J. García de Castro put it more succinctly:

Tal darse cuenta introduce en el itinerario místico de Ignacio un punto de no retorno: el Mundo no es lugar de revelación, sino que *es* revelación de Dios, es Santo y en esta Santidad radica su absoluta novedad.¹⁶⁹

Thus, God is immanently present and accessible in the world and all of its contents. Once the eyes are opened to the reality of God’s immanence and accessibility in creation, conversion follows.

¹⁶⁷ *MNad* V, 162

¹⁶⁸ J. GARCÍA DE CASTRO, “La revelación, el lugar del Mundo,” 179.

¹⁶⁹ J. GARCÍA DE CASTRO, “La mística de Ignacio: cultura y costumbre,” 335.

The recognition of God’s immanence and accessibility in *en todo* remains only half of the “interior knowledge” which the Contemplación para alcanzar amor (CAA) [Ej 230 – 237] hopes to achieve. After having acknowledged God’s immanence and accessibility in *en todo*, the CAA aims at the kind of “sensitive, unifying consciousness in which [the person] deeply becomes what he knows and by which [he/she] grows into whatever personal depths [his/her] life is to possess.”¹⁷⁰ The grace asked for during the CAA consists of “comunicación de las dos partes” [Ej 231], that means both the profound knowledge of how one is loved by God *en todo* and so he/she is moved to turn to God in love and service in *en todo*.¹⁷¹ Thus, the aim of the CAA “is not contemplation simply, but a contemplation that transcends itself and moves into the decisions and directions of a [person’s] life.”¹⁷² Its ultimate goal is to attain love that is “más en obras que en palabras” [Ej 230]. Hence, to gain interior knowledge of God in all things moves him/her to love and to serve God in all things. Therefore, following the grace of the CAA, one moving beyond “buscar a Dios nuestro Señor en todas las cosas,” but in Ignatius’ vision and destiny for all exercitants, to unite intimately with God in all things.¹⁷³

3.1.2 “Conformarse con la voluntad divina” [De 80.127.155.189]

As illustrated previously, though Ignatius’ conversion had begun during his convalescence in Loyola and deepened in Manresa, his interior transformation really took off after he had been ordered to leave Jerusalem by the Franciscan provincial [Au

¹⁷⁰ M. BUCKLEY, “The Contemplation to Attain Love,” *The Way Sup* 24 (1975) 93 – 104, 95. On la contemplación para alcanzar amor (CAA), please also see G. FAGAN, “Contemplation to Attain Love: A Paradigm for Apostolic Prayer,” *RR* 60/2 (2001) 152 – 161; I. IGLESIAS, “La contemplación para alcanzar amor en la dinámica de los Ejercicios Espirituales,” *Man* 59 (1987) 373 – 387; J. M^a. RAMBLA, “La Contemplación para alcanzar amor: el Pentecostés ignaciano,” *Man* 63 (1991) 163 – 190; O. WARNKE, “The Contemplation to Attain Divine Love,” *The Way Sup* 58 (1987) 74 – 85.

¹⁷¹ M. BUCKLEY, “The Contemplation to Attain Love,” 96; ID., “Contemplación para alcanzar amor,” *DEI*, I, 452 – 456, 453 - 4.

¹⁷² IBID.

¹⁷³ M. BUCKLEY, “The Contemplation to Attain Love,” 100.

46]. For the first time, the decision of what to do next was neither initiated nor originated from him. It was during this disappointing moment and for the first time in the *Autobiografía*, we hear Ignatius talking about the “voluntad de nuestro Señor” [Au 47]. And it took Ignatius a while, after having left Jerusalem and arrived Venice in the middle of January of 1524, to finally “entendió que era voluntad de Dios que no estuviese en Jerusalén” [50]. Observing this important moment in Ignatius’ spiritual journey, J. García de Castro wrote:

Abandonar Jerusalén supone también reiniciar de nuevo el proceso de búsqueda de sentido, pero iluminada ahora con dos criterios básicos de discernimiento cristiano: religarse a la “voluntad de Dios” y junto con ella, su incondicional “ayudar a las ánimas” que ya no habría de abandonar [Au 50.55.70.85]. Supone además tener que renunciar a “su firme propósito” [Au 45], “muy firme y que juzgaba por ninguna cosa dejarlo de poner en obra” [Au 46].¹⁷⁴

Since then, Ignatius started “a post-ponerse, ab-negarse ante un Proyecto Mayor que le sobrecoge: lo Absoluto de Dios.”¹⁷⁵ In other words, Ignatius opened and committed himself to be transformed interiorly, surrendering himself and his will, so as to conform himself wholly to the will of God. Such a conversion and transformation continued throughout Ignatius’ life journey as reflected in his personal prayers and discernment. Most outstanding among these experiences was Ignatius’ *Diario espiritual*¹⁷⁶ which “refleja la formulación de una relación directa de Ignacio

¹⁷⁴ J. GARCÍA DE CASTRO, “La mística de Ignacio: cultura y costumbre,” 347 – 8.

¹⁷⁵ 348.

¹⁷⁶ The *Diario espiritual*, which was written by Ignatius from the 2nd of February 1544 until the 27th of February 1545, recorded his interior “mociones” during the time he was discerning over the issue of poverty in the professed house of the Society of Jesus. In the beginning, the first companions had committed to absolute poverty living exclusively on alms. However, as the Society quickly grew and expanded, and the needs multiplied, the question became: how to continue to live the vowed poverty given the new situation? What to do with the income in the house of the formed members of the Society, both professed and coadjutors? All of which subsequently became part of the *Constitutions*. G. Cámara witnessed of Ignatius’ daily writing in [Au 100. 101], J. Polanco in (*FN I*, 771) and D. Láinez in (*FN IV*, 611) respectively. The *Diario espiritual* consisted of “un doble folio (sheet) y dos cuadernillos (notebooks)”: the first includes 14 “folios” (sheets) which cover the spiritual process of the 40 days, from the 2nd of February to the 12th of March of 1544, during which Saint Ignatius made the election on the vow of poverty; the second, 12 folios, contains the spiritual “sentimientos” (experiences) that occurred interiorly from the 13th of March until the 27th of February of the following

de Loyola con un Tú trascendente y los efectos que tal relación producen en él.”¹⁷⁷

Thus, Ignatius’ experience recorded in his *Diario* exemplifies the grace prayed for in the *Spiritual Exercises* and in the formation and mission of the Society he instituted in the *Constitutions*.

The “voluntad,” in the Western tradition of spirituality, is one of the three faculties or “potencias” of the human soul.¹⁷⁸ (Memory and understanding are the other two). Ignatius used it numerous times in his writings: twenty one times in the *Exercises*, thirty-six times in the *Constitutions*, and six times in the *Autobiografía*. Consequently, we learn about how Ignatius understood the “voluntad” and its role. In the third *Annotation* of the *Exercises*, we read:

Como en todos los ejercicios siguientes espirituales usamos de los actos del entendimiento discurriendo y de los de *la voluntad afectando*, advertamos que *en los actos de voluntad*, cuando hablamos vocalmente o mentalmente con Dios nuestro Señor o con sus santos, se requiere de nuestra parte mayor reverencia que cuando usamos del entendimiento entendiendo [Ej 3].

Again, Ignatius explained more explicitly in the *Constitutions*. We read in [Co 156]:

Cuanto a la voluntad, que sean deseosos de toda virtud y perfección spiritual, quietos, constantes y strenuos en lo que comienzan del divino servicio, y celosos de la salud de las ánimas, y a la causa aficionados a nuestro Instituto, que es derechamente ordenado para ayudarlas y disponerlas a conseguir su último fin de la mano de Dios nuestro Criador y Señor.¹⁷⁹

year, 1545. In 1658, P. Southwell attached to the original 26 another folio that is entitled, “His – Autographum Ephemeridis – Sti P. N. Ignatii – In quam referebat interna mentis sensa – dum Constitutiones conderet – Compactum simul cum versione Italica – Anno 1658.” In 1724, the Jesuit Cardinal Álvaro de Cienfuegos bound it in silk and silver and it has been kept in the archive of the Society until this day. The *Diario espiritual* can be found in *MCo I*, 239 – 242 (J. GARCÍA DE CASTRO, “Semántica y mística. El Diario Espiritual de Ignacio de Loyola,” *MCom* 59 (2001) 211 – 254; S. THIÓ, “Diario espiritual,” *DEI*, I, 592 – 596; also see S. DECLoux, *Commentaries on the Letters and Spiritual Diary of St. Ignatius Loyola*, CIS, Rome 1980; “Diario espiritual,” *Obras de San Ignacio de Loyola*, 339 – 430; “The Spiritual Diary,” *Saint Ignatius of Loyola: Personal Writings*, transl. and intro. J. Munitiz and P. Endean, Penguin Books, England 2004, 65 – 109; P. KOLVENBACH, “Lenguaje y antropología. El *Diario Espiritual* de San Ignacio,” *CIS*, Roma 1991, 9 – 19; J. MUNITIZ, “The Spiritual Diary of Ignatius Loyola,” *The Way Sup* 16 (1972) 101 – 116; R. FRIZ DE COL, “El ritmo místico el primer cuadernillo del texto autógrafo del Diario espiritual de San Ignacio,” *Ignaziana* 10 (2010) 161 – 170 read online on March 3rd, 2011).

¹⁷⁷ J. GARCÍA DE CASTRO, “Semántica y mística. El Diario Espiritual de Ignacio de Loyola,” 226.

¹⁷⁸ D. SALIN, “Voluntad,” *DEI*, II, 1787 – 90.

¹⁷⁹ *Constituciones de la Compañía de Jesús y Normas Complementarias*, 86.

Therefore, in Ignatian view, the “voluntad” holds a more superior role in the spiritual progress of an individual than the other two faculties, namely memory and understanding, since it is the “facultad de estar ‘afectado’, de experimentar los ‘afecto’ [“voluntarios o involuntarios, deliberados o repentinos”] y de entrar en relación, especialmente con Dios.”¹⁸⁰ Nadal concurred with this understanding of “voluntad” being superior when he stated:

Lo que queda que advertir es que el acto grande que quiere la oración es la voluntad, ultra del entendimiento; quiero pues decir que en todos los actos de oración haya actos del corazón y voluntad, que desea las cosas en que se trata, y se conforme con las personas con quien trata, o sea Cristo, o los santos.¹⁸¹

Ignatius’ understanding of “voluntad” as the superior faculty to enter into the relationship with the Divine is illustrated in the mystical experience recorded in his *Diario espiritual*. Here, Ignatius used the word “voluntad” thirteen times, of which five referred to the “divina” [De 127. 155.164.189.190], one to the “Sanctísima Trinidad” [De 80], one to “el Señor” [De 114], and six to his own [De 8.11.53.71.110.148].¹⁸² However, in all of the six times in which Ignatius mentioned the will of his own, he used it as the starting point from which he moves towards letting it go and conforming to God’s will, “*siempre con voluntad de no tener nada... quitárseme toda la gana, pareciéndome ser clara la cosa, es a saber no tener nada*” [De 11] so to position himself “demandar y suplicar a Jesú para conformarme con la voluntad de la santísima Trinidad por la vía que mejor le pareciese” [De 80].

Ignatius’ interior transformation entails emptying out his will so as to adhere to that of the Divine repeated throughout the *Diary* before mass [De 80.127.189],

¹⁸⁰ D. SALIN, “Voluntad,” 1788.

¹⁸¹ M. NICOLAU, *Pláticas Espirituales del P. Jerónimo Nadal, S.I., en Coimbra (1561)*, Biblioteca Teológica Granadina, Granada 1945, 186 – 7. I’ve learned about this quote in H. OSORIO, “La oración en las pláticas espirituales de Jerónimo Nadal en Coimbra (1561),” *Man* 70 (1997), 253 – 273, 263.

¹⁸² “Voluntad,” *Concordancia Ignatiana*, M-ST, Bilbao – Santander 1995, 1347 – 9.

after mass [*De* 8.11.53.148], during mass [*De* 155.190], in the house [*De* 110], in the chapel [*De* 113.164], and during solitary prayer [*De* 71]. In all, Ignatius is drawn closer to and transformed towards being more intimate with God. Towards the end of the discernment, he found himself praying, “Señor, dónde voy o dónde, etcétera; siguiéndooos, mi Señor, yo no me podré perder” [*De* 114].

Ignatius, who experienced the interior transformation that drew him closer to God, aspires to extend this transformative grace to those who make the *Spiritual Exercises* and in the formation of all members of the Society of Jesus as instituted in the *Constitutions*, all towards the transformation process of building the God-centered culture.¹⁸³ In fact, we read at the very beginning of the preparatory stage about the aim of the *Exercises*:

Como el pasear, caminar, y correr son ejercicios corporales, por la mesma manera, todo modo de preparar y disponer el ánima para quitar de sí todas las afecciones desordenadas y, después de quitadas, para buscar y hallar la *voluntad divina* en la disposición de su vida para la salud del ánima, se llaman ejercicios espirituales [*Ej* 1]. (*Italics are mine*).

Again, the purpose is further clarified before one enters into the actual exercise. We read in the title:

Ejercicios espirituales para vencer a sí mismo y ordenar su vida sin determinarse por afección alguna que desordenada sea [*Ej* 21].

Commenting on the purpose of the *Exercises*, Arzubialde writes:

Desde los compases iniciales, no se le crean expectativas falsas al individuo, no se le prometen experiencias “fuertes” de Dios. Se le ofrece algo en lo que no hay engaño posible: ayudado de la gracia, puede vencer los condicionamientos propios de la pasión para que Dios le guíe inmediatamente en su amor.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸³ J. MELLONI, “La espiritualidad ignaciana como proceso de transformación,” *Man* 81 (2009) 363 – 377, 375 – 6. D. FLEMING, “Ignatian Exercises and Conversion,” *Ignatian Exercises: Contemporary Annotations*, edited by D. FLEMING, The Best of the Review – 4, *RR*, Saint Louis 1996, 72 – 85.

¹⁸⁴ S. ARZUBIALDE, *Ejercicios*, 87.

And regarding the proper order, which the *Exercises* seek to accomplish, Arzubialde explains:

El orden consiste en la unificación del corazón, para la verdadera libertad, como resultado de una experiencia habida de Dios... busca *sólo* a Dios, y no otras cosas “además”. El hombre está ordenado cuando sus motivaciones están unificadas por el cumplimiento de la voluntad divina.¹⁸⁵

Ignatius’ directories on giving the *Exercises* reiterates this order both in encouraging those who make an election, to do so “con entera resignación de su voluntad... conforme a los consejos y ejemplo de Cristo nuestro Señor” [D1, 17]¹⁸⁶ and in reminding them of “hacer cada día particular oración por él y por quien le da los Ejercicios, para que entrambos cumplan la voluntad divina” [D4, 7].¹⁸⁷

Therefore, it is no surprise that the “voluntad divina” permeates the text of the *Exercises* [Ej 1.5.15.91.93.95155.180.290], actively moving and attracting the “voluntad” of the retreatant [Ej 175.180]. As the *Exercises* progresses, the grace which the retreatant asks for is “eligiendo conforme su sanctísima y beneplácita voluntad” [Ej 180], “con todo no se haga my voluntad, sino la tuya” [Ej 290], and ultimately praying,

Tomad, Señor, y recibid toda mi libertad, mi memoria, mi entendimiento y toda mi voluntad, todo mi haber y mi poseer; vos me lo distes, a vos, Señor, lo torno; todo es vuestro, disponed a toda *vuestra voluntad*; dadme vuestro amor y gracia, que ésta me basta [Ej 234]. (*Italics are mine*).

The transformative grace of trusting and conforming to the will of God, which is sought after and prayed for in the *Exercises*, continues to be cultivated, fostered and

¹⁸⁵ S. ARZUBIALDE, *Ejercicios*, 89.

¹⁸⁶ The “Directorio autógrafo de San Ignacio” is a set of notes on giving the Exercises, which was transcribed from the sheet of Ignatius’ own handwriting, originally written in Spanish (D 19 - 22; also see M. PALMER, *On Giving the Spiritual Exercises*, 7 - 10).

¹⁸⁷ Under the supervision and guidance of Ignatius, Juan Alfonso de Vitoria developed these directories known as “Directorio dictado al P. Vitoria” to the process of giving the Exercises to the young Lorenzo Maggio in 1555. Due to its connection to Ignatius and its thorough treatment, this directories inspired many other directories of its time. Many of its content later were taken and added into the *Official Directory*. Originally, it was written in Spanish (D4, 28 - 37; also M. PALMER, *On Giving the Spiritual Exercises*, 15 - 23).

lived out in the formation, the mission and the life of all members of the Society of Jesus as instituted in the *Constitutions*.

The dynamic that strips oneself of the love for creatures and the will of the individual placing all in the “voluntad divina” found in the *Exercises*, continues to run through the *Constitutions*. A member of the Society is to surrender to himself, so as to seek and to conform to the “voluntad divina” [*Co* 211.220.226.547.619.649]. Furthermore, to seek and to conform to the “voluntad divina” remains the foundation of Jesuit vows of obedience to the pope and Jesuit superiors. The *Formula of the Institute* spelled out clearly,

We firmly profess that all of Christ’s faithful are subject to the Roman pontiff as their head and as vicar of Jesus Christ, for the sake of greater devotion in obedience to the Apostolic See, of *greater abnegation of our own wills*, and of *surer direction from the Holy Spirit*, we have judged it to be extremely profitable if each one of us and all those whom may make the same profession in the future would, in addition to the ordinary bond of the three vows, be bound by a special vow to carry out... pertaining to the progress of souls and the propagation of the faith, and to go to whatsoever provinces they may choose to send us [*F50*, 3].

To put it differently, “to avoid erring in the path of the Lord,” Ignatius and the First Companions surrendered their will to the pope making their “promise or vow in order that His Holiness might distribute them for the greater glory of God and greater aid of souls” [*Co* 605]. Therefore, the ultimate goal of a Jesuit is to “avoid erring in the path of the Lord” and to seek “surer direction of the Holy Spirit.” Thus, God in Christ remains the central focus for the trust of Ignatius and the First Companions. Consequently, Christian profession of the “Roman pontiff as the vicar of Jesus Christ” in the earlier paragraph [*F50*, 3] is reiterated in the next paragraph, “leave all this care

to God, and to *the pope himself as His vicar*, and to the superior general of the Society” [F50, 5].¹⁸⁸

Similar to the papal office that serves as the Vicar of Christ on earth, the office of Jesuit superiors sit in the “place of his Divine Majesty” [Co 603] and “in the name of Christ our Lord” send individual Jesuits out on a mission [Co 633]. Therefore, Jesuit obedience whether to Father General or to the cook in the kitchen [Co 84], means to “recognize and to properly venerate Christ as present in him” as for the former [F50, 6] and to “exercise for the sake of our Creator and Lord alone, then it is the very Lord of everyone who is obeyed” [Co 84]. Thus, complete obedience with interior reverence and love must be maintained for Jesuit superiors for the reason that and inasmuch as they are “being in place of Christ” [Co 284] and “Christ in them” [Co 551]. Thus, the Lord Jesus Christ remains the center of Jesuit obedience whether it means to conform to the papal office or to the office of superiors.

For the very reason of conforming the individual’s will towards that of the Divine, the “most precious section” of Chapter III of the *Constitutions*,¹⁸⁹ concerning “the Preservation and Progress of Those Who Remain in Probation,” gives a precise and concise account of what Jesuit formation entails and consists. We read in [Co 288]:

Todos se esfuerzen de tener la intención recta, no solamente acerca del estado de su vida, pero aun de todas cosas particulares; siempre pretendiendo en ellas puramente el servir y complacer a la divina bondad por sí misma, y por el amor y beneficios tan singulares en que nos previno, más que por temor de penas ni esperanza de premios, aunque de esto deben también ayudarse. Y sean exhortados a menudo a *buscar en todas cosas a Dios nuestro Señor*, apartando, cuanto es posible, de sí el amor de todas las criaturas por ponerle

¹⁸⁸ A. ALDAMA, *The Formula of the Institute*, 63 – 4; H. GERHARTZ, “El cuarto voto y su influencia en las Constituciones de la Compañía de Jesús: Investigación histórico – canónica,” *Man* 66 (1994) 217 – 240, 224 – 6.

¹⁸⁹ A. ALDAMA, *An Introductory Commentary on the Constitutions*, 131.

en el Criador de ellas, a Él en todas amando y a todas en Él, *conforme a la su santísima y divina voluntad*.¹⁹⁰

Thus, “conformarse a la voluntad divina” completes the process of “buscar a Dios en todas las cosas.” These two spiritual principles, which remain closely related yet distinctive, form the dynamic God-centered culture in Ignatian spirituality.

Conclusion

In the *Spiritual Exercises*, the “Principle and Foundation” [Ej 23]¹⁹¹ strives towards the forming of God-centered cultures endorsing the dynamic of these two spiritual principles, namely, to “buscar a Dios en todas la cosas” and to “conformarse a la voluntad divina.” The opening statement of the “Principle and Foundation” ardently expresses “an attitude of radical God-centeredness,” declaring “God be God”¹⁹² and the end towards which the human person is created, “para alabar, hacer reverencia y servir a Dios nuestro Señor y, mediante esto, salvar su ánima” [Ej 23, 2]. However, the human person does not do it on his/her own, but “otras cosas sobre la haz de la tierra son criadas para el hombre, y para que le ayuden en la prosecución del fin para que es criado” [Ej 23, 3]. Thus, for Nadal, prayer towards the process of

¹⁹⁰ Italics are mine.

¹⁹¹ The genesis of this Ignatian text is thought to come from three different sources: first, from the 4th canon of chapter VIII in Erasmus’ *Enchiridion militis christiani*; second, from the *Liber II Sententiarum*, dist. I, c. 4^o, 4-6 of Peter Lombard, both of which Ignatius might have come across, read and developed during his studies in Paris; third, from his mystical experience in Manresa. It is most probable that Ignatius first began to compose the “Principle and Foundation” during his time in Manresa, 1522. Later, with the help of the authors mentioned and their respective texts, the Ignatian text was further developed between 1536 and 1539 in Rome (S. ARZUBIALDE, *Ejercicios*, 111 – 113; also see E. ROYÓN, “Principio y fundamento,” *DEI*, II, 1490 – 1497). According to Arzubialde, “el Principio y Fundamento es el pórtico del Libro y la síntesis de todos los Ejercicios Espirituales, del orden que con ellos se persigue... nos ofrece una acuñación filosófico teológica tan depurada que induce a pensar que su redacción definitiva ... alcanzó la síntesis final de su comprensión teológica del hombre” (111 - 2). For M. IVENS, the Principle and Foundation “remains a basic point of reference throughout the *Exercises* – and throughout life” (*Understanding the Spiritual Exercises*, 26) (D. FLEMING, “The Ignatian Spirituality Exercises: Understanding a Dynamic,” *Notes on the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola*, 2 – 18, 5 – 6; E. ROYÓN, “Antropología cristocéntrica del Principio y Fundamento,” *Man* 39 (1967) 349 – 354; ID., “El Principio y Fundamento, ¿inicio o conclusión?” *Man* 53 (1981) 23 – 32; J. LOSADA, “Presencia de Cristo Jesús en el Principio y Fundamento,” *Man* 54 (1982) 45 – 57; J.M. RAMBLA, “La creación en los Ejercicios. Comunión y servicio,” *Man* 69 (1997) 227 – 243; P. SHELDRAKE, “The Principle and Foundation and images of God,” *The Way Sup* 48 (1983) 90 – 96; S. ARZUBIALDE, *Ejercicios*, 71 – 83).

¹⁹² M. IVENS, *Understanding the Spiritual Exercises*, 29.

transformation according to Ignatian spirituality consists of *both* “o de lo que está en nos[sotros] mismos, que son los actos que podemos hacer” *and* “o de lo que no está en nos, que son los concursos especiales y influencias que el Señor comunica en tales actos.”¹⁹³ For the latter, it is purely an unconditional gift from God “que no depende de nuestra conciencia, ni de nuestra voluntad, ni de nuestras obras.”¹⁹⁴

These both/and dynamics provide a “gran armónico ... va articulando y orienta [toda la experiencia] hacia su sentido último y definitivo: la *adoración* de Dios por la *relación* ordenada del hombre a las *cosas*,”¹⁹⁵ and “una antropología trascendente, una concepción de la vida, en definitiva, cuyo centro no lo ocupa el propio sujeto; sino que el sujeto ‘se recibe’ de otra instancia superior, soberana y libre, que es Dios, el Señor.”¹⁹⁶ Thus, the end of the human person and the use of other things are neither centered on humans nor the things of themselves, but conform and center solely on the will of God.

The next part of the “Principle and Foundation” testifies to the divine character embedded in all creatures, recognizing them as means through which the human person reaches the end for which they were created. Here, Ignatius recognizes all things as means for security, e.g., health and sickness, wealth and poverty, fame and disgrace, long life or short life, which human beings are either attracted to or withdraw from. However, by situating them in “la relación de amor-amistad entre Dios y el hombre,” all things possess “las apetencias más profundas de felicidad que las transforme en la espontaneidad de la pura decisión volcada por completo al

¹⁹³ M. NICOLAU, *Pláticas Espirituales del P. Jerónimo Nadal, S.I., en Coimbra (1561)*, 179 – 180.

¹⁹⁴ H. RODRÍGUEZ OSORIO, “La oración en las pláticas espirituales de Jerónimo Nadal en Coimbra (1561),” 266.

¹⁹⁵ S. ARZUBIALDE, *Ejercicios*, 111.

¹⁹⁶ E. ROYÓN, “Principio y fundamento,” 1491.

servicio de la adoración.”¹⁹⁷ Thus, all things “son puestas a disposición del hombre para que en ellas y a través de ellas pueda... lograr su fin último, su felicidad.”¹⁹⁸

For these reasons, we seek and find God in all things.

Understood from the cultural perspective, these two Ignatian spiritual principles - “buscar a Dios en todas la cosas” and “conformarse con la voluntad divina” – actively work together to maintain the creative tension between the particularity and unity in the God-centered culture. “Buscar a Dios en todas la cosas” presupposes that God exists in all cultural forms, thus God can be found in all of them. According to Nadal, “esto principalmente servirá si uno considerate esto perfectamente conforme a tres maneras con que Dios está en toda parte, que son *per essentiam, per potentiam et per praesentiam*.”¹⁹⁹ Therefore, cultural inclusivity and adaptation are necessary. Thus, cultural diversity is recognized and preserved. Cultural particularity is maintained and cultivated. However, all forms of culture share “God” in common, that is to say, all forms of culture are evolving and moving towards its fulfillment.

Therefore, to recognize all cultural forms and to adapt the faith to each individual culture should be done not for the sake of inclusion or adaptation in themselves, but for the sake of seeking and conforming each individual culture to its own fulfillment in the transcendence. Thus, seeking and conforming to transcendence serve as the principles of union among diverse cultures. Doing so, cultural union among diverse cultures, which is grounded in the divine, is ensured and fostered. Therefore, God not only remains as the main actor actively participating and engaging

¹⁹⁷ S. ARZUBIALDE, *Ejercicios espirituales*, 116.

¹⁹⁸ E. ROYÓN, “Principio y fundamento,” 1492

¹⁹⁹ M. NICOLAU, *Pláticas Espirituales del P. Jerónimo Nadal, S.I., en Coimbra (1561)*, 200.

in all diverse cultures, gathering them all into the God-centered culture, but also is the originator of the multicultural union.

3.2 Multicultural God: the Holy Trinity

The God-centered culture as studied above, which is continually pursued and advanced by the two active spiritual dynamics, demonstrates only one side of Ignatian spirituality. What the above study has done is to assume the perspective from above and to envision how the culture below should behave - “en todas las cosas, buscar y hallar a Dios y conformarse en la voluntad divina.” Such a perspective places strong emphasis on the actions of “hallar,” “encontrar,” and “conformarse” in “todas las cosas,” in the world of creatures.

Besides the vision of the world below, Ignatius was also given the vision of the world above, the divine world with illustration of the life and the economy of the very Triune God, the Holy Trinity, during his numerous religious experiences in Manresa.²⁰⁰ It is this world above that inspires Ignatian vision for the world below. It began in the later stage²⁰¹ of his stay there when, “nunca pudo retener las lágrimas

²⁰⁰ Manresa is often referred by Saint Ignatius as his “Iglesia primitiva” (FN I, 59.138-40). It was also considered the birthplace of the *Spiritual Exercises* (FN I, 262; FN II, 527; S. ARZUBIALDE, *Ejercicios*, 37). According to Nadal, “A esta ilustración solía referirse cuando le preguntábamos la razón de algunas partes del Instituto. Lo remito (indicaba) a la ciudad de Manresa, donde pasó esto” (J. Nadal, *Commentarii de Instituto S.I.*, Nadal V, 277). After his time of convalescence in Loyola (1521 – 1522), Ignatius arrived Montserrat before the 24 – 25 of March 1522 [Au 18]. Originally, Ignatius was planning to stay in Manresa for only “algunas días” [Au 18]. However, he ended up staying there for more than ten months from 25th of March of 1522 until February of 1523 when he left for Barcelona (*Obras de San Ignacio*, 112). Manresa is located in the central part of the Calaluña Province, 30 km North of Montserrat. During the time in Manresa, Ignatius went through various stages of spiritual states and encountered numerous religious experiences including his mystical encounter with the Holy Trinity (J. MELLONI, “Manresa,” *DEI*, II, 1192 – 5; P. LETURIA, *Loyola, Montserrat, Manresa, tres instantáneas sobre el origen de los Ejercicios*, IHSI, Roma 1957, 401 – 404; R. GARCÍA MATEO, “Ignacio de Loyola: mística trinitaria,” 440).

²⁰¹ P. Arrupe divided Ignatius’ stay in Manresa into three different spiritual stages: the first stage, the first four months served as “un desierto recorrido por un aire de fuego purificador de su pasado”; the second stage signified the “turbulencia interior en que entra en crisis la resistencia de su cuerpo y de su espíritu”; and the third, where “Dios comienza a hacerse presente con representaciones figurativas, elementales, comportándose con él de la misma manera que trata un maestro de escuela a un niño [Au 27]” (P. ARRUPE, “Inspiración Trinitaria del Carisma Ignaciano,” *La identidad*, 391 – 435, 394; the English translation of the talk can be found at P. ARRUPE, “The Trinitarian Inspiration of the Ignatian

hasta el comer, ni después de comer podía dejar de hablar sino en la Santísima Trinidad” to whom “tenía mucha devoción, y así hacía cada día oración a las tres Personas distintamente” [Au 28]. Ignatius’ passion for the Holy Trinity was so profound, as demonstrated in Laínez’s witness in amazement in 1547, “con ser hombre simple y no saber sino leer y escribir en romance, se puso a escribir della [la Santísima Trinidad] un libro.”²⁰² And much later in 1574, Polanco confirmed that Ignatius had “admirables ilustraciones acerca del misterio de la Santísima Trinidad, de la creación del mundo y de otros misterio de la fe.”²⁰³ Nadal, one of Ignatius’ closest confidants, retold Ignatius’ vision of the Holy Trinity in Manresa with a more vivid description. In his *Diálogos*, we read:

Entonces Dios empezó a enseñarle como hace un maestro con un niño. Allí aumentaron sus ilustraciones del entendimiento, creció su facilidad para la oración y contemplación, le fue infundida una superior inteligencia de las cosas espirituales y celestiales. Allí recibió un insigne conocimiento (*praeclaram cognitionem*) de las personas de la Trinidad, y de la esencia divina. Más aún, recibió no sólo una clara inteligencia, sino visión interna del modo como Dios creó el mundo, del modo como el Verbo se hizo carne.²⁰⁴

Accordingly, God who has been actively laboring, forming and drawing all creatures into God’s very life, as demonstrated in the God-centered culture section above, revealed to Ignatius the very interior life and the economy of the Holy Trinity, that is to say, how God lives and functions. And the grace of this divine revelation was not given to Ignatius alone but extended to all Ignatius’ companions in the Society of Jesus. In Nadal’s “in examen annotations,” we read:

Charism,” *SSJ*, Vol. 33/3 (2001); On the topics of the Holy Trinity and Ignatian Spirituality please also see J. O’DONNELL, “Incarnation and Trinity,” *The Way Sup* 52 (1985) 92 – 100; ID., “Trinidad,” *DEI*, II, 1720 – 8; L. LADARIA, “La teología trinitaria, fundamento de la espiritualidad,” *Man* 72 (2000) 321 – 332; R. GARCÍA MATEO, “Ignacio de Loyola: mística trinitaria,” *MCom* 57 (1999) 421 – 468; S. THIÓ, “Tenía mucha devoción a la Santísima Trinidad [28],” *Man* 72 (2000) 333 – 348; U. VÁZQUEZ, “Lo que hacen las divinas personas [EE. 108],” *Man* 72 (2000) 349 – 362; M. RUIZ JURADO, “Dios, ‘Padre eternal’ en la espiritualidad de San Ignacio,” *Man* 72 (2000) 363 – 376.

²⁰² D. LAÍNEZ, *Carta a Polanco* (1547), n. 12, *FN I*, 82.

²⁰³ J. POLANCO, *De vita P. Ignatii et de Soc. Iesu initiis* (1574), n. 16, *FN II*, 526.

²⁰⁴ J. NADAL, *Diálogos*, n. 8, *FN II*, 239.

Tengo por cierto que este privilegio concedido a nuestro Padre Ignacio es dado también a toda la Compañía y que su gracias de oración y contemplación está preparada también para todos nosotros en la Compañía, pues está vinculada con nuestra vocación.²⁰⁵

Therefore, Ignatius' "gracias de oración y contemplación" of the Holy Trinity plays a foundational role in the establishment and advancement of the underlying spirituality of the Society of Jesus. Regarding the importance of Ignatius' intimate relationship with the Holy Trinity and its implications for the Society, Arrupe observes:

Sólo a la luz de la intimidad trinitaria de Ignacio puede comprenderse el carisma de la Compañía y ser aceptado y vivido por cada jesuita no por ser un legado histórico que tiene su origen en la intuición, reflexión y capacidad legislativa y de inspiración de un hombre, por genio que sea; sino porque, por un designio de la Providencia que debe llenarnos a un tiempo de humildad y fidelidad, sabemos que es una vocación inspirada en la contemplación misma de los más altos misterios.²⁰⁶

As a result, three aspects of the divine life of the Holy Trinity, which could be drawn out from the inspiration Ignatius received from the Holy Trinity, serve as model for our multicultural world.

3.2.1 Triune God in communion

The dogma of the Holy Trinity, one of the most fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith, states that God is a Triune God existing in Three Distinct Person yet remains in the perfect communion of One Being.²⁰⁷ Ignatian contemplation, as mentioned above, does neither intellectually explain nor comprehend the Holy Trinity. What Ignatius does is to share his own experience, then as an exercise assisting the exercitant to affectively contemplate, thus graced to enter into the intimate Divine communion.

²⁰⁵ J. NADAL, "In examen annotationes," *MHSI*, vol. 90, [82]; *Commentarii de Instituto Societatis Iesu*, 163. Originally in Latin, "Quod igitur privilegium Patri Ignatio factum intelligimus, idem toti Societati concessum esse credimus, et gratiam orationis illius et contemplationis in Societate omnibus nobis paratam esse confidimus, eamque cum vocatione nostra coniunctam esse confitemur."

²⁰⁶ P. ARRUPE, "Inspiración Trinitaria," [4].

²⁰⁷ *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, [253], [254], [255], http://www.vatican.va/archive/ccc_css/archive/catechism/ccc_toc.htm taken from November 17, 2010.

As noted in the *Autobiografía*, Ignatius “tenía mucha devoción a la Santísima Trinidad, y así hacía cada día oración a las tres Personas distintamente” [Au 28].²⁰⁸ In the same paragraph and the following, Ignatius triggers our imagination describing the Divine communion and activities “en figura de tres teclas” [Au 28]. Like the “tres teclas,” each of which possesses its own identity and distinct character and join together to make a harmonious musical chord, so do the Three Distinct Persons of the Holy Trinity gather in one perfect harmonious union. Such an encounter not only moves Ignatius “con tantas lágrimas y tantos sollozos, que no se podía valer” [Au 28], but also confirms Ignatius’ devotion in the Trinity and its Union. We are told that Ignatius was making “cuatro oraciones a la Trinidad,” that means, one to each of the Persons of the Trinity and the fourth to its Unity.²⁰⁹

However, Ignatius’ metaphor of the “tres teclas” does more than stating the theological interpretation of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, Three Persons in One perfect Unity (though the doctrine remains essential). The image of “teclas” provides the “llaves” into Ignatian prayer of contemplation focusing the ejercitant on the central role of affection and emotion in the process of contemplating.²¹⁰ As Ignatius’ encounter of the Divine communion left him “con tantas lágrimas y tantos sollozos, que no se podía valer... nunca pudo retener las lágrimas²¹¹” [Au 28], Ignatian contemplation on the Holy Trinity must take over the ejercitant’s emotion and

²⁰⁸ Ignatius’ devotion of the Holy Trinity has its root in: the reading of Ludolph of Saxony *the Life of Christ* according to Gilles Cusson, in the praying of the Book of the Hours according to Pedro Leturia, and in Ignatius’ experience in Cardoner and la Storta (S. THIÓ DE POL, “Tenía mucha devoción a la Santísima Trinidad [Au/28],” 335 – 339).

²⁰⁹ M. O’ROURKE BOYLE, *Loyola’s Acts*, 86; S. THIÓ DE POL, “Tenía mucha devoción a la Santísima Trinidad” 345, footnote 19.

²¹⁰ O’Rourke Boyle’s either intentional mistake or intentional play on words between Spanish and English worth noting. “Teclas” means “musical key;” while “llaves” “key to a door” or “key to a problem.” O’Rourke Boyle’s use the English word “key” as common term to move from “teclas” to “llaves” while proved to be far-fetched does convey the important place of the Holy Trinity in Ignatian spirituality.

²¹¹ Italics are mine. For more on Ignatius and “tears,” please read R. GARCÍA MATEO, “Ignacio de Loyola: mística trinitaria,” 459 – 464; S. THIÓ, “Lágrimas,” *DEI*, II, 1101 - 1105.

affection moving his/her heart. For Ignatius, internal knowledge of the Holy Trinity consists of first and foremost an intimate encounter, which subsequently leads to affectionate response. Observing Ignatius' reaction, O'Rourke Boyle notes that "Loyola does not praise himself as speculative, inquiring into a sublime mystery, but he does blame himself as scrupulous, reducing it to a juggle of numbers."²¹² We are told that the teary and mystified Ignatius "no podía dejar hablar sino en la Santísima Trinidad" [Au 28].

The perfectly harmonious union of the Blessed Holy Trinity was affectionately felt once again in Ignatius' *Diario espiritual*. We read in the contents of what Ignatius recorded in his prayer on Thursday, February 21, 1544, during the Mass of the Trinity:

En la misa, lágrimas en mayor abundancia que el día pasado, a la larga y con cerrárseme la palabra, *alguna o algunas* veces asimismo sintiendo inteligencias espirituales, a tanto que me parecía así *entender que casi* no había más que saber en esta materia de la santísima Trinidad. Esto *causaba porque*, como antes, queriendo hallar devoción en la Trinidad, en las oraciones del Padre, ni quería ni adaptaba a *buscar ni a hallar*, no me pareciendo ser consolación o visitación en la santísima Trinidad; más en esta misa conocía, sentía o veía, Dominus scit, que en hablar al Padre *en ver que* era una persona de la santísima Trinidad, me afectaba a amar toda ella, cuánto más que las otras personas eran en ella *esencialmente*, otro tanto sentía en la oración del Hijo; otro tanto en la del Espíritu Santo, gozándome de cualquiera en sentir consolaciones, tributando y alegrándome en ser de todas tres [De 62.63]. (*Italics are mine*).

Ignatius uses the word "esencialmente" to denote "la circuminsesión," that is, to convey, the "unidad de esencia, en cada una de las tres divinas Personas están las otras dos."²¹³ Thus, the Union of the Holy Trinity is so perfect so that the knowledge of the Father will lead to that of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Such a divine union, R. García Mateo warns us,

²¹² M. O'ROURKE BOYLE, *Loyola's Acts*, 86.

²¹³ *Obras de San Ignacio de Loyola*, 378; R. GARCÍA MATEO, "Ignacio de Loyola: mística trinitaria," 453.

Lejos de ser una simple especulación abstracta, expresa la más profunda solidaridad y amor que puede haber entre los seres, sin que uno desaparezca en el otro... Es característico del amor encontrarse a sí mismo en el amado, produciendo unión e intimidad, y que sea eterna... [Por eso,] cuando el orante, como es el caso de Ignacio, se dirige a una de las Personas, se está dirigiendo a toda la Trinidad y cuando se dirige a la Trinidad, se dirige también a cada una de las Personas.²¹⁴

Therefore, Ignatian contemplation on the Call of the King and on the Incarnation of the Second Week also means to contemplate on the divine economy of the Holy Trinity.

The contemplations on the Call of the King [*Ej* 91-100] indicate that Christ is our mediator with the Father and that the redemptive work of Christ is the redemptive work of the Father [*Ej* 95]. It is important to note that Jesus was referred to as “Señor” six times in these contemplations. Such a use “expresa que Jesús ha sido elevado a la derecha de Dios (la exaltación del crucificado), y que actualmente intercede por nosotros.”²¹⁵ Moreover, by the absolute obedience to the Father on the cross, “el Kyrios es el Crucificado. Nos habla directamente la exaltación hasta Dios y su consiguiente trascendencia por encima de toda la creación, porque participa de la dignidad y del poder divinos.”²¹⁶ Furthermore, the two times in which Ignatius mentioned about the mediator in the *Diario*, Jesus Christ is the only mediator of the Father and of the Trinity. “En las oraciones al Padre me parecía que Jesús las presentaba o las acompañaba, las que yo decía delante del Padre” [*De* 60]. And again, “después asimismo sentir a Jesús haciendo el mismo oficio en el pensar de orar al Padre, pareciéndome y sintiendo que Él lo hacía todo delante del Padre y de la Santísima” [*De* 62]. Hence, when one contemplates the life of Christ, one indeed contemplates the life of the Holy Trinity.

²¹⁴ R. GARCÍA MATEO, “Ignacio de Loyola: mística trinitaria,” 454.

²¹⁵ S. ARZUBIALDE, *Ejercicios*, 284.

²¹⁶ IBID.

To take part in Christ's life and to labor with Christ in His mission means to share and to partake in the Trinitarian life and its glory.²¹⁷ The call and the promise of Christ Our Lord, the eternal King, is loud and clear: “quien quisiere venir conmigo ha de trabajar conmigo, porque siguiéndome en la pena también me siga en la gloria [de mi Padre]” [*Ej* 95]. The Father and the Son, though two distinct Divine Persons, are in perfect intimate communion with one another. For the Son, “toda su vida es una respuesta al Padre. Vive en la tierra su identidad trinitaria de vida con el Padre. Así la economía de la Salvación se corresponde con la vida íntima trinitaria.”²¹⁸

The contemplation on the Incarnation [*Ej* 101 – 117] once again confirms that the salvation of the human race is the concerted work of the Holy Trinity.²¹⁹ It is here that the exercitant is asked to contemplate on how

las tres personas divinas miraban toda la planicia o redondez de todo el mundo llena de hombres, y cómo, viendo que todos descendían al infierno, se determina en la su eternidad que la segunda se haga hombre, para salvar el género humano [*Ej* 102].

Arzubialde indicates that this contemplation originates from “la magnanimidad liberal del amor trinitario, que desde su eterno presente se vuelve hacia la realidad concreta”²²⁰ of the world. It is this “amor trinitario” that preserves and sustains the perfect communion among the Father, the Son and the Holy Trinity. Von Balthasar gives an explanation of how the “amor trinitario” maintains the divine communion:

El Padre no quiere ser Padre sin Hijo; el Hijo es el “amor que responde” siempre al Padre. De ahí que el amor trinitario del Hijo es un acto de obediencia, que se expresa a sí mismo como obediencia a la voluntad del

²¹⁷ M. IVENS, *Understanding the Spiritual Exercises*, 77.

²¹⁸ J. O'DONNELL, “Trinidad,” *DEI*, 1726; R. GARCÍA MATEO, “Ignacio de Loyola: mística trinitaria,” 445 - 6.

²¹⁹ G. ASCHENBRENNER, “Becoming Whom We Contemplate,” *The Way Sup* 52 (1985) 30 – 42; L. LADARIA, “La teología trinitaria fundamento de la espiritualidad ignaciana,” *Man* 72 (2000) 321 – 332; R. GARCÍA MATEO, “Ignacio de Loyola: mística trinitaria,” 421 – 468; ID., “Hagamos redención del género humano,” *Man* 72 (200) 211 – 220; S. THIÓ DE POL, “Tenía mucha devoción a la Santísima Trinidad” *Man* 72 (2000) 333 – 348; U. VÁZQUEZ, ““Lo que hacen las divinas personas...” [EE 108],” *Man* 72 (2000) 349 – 361.

²²⁰ S. ARZUBIALDE, *Ejercicios*, 305.

Padre, incluso hasta el punto de aceptar la muerte en la cruz. Finalmente el Padre y el Hijo no reservan ese amor para ellos mismos, sino que lo dan a su vez de nuevo en el Espíritu Santo. El Espíritu Santo es así el fruto divino, tan pleno que se extiende libremente a toda la creación.²²¹

The “amor trinitario” does not stop with the Holy Spirit but flows freely into the world, serving as a source of inspiration for communication and union among all creation.

La comunidad trina de Dios es el fundamento último y el modelo de nuestra amistad humana.... Las tres Personas de la Trinidad son consideradas como tres Personas unidas en su amor enteramente comunicativo. Ninguna Persona de la Trinidad desea vivir para sí misma, sino que todo el ser de cada Persona está orientado al amor hacia las otras Personas.²²²

One other important aspect of the contemplation on the Incarnation presented in the *Exercises* consists of how humanity is perceived and placed at the heart of the center of the divine attention and activities. The first contemplation on the Incarnation starts with the first preamble where the exercitant contemplates how

las tres personas divinas miraban toda la planicia o redondez de todo el mundo llena de hombres, y cómo, viendo que todos descendían al infierno, se determina en la su eternidad que la segunda persona se haga hombre, para salvar el género humano; y así, venida la plenitud de los tiempos, enviando al ángel san Gabriel a nuestra Señora [*Ej* 102].

The contemplation begins with the Divine look and ends with Divine decision and activities. Humanity remains sandwiched in the middle. This pattern repeats in the *three points* followed. Again maintaining the Divine view, “ver las personas, la unas; y primero las de la haz de la tierra...,” then “ver y considerar las tres personas divinas” [*Ej* 106]; “oír lo que hablaban las personas sobre la haz de la tierra...,” then “asimismo lo que dicen las personas divinas” [*Ej* 107]; finally “mirar lo que hacen las personas sobre la haz de la tierra...,” then “asimismo lo que hacen las personas

²²¹ J. O'DONNELL, “Trinidad,” *DEI*, II, 1720 – 1727, 1721; also see N. MARTÍNEZ GAYOL, “Capítulo preliminar - H. U. Von Balthasar: el autor y su obra,” *Hans Urs Von Balthasar: Textos de Ejercicios Espirituales*, (J. Servais, sel. y intro.), M-ST, Bilbao Santander 2009, 17 – 85, special attention to the section “Cristocentrismo trinitario,” 49 -54.

²²² J. O'DONNELL, “Trinidad,” 1727.

divinas” [Ej 108]. Three insights are drawn from this contemplation and how it is structured.

First, the sandwich structure of divinity and humanity demonstrates how intimately the Holy Trinity is interested in and involved with humanity. Secondly, humanity as seen by the Three Divine Persons is multicultural in its full meaning “en trajes como en gestos; unos blancos y otros negros, unos en paz y otros en guerra, unos llorando y otros riendo, unos sanos, otros enfermos, unos naciendo y otros muriendo, etc.” [Ej 106] People “hablan unos con otros, juran, y blasfemian, etc. [Ej 107]... herir, matar, ir al infierno” [Ej 108]. Thirdly, not only *what* the Three Divine Personas has decided to do “hagamos redención del género humano” [Ej 107], but also equally important *how* the human salvation is being done, “que la segunda persona se haga hombre” [Ej 102].

The decision of the Three Divine Personas, “hagamos redención del género humano” echoes God’s announcement at the beginning of creation, “hagamos al hombre a nuestra imagen y semejanza” (Gen 1, 26). So, according to Ignatian vision, “creación y redención son inseparables como dimensiones de una sola voluntad salvífica de Dios.”²²³ Therefore, the Divine redemptive act is not to abolish humanity and its diversity, but to create and to mold it into God’s image. How the Second Person is sent by the Holy Trinity and incarnated into the human race confirms the divine way of redeeming the human world. Vázquez captures this divine action succinctly:

Y así lo que las personas divinas hacen en la plenitud de los tiempos refleja y espeja lo que son desde toda la eternidad; y *el modo cómo lo hacen refleja cómo son*. Por eso sólo en la Encarnación se revela la Trinidad, la diferencia personal en la unidad de la “divina Majestad”... en la que se manifiesta el estilo y la pedagogía ignacianos: la concentración cristológica y soteriológica

²²³ R. GARCÍA MATEO, “Hagamos redención del género humano...” 214.

no acontece como cristomonismo o antropocentrismo, por que siempre es trinitaria.²²⁴

Accordingly, the redemption of the world does not mean to abolish its diverse cultural plurality but to maintain and to form all of these diverse cultural dynamics into the cultures that is mirrored of the divine economy, that is, Three Distinct Personas in One perfect Union. Through the contemplation of the Incarnation, human beings and their cultures are drawn into the divine culture and become that which they contemplate.

3.2.2 *The self-giving God*

The perfect communion existing among the Three Distinct Persons of the Holy Trinity, which Ignatius experienced and instilled in the *Exercises*, is achieved through the complete self-giving manner that Three Persons use to communicate with One Another.

Cada una de las personas no es en sí ni se pertenece en sí misma, sino en cuanto se refiere y se da toda entera a las otras dos *simultáneamente*. El ser de cada una de las tres personas es puro y completo *éxtasis* (es decir: salir fuera, darse), impulso vital hacia las otras dos. Se verifica de este modo la *circuminsesión*, esto es, el misterio en virtud de cual por la unidad de esencia en cada una de las tres divinas personas están las otras dos.²²⁵

Three Persons of the Holy Trinity, who enjoy their perfect communion through the complete self-giving communication, however, remain distinct through the manner of how each Person gives to and receives from the Other the divine life. “La diversidad en este *dar y recibir* de la misma vida divina lo que constituye la distinción y *perijoresis* de las personas divinas en el misterio trinitario.”²²⁶ It is in the complete self-giving that the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity not only give to each other their

²²⁴ U. VÁZQUEZ, “‘Lo que hacen las divinas personas...’ [EE 108]” 360. Italics are mine.

²²⁵ P. ARRUIPE, “Inspiración trinitaria” [86].

²²⁶ [89].

proper identity, but also, in giving themselves to each other so generously and so completely, their life-giving source overflows into the world.

No hay narcisismo en la Trinidad. Las Personas son y están del todo orientadas a las demás, y esta orientación hacia las demás Personas es el fundamento de la apertura de Dios hacia el mundo.”²²⁷

Going back to the Ignatian contemplation on the Incarnation, the Three Divine Persons, who enjoy in their perfect communion and complete self-giving, “se determina en la su eternidad que la segunda se haga hombre, para salvar el género humano” [*Ej* 102]. Thus, for the salvation of the world, the Triune God has communicated God’s totality through the sending of the Second Person as a human being into the world in all of its diversity and adversity, “unos blancos y otros negros, unos en paz y otros en guerra, unos llorando y otros riendo, unos sanos, otros enfermos, unos naciendo y otros muriendo” [*Ej* 106]. Immediately, after the heavenly scene, the contemplation takes the exercitant’s attention to the “enviando al ángel san Gabriel a nuestra Señora, en la ciudad de Nazaret, en la provincia de Galilea” [*Ej* 102. 103], “el ángel haciendo su oficio de legado, y nuestra Señora humillándose y haciendo gracias a la divina majestad” [*Ej* 108].

In the midst of the divine communication, the exercitant is asked to pause and to “demandar conocimiento interno del Señor, que por mí se ha hecho hombre, para que más le ame y le siga” [*Ej* 104], to contemplate over the fact that the Second Person of the Holy Trinity, though fully sharing in the perfect communion with the Trinitarian life, has emptied Himself to fully become a human being in the person of Jesus Nazareth for him/her. Commenting on the Ignatian contemplation on the incarnation, Arzubialde writes:

Jesús vino “desde fuera” de la historia del Mal y del pecado, desde el amor Trinitario. Se hizo hombre, tomó sobre sí el misterio peculiar de la naturaleza

²²⁷ J. O’DONNELL, “Trinidad,” 1727.

humana que consiste en el ilimitado “estar-referido a otro” en ser pobre y en llegar a sí mismo sólo en la medida en que la libertad se deja aprender por el misterio Incomprensible de la plenitud de Dios.²²⁸

For Ignatius, the mystery of divine self-emptying (Incarnation) takes place both at the Birth [*Ej* 110 – 116] and at the Passion of Jesus [*Ej* 190 - 296], both of which communicate the complete self-giving of the Triune God, both of which reveal the utter poverty of God in the unconditional love, which the Holy Trinity has for human beings.

El misterio del Nacimiento y la Pasión se hallan de este modo íntimamente vinculado entre sí por la misma y última intencionalidad: el camino encarnatorio, que va del proyecto trinitario original a la cruz, posibilita la manifestación de la plenitud incondicional del amor de Dios a humanidad. Amor tanto más absoluto cuanto más libre sea libre la respuesta incondicional del hombre; Amor que “acontece”, según el sentido último de la historia, tal como Ignacio la interpreta, en el colmo de la debilidad, la indigencia (suma pobreza) del Niño en su nacimiento y la desnudez de su cuerpo en la pasión.²²⁹

Accordingly, R. García Mateo provides an itinerary of contemplation on the mystery of Incarnation,

Éste es el itinerario salvífico a que es invitado, desde este momento, el cristiano (el erjecitante): a contemplar cómo el Dios uno y trino, *dándose a la humanidad por medio de su Hijo*, “se determina en la su eternidad que la segunda persona se haga hombre para salvar al género humano”, y así venida la plenitud de los tiempos embiando al ángel San Gabriel a Nuestra Señora” EE (102 – 109), “nascido en suma pobreza, y a cabo de tantos trabajos, de hambre, de sed, y de calor y de frío, de injurias y afrentas, para morir en cruz; y todo esto por mí” (EE 116, 193, 197).²³⁰

Moreover, he asks those who contemplate on this mystery to keep in mind that “la meditación de Cristo no consiste en un simple poner de acuerdo dos partes que están en desavenencia, sino que *él mismo se ofrece como ‘medio’* para la reconciliación salvífica *asumiendo en su persona divina la naturaleza humana.*”²³¹ In other words,

²²⁸ S. ARZUBIALDE, *Ejercicios*, 307.

²²⁹ 502.

²³⁰ R. GARCÍA MATEO, “Ignacio de Loyola: mística trinitaria,” 446. Italics are mine.

²³¹ 448. Italics are mine.

the salvific act of the Holy Trinity in the mystery of Incarnation has always been an act of divine self-emptying.

The grace of the divine act of self-emptying and of the divine poverty was given to Ignatius through the Father's act of placing him with the Son and the Son's acceptance of him into the Trinitarian service in chapel in La Storta,²³² where Ignatius entered to pray on their way to Rome [*Au* 96]. The Son whom the Father placed Ignatius with was found neither in his infancy nor in his preaching nor in his resurrection, but in the one who was carrying the cross. We read from the testimony of Láinez of what Ignatius saw: “ver a Cristo con la cruz al hombro, y, junto a él, el Padre que le decía: quiero que tomes a éste por servidor tuyo. De modo que Jesús lo tomó diciendo: yo quiero que tú nos sirvas.”²³³

Ignatius himself recalled this experience in his prayer period dated February 23, 1544 in his *Diario espiritual*. There, we read:

Con estos pensamientos andando y vistiendo, creciendo in cremento, y pareciendo una confirmación, aunque no recibiese consolaciones sobre esto, y pareciéndome en alguna manera ser de la santísima Trinidad el mostrarse o el sentirse de Jesús, viniendo en memoria cuando el Padre me puso con el Hijo [*De* 67].

²³² Together with Cardoner, La Storta is considered as “escenarios y momentos fundacionales” of the Society of Jesus (I. IGLESIAS, “Bajo la bandera de la cruz: los jesuitas y el Crucificado,” *Man* 78 (2006) 313 – 332, 321). La Storta is a little chapel located 16 km from Roma. Ignatius mystical encounter with Holy Trinity and its importance are well documented by various accounts: Ignatius himself on 23rd of February 1544 [*De* 67], G. CÂMARA [*Au* 96], D. LAÍNEZ (“Adhortationes 1559” *FN* II, 133), J. NADAL (“Natalis Exhortationes (1554)” *FN* I, 313; or “Adhortationes Conimbricenses (1561)” *FN* 158), J. POLANCO (“De Vita P. Ignatii”, *FN* II, 585 and 596), P. RIBADENEIRA (“Vita Sancti Ignatii”, *FN* IV, 271). The Society of Jesus purchased the property, restored the chapel and dedicated it to Ignatius (who was canonized in 1622) in the 30th of July 1631. Seventy years later, the 13th General, Fr. Tirso González (1624 - 1705), rebuilt the chapel. The chapel was destroyed during the Second World War (1944). After the War, its reconstruction began by the order of the Vicar General Fr. Norberto de Boyles under the Generalate of P. Pedro Arrupe and finished in 1982 by the order of Fr. Paolo Dezza (I. IGLESIAS, “Bajo la bandera de la cruz” 313 – 332; H. ALPHONSO, “La Storta,” *DEI*, II, 1091 – 1101; ID., “La Storta, su significado fundacional para la espiritualidad jesuítica,” *CIS* 57 (1988) 13 – 64; P. ARRUPE, “La inspiración trinitaria del carisma ignaciano,” 391 – 435; P. Divarkar, “La Storta y el carisma Jesuítico,” *Man* 57 (1985) 243 – 250; P. KOLVENBACH, “San Ignacio y la vision de La Storta (Roma 21 de noviembre de 1987), *Selección*, I, 664 - 6; ID., *The Road from La Storta*, IJS, St. Louis 2000.

²³³ D. LAÍNEZ, “Adhortation in examen” (1559), n. 7, *FN* II, 133.

Ignatius' admission into the self-emptying act of the Holy Trinity by the Father and the Son at La Storta had a crucial impact on the religious order that he and the first companions founded and its spirituality. Because Ignatius himself was placed with Jesus and was accepted into Jesus' mission, "cogiendo gran devoción a este santísimo nombre, quiso que la congregación se llamase Compañía de Jesús."²³⁴ For Ignatius, the name "Compañía de Jesús" is one of the "seguridad tan inmovible que tiene por vía superior a la humana"²³⁵ thus, "sólo Dios puede cambiarlo."²³⁶ Following the Jesus whom Ignatius was placed with and whose service Ignatius was accepted into, the Compañía de Jesús as Ignatius envisioned would serve as an extension of the self-emptying act of the Holy Trinity both in humility and in poverty.

The *Formulas of the Institute* identifies members of the Society of Jesus as "whoever wishes to serve as a soldier of God beneath the banner of the cross" [1]. Again, during the contemplation on the Incarnation, the *Exercises* direct the ejercitant to ask for the grace, like that of Ignatius at La Storta,²³⁷ to be received under the "bandera" of Christ and what it entails. We read in the colloquy:

Un coloquio a nuestra Señora por que me alcance gracia de su Hijo y Señor, para que yo sea recibido debajo de su bandera, y primero en suma pobreza espiritual y, si su divina majestad fuere servido y me quisiere elegir y recibir, no menos en la pobreza actual; segundo, en pasar oprobios y injurias, por más en ellas le imitar, sólo que las pueda pasar sin pecado de ninguna persona ni displacer de su divina majestad [Ej 147].

Thus, "ser recibido debajo de su bandera," for Ignatius, defines one's identity and mission in "pobreza y humildad" since they are "el sinónimo del seguimiento de Jesús hasta la cruz, donde se quiebran todas la ataduras y las seguridades que nos retienen

²³⁴ FN II, 133.

²³⁵ J. POLANCO, "Summario" n. 86, FNI, 203 f.

²³⁶ J. NADAL, "Pláticas de Salamanca" n. 17, FNI, 314

²³⁷ S. ARZUBIALDE, *Ejercicios*, 394.

en la vida.”²³⁸ Therefore, to be accepted by the Father in the service of the Son bearing the cross remains the Ignatian ideal in the *Exercises*.²³⁹ Consequently, the exercitant is asking for the same grace, which Ignatius had prayed for since Manresa and received at la Storta, that is, to be gradually led into communion with the life and mission of the Holy Trinity.

The magnitude and intensity of Ignatius’ discernment on the issue of poverty while he was drafting the *Constitutions*, which is evidently demonstrated in his *Diario espiritual*, shows how crucial it was for Ignatius that all members of the Society of Jesus should imitate the example of the self-emptying Christ in “every kind of insult and abuse, and utter poverty both actual and spiritual” [*Ej* 98]. This vital role of self-emptying, of humility and poverty in the Society, echoes in Nadal’s words:

El fundamento de la Compañía es Jesucristo con la cruz por la salud de las almas, como le fue mostrado a nuestro bendito Padre cuando Dios Padre le puso con su Hijo. De ahí viene que la Compañía, por ser Jesucristo nuestro fundamento y capitán – al cual debemos imitar espiritualmente, sobre todo en su mansedumbre y humildad –, se llame “mínima” Compañía de Jesús.²⁴⁰

For the Society of Jesus, thus, poverty remains the “strong wall of the religious institute, [that] should be loved and preserved in its integrity as far as this is possible with God’s grace” [*Co* 553]. However, Jesuit poverty means more than material possession, important though they may be. It entails the “radical following of the humble and poor Christ” [*NC* 157]. Consequently, Jesuit poverty is “principally based on the poverty which Christ assumed for himself and taught his apostles when he sent them out to preach. It is ‘*how they should go*’ in preaching what Christ gave them, as Ignatius says in the *Exercises* [*Ej* 281].”²⁴¹

²³⁸ S. ARZUBIALDE, *Ejercicios*, 395.

²³⁹ J. CONWELL, *Walking in the Spirit: A Reflection on Jerónimo Nadal’s Phrase “Contemplative Likewise in Action,”* IJS, Saint Louis 2003, 235.

²⁴⁰ J. NADAL, “Adhortatio incerto tempore,” no. 2, in *Commentarii de Instituto Societatis Iesu*, 490.

²⁴¹ A. ALDAMA, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, 231. Italics are mine.

Accordingly, Jesuit poverty centers on *how* Jesuits humbly imitate and adopt the divine self-emptying way of life and action as insisted in the *Complementary Norms*’ very next paragraph, “the principle and foundation of [Jesuit] poverty is found in the love of the Word of God made flesh and crucified” [NC 158]. Like Christ who has emptied Himself and the divine culture and incarnate into the human culture, for Ignatius, the essential grace of humility “centrarse en el otro, disponer el corazón fuera de su propio interés para que, olvidándose de sí, se entregue a Jesús, a su vida y misión.”²⁴² Thus, according to the *Exercises*, the most perfect humility consists of “imitar y parecer más actualmente a Cristo nuestro Señor” [167]. Therefore, Jesuits who observe the vow of poverty do not do so for poverty’s sake but to choose poverty, thus in doing so becoming more Christ-like. “Quiero y elijó más pobreza *con Cristo* pobre que riqueza, oprobios *con Cristo* lleno dellos que honores, y desear más de ser estimado por vano y loco *por Cristo*, que primero fue tenido por tal, que por sabio ni prudente en este mundo” [167]. Living vow of poverty centered on Christ, Jesuits who encounter cultures different than their own must empty their own cultural bias, so to be able to encounter Christ in the cultures of the other in mission. In short, Jesuit poverty has to be “evangelical” [FI 7], or “misional.”²⁴³ In other words, Jesuit poverty has to be mission oriented.

²⁴² L. FULLAM, “Humildad,” *DEI*, II, 957 – 65, 957. On topic of humility, please see J. CORELLA, “Dos Banderas y maneras de humildad como experiencia unitaria de pobreza de espíritu,” *Ejercicios Espirituales y mundo de hoy. Congreso Internacional de Ejercicios (Loyola 20 – 26 sept. 1991)*, (J. GARCÍA-LOMAS, ed.), M-ST, Bilbao – Santander 1992, 155 – 164; B. DALEY, “‘To Be More Like Christ.’ The Background and Implications of ‘Three Kinds of Humility,’” *SSJ* 27 (1995); J. GUERRERO, “Tres Maneras de Humildad (= de Amistad),” *Man* 54 (1982) 261 – 8; J. GONZÁLEZ FAUS, “De la ‘Indiferencia’ al ‘Tercer Grado de Humildad’.” *Notas para una cristología de libertad*, *Man* 63 (1991) 247 – 257.

²⁴³ P. ARRUPÉ, “Servir sólo al Señor y a la Iglesia, su esposa, bajo el Romano Pontífice, Vicario de Cristo en la tierra 18. II. 78,” *La identidad*, 293 – 310, 298.

3.2.3. *The God on mission*

The Three Persons of the Holy Trinity as contemplated according to the *Exercises* came together with a clear mission, “para salvar el género humano” [*Ej* 102]. And for that mission, “se determina en la su eternidad que la segunda se haga hombre” [*Ej* 102]. Thus, the incarnation of the Second Person, the act of self-emptying of the Son in bearing the cross and dying on it are part of “el proyecto eterno de salvación por parte del Padre” in the economy of the Holy Trinity.²⁴⁴ According to the divine economy, not the Son alone but all Three Persons of the Holy Trinity are involved in this mission. We read in Ignatius’ entry in his *Diario espiritual* dated February 11, 1544:

Cómo el Hijo primero envió en pobreza a predicar a los apóstoles, y después el Espíritu Santo, dando su espíritu y lenguas los confirmó, y así el Padre y el Hijo, enviando el Espíritu Santo, todas tres personas confirmaron la tal misión [*De* 15].

Ignatius, who was illuminated and inspired by this divine economy of the mission, formulated it into his own theology of mission for the Society of Jesus: “Cristo da la misión, la confirma el Espíritu Santo con sus dones, para gloria del Padre. Es la extensión ‘ad extra’ de la aspiración con que el Padre y el Hijo ‘envían’ eternamente al Espíritu.”²⁴⁵

The economy of the divine mission is not confined within the Trinitarian life, but also involves human beings, namely, “los apóstoles” [*De* 15]. Accordingly, we hear the voice of Christ Our Lord calling, “mi voluntad es de conquistar todo el mundo y todos los enemigos, y así entrar en la gloria de mi Padre; por tanto, quien quisiere venir conmigo ha de trabajar conmigo, porque siguiéndome en la pena también me siga en la gloria” [*Ej* 95]. Most importantly, the call to a total

²⁴⁴ S. ARZUBIALDE, *Ejercicios*, 310.

²⁴⁵ P. ARRUPE, “Inspiración Trinitaria,” [71].

communion with Christ in his life and his destination is not for the sake of mimicking or imitating Christ in itself, but as the way to participate and to engage in the mission of the Holy Trinity “para salvar el género humano” [Ej 102]. We read Arzubialde’s comment on the nature of the call of Christ:

La tarea a la que llama no consiste en llevar simplemente una vida “como él” sino en ir “con él” (conmigo) [93³] [95□]. Llama a la comunión total con su vida y destino. No se trata por consiguiente de una pura mimesis, sino de la identificación plena con su persona en orden al cumplimiento de la voluntad salvífica que al Padre ha proyectado para la humanidad: la historia de la salvación.²⁴⁶

In responding, the ejercitant is directed to pray:

Eterno Señor de todas las cosas, ..., que yo quiero y deseo y es mi determinación deliberada, *sólo que sea vuestro mayor servicio y alabanza*, de imitaros en pasar todas injurias y todo vituperio y toda pobreza, así actual como espiritual, queriéndome vuestra santísima majestad elegir y recibir en tal vida y estado [Ej 98]. (*Italics are mine*).

Here, the *Exercises* ask the ejercitant to go deeper into the grace of pursuing the principal and foundational mission of his/her life which was stated previously, “el hombre es criado para alabar, hacer reverencia y servir a Dios nuestro Señor y, mediante esto, salvar su ánima” [Ej 23].

For Ignatius, to follow Christ in his mission and service remains the sole desire and ultimate goal after his conversion. During his convalescence in Loyola, he reoriented his passion, expressing the desire to imitate the saints such as Saint Francis and Saint Dominic [Au 7] and “ir a Jerusalén” [Au 8.9]. Ignatius passionately desired to go to Jerusalem for the obvious reason that he desired to be with Jesus, to live like him, in the very places where “Nuestro Señor estuvo.”²⁴⁷ In Montserrat, he was seen as “aquel peregrino loco por nuestro Señor Jesucristo.”²⁴⁸ After leaving Manresa, he

²⁴⁶ S. ARZUBIALDE, *Ejercicios*, 280.

²⁴⁷ J. MARTÍN MORENO, “Jerusalén,” *DEI*, II, 1064 – 1071, here quoted on p. 1064. Also see M. AMALADOSS, *Mission Today: Reflections from an Ignatian Perspective*, CIS, Rome 1989, p. 51.

²⁴⁸ *FN* III, 205.

was determined “quedarse en Jerusalén, visitando siempre aquellos santos lugares; y también tenía propósito, ultra de esta devoción, de ayudar las ánimas” [Au 45]. After having finished their studies, Ignatius and his friends vowed to one another in Montmartre

ir a Venecia y a Jerusalén, y gastar su vida en provecho de las almas; y si no consiguiesen permiso para quedarse en Jerusalén, volver a Roma y presentarse al Vicario de Cristo, para que les emplease en lo que juzgase ser de más gloria de Dios y utilidad de las almas” [Au 85].

After having been ordained a priest, Ignatius “había determinado estar un año sin decir misa, preparándose y rogando a la Virgen que le quisiese poner con su Hijo” [Au 96].

“Ser puesto con el Hijo” for Ignatius means “un definitivo elemento de discreción y discernimiento, la autenticación de que, tras la genérica llamada del Cardoner, ha seguido un recto camino.”²⁴⁹ In other words, from Ignatius’ experience in Cardoner and reaffirmed in La Storta, the grace of “being placed with the Son,” has become one of the “clave[s] central” of Ignatian spirituality, later the chief purpose of the Society of Jesus.²⁵⁰ Like Ignatius whose petition was to be placed in the service of the Son and was answered at La Storta [Au 96], the exercitant is asked during the “Meditación de dos banderas” [Ej 138 – 148] to pray for the grace of “sea recibido *debajo de la bandera* [de Cristo nuestro Señor]” [Ej 147].²⁵¹ Consequently, this grace of “being placed with the Son” defines and identifies the Society of Jesus and its members. Since the very beginning, Ignatius and his early companions have made it clear that “whoever desires to serve as a soldier of God *beneath the banner of the cross* in our Society, which we desire to be designated by the name of Jesus and to

²⁴⁹ P. ARRUIPE, “Inspiración Trinitaria,” [38].

²⁵⁰ I. IGLESIAS, “Bajo la bandera de la cruz: Los jesuitas y el Crucificado,” 315 – 6.

²⁵¹ Italics are mine.

serve the Lord alone” [F39, 1].²⁵² All other missions and functions of the Society of Jesus flow out from this first and foremost grace.

Flowing out from the grace of “being placed with the Son,” “mission” and all pertaining to “mission” serve as the central focus of the *Constitutions* of the Society of Jesus. We read in the Decree 4 of the 35th General Congregation:

The goal of the spiritual formation outlined in the *Constitutions* is to prepare Jesuits in formation for apostolic life in the Society and to deepen the apostolic life of the body of the Society on mission (D. 4, 7).

Therefore, structurally, all the chapters of the *Constitutions*, were organized in such a way that all point towards either preparing for the mission or carrying out the mission.

Las seis primeras partes de las *Constituciones* determinan las condiciones de admitir, del despedir, del formar, del incorporar y del estilo de vida de los jesuitas formados. Las tres últimas determinan las condiciones del gobierno universal de la Compañía de Jesús, todo ello dirigido a alcanzar el fin de la Compañía de Jesús cuyo dentro lo constituye la séptima parte dedicada a las misiones del Papa, del P. General y de todo “lo que toca a los ya admitidos en el cuerpo da la Compañía para con los prójimos, repartiéndose en la viña de Cristo nuestro Señor [Co 603]. Se trata, pues, de que la formación de los candidatos, el estilo de vida de los ya formados y todo el gobierno del cuerpo realicen su objetivo prioritario de promover en la Compañía de Jesús el mejor y mayor servicio en misión universal.²⁵³

This “séptima parte” (Part VII) of the *Constitutions*, which concerns “Mission and Ministries of the Society,”²⁵⁴ according to A. Aldama’s assessment, “reveals Ignatius’ mind on the apostolic journeys, which is the key to the Constitutions and the entire Institute.”²⁵⁵

The fourth vow pertaining to obedience and the missioning of the pope, which is found in Chapter 1 of Part VII, does not mean to obey the pope and to serve his own personal mission, but really is intended for serving Christ in the universal

²⁵² A. ALDAMA, *The Formula of the Institute*, 29. Italics are mine.

²⁵³ I. SALVAT, “Misión,” *DEI*, II, 1239 – 1246, 1245. Also see I. SALVAT, *Servir en misión universal*, M-ST, Bilbao – Santander 2002, 85 – 91.

²⁵⁴ As appeared in the Complementary Norm

²⁵⁵ A. ALDAMA, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus: Missioning*, I. Echániz (trans.), IJS, Saint Louis 1996, ix.

mission of the Church [Co 605].²⁵⁶ Since the office of the Holy Father holds the “universae messis Christi,” and “universo Christianismo,” and the Compañía de Jesús being “diversas provincias y reinos,” Ignatius and the first companions offered their vows of obedience to obey the pope “por cuanto es el Señor de toda la mies de Cristo” and the one “tiene mayor conocimiento de lo que conviene a todo el cristianismo.”²⁵⁷ And for practical purposes, the Holy Father who has the universal knowledge of the Church’s needs would assist the Society of Jesus in sending the companions where they could serve God our Lord the most.²⁵⁸ In fact, Pope Paul VI understood Jesuit fourth vow as one of the fundamental characteristics of the Society acknowledging to be “unida al Romano Pontífice por un vínculo especial de amor y de servicio.”²⁵⁹

Equally important, the Society made the vows to obey the pope, not to him personally but “as the vicar of Christ” [Co 7.82.308.603.607]. According to Nadal, “desea la Compañía seguir a Cristo y unirse con El lo más posible; y como en esta vida no lo podemos ver sensiblemente, sino en su Vicario, nos sometemos a éste con voto especial... En él nos habla Cristo, y nos hace ciertos de su voluntad.”²⁶⁰ And for Polanco, he was convinced that Christ would be pleased to direct them along the

²⁵⁶ I. IGLESIAS, “Cuarto voto,” *DEI*, I, 515 – 520, 518. On the topic of the fourth vows, also see A. ALDAMA, *Repartiéndose en la viña de Cristo. Comentario a la séptima parte de las Constituciones de la Compañía de Jesús*, CIS, Roma 1973; I. SALVAT, *Servir en misión universal*, 91; P. ARRUPÉ, “Servir sólo al Señor y a la Iglesia, su esposa, bajo el Romano Pontífice, Vicario de Cristo en la tierra,” *La Identidad*, 293 – 310; J. LOSADA, “Significado teológico del cuarto voto ‘circa misiones’,” *Man* 63 (1991) 435 – 450.

²⁵⁷ Faber’s letter to Doctor Gouvia on behalf of the companions dated November 23, 1538 (*Epp* I, 132). Originally written in Latin, “quatenus ipse est dominus vniuersae messis Xpi” and “quod sciamus penes ipsum majorem [esse] cognicionem eorum, quae expedit vniuerso xpianismo.” The Spanish translation is found in *Obras de San Ignacio de Loyola*, 742.

²⁵⁸ Nadal’s insistence of the universal aspect of the fourth vow to the pope can be found in *MNad* V, 152 – 153, 442 – 444, 755 – 756.

²⁵⁹ PABLO VI, *Paschae solemnitate*, September 15th 1973; Id., *alocución Dum vos coram*, December 3rd 1974: *Acta Romana*, 16 (1973 – 1976), 14, 435; P. ARRUPÉ, “Servir sólo al Señor y a la Iglesia,” *La identidad*, 299.

²⁶⁰ *MNad* V, 56.

road of his greater service through his vicar.²⁶¹ Ignatius, who was received into Christ's service and mission at La Storta, was convinced that the same grace was given to the first companions and to all members of the religious order they together founded, thus giving birth to the "Compañía de Jesús."²⁶² And after having waited a year and not able to go to Jerusalem, as originally planned, Ignatius and the first companions arrived in Rome and offered their service to the Vicar of Christ, the representative of Christ on earth, and were sent on mission by him. As the apostles were sent out by Christ, so are the members of the Society of Jesus by Christ's vicar. Thus, the "sending" or the "missioning" of members of the Society of Jesus by the Pontiff serves as a continuation of the divine "sending."

Cómo el Hijo primero envió en pobreza a predicar a los apóstoles, y después el Espíritu Santo, dando su espíritu y lenguas los confirmó, y así el Padre y el Hijo, enviando el Espíritu Santo, todas tres personas confirmaron la tal misión [*De* 15].

In fact, even prior to the *Deliberaciones 1539*, Pope Paul III had sent Paschase Broët and one of the companions to be chosen (it turned out to be Simão Rodriguez) to work for the reform of the convent of the Benedictine nuns of San Prospero e Sant'Agnese in Siena.²⁶³ Thus, the deliberations of the First Fathers of the Society in 1539 were made in the midst of their members being sent on papal mission and over the matters regarding their mission.²⁶⁴

Through the grace given to Ignatius at La Storta, such divine "sending" continues to be carried out by the members of the Society that bears Christ's name

²⁶¹ *FN* I, 269. "All' hora, vedendosi dividere, et credendo che ogni di più si spargerebbono, il che loro, per adoperarsi in quello che fusse maggior gloria divina, molto dsyderavano, comminciorno a trattar fra se, se farebbono de se un corpo che havesse a durare, et non si termináis con la vita delli presenti, et tanto più per vedere che alcuni cominciavano ad accostarsi all' istituto suo; et se farebbono un capo, a chi gli altri dessino obediencia, et per chi si governassino sotto il Sommo Pontefice."

²⁶² See footnotes 101, 102, and 103.

²⁶³ *MBr* 201 – 203; Ignatius wrote on the document, "Mandato del papa a pascasio para yr a sena" (G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* I, 453).

²⁶⁴ J. CONWELL, "Deliberaciones 1539," *DEI*, I, 552.

through the office and authority of Christ’s Vicar on earth today. Nadal put it more eloquently in his “Orationis ratio in Societate.” There we read:

Ayuda ejercitarse y considerar y sentir que seguimos a Jesucristo que lleva aún su cruz en la Iglesia militante, a quien nos ha dado por siervos su Padre eterno, que le sigamos con nuestras cruces, y no queramos más del mundo que lo que él quiso y tomó, scilicet, pobreza, oprobios, trabajos, dolores, hasta la muerte, ejercitando la misión para que Dios a él le había mandado al mundo, que era salvar y perfeccionar las ánimas, con toda obediencia y perfección en todas las virtudes. Más es muy gustosa nuestra cruz; porque tiene ya esplendor y gloria de la victoria de la muerte, resurrección y ascensión de Jesús.²⁶⁵

Therefore, for Ignatius, “to obey and to go wherever the supreme Vicar of Christ our Lord would send [members of the Society]” is the “principle and main foundation [of the Society of Jesus].”²⁶⁶ And precisely for this reason, according to Arrupe,

No hay ministerio que caiga fuera del campo apostólico de la Compañía, no hay hombre que a él no tenga derecho, no hay medio honesto que quede excluido, no hay logro alguno que dispense del esfuerzo por una ulterior superación” as long as all of this works are carrying out “por vía más expediente”: es la disponibilidad plena.²⁶⁷

Conclusion

The three aspects of the Holy Trinity that were discussed above, namely, the communion of the Triune God, the self-giving God and the God on mission, are but a glimpse into the internal knowledge of the economy of the Holy Trinity. Through God’s grace, such knowledge was given to Ignatius who in turn shared it first with the first companions, then to all the members of the Society of Jesus and those who were trained in the *Spiritual Exercises*. For Jesuits, Ignatius’ vision of La Storta “is the light in which the Jesuit regards the whole world. This vision which opens out on to the very mystery of the Trinity in its work of love for the salvation of [humankind]... places us ... with the Incarnate Word who took the form of servant and slave in the

²⁶⁵ *MNad* IV, 678.

²⁶⁶ *MCo* I, 162.

²⁶⁷ P. ARRUPÉ, “Inspiración Trinitaria” [70].

well-defined and limited reality of our history.”²⁶⁸ In other words, the economy of the Trinitarian life, which was experienced in grace by Ignatius on his journey of faith most especially from Cardoner to La Storta has inspired the mission of Society of Jesus and its vision of the world.

Naturally, as demonstrated above, the three aspects which I have elicited from Ignatius’ works, thoughts and their interpretation on the economy of the Holy Trinity carry vital effects on how members of the Society of Jesus conduct their lives and live out their mission. Thus, since the origin and the economy of the Society of Jesus are both a mirror image and an extension of the Trinitarian economy, the divine economy serves as the guide and model for the Society to follow.

De la manera que Ignacio, en un proceso descendente, traspuso elementos trinitarios en el carisma de la Compañía, nosotros, en un proceso ascendente, partiendo de aspectos concretos del carisma, podemos elevar nuestra mirada a la Trinidad para ver cómo se realizan con ella y comprender así más plenamente su significado. El carisma de la Compañía, de ese modo, se enriquece y garantiza su propia pureza. La perspectiva trinitaria no puede faltar en la renovación de la Compañía.²⁶⁹

Thus, the three aspects of the Trinitarian economy, which were drawn out from Ignatius’ experience, could serve as the inspiring guide and model for a cultural framework. First, how the Triune God while maintaining their uniqueness and diversity, remains in perfect communion with one another inspires not only individual Jesuits, but also Jesuit communities, provinces and assistancies of diverse cultures to live in com-union with one another. “Para Ignacio, Compañía, como comunidad global de cuantos se han reducido a un cuerpo, tiene como fundamento el amor que liga las tres divinas personas.”²⁷⁰ However, com-union does not mean uniformity, but

²⁶⁸ P. KOLVENBACH, *The Road from La Storta*, 3.

²⁶⁹ P. ARRUIPE, “Inspiración trinitaria,” [82].

²⁷⁰ J. GARCÍA DE CASTRO, “Comunidad,” *DEI*, I, 362 – 369, 365. More on the topic of Jesuit community please read: M. COSTA, “Misión y Comunidad apostólica en la Compañía de Jesús,” *Man* 49 (1977) 195 – 213; P. ARRUIPE, “La inspiración trinitaria del carisma ignaciano,” 391 – 435 (esp.

united in love in the midst of plurality and diversity.²⁷¹ Hence, it is the Trinitarian union that truly inspires the “union of minds and hearts” among all Jesuits. In fact, it is “en ese movimiento de amor trinitario, es donde nace la unión en el cuerpo universal de la Compañía.”²⁷² We read in the Decree 11 of the 32nd General Congregation:

From *union* with God in Christ flows, of necessity, brotherly love. Love of the neighbor, which *union* with Christ and with God in Christ implies and includes, has for its privileged object in our case, the companions of Jesus who compose our Society (D 11, 14). (*Italics are mine*)

In doing so,

We bear witness to the presence of God among men: God who, as Trinity, is, beyond all imagining, a community of Love; God who, made Man, established with men an everlasting (D. 11, 15).

It is this com-union that has been inspired by the Trinitarian union and that which Jesuit communities strive to imitate, according to the 35th General Congregation, “become a sign of the possibility of human communion our world so sorely needs” (D. 5, 28). Therefore, facing the challenge and difficulty of cultural diversity, rooted and inspired by the Trinitarian union, the 32nd General Congregation insisted that, “our basic attitude will be that cultural differences can enrich our *union* rather than threaten it” (D. 11, 16). This call for union once was again reinforced in the 34th General Congregation. We read in the Decree 26:

Jesuits today join together because each of us has heard the call of Christ the King... The community to which we belong is the entire body of the Society itself, however dispersed over the face of the earth. Though we come from many nations and cultures and speak many languages, our *union* is enriched, no threatened, by diversity” (D. 26, 11).

429); P. KOLVENBACH, “Sobre la vida comunitaria,” on March 12, 1998, *Selección*, II, 44 – 57; GC 32, d11; GC 34; GC 35.

²⁷¹ “Es curioso que la palabra *comunidad* no aparece ni una sola vez en las Constituciones, ni hay en ellas nada que pueda considerarse como una teoría o una espiritualidad de la comunidad. Se habla más bien de las Casas, se habla de la *unión* - ¡y con qué elocuencia!” (P. ARRUPE, “Inspiración trinitaria” [97]).

²⁷² P. KOLVENBACH, “Sobre la vida comunitaria,” 49.

And the 35th General Congregation declares that how we live this union in community in itself is a Jesuit mission (D. 3, 41).

Second, how the Three Distinct Personas of the Holy Trinity share with one another in perfect self-emptying inspires Jesuits to live in material and spiritual poverty, entrusting themselves and their lives to God and the divine will. The culture of the Society is not a self-serving culture but a self-emptying culture for the sake of others. Only rooted on the Trinitarian self-emptying, Jesuit vow of poverty has its meaning. We read in the Decree 9 of the 34th General Congregation on Poverty:

Poverty is the unequivocal condition of our credibility. In the face of the attitudes and values that dominate the mentality of the world today, the radical exercise of evangelical poverty becomes a countercultural witness to the value of gratuity which St. Ignatius praised so much. By this gratuity we profess the boundless and freely bestowed love of God who gave his Son for us in the *total emptying* of the Incarnation and the Cross (D. 9, 6). (*Italics are mine.*)

Finally, how the Holy Trinity relentlessly pursues the mission, working together in the sending of the Son into the world to redeem it, inspires Jesuits to be sent out on mission today. Though the context of today's Jesuit mission has changed due to profound social, economic, cultural and political changes, the foundation on which Jesuit mission is understood and practiced – the Trinitarian economy – remains unchanged. In the “Call to Establish Right Relationship,” the 35th General Congregation reminds us of the world's ultimate master builder who continues to send Jesuits on their mission. In “A Mission of Reconciliation,” we read:

We are sent on mission by the Father, as were Ignatius and the first companions at La Storta, together with Christ, risen and glorified but still carrying the cross, as he labors in a world yet to experience the fullness of his reconciliation” (D. 3, 16).²⁷³

Thus, it is in the Trinitarian life and economy that Jesuits live in communion, in poverty, and are sent out on mission. It is then appropriate to end this section with

²⁷³ *Jesuit Life & Mission Today*, 747.

Nadal's words pleading and leading all members of the Society of Jesus into devotion and prayer to the Holy Spirit:

Por lo cual, pongamos la perfección de nuestra oración en la contemplación de la Trinidad, en el amor y unión de la caridad, que abraza también a los prójimos por los ministerios de nuestra vocación.²⁷⁴

3.3 *In actione contemplativus*: A summary of Ignatian worldview

The awareness and respect for cultural diversity that insist on and practice cultural inclusivity and adaptation in the Society of Jesus is determined by the Ignatian paradigm through which the Creator, the creatures, and their relationship are viewed and understood. In this chapter, that Ignatian paradigm was examined through two different perspectives: the one, as if looking down from above on the world meditating so as to promote and advance the God-centered culture; and the other, as if looking from below up to heaven contemplating so as to be inspired and to imitate the divine multicultural economy of the Holy Trinity. These two perspectives are but the two sides of the same coin, the two different starting points approaching the one spirituality which Ignatius and the Society of Jesus embody and embrace.

On the one side, the former perspective that stresses on meditation focuses on the doing, on the actions of “hallar,” of “buscar” God, and of “conformarse” to God's will in “todas las cosas,” in the world below. In the *Exercises*, the “Principio y fundamento” [Ej 23] takes this approach treating

la relación el hombre a la creación en función de la dependencia de Dios” and “apunta a un proceso (antropológico) que va del hombre a Dios a través del uso ordenado de las cosas como ámbito de adoración (alabar, hacer reverencia y servir).²⁷⁵

On the other side, the latter perspective that accentuates contemplation emphasizes on

²⁷⁴ J. NADAL, “In examen annotationes,” no. 83, *CommentInst* 163. “Haec cum ita sint, et perfectionem nostrae orationis constituamus in contemplatione Trinitatis, in charitatis amore atque unione, extensa quidem in proximum per nostrae vocationis ministerial; quae quidem gustui ac suavitati orationis facile praeferimus.”

²⁷⁵ S. ARZUBIALDE, *Ejercicios*, 560.

the observing, on “ver,” “oír,” and “mirar” how the Triune God communicates in perfect communion and complete self-emptying to one another and to creation, in the world above. In the *Exercises*, the “Contemplación para alcanzar amor” [Ej 230 – 237] takes this approach treating

la relación de la creación al hombre a partir del amor mismo de Dios” and “nos habla de la relación entre la Infinitud divina y lo creado – en el Verbo (Logos) en el dinamismo del Amor (el Espíritu) -, del ámbito trinitario en el que el ser humano, movido por el amor recibido, puede en todo amar y servir a su divina Majestad y quedar así divinizado.²⁷⁶

Though looked at from different standpoints, like the two sides of the coin, action and contemplation complement each other. One cannot exist without the other.

On the one hand, looking and finding God in the world so as to conform to God’s holy will entail the act of looking up, of contemplation, so as to be loved and led by God in the process. Without contemplation, one runs the risk of chasing endlessly after his/her own idol. On the other hand, contemplating the divine life means to be inspired by the divine descending into the world, so as to participate in the divine plan of redeeming the world. Therefore, to contemplate means to be drawn into the life-giving process so to give life. “El amor se debe poner más en las obras que en las palabras,” [Ej 230] reminds us. Contemplation on the Trinitarian life must lead to action to animate and to enliven the world. For Ignatian spirituality, the world above and the world below relate and dwell intimately with one another.

The two complementary dimensions of Ignatian spirituality – action and contemplation – involve and revolve around each other as in circle. In fact, Nadal referred to the two interdependent dynamics of Ignatian spirituality as the “círculo acción-contemplación.” We read in his “Exhortations Complutenses”:

Este es el círculo que yo suelo decir hay en los ministerios de la Compañía: por lo que vos hicisteis con los prójimos y servisteis en ello a Dios, os ayuda

²⁷⁶ S. ARZUBIALDE, *Ejercicios*, 560.

más en casa en la oración y en las ocupaciones que tenéis para vos; y esa ayuda mayor os hace que después con mayor ánimo y con más provecho os ocupéis del prójimo. De modo que el un ejercicio a veces ayuda otro, y el otro a éste.²⁷⁷

According to Nadal, this “círculo acción-contemplación” presents a more superior way of spiritual perfection. In the “Orden de oración” which he wrote during his first visit to Spain in February of 1554 in Alcalá,²⁷⁸ we read:

Considérese que siempre han de caminar juntamente la vida activa y contemplativa. Mas el tiempo de la probación tan exacto hace que venga en alguna perfección la activa y domine ya la contemplativa y guíe y gobierne con quietud e ilustración en el Señor, y así se llega a *la vía activa superior*, que supone *la activa y contemplativa*, y tiene fuerzas de imprimirlas en todos, según conviene a mayor servicio de Dios; y brevemente: la acción de la caridad unida con Dios es de perfecta unión.²⁷⁹

Pierre Favre, who is considered by Ignatius as “hermano mayor de todos”²⁸⁰ and “de los que conocía de la Compañía, tuvo el primer lugar en dar [los Ejercicios],”²⁸¹ concurred with Nadal’s “Orden de oración” in his “Recuerdos Espirituales.”²⁸² We read from his personal testimony:

Noté y sentí claramente que quien busca con espíritu a Dios en las buenas obras, lo encuentra después mejor en la oración que si hiciese lo contrario que es más frecuente: buscarlo primero en la oración y después en las obras. Quien busca y encuentra el Espíritu de Cristo en las buenas obras, aprovecha más sólidamente que quien sólo lo busca en la oración. Y esto es así porque quien encuentra a Cristo en las obras y en la oración es como si lo tuviera en

²⁷⁷ J. NADAL, *CommentInst*, 328.

²⁷⁸ C. COUPEAU, “Cronologías de Nadal y Arrupe,” 390; J. GARCÍA DE CASTRO, “La acción experiencia del Espíritu. La perspectiva ignaciana,” *Mística y filosofía*, (F. Sancho Fermín, dir.), Universidad de la Mística, Avila 2009, 155 – 182, 175; W. BANGERT, *Jerome Nadal, S.J. 1507 – 1580*, 110;

²⁷⁹ J. NADAL, “Orden de oración” *MNad* IV, 670 – 681, 679.

²⁸⁰ *FN* I, 104.

²⁸¹ *FN* I, 658; for more please read A. Albuquerque, “Fabro tuvo el primer lugar en dar los Ejercicios,” *Man* 65 (1993) 325 – 348 and *Man* 66 (1994) 67 – 86.

²⁸² Pierre Favre’s spiritual diary that he began to record on the 15th of June, 1542 reflecting on his interior life since his childhood (1506 – 1525), his studies in Paris (1525 – 1536), his encounter with Ignatius and his life in the Society of Jesus (1536 – 1546). Please see footnote 5 for more details on his life. Favre’s spiritual diary is preserved in sixteen manuscripts. Some are written in Spanish, others in Latin. It is also known as the Memorial de Fabro though none of the original has been found in the archives. Its most recent publication in Spanish is found in *En el corazón de la reforma: Recuerdos espirituales” del Beato Pedro Fabro, S.J.*, (A. ALBURQUERQUE, intro., trad., and com.), M-ST, Bilbao – Santander 2000.

efecto y en afecto... Que tu vida tenga algo de Marta y María, que se apoye en la oración y en las buenas obras, que sea activa y contemplativa.²⁸³

More especially, it is this “círculo acción-contemplación” which Ignatius experienced in his prayer, especially the one that was recorded on March 7, 1544, in his *Diario espiritual*. We visit this prayer period of Ignatius with the help of H. Rahner’s commentary.²⁸⁴ As usual, Ignatius started out by “conformarse con la voluntad divina que [se] guiase, que [se] llevase” [De 127] then lifted himself to the “asiento arriba” [De 127] – “el subir hasta Dios para asentarse en la divinidad.” However, he did not stop there but looked down on “la letra” [De 127] – “ese ir ‘bajando a la letra’ a lo visible, agarrando las cosas en su realidad terrestre.” In the end, Ignatius maintained his “visita interior” on both “entre su asiento arriba y la letra” [De 127] – “viendo a la Iglesia como prolongación de Cristo y a las criaturas como término de la acción divina.”²⁸⁵

Commenting on Ignatius’ typical pattern of prayer, Nadal wrote in his “Anotaciones al examen” in 1557, where the expression “in actione contemplativus” (“contemplativo en la acción”) first appeared²⁸⁶:

sentía [Ignacio] y contemplaba a Dios tanto en todas las cosas, actividades, conversaciones, a la manera de *in actione contemplativus*, lo cual solía explicar: que encontraba a Dios en todas las cosas.²⁸⁷

And by “in actione contemplativus,” Nadal meant:

por un lado, la unión íntima de Ignacio con Dios que determina toda su vida – su oración y su acción – y, por otro, explica el ideal al que ha de ir dirigida la aspiración ignaciana a la perfección: buscar incansablemente a Dios en todo y la unión íntima con él en toda nuestra vida y nuestra actividad.²⁸⁸

²⁸³ P. FAVRE, “Recuerdos espirituales” [126], *En el corazón de la reforma*, 184; also found in *MFab* “Memorial” [126].

²⁸⁴ *Obras de San Ignacio* 396.

²⁸⁵ IBID.

²⁸⁶ J. GARCÍA DE CASTRO, “La acción experiencia del Espíritu: la perspectiva ignaciana,” 170.

²⁸⁷ *MNad* V, 162.

²⁸⁸ A. WITWER, “Contemplativo en la acción,” *DEI*, I, 457 – 465, 458 - 9.

For “*actione*” is not confined to ethical and ascetical actions but also includes spiritual and corporal works and “*todas las formas de actividad apostólica que se pueden realizar para glorificar a Dios;*” while “*contemplatio*” does not consist only in formal interior prayer but also involves “*la unión íntima y la familiaridad con Dios*” [Co 723] from which actions are conducted.²⁸⁹

Thus, like all other practices in the Society of Jesus, the awareness and respect for cultural diversity and the practice of cultural inclusivity and adaptation must be grounded in this fundamental concept - “*in actione contemplativus*” – to be carried out by contemplating the divine culture above while simultaneously seek to build and to imitate such a cultural union on earth.

4. CONCLUSION

A genuine encounter between the gospels and cultures has to take cultural plurality of the modern world seriously at all levels. Therefore, a practical and effective paradigm to interpret and to conduct the gospel-cultures encounter more wholesome is necessary. Such paradigm must take account of and involve dialogues among the existing cultural and religious plurality on both sides.²⁹⁰ On the side of the gospel and its bearer, cultural and religious pluralism exist in the biblical cultures (i.e., there are four different Gospels), the earlier ecclesial cultures (i.e., there were many Churches with different cultural traditions such as the Greek, the Latin, the Syrian, the Armenian, the Coptic, etc. in the Early Church), and the cultures of the missionary (i.e., French, Italian, Spanish, German, Irish, etc. including cultural diversity in each of these countries).²⁹¹ On the side of the receiver of the gospel,

²⁸⁹ A. WITWER, “*Contemplativo en la acción,*” 458 – 9.

²⁹⁰ M. AMALADOSS, *Beyond Inculturation: Can the Many be One?* Vidyajyoti Education & Welfare Society/ISPCK, Delhi 2005, 17.

²⁹¹ 20 – 21.

diversity exists in the complexity of local religions and cultures.²⁹² Consequently, how will cultural plurality be maintained and celebrate for a more genuine gospel-cultures encounter in the Church?

This chapter, the God-Centered Multicultures: an Ignatian Paradigm, has labored extensively to point out the fact that multiculturalism was embedded in the formation and composition of the *Spiritual Exercises*, the *Formulas of the Institute*, and the *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*. Reexamination of the historical background in the chapter's introduction reveals a rich cultural diversity, which the authors of these documents embraced. In addition, each of these documents underwent the various stages of composition and redaction responding to the multicultural need and the challenge of its time. Thus, these foundational documents were the products of cultural plurality. In return, these documents of the Society of Jesus continue to cultivate the richness of multiculturalism in the encounter between God and the individual human person. Therefore, the *Spiritual Exercises*, the *Formulas of Institute*, and the *Constitutions* are born in the midst of multiculturalism and remain means in which multiculturalism is maintained and cultivated.

To assure this cultural plurality, cultural inclusivity and cultural adaptation become the underlying norms found in these foundational documents. Serving as norm, Jesuit inclusivity strives to include people from different cultural, social and religious backgrounds. However, it too is adapted to, so thereby, limited by the cultural and social climate of the time as found in the membership issue of *cristianos nuevos* and women in the Society. Jesuit adaptation enables and facilitates the God-and-the-individual encounter at the most personal level convincing that God will meet the individual where he/she is culturally, socially and religiously. In other words,

²⁹² M. AMALADOSS, *Beyond Inculturation*, 22 – 26.

God who is laboring to encounter the individual and waiting for the individual's response based upon his/her social and cultural diversity and complexity. Thus, cultural adaptation assures the gospel-cultures encounter to begin at the most concrete, personal, and multicultural level. However, like Jesuit inclusivity that has to deal with the tension between including everyone and the limitation of the social and cultural climate of the time, Jesuit adaptation has to sustain the balance between the individual needs and its universal goods. These tensions serve as important reminders that Jesuit spirituality remains as an ongoing process of inculturation that demands constant discernment and open dialogues in the multicultural God-and-the individual encounter.

The question then becomes how Jesuit spirituality keeps up and cultivates these multicultural tensions in a life-giving way? As demonstrated in “God-centered multicultural vision” section of the chapter, the personal encounter with God enables the individual both to surrender and to move away from his/her own mono-cultural self-centeredness and to progress towards the God whose goodness and love continually attracts and draws the person into God's friendship. In this divine friendship, God endlessly pursues the individual, who in return strives to seek and to find God in all things. Consequently, the individual slowly lets go of his/her mono-cultural self-centeredness and transforms him/herself into the God-centered multicultural world following the two Jesuit dynamics “finding God in all things” and “conforming his/her will to that of the divine.” Unlike the mono-cultural self-centered worldview where other cultures are to be dominated and conquered, the newly adopted multicultural God-centered worldview necessitates respect and dialogues among various cultures since God is present, thus, could be found in them. Hence, in this transformation process, it is important to note that God whose loving presence

and goodness saturates creation permeating all cultures remains the sole focus of the individual's spiritual drive and effort. For Jesuit spirituality, God remains at the heart of multiculturalism.

God, whom Ignatius was graced to encounter in Manresa and at La Storta, and who has subsequently become the subject of Ignatian contemplation in the *Spiritual Exercises*, the *Formulas of Institute*, and the *Constitutions*, is the multicultural God. Like Ignatius' mystical experience had left him with great spiritual enlightenment [*Au* 30], the grace which Ignatian contemplations are praying for consists of the “conocimiento interno del Señor, que por mí se ha hecho hombre, para que más le ame y le siga” [*Ej* 104]. In other words, the aim of Ignatian contemplations is to gain better divine interior knowledge, so to love God better and to imitate God more closely. Consequently, the perfect communion of the Three Divine Persons of the Holy Trinity as experienced by Ignatius inspires a model for the union among different cultures. The self-giving nature of the Holy Trinity inspires a self-emptying attitude required for a genuine dialogue among different cultures in the multicultural union to take place. Finally, the mission character of the Holy Trinity provides an impetus and direction for the multicultural union and dialogue, that is, to save the human condition from destruction of either mono-culturalism or cultural anarchy. Thus, Ignatian multiculturalism is part of the divinization process where human beings and their society are becoming more like God and the Divine Community.

For Ignatius, contemplations of the Divine as presented above have to ultimately lead to action. At the same time, all actions must be done in contemplation with concrete cultures. Both action and contemplation must go hands and hands with one another, *in actione contemplativus*, within cultures. Thus, multicultural union and

dialogues must be grounded in the contemplation of Divine life and action in the multicultural world. At the same time, the contemplation of the Divine multiculturalism must lead to concrete dialogues and actions in order to build a multicultural God-centered world here on earth. Thus, in the Ignatian multicultural God-centered paradigm presented in this chapter, God whom can be found in all cultures continues to draw all cultures into union and dialogue not only with one another, but also ultimately with God.

In one of his earlier publications, Amaladoss has also raised four critical questions for the evaluation of Ignatian spirituality in term of its accountability for multiculturalism. Furthermore, these questions serve as guidelines, parameters and criteria for setting up a more functional model of inculturation.

Does Ignatian spirituality *encourage* the process of gospel-culture encounter in a creative way? Can Ignatian spirituality become a way for people of *different* cultures? Can Ignatian spirituality, in so far as it is a particular way of living the gospel, challenge and *transform* the cultures of the people that make use of it? In what specific manner does Ignatian spirituality challenge *contemporary* (modern) culture?²⁹³

From the information presented in this chapter, answers to these questions have been resoundingly in the positive.

--- * ---

The common theme that shines through the investigation done in this section has been inspired adaptation. It began with Ignatius, “*la prima forma et gratia*”, who was at more than sixty years of age reminiscing how God had guided him through a long process of encountering and negotiating diverse cultural currents of the time. Through the grace of God, Ignatius was able to open himself to be taught “*de la manera que trata un maestro de escuela a un niño*” [Au 27], adapting himself to all the ups and downs of diverse cultural situations. In all, he had learned “*buscar a Dios en*

²⁹³ M. AMALADOSS, “Inculturation and Ignatian Spirituality,” 41.

todas las cosas” in order to “conformarse en la divina voluntad.” More than the act of teaching alone, God communicated God’s very life to Ignatius in the most extraordinary way, placing him side by side with the Son bearing the cross. In other words, Ignatius’ adaptation in diverse cultural situations was guided by divine inspiration and illustration. God remained the teacher, who teach and who guide Ignatius through the whole adaptation process.

Having been taught and guided by God, Ignatius both practiced and guided his companions on the similar spiritual journey and apostolic mission. The composition of foundational documents of the Society of Jesus, namely, the *Spiritual Exercises*, the *Formulas of the Institute*, and the *Constitutions* were proved to be a process of revising and improving. As illustrated above, such a process from the beginning has been the result of the combination of the divine guidance, which was given to Ignatius and extended to members of the Society of Jesus and the continuing demands of ever-evolving cultures searching and longing for their fulfillment. Such a process of inspired adaptation serves as a living witness to the ongoing mystery of Incarnation upon which the Society of Jesus has been founded, gathered, and sent out on mission. Such a process of inspired adaptation is part of the Jesuit way of proceeding. In the next section, this investigation will examine how this inspired adaptation was concretely cultivated and applied in the Society’s mission in Asia.

PART III

THE WORLD IS OUR HOUSE

*Notandum diversa esse in Societate mansionum
seu habitationum genera. Est enim domus
probationis, collegium, domus professorum,
peregrinatio; et hac ultima totus mundus nostra
fit habitatio.*

MNad V, 54.

INTRODUCTION

Nadal's vision of the whole world becoming home for the Jesuits had literally been realized by the mid-seventeenth century. In the exhortation to the Spanish Jesuits in 1551, Nadal, one of Ignatius' most trusted confidences¹ and designated promulgator of the *Constitutions*,² envisioned the ideal of Jesuit vocation as constantly being on *peregrinatio*. And it is on the journey, according to Nadal, Jesuits will find their home. Thus, in echoing what the *Constitutions* instructs all members of the Society "to go to any place where the supreme vicar of Christ judges expedient for the glory of God" [Co 603], the official interpreter of the *Constitutions* of the Society of Jesus reiterated that ideally and ultimately Jesuits found their identity and their home in *peregrinatio*, which could be understood as either "journey," or "pilgrimage," or "mission."³

The idea of mission as pilgrimage, however, did not originate with the Jesuits. In the seventh century, the Irish monks who travel across the channel to the European continent were the first to describe their mission as pilgrimage.⁴ However, for Jesuits, the exterior pilgrimage served as an "expression de un peregrinaje interior."⁵ Thus,

¹ Of Nadal, Ignatius declared that "qui mentem nostram omnino noverit, et nostra auctoritate fungitur" (*MNad* I, 144). And regarding Nadal's relationship with Ignatius, Polanco wrote, "tiene mucho conocimiento de N. P. Mtro. Ignatio, porque le ha tratado mucho, y pareze tiene entendido su espíritu, y penetrando, quanto otro que yo sepa en la Compañía, el instituto della" (*Epp* V, 190). Ignatius himself referred to Nadal to fill what was to be told about him and the Society at the end of the Autografía, "las otras cosas podrá contarlas el Mro. Nadal" (*Au* 98).

² Ignatius entrusted Nadal with the task of promulgation of the *Constitutions* in the provinces of Spain and Portugal in 1553 (A. ALDAMA, *An Introductory Commentary on the Constitutions*, 8; A. Ravier, *Ignacio de Loyola: fundador de la Compañía de Jesús*, 257 – 263; J. O'MALLEY, "To Travel to Any Part of the World: Jerónimo Nadal and the Jesuit Vocation," *SSJ*, 16 (1984).

³ J. O'MALLEY, "To Travel to Any Part of the World," 6.

⁴ M. REILLY, *Spirituality for Mission: Historical, Theological, and Cultural Factors for a Present-Day Missionary Spirituality*, Orbis Books, New York 1978, 56 – 65.

⁵ M. SIEVERNICH, "La misión y las misiones en la primitiva Compañía de Jesús," *Ite Inflammate Omnia: Selected Historical Papers From Conferences Held at Loyola and Rome in 2006*, (T. McCoog, ed.), IHSI, Roma 2010, 255 – 273, 257 – 8.

Jesuits are not monks,⁶ and Jesuit spirituality and charism have identified them as pilgrims on journey to “servir en misión universal.”⁷ Beginning with the chief founder, Saint Ignatius often called himself “el peregrino.” In the letter dated December 6, 1524 written to Inés Pascual from Barcelona, Ignatius signed it off as “el pobre peregrino.”⁸ In the *Autobiografía*, Ignatius repeatedly referred to himself as “el peregrino,” fifty-five times,⁹ and its “tema metafórico recurrente es el de la peregrinación.”¹⁰ So much so that, “las ediciones recientes de la *Autobiografía* han preferido el título de *Relato del peregrino*.”¹¹

After having met the first Companions at the University of Paris and together completed their studies there, the first vows which Ignatius and the first Companions had committed to one another was “*ir a Venecia y a Jerusalén, y gastar su vida en provecho de las almas; y si no consiguiesen permiso para quedarse en Jerusalén, volver a Roma y presentarse al Vicario de Cristo*” [Au 85].¹² In other words, their commitment to the mission involved being mobile and constantly being on a pilgrimage. In fact, the first Companions were moving and journeying so frequently that they referred to themselves as the “*Prete pellegrini*”¹³

The pilgrimage, which Jesuits constantly engaged in, is essential in the Jesuit vision of how they understand “mission” and how to go about it. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, Jesuit mission which springs out from the Trinitarian inspiration remains at the heart of Jesuit vocation and charism. Therefore, how “mission” is interpreted and understood play a major role in the Society’s “way of proceeding”

⁶ *MNad* V, 413 and 608.

⁷ A thorough study on this topic is found in I. SALVAT, *Servir en Misión Universal*, M-ST, Bilbao – Santander 2002.

⁸ *Epp* I, 73.

⁹ *Concordancia* 946 – 7.

¹⁰ F. RUIZ PÉREZ, “Camino,” *DEI*, I, 260 – 7, 262.

¹¹ F. RUIZ PÉREZ, “Camino,” 262; I. SALVAT, *Servir en Misión Universal*, 30 – 33.

¹² Italics are mine.

¹³ *MXav* I, 69; J. BRODERICK, *The Origin of the Jesuits*, Loyola Press, Chicago 1997, 63.

(*modus procedendi* or *modo de proceder*¹⁴). For that reason, a brief overview on how “mission” has been interpreted and understood is necessary.

1.1 Jesuit theologies of the “mission”

In classical Latin, the word “missio” consists of two meanings: the first, which seems to be its original meaning, signifies “dismissal, release (e.g., ‘missio gladiatoris,’ ‘manu missio,’ ‘ite, missa est’);” and the second, the derived meanings, signifies “‘sending’ applied to things as well as to persons (e.g., ‘missio litterarum,’ ‘missio legatorum’). Both these meanings were preserved in medieval religious literature.¹⁵ The Vulgate Bible however used the verb “mittere” not the noun “missio” to denote the activities of the apostles and early disciples of Jesus.¹⁶ Throughout the Middle Ages and up until the sixteenth century, the modern sense of “mission” was expressed by phrases such as “propagation of the faith,” “expansion of the reign of God,” “conversion of the heathen,” or “founding of new churches.”¹⁷ The word “mission” was, however, reserved exclusively to refer to the internal activities of the Blessed Trinity, namely, the sending of the Son by the Father and of the Holy Spirit

¹⁴ The expression that Ignatius often used in the *Constitutions* (17 times) and much more frequent in the *Epistolario* (Ignatius’ letters and instructions). By “modo de proceder,” Ignatius indicated: 1. “modo de vivir,” meaning “declaraciones, reglas, configuración de la Compañía en *Constituciones*” [*Epp* I, 143; *Epp* I, 149]; 2. the corporate identity of the Society of Jesus – “como idea y concepción primigenia y original de la Compañía” [*Epp* VII, 509; *Epp* XI, 372]; 3. the characteristics of pastoral activities and that of the government in the Society of Jesus [*Epp* I, 355; *Epp* II, 12; *Co* 424.547.746.790]; 4. expected lifestyle in the Society of Jesus [*Epp* III, 162; *Epp* IX, 230; *Co* 134]. In January 18, 1979, Pedro Arrupe, the 28th General Superior of the Society of Jesus, published “El modo nuestro de proceder” as the first of his doctrinal trilogy addressing the identity of the Society of Jesus in the modern time (P. ARRUPE, “El modo nuestro de proceder,” *La identidad*, 49 – 82). Arrupe’s publication “se trata de una reflexión sobre cómo ha evolucionado nuestro modo de proceder, en comparación con los orígenes de la Compañía de Jesús, cómo debiera haberlo hecho y cómo debería hacerlo en el futuro. Es prácticamente la única bibliografía sobre este tema específico” since Ignatius’ time and Nadal’s commentary and instructions on the Constitutions (I. IGLESIAS, “Modo de proceder,” *DEI*, II, 1269 - 1273).

¹⁵ A. ALDAMA, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus: Missioning*, 7 – 8.

¹⁶ IBID.

¹⁷ D. BOSCH, *Transforming Mission*, 1; M. SIEVERNICH, “La misión y las misiones en la primitiva Compañía de Jesús,” 257.

by the Father and the Son.¹⁸ In the latter part of the fifteenth century, it was the “Jesuits who first used [the term “mission”] for the spread of the Christian faith among people (including Protestants) who were not members of the Catholic Church.”¹⁹ The “llamamiento del Rey Eternal” in los *Ejercicios* remains the Call of Christ the King to “conquistar *todo el mundo* y todos los enemigos, a así entrar en la gloria” [*Ej* 95].²⁰ Thus, Jesuits were meant to be “soldados para Dios bajo la bandera de la Cruz”²¹ in a grand “conquista espiritual” over the whole world.²²

1.1.1 In the Early Society (1541 – 1616)

By the divine grace, Ignatius’ eyes were opened to “todas las cosas nuevas” in Manresa where “por la misma firme voluntad que el mismo Dios le había dado *para servirle*, claramente él juzgaba y siempre ha juzgado que Dios le trataba desta manera” [*Au* 27]. As a result, the grace, which Ignatius received at Manresa, transformed and set him on apostolic journeys passing through Jerusalem, Alcalá, Salamanca, Paris, and ending in Rome. All shared the one ultimate goal, namely, to “ayudar las ánimas” [*Au* 45].²³ Consequently, through Ignatius’ “momento de riqueza excepcional de gracia mística” in Manresa, “ayudar las ánimas” became “una vocación específica que llevaba en germen la Orden Nueva.”²⁴

Such a vocation was confirmed again at La Storta where Ignatius was “placed with the Son by the Father” and “accepted into the service of the Son who was

¹⁸ A. SANTOS, *Teología sistemática de la misión*, 12 -13 and 114 – 5; D. BOSCH, *Transforming Mission*, 1.

¹⁹ A. SANTOS, *Teología sistemática de la misión*, 12 – 13 and 114 – 115; D. BOSCH, *Transforming Mission*, 1; I. SALVAT, *Servir en Misión Universal*, 161 – 162.

²⁰ Italics are mine.

²¹ *F39*, [1].

²² M. SIEVERNICH, “La misión y las misiones en la primitiva Compañía de Jesús,” 267.

²³ I. SALVAT, *Servir en Misión Universal*, 36 -7.

²⁴ A. JIMÉNEZ OÑATE, *El origen de la Compañía de Jesús*, IHSI, Roma 1966, 161.

carrying the Cross” [*Au* 96].²⁵ Through the divine grace given to Ignatius, all members of the Society of Jesus were also accepted into the divine economy of the Holy Trinity who continues to inspire their vocation and their mission.²⁶ Accordingly, Ignatius understood the sending out of members of the Society of Jesus as Christ sent out His disciples.²⁷ Regarding the *Deliberación de 1539*, Polanco noted that the first Companions had treated the decision of creating a religious body “imitando el modo apostólico en lo que pudiesen.”²⁸ On the *Deliberación sobre la pobreza* in 1544, Ignatius indicated that “Ésta [pobreza] tomando nuestro común Señor Jesús para sí, mostró la misma a sus apóstoles y discípulos queridos, enviándoles a predicar,”²⁹ which takes its reference from Mathew 10: 8-9.³⁰

Less than a month before writing the *Constitutiones circa Missiones*³¹ we read in Ignatius’ *Diario espiritual* on February 11, 1544:

En esto veniéndome otras inteligencias, es a saber, cómo el Hijo primero invió en pobreza a predicar a los apóstoles, y después el Espíritu Santo, dando su espíritu y lenguas los confirmó, y así el Padre y el Hijo, inviando el Espíritu Santo, todas tres personas confirman la tal misión [15].

According to P. Arrupe,

Está aquí toda la teología de la misión que Ignacio hace plenamente suya: Cristo da la misión, la confirma el Espíritu Santo con sus dones, para gloria

²⁵ Explained by D. LAÍNEZ, “Adhortation in examen” (1559), n. 7, *FN* II, 133.

²⁶ According to Nadal, “tengo por cierto que este privilegio concedido a nuestro Padre Ignacio es dado también a toda la Compañía; y que su gracia de oración y contemplación está preparada también para todos nosotros en la Compañía, pues está vinculada con nuestra vocación” (*MNad* V, 162).

²⁷ I. SALVAT, *Servir en Misión Universal*, 160 – 1.

²⁸ *FN* II, 310.

²⁹ *MCo* I, 80, n. 12.

³⁰ A. ALDAMA, *Missioning*, 9.

³¹ The documents which originated from Ignatius composed from 1544 – 1545. From the reference which we read in Ignatius’ *Diario espiritual* noted between the 16th and 17th of March, 1544, we learn that “Aquí comencé de prepararme y mirar primero cerca las misiones” [161]. This first examination concerning mission probably consisted in Ignatius’ “looking into the ideas and norms” that eventually developed into Part VII, the oldest part of the *Constitutions*. The *Constitutiones circa Missiones* originally formed two parts: one, in two sheets, comprised the Constitutions proper; the other, only one sheet, contained the Declarations. The complete text of *Constitutiones circa Missiones* can be found in *MCo* I, 159 – 164 (A. ALDAMA, *Missioning*, IJS, Sant Louis 1996, 1 – 3; 8).

del Padre. Es la extensión ‘ad extra’ de la aspiración con que el Padre y el Hijo ‘envían’ eternamente al Espíritu.³²

Thus, “no hay duda de que el prototipo al que S. Ignacio aspira y desea acomodar su obra, la Compañía de Jesús, es la misión de los Apóstoles.”³³

In Ignatius’ writings, the word “mission” first appeared in the *Formula of the Institute*.³⁴ In fact, the *Formula* was driven by and written for Jesuit missions.³⁵ Regarding Jesuit vow of obedience to the Pope, we read that “en cuanto se refiere al provecho de las almas y a la propagación de la fe; y [a ir] a cualquiera región a que nos quieren enviar” [3].³⁶ And members of the Society of Jesus are to “no pueda haber ambición o rechazo de tales *misiones* o destinos, prometa entienda cada uno que no deben tratar con el Romano Pontífice, directa o indirectamente, ni por sí ni por otro, nada que se refiera a esas *misiones*, sino que se ha de dejar todo este cuidado a Dios y al propio Pontífice, como Vicario suyo, y al Prepósito de la Compañía” [5]³⁷. Clearly, “the meaning of ‘mission’ in the *Formula of the Institute* is that of ‘sending,’”³⁸ the same meaning of the word “misiones” of the profession which the first Companions made at St. Paul Outside the Walls on April 22, 1541.³⁹ Of their vows, we read, “Insuper promitto specialem oboedientiam Summo Pontifici circa *misiones* in bulla contentas.”⁴⁰ All of these actions and motivations of the Society of Jesus were sprung out from the one vocation, that was, “servir en misión.”⁴¹

³² P. ARRUPE, “Inspiración Trinitaria del Carisma Ignaciano,” [71].

³³ S. MADRIGAL, “‘Servir a Dios’ y ‘ayudar a las ánimas’: Misión, ecclesiología ignaciana y misiones,” *ZMR* 90 (2006) 165 – 182, 176.

³⁴ A. ALDAMA, *Missioning*, 9.

³⁵ I. SALVAT, *Servir en misión universal*, 85 – 94.

³⁶ *Constituciones de la Compañía de Jesús y Normas Complementarias*, 31 – 32.

³⁷ *Constituciones*, 32 – 33. Italics are mine.

³⁸ A. ALDAMA, *Missioning*, 10.

³⁹ *IBID.*

⁴⁰ *MCo* I, 67 and 68.

⁴¹ I. SALVAT, *Servir en misión universal*, 94.

In the *Spiritual Exercises*, Ignatius envisioned the “mission” of members of the Society of Jesus as being sent by Christ throughout the world to spread the sacred doctrine to all nations and all human conditions. “Considerar cómo el Señor de todo el mundo escoge tantas personas, apóstoles, discípulos, etc., y los envía por todo el mundo” [Ej 145]. The grace which one then asked for was “ser admitido debajo de la bandera del Hijo y Señor” [Ej 147]. In the *Constitutiones circa Missiones*, this “sending” grace was specified with concrete place and purpose. We read in the fourth chapter that the one to be sent,

parece ser mucho conveniente o necesario le sea declarada enteramente su misión y a qué effecto, por escritura alguna, porque puedo mejor entender, cumplir y effectuar su misión conforme la su vocación a maior gloria de Dios nuestro Señor.⁴²

In the *Constitutions*, Ignatius recovered the term “mission” in its original Latin meaning of “to be sent” or “sending” to appoint Jesuits to their apostolic works and expeditions according to what the Holy Father or the superior of the Society may order [Co 82.92.308.588].⁴³

Later, Nadal extended the meaning of “mission” further to include the sending of Jesuits out to preach, to other colleges, on probation and pilgrimages.⁴⁴ He also clarified the distinction and the relationship between the two terms “pilgrimage” and “mission.” In the *Scholia*,⁴⁵ we read:

Ad finem illum magnum Societatis semper spectandum et contendendum erit, qui non tantum est ut nostri in domibus habitent et inde civitatem vel oppidum vel etiam finitimos pagos iuvent; sed ut peregrinationibus professi et coadiutores exercentur, quae ex missione vel Summi Pontificis vel Superiorum nostrorum suscipiuntur, ut subsidium animabus feratur, ubiubi quacumque occasione, quacumque causa auxilio spiritus opus erit; sive ad

⁴² MCo I, 161, lines 57 – 59.

⁴³ A. ALDAMA, *An Introductory Commentary on the Constitutions*, IJS, 249.

⁴⁴ MNad IV, 503-505; cf. 557 and 663.

⁴⁵ “Los *Scholia in constitutiones et declarationes S. P. Ignatii* son observaciones sobre las dificultades [de Nadal] y de otros durante la promulgación de las *Constitutiones* en España durante 1553 – 1554. La segunda CG (1565) propone dichos *Scholia* como norma directiva. Nadal los corrige incluso después de la tercera CG” (R. MARYKS, “Nadal, Jerónimo,” *DEI*, II, 1315 – 1318, 1317).

idololatrâs mittamur, sive ad mahometanos vel haereticos, sive ad christianos qui penuria pastorum vel negligentia pereunt vel periclitantur.⁴⁶

Thus, “peregrination” is done “quae ex missione.” In other words, “‘mission’ is the action of sending on the ‘pilgrimage’ or apostolic journey.”⁴⁷ Furthermore, in his other writings, Nadal seemed to use the two terms interchangeably, thus explicitly made the connection between them, when he declared that both in “mission” and in “pilgrimage,” the most perfect houses for the professed fathers of the Society of Jesus was found.⁴⁸

The integration of the *Constitutiones circa missiones* into Part VII of the *Constitutions* in 1545 under the newly adopted title, “Del repartir y emplear los incorporados en la Compañía en la viña de Cristo,” further broadened the meaning of “mission” in the Society. Here we read:

Así en esta séptima, de lo que para con los prójimos, que es fin muy propio de nuestro Instituto, repartiéndose los de la Compañía en la viña de Cristo para trabajar en la parte y obra de ella que les fuere cometida, ahora *sean enviados* por orden del Vicario Sumo de Cristo nuestro Señor *por unos lugares y otros*, ahora por los Superiores de la Compañía, que asimismo les están en lugar de su divina Majestad, ahora ellos mismos escojan dónde y en qué trabajar, siéndoles dada comisión para discurrir por donde juzgaren se seguirá mayor servicio de Dios nuestro Señor y bien de las ánimas, *ahora el trabajar no sea discurriendo, sino residiendo firme y continuamente en algunos lugares*, done mucho fruto se espera de la divina gloria y servicio [Co 603]. (*Italics are mine*)

⁴⁶ *Scholia*, 145.

“We have to look up and strive for that great aim of the Society, which consists of not so much in living in houses and therefrom helping the city or town or even the neighboring villages, as in being engaged in *pilgrimages undertaken through a mission* from the Holy Father or from our own superiors to help souls anywhere, on any occasion, in any way, whether we be sent to pagans, to Muslims, to heretics, or to Christians who perish or who are in danger because they lack shepherds or are neglected by them” (A. ALDAMA, *Missioning*, (I. Echániz, transl.), 12). Italics are mine.

⁴⁷ A. ALDAMA, *Missioning*, 12

⁴⁸ “Ultimam ac perfectissimam Societatis habitationem dicimus peregrinationis professorum” (*MNad V*, 195). And “ultimus locus ubi nostri versantur, et quidem amplissimus sunt missiones” (“De professione et choro,” *MNad IV*, 178).

Thus, mission was understood not only in traveling from places to places, but identified by ministries and services provided by Jesuits residing steadily and continually in certain places.

Under the Generalate of Father Diego Laínez (1558 – 1565), Jesuit apostolic expeditions such as going out from the colleges to preach in neighboring towns were also called “missions.”⁴⁹ Father Francis Borgia (1510 – 1572), the third Superior General (1565 – 1572), used the word “mission” not only to mean the act of sending itself, but also to refer to the effect of the sending.⁵⁰ In 1576, José de Acosta (1540 – 1600)⁵¹ understood “missions” as “excursiones et peregrinationes quae oppidatim verbi divini causa suscipiuntur.”⁵² A few years later, Everard Mercurian (1514 – 1580), the fourth Superior General (1573 – 1580), explicitly identified “missions” as “expeditiones apostolicae iussu Summi Pontificis vel Superiorum Societatis susceptae, ad maiorem Dei gloriam et animarum auxilium ut plurimum *extra loca residentiae nostrae*.”⁵³ However, it wasn’t until the Twenty-Seventh General Congregation (1923), “mission” was formally used to denote territory within the

⁴⁹ *MLain* VIII, 169-171 and 351; *MNad* III, 5, 6, 508, 781.

⁵⁰ In a letter written to Nadal in 1566, Borgia mentioned to Nadal that there was a request from Frankfurt to send some “as though on a mission” (*MNad* III, 12).

⁵¹ José de Acosta as a great missionary to Peru where Borja sent him in 1571. He was a successful missionary in adapting the Christian faith to the native culture, namely, composing catechist material into the native languages: quechua and aymara, promoting education for the native and their ordination to the priesthood among the *indios* and the *mestizos*. His *De procuranda indorum salute* was the first book written by a Jesuit in the Americas. He served as the second provincial of Peru. Resentment of not being appointed provincial of Spain and discontent with Aquaviva as the General, whom he considered to be “absoluto y tiránico en demasía,” he was instrumental in orchestrating Pope Clement VIII (1592 – 1605) to order Aquaviva to summon the Firth General Congregation (1593) to examine the conduct of the General. After the Congregation whose members completely voted in the General’s favor, Acosta reconciled with Aquaviva. He spent his remaining days in as rector of Salamanca and consultor of the province (C. M. BURGALETA, *José de Acosta, S.J. (1540 – 1600): His Life and Thought*, Jesuit Way, Chicago 1999; J. BAPTISTA, “Acosta, José de” *DHCJ*, I, 10 – 12; J. ACOSTA, *Obras de P. José de Acosta*, ed. F. Mateos, Atlas, Madrid 1954; Y. ALAOUI, *Jésuites, morisques et indiens: étude comparative des méthodes d’évangélisation de la Compagnie de Jésus d’après les traits de José de Acosta (1588) et d’Ignacio de la Casas (1605 – 1607)*, Honoré Champion, Paris 2006).

⁵² J. ACOSTA, *De procuranda indorum salute*, ed. L. Perefia et al., Salamanca 1589, republished by CSIC, Madrid 1984, Book V, ch. 21.

⁵³ *Epitome of the Institute*, n. 612, §1. Italics are mine.

governmental structure of Society such as “Provinces, Vice-provinces, and Missions.”⁵⁴

In summary, for the early Society, “mission” was understood in its triple meanings, namely, “personal, operativo y territorial.” Accordingly, for their mission, Jesuits received personally “un ‘envío’ personal, que les lleva a desempeñar;” operationally “una tarea al servicio de la propagación de la fe que practica;” and geographically, “un determinado territorio.”⁵⁵ In turn, “mission” understood in these meanings determined Jesuit vocation starting from admission to the Society, its formation, its organization, and the life within it.⁵⁶

Regarding the General Congregations of the Society of Jesus, though missionary activities in the “mission” outside of Europe in the Early Society were energetic, vibrant, and not without tension, intriguingly, almost none relating to neither missionary activities nor missionaries were mentioned in the first seven general congregations (1558 – 1616). Such a silence seems baffled considering this time period was the period that marked some of the major landmarks of the history of mission in the Society of Jesus and in the Church for that matter. Just to name a few, they are: the first Jesuit entry into China (1583), the deeper penetration of Jesuit missionaries into the interior of Brazil (1586), into the inland of India (1606), the founding of the Paraguay Reduction (1610). Certainly, the congregation fathers did not lack the information since the archive of the Society shows a massive collection of reports of Alessandro Valignano (1539 - 1660)⁵⁷ from Far East Asia, the treatises

⁵⁴ We read in the Title 3 of the Twenty-seventh General Congregation (1923), “the Governance of Provinces, Vice-Provinces, and Missions” (*For Matters of Greater Moment*, 582).

⁵⁵ M. SIEVERNICH, “La misión y las misiones en la primitiva Compañía de Jesús,” 255, 272 – 3.

⁵⁶ 260 – 3.

⁵⁷ A full treatment of Valignano’s biography and his important role in the policy of Jesuit accommodation in the Far East will be made later in the chapter.

of Mateo Ricci (1552 – 1610) from China, and the writings of José de Acosta (1540 – 1600) from Latin American during this period.⁵⁸

Curiously, only few places where matters of the mission were mentioned in the first few general congregations. They were: Decree 130 of the First General Congregation (1558), responding to the “request of the Portuguese fathers” in the Indies, promised sending more “manpower ... insofar as is possible;”⁵⁹ the Second General Congregation (1563) before ended offered six Jesuits to the papal service in the crusade effort taken by Pope Pius IV (1499 - 1565) and King Felipe II (1527 – 1598);⁶⁰ Decree 21 of the Seventh General Congregation (1615 – 1616) ruled that “missionaries scattered throughout various provinces should be subject to the assistants and to the provincials in whose provinces they reside;”⁶¹ finally, the Decree 86 of the same congregation wisely decided to entrust the solution to the question “whether permission to preach the Gospel should be sought from the ruler of China” in the “prudence of the fathers of the Chinese mission.”⁶²

The silence of those early general congregations on the “mission” though surprising could be explained by two reasons. Firstly, it is noted that “general congregations until recent times dealt preponderantly with governance and internal affairs, leaving mission discussion to other occasions.”⁶³ Secondly, following the first line of reason, discussions on matters of mission while never made to the decree of those congregations were being done in other forms of gathering or forum in the

⁵⁸ C. STARKLOFF, “Pilgrimage Re-envisioned,” 9.

⁵⁹ *For Matters of Greater Moment*, 100.

⁶⁰ 6.

⁶¹ This decree responded to the tension existed between Jesuit missionaries of English origins who lived in Spain at the time. The questions were whether superiors of the same nationalities be appointed to preside over them? Also whether they should be exempted from the jurisdiction of assistants, provincials, and local superiors of the province where they reside (*For matters of Greater Moment*, 256).

⁶² *For matters of Greater Moment*, 276 – 277.

⁶³ C. STARKLOFF, “Pilgrimage Re-envisioned,” 9.

Society. One of such examples is illustrated in “un significativo documento de 1558 sobre las misiones de infieles” in which topics such as the institution of bishopric in Japan, admission of the “indígenas” to the Society, and their ordination to the priesthood were discussed.⁶⁴ Most notably, the document was dated to be around the time of preparation and celebration of the first General Congregation that took place in Rome from June 19th until the 10th of September of 1558.⁶⁵ However, none of its contents is found in the decree of the Congregation. J. Padberg has recently provided a possible explanation for this absence in his introduction to the full collection and translation of the first thirty congregations. There, we read:

A full scholarly history of the general congregations does not yet exist. To produce one would involve research not only on the decrees of the congregations but also on their *acta*, the secretarial report of their day-to-day proceedings, and on whatever *postulata* still exist among those submitted to and accepted or rejected by the congregations. Such *acta* and *postulata*, lodged in the archives of the Society of Jesus in Rome, have never been fully investigated; they await their historians.⁶⁶

1.1.2 Outline of Part III

Part III of this investigation will not attempt to look for those *acta* and *postulata* to examine how the topic of “mission” was treated or not treated during those congregations. What Part III will be doing consists of going over the existing materials that were documented, investigated and published over the formative period⁶⁷ of the Society of Jesus that lasted through the first five Superior Generals of the Society (1541 – 1616). In the meantime, the investigation will study how the

⁶⁴ P. LETURIA, “Un significativo documento de 1558 sobre las misiones de infieles de la Compañía de Jesús,” *AHSI* 8 (1939) 102 – 117, n.8° and n. 17°.

⁶⁵ P. LETURIA, “Un significativo documento de 1558,” 105.

⁶⁶ *For Matter of Greater Moment*, xii.

⁶⁷ Scholar like Alden has divided the history of the old Society into three periods: (1) the formative period (1540 – 1615), when most of the major policies that guide the Society were formulated; (2) the period of stability (1615 – 1704), when few changes in the Society occurred; and (3) the period of stress (1704 – 1773), when the Society was overwhelmed with severe challenges from European monarchies (D. ALDEN, *The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire, and Beyond 1540 – 1750*, Stanford University Press, Stanford 1996, 230).

Society's policy of "guided adaption" was formed on the two different levels. First, how had this policy been envisioned and instructed from the Jesuit curia, the central government of the Society? Second, how had it been implemented and practiced on the field? It was the interaction between these two levels that constantly shaped the Society's ongoing process of adapting itself to its mission of evangelizing the Christian faith in Far East Asia. This particular time frame was chosen because it was during this period when the Society's policy of mission "de significado excepcional, sirven de puente con el carisma fundacional y orientan definitivamente la misionología futura."⁶⁸

As one could see, such a time period is enormous and extensive for any type of studies or investigation, and certainly beyond the scope of this investigation. Therefore, this investigation will narrow its focus concentrating solely on the Society's policy of adaptation and accommodation on its mission in the Far East Asia beginning with India, subsequently Japan, China, and Vietnam. The Jesuit mission in Asia was chosen due to the fact that it was there where Jesuits encountered a rich and diverse cultural context, which they gradually recognized as neither European subjects nor commodities at the time, but somewhat equal or even surpassed that of Europe.⁶⁹ More especially, it was the historical and cultural context that gave birth to the work and writings of Alexandre de Rhodes (1591 – 1660), whose method of evangelization remains one of the central themes of this part of the investigation.

To achieve this objective, this part will be divided into two chapters. Chapter 5 will examine and demonstrate how the Society of Jesus' method of "guided

⁶⁸ J. LÓPEZ GAY, "Misionología," *DHCJ*, III, 2696 – 2711, 2699.

⁶⁹ P. ARANHA, "Gerarchie razziali adattamento culturale: la 'Ipotesi Valignano,'" *Alessandro Valignano S.I. Uomo del Rinascimento: Ponte tra Oriente e Occidente*, IHSI, a cura di A. Tambruello et als., IHSI, Vol. 65, 77 – 98, 95. (I am grateful to Fr. Vittorio Liberti, S.J., for helping me on the Italian texts in this investigation).

adaptation” first had been envisioned and instructed by Ignatius during his time as the first General of the Society of Jesus. Then after Ignatius, how such a method and policy had been formed and advanced in the cultural diversity of the Society under the next four generals. Consequently, the Jesuit policy of adaptation in Asia during the first seventy-five years of the Society’s existence serves as an example of the Jesuit “way of proceeding” that remains active and flourishing in its mission throughout the world.

The Jesuit mission in Cochinchina and Tonkin (modern Vietnam), which began right at the end of the seventy-five year period studied in Chapter 5,⁷⁰ serves as an ideal mission to evaluate how had the Jesuit method of adaptation advanced and taken effect in the Society’s mission in Asia. Therefore, Chapter 6 will first study how had the Society of Jesus as a Society of Catechist entered in the social and cultural context of Vietnam at the beginning of the seventeenth century. From the background materials presented in Chapter 6, Chapter 7 will re-read and study Alexandre de Rhodes’ life and his *Catechismus* of Alexandre de Rhodes (1591 – 1660), “founder of the Vietnamese Christianity,”⁷¹ under the light of Ignatian spirituality.

Overall, in re-examining the Jesuit method of adaptation exemplified by the works of Jesuit missionaries in Asia, specifically that of Alexandre de Rhodes, Part III of the investigation hopes to provide new light and insight for how the God-centered multicultural paradigm which remained at the heart of Ignatian spirituality had been adapted to the context of Asia in general and in Vietnam in particular. Without any

⁷⁰ Francesco Buzoni (1576 – 1639) and other Jesuit companions first arrived in Cochinchina (modern Viet Nam) in 1615 (*Voyages*, 51 – 54, 57, 87 – 90 (Vietnamese), 67 – 70, 72, 116 – 120 (French); J. RUIZ DE MEDINA, “Buzomi, Francesco,” *DHCH*, I, 586; H. CHAPPOULIE, *Aux Origines d’une Église: Rome et les Missions D’Indochine au XVII Siècle*, 2 vols. I, Bloud et Gay, Paris 1943, 22 – 26; P. PHAN, *Mission and Catechesis: Alexandre de Rhodes and Inculturation in Seventeenth-Century Vietnam*, 10; W. BANGERT, *A History of the Society of Jesus*,” 249).

⁷¹ P. PHAN, *Mission and Catechesis*, xxii – xxiii and 202.

further introduction, this investigation will now turn its attention to how the mission of the Society of Jesus in Asia and its method of adaptation had been envisioned and instructed by its founders.

CHAPTER 5

WISELY IGNORANT: *Jesuit Method of Cultural Accommodation in the Indies*

*Ignacio seguía al espíritu, no se le adelantaba. Y de ese modo era conducido con suavidad adonde no sabía. El no pensaba por entonces en fundar la Orden. Y, sin embargo, poco a poco, se le abría el camino y lo iba recorriendo, **sabiamente ignorante**, puesto sencillamente su corazón en Cristo.*

J. Nadal, *Diálogos*, n. 17, FN II, 252

INTRODUCTION

The expedition of Admiral Vasco da Gama (1460 o 1469 - 1524) landed the first Portuguese to India in 1498.¹ Later, Afonso de Albuquerque (1453 – 1515) led a successful battle conquering the City of Goa on November 25, 1510 to “lay the foundation of the Portuguese Empire in India.”² However, the presence of Christianity in India is dated back from the time of St. Thomas, the apostle. Numerous Christians were found during these Portuguese expeditions.³

Though Franciscan’s and the Dominican’s presence were found between 1290s and 1350, established and organized missionary activities of the Latin Church did not begin until the beginning of sixteenth century when the Order of the Capuchins pioneered their mission in India in 1501.⁴ Later came the Jesuits (1542), the Dominicans (1548), the Recollect Franciscans (1566), the Augustinians (1572),

¹ A. D’ORSEY, *Portuguese Discoveries, Dependencies and Missions in Asia and Africa*, W. H. Allen & Co., London 1893, 29 - 32; C. MERCÊS DE MELO, *The Recruitment and Formation of the Native Clergy in India (16th – 19th century): an historico – canonical study*, Agência general do ultramar, Lisboa 1955, 9; G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier*, II, 138 – 141.

² A. D’ORSEY, *Portuguese Discoveries*, 33 – 34; C. MERCÊS DE MELO, *The Recruitment and Formation*, 11.

³ A. D’ORSEY reported that “the Portuguese found 200,000 Christians on their first expedition to India” (62); whereas, C. MERCÊS DE MELO states that there were 30000 Christians of the Syro-Chaldean rite in South India (5). D. ALDEN concurred with Melo’s number (42).

⁴ A. D’ORSEY, *Portuguese Discoveries*, 79; C. MERCÊS DE MELO, *The Recruitment and Formation*, 8; D. ALDEN, *Making of an Enterprise*, 42 – 3; H. HERAS, *The Conversion Policy of the Jesuits in India*, Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay 1933, 16; G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier*, II, 145 – 6.

the Discalced Carmelites (1607) and others.⁵ The Diocese of Quilon was erected by Pope John XXII (1249 - 1334) on August 9, 1329 consisted of all the medieval mission regions of India and Southeast Asia.⁶ Later, the Diocese of Goa which was erected by the Papal Bull *Aequum reputamus* on November 3, 1534⁷ and Archdiocese in 1558 extended from the Cape of Good Hope to the boundaries of China.⁸

All the secular clergy and religious living in the Indies from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century worked under the authority of the Portuguese *Padroado* (“Patronage”). Since the early of fifteenth century, various Kings of the Portuguese Crown strove to exert influence on religious matters on their home territory as well as those newly conquered. Step by step, the Holy See through various Papal Bulls yielded to the Portuguese Kings’ power entrusting them the task of evangelization of the Indies.⁹ More specifically, the Holy See granted the right of patronage over the Bishopric and all the benefices of the Diocese of Goa to the Kings of Portugal. In return, the Kings were to construct, manage and maintain all religious buildings and all that were needed for the care of souls in the territory of the diocese. In addition, the Kings retained the right to propose to Rome lists of desired church officials and

⁵ C. MERCÊS DE MELO, *Recruitment and Formation*, 45 – 46; D. ALDEN, *Making of an Enterprise*, 43.

⁶ <http://www.apostolicnunciatureindia.com/history.htm> read online on January 3, 2011.

⁷ Pope Clement VII (1478 – 1534) first erected the Bishopric of Goa on January 31, 1533. However, he passed away before having published the Bull of erection. His successor, Pope Paul III published the Bull *Aequum reputamus* to officially erect the Diocese of Goa. The same Bull insisted on taking the original date as the real date of erection, January 31, 1533 (C. MERCÊS DE MELO, *Recruitment and Formation*, 12 -13).

⁸ C. MERCÊS DE MELO, *Recruitment and Formation*, 13.

⁹ In 1444, Pope Eugenio IV (1383 - 1447) first officially granted the right of commercial and converting of the natives on the conquered territories to the Portuguese (“Padroado (Patronato) Português,” *DHCJ*, III, 2943 – 5, 2943). Later, two Bulls were written under the Pontificate of Pope Nicholas V (1397 – 1455), namely *Dum Diversas* in 1452 and *Romanus Pontifex* in 1455 addressed to King Afonso V (1432 – 1481) allowing the Portuguese to build churches in the newly conquered territories as well as those in the future and giving them permission to nominate church officials and prelates for these territories. In 1456, Bull *Inter Coetera* written under the Pontificate of Pope Callistus III (1378 – 1458) confirmed these decisions. “These Papal Bulls marked the beginning of the Portuguese Padroado of the Orient” (*The Jesuits, the Padroado and East Asian Science (1552 – 1773)*, edited by L. SARAIVA and C. JAMI, World Scientific Publishing Co., New Jersey 2008, ix). More on the Padroado, please read R. ANTÓNIO DA SILVA, *O Padroado Português do Oriente, Esboço Histórico*, Agência Geral das Colónias, Lisbon 1940.

ecclesiastical Prelates for those territories. Under the Portuguese *Padroado*, “Church and State worked hand in hand” to assure the wellbeing of all the Portuguese subjects both in its home territory and those were newly conquered.¹⁰ How had the Jesuit mission policy during the Society’s formative period (1541 – 1616) applied and practiced in the Indies served as the purpose for this chapter.

Chapter outline

The development of the Jesuit method of cultural accommodation in the Indies during the Society’s formative period (1541 – 1616) will be divided and studied in four sections. The first section will examine how the Indies Province of the Society of Jesus had been found and formed during this period. Also, this part will also take a close look at the difficulties and challenges of Jesuit governance and communication due to the physical barriers and distance of the Indies. The second section will study how Ignatius as the first General Superior of the Society of Jesus (1541 – 1556) envisioned and instructed Jesuit mission and cultural practices in the Indies. The third section will examine how Jesuit method of cultural accommodation progressed during the time of consolidation and implication under the three succeeding Generalates, namely that of D. Laínez, F. Borja, and E. Mercurian (1558 – 1580). Finally, the fourth section will evaluate the Jesuit method of cultural accommodation according to its trials and triumph under the Generalate of Aquaviva (1581 – 1615).¹¹

¹⁰ C. MERCÊS DE MELO, *Recruitment and Formation*, 13, 17; *The Jesuits, the Padroado and East Asian Science (1552 – 1773)*, ix footnote 1.

¹¹ The three Generalates, that of Laínez, Borja, and Mercurian, are grouped together due to the fact that these three Generals were directly trained by Ignatius and had worked side by side with him for a period of time in their Jesuit formation; whereas Aquaviva was not. D. Laínez was one of the “siete primeros” that included Ignatius during their time of studies at the University of Paris (J. GARCÍA DE CASTRO, “Los primeros de París,” *Man* 78 (2006) 253 – 275, 258). As the General Superior of the Society of Jesus, Saint Ignatius admitted Borja into the Society in October 1546 and insisted that his admittance must be kept in secret “porque el mundo no tiene orejas para oír tal estampido” (*Epp* I, 444). In 1552, after having been summoned to Rome by Ignatius, Mercurian was appointed minister of the professed house and work closely with the house’s superior, Ignatius himself (M. FOIS, “Everard Mercurian,” *The Mercurian Project*, 4). Aquaviva entered the Society of Jesus in 1567, more than than

Furthermore, in each of these sections, a brief historical overview of the Society's worldwide mission will be provided first. Only then, examination on Jesuit policy from the Society's central government will be made and followed by what being implemented and practiced in the Jesuit mission in the Indies. How adaptable and accommodated Jesuit policy was will be examined in two aspects. First, concerning Jesuit missionaries, how had they perceived and undertaken the natives' language, custom and culture so to adapt and accommodate their teachings to them? Second, concerning the natives, how had Jesuit missionaries envisioned the role of the natives in the evangelization process so to appropriately train them to be future leaders of the church?

1. THE INDIES PROVINCE OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS (1541 – 1616)¹²

The Jesuit mission in the Indies began with the Jesuit who was sent by Ignatius on the second thought. In 1540, King John III (1502 – 1557) of Portugal had petitioned Pope Paul III (1468 – 1549) to send some of the “Parisian priests” as papal legates to India to provide spiritual care for the native converts there.¹³ At the papal commission, Ignatius agreed to send Simão Rodrigues (1510 – 1579) and Nicolás Bobadilla (1509 – 1590) as specifically requested by Dom Pedro Mascarenhas (1470 - 1555), the King's ambassador to the Holy See.¹⁴ However, Bobadilla who had been working in the Kingdom of Naples at the time, upon being called by Ignatius returned

years after Ignatius' death (M. FOIS, “Aquaviva, Claudio,” *DHCJ*, II, 1614 – 1612, 1614). A fuller bibliography on each of the generals will be provided later in their respective segment.

¹² The 18 volumes of *Documenta Indica (DI)* 1540 – 1597 (J. WICKI, ed.), the 3 volumes of *Monumenta Historiae Japoniae (MJap)* 1547-1562, (J. SCHÜTTE, ed.) and 1 volume of *Monumenta Sinica (MSin)* (1546-1562) (J. WITEK and J. SEBES, eds.) published in the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu (MHSI)* serve as excellent primary sources. G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier*, 4 volumes and J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano's Mission Principles. Part I and Part II* and many other recent researches are among secondary sources. All are either cited or consulted for this investigation.

¹³ G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier I*, 547 – 9; *The Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier*, (M.J. COSTELLOE, transl. and intro.), IJS, Saint Louis 1992, xv.

¹⁴ Rodrigues was specifically chosen because he was the only Portuguese among the Parisian masters while Bobadilla's choice was due to the ambassador's love for his lectures on the Epistle to the Romans (G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier I*, 549; *MBob* 618).

to Rome with a grave bout of fever, of which the house physician declared that he could not survive a trip to Portugal.¹⁵ As a result, Ignatius who concurred with the physician's assessment had to look for another companion to replace him.¹⁶

1.1 Francis Xavier (1506 – 1552): the pioneer

Master Francis Xavier, the secretary of the Society at the time was chosen for this task because he was “the only one of the Parisian masters who had not as yet been promised [to any other apostolate].”¹⁷ Ignatius' words of commissioning Xavier in one of the most unexpected circumstances and Xavier's immediate response of readiness have become the model for apostolic availability in the Society of Jesus. The context was dramatic, thus, worth retelling. Ignatius who was sick in bed at that time called the secretary and told him:

Maestro Francisco; ya sabéis cómo por orden de Su Santidad han de ir dos de nosotros a la India, y que habíamos elegido por uno a maestro Bobadilla, el cual por su enfermedad no puede ir, ni el embajador aguardar que sane; esta es vuestra empresa!

Upon hearing Ignatius' words, Xavier replied:

Pues, ¡sus! Heme aquí.¹⁸

Moreover, Polanco observed the manner and attitude in which Xavier responded to Ignatius' words were “con gran alegría se ofreció para partir luego, y así lo hizo.”¹⁹

Francis Xavier's journey and mission to the Indies have become a legend and a “true epic” of the modern world (see Map 1).²⁰ On March 15, 1540, accompanied

¹⁵ *MBob* 22 and 618;

¹⁶ *IBID.*

¹⁷ G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* I, 553 – 4.

¹⁸ G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* I, 553 – 4; *FN* II, 381. In Ribadeneyra's *Vida de San Ignacio* of 1585, we read a slightly different version of the story. Here, Ignatius' words read: “Bien sabeys, hermano Maestro Francisco, que dos de nosotros han de pasar á la India por orden de Su Santidad; y que Bouadilla que para esta empresa estaua señalado, no puede partir por su enfermedad, ni tampoco el Embaxador, por la prisa que á él le dan, le puede esperar. Dios se quiere servir en esto de vos, esta es vuestra empresa, á vos toca esta misión.” And to this Xavier responds, “Heme aquí, Padre, aparejado estoy” (2, 16).

¹⁹ *FNI*, 232.

by the ambassador, Xavier set out for the Indies through Portugal where he arrived in June of the same year.²¹ He spent the next year hearing confessions, preaching and giving the *Exercises* in the court, in the city, and in the prison of the Inquisition while waiting for a ship to take him to India.²² On April 7, 1541, Xavier who was appointed as papal nuncio in the Indies began his journey to India with two other companions.²³ After having spent the winter in Mozambique, Xavier and his companions arrived Goa on May 6, 1542.²⁴

During the ten years since his arrival in Goa until his death on the island of Sancian, a Portuguese trading station off the Chinese coast, on December 3, 1552,

²⁰ G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier I*, xxx – xxxi. Since Francis Xavier is very well known, a brief bibliography will suffice. He was born in the Castle of Xavier near Sangüesa, northern Spain on April 7, 1506 in an affluent aristocratic family. His father, Dr. Juan de Jassu, was president of the Royal Council of Navarre and the Lord of Xavier, Azpilcueta, and Idocin; his mother, Doña María de Azpilcueta, of the Basque origin and daughter of the royal chamberlain. For the first nine years of his life, Xavier grew up and was educated with his four siblings in the well-protected and prosperous Castle of Xavier despite all the political conflicts and warfare that took place around him. After having finished his studies in the castle, Xavier left to study at the University of Paris in the summer of 1525. In 1526, Xavier met and befriended with Pierre Favre, and in 1529, roomated with Iñigo de Loyola. He completed his studies and received a Master of Arts degree in 1530. Then, he worked as an instructor in the College of Beauvais from 1530 to 1534. At the beginning of the summer of 1533, Xavier decided to joined Iñigo and other companions with whom he deliberated their future and committed himself to the vowed life of service in 1534. Later of that year, he made the *Exercises* with Ignatius. In June 24, 1537 Xavier was ordained alongside with Ignatius, Rodrigues, Laynez, Bobadilla, and Codure. After his ordination, Xavier and Bobadilla headed to Bologna and returned to Rome in April 1538. He served as the secretary during the first companions' deliberation to found the Society of Jesus in 1539. He continued serving in this position until Ignatius sent him to the Indies (A. BROU, *Saint François Xavier: Conditions et méthodes de son apostolat*, Museum Lessianum Publications, Bruxelles 1925. G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier: His Life, His Time*, 4 vols., transl. M. J. Costelloe, transl., IHSI, Rome 1973 – 1982; E. ALONSO ROMO, *Los escritos Portugueses de San Francisco Javier*, Universidade do Minho, Braga 2000; F. XAVIER, *The Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier*, ed. M.J. Costelloe, IJS, Saint Louis 1992; L. SZILAS, "Francisco Javier 1506 – 1552," *AHSI* 59 (1990) 257 – 278; *Monumenta Xaveriana. Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii aliaque Rius scripta (MXav)*, 2 vols., Roma 1944 – 1945; X. LÉON DUFOUR, *San Francisco Javier: Itinerario místico del apóstol*, M-ST, Bilbao – Santander 1998).

²¹ G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier I*, 559 – 603.

²² G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier I*, 604 – 712; *MXav* 35 – 67.

²³ G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier I*, 724 – 9; *MXav* I, 91. The two companions were Misser Paulo, an Italian priest who had entered the Society in 1540 and Francisco Mansilhas, a young Portuguese who had studied but not yet passed the first level of Latin in Paris, who later was ordained in Goa (G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier I*, 720; *The Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier*, xv).

²⁴ G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier II*, 102 -132; *MXav* I, 119 – 25.

Francis Xavier had traveled about “100,000 kilometers”²⁵ [See Map 1] splitting his time between “long and difficult voyages at sea and his extended delays in Portuguese harbors” and the actual work of catechism, preaching and teaching newly converted Christians.²⁶ Schurhammer succinctly summarized Xavier’s untiring spirit and epic journey in the epilogue at the end of his four monumental volumes on Xavier’s life and time. There we read:

In [Xavier’s] extensive travels, he was not motivated by a spirit of adventure. He was duty bound to interest himself in the actual and potential Christians of the East. It was on this account that he sailed at the first opportunity to the Fishery Coast and dedicated his first years to the abandoned Paravas. Then, when he heard of the neophytes in Macassar, he wished to be also of assistance to them; and he asked for light on this difficult decision at the tomb of the apostle in São Tomé. As soon as he heard in Malacca that there was already a priest in Macassar, he sailed to Amboina, and then on to the Moluccas in order to work there among the native Christians. On his return to Malacca, he met a fugitive Japanese who aroused his interest in Japan. After providing for the cares of India, he went to the Land of the Rising Sun and remained there for more than two years. There he learned of Japan’s great cultural dependence upon China; and he there conceived the plan of first carrying the faith to China, since Japan would then follow its example.²⁷

During the final days of his life, Xavier found himself suffering from hunger, cold, illness, poverty, and solitude in the remote Sancian Island. There, we are told of the few murmuring words in his dying breath, “in te, Domine, speravi, non confundar in aeternum.” Francis Xavier passed away before dawn on Saturday, December 3, 1552. He was forty-six years old.²⁸

Xavier’s *peregrinatio* was truly a work of a pioneer as observed by M. Etienne Lamy:

It was like the glance of a general who reviews the battlefield, chooses the locality for his troops and decides about the means of action to be employed...

²⁵ X. LÉON DUFOUR, *San Francisco Javier: Itinerario místico del apóstol*, M-ST, Bilbao – Santander 1998, 19.

²⁶ G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier IV*, 648.

²⁷ 648 – 9. For a complete summary of his life with references to original sources, also see L. SZILAS, “Francisco Javier 1506 – 1552,” *AHSI* 59 (1990) 257 – 278.

²⁸ G. SCHURHAMMER, “The Death of Francis Xavier (December 3, 1552),” *Francis Xavier IV*, 640 – 3.

An organizer, he willed not so much to exercise immediate action in one definite place as to take stock of the action to be carried through in the whole of the East... Immediately, along the ways which he had trodden, Jesuits follow; everywhere they march forward at once with élan and with method, and their enterprises are like the work of zeal which reflection guides but does not hampers.²⁹

Among the treasures which Xavier left us, two hundred and twenty-seven letters of invaluable experiences, instructions, and insights into the Jesuit mission in the Indies.³⁰ Francis Xavier was beatified on October 25, 1619 and canonized on March 12, 1622 by Pope Gregory XV (1554 – 1623), ten years after his death.³¹

1.2 A quick overview of the development of the Indies Province from 1552 - 1616

Xavier's tireless labor across Maritime Asia between India, Southeast Asia, and Japan opened new mission fields for the Society of Jesus in Asia. Since its establishment in 1549³² until the death of Fr. Claudio Aquaviva (1543 - 1615), the fifth general of the Society of Jesus, the Indies Province which extended from India to Japan, including China, the Moluccas, Malacca, and Southeast Asia (except the Philippines which belonged to the Spanish Indies³³) had not only grown in its size and number, but also enriched the encounter of the Gospel with cultures outside of Europe.

During this seventy-five year period, there were more than one hundred groups of Jesuits of various nationalities who sailed from Portugal to the Indies.³⁴

²⁹ C. MERCÈS DE MELO, *The Recruitment and Formation*, 16 referenced to *La France au dehors. Les Missions Françaises au XIX siècle. I – Mission de Orient*, sous la direction de P. PÈRE, Librairie Armand Colin – 1900, Introduction par M.E. Lamy.

³⁰ E. ALONSO ROMO, *Los escritos Portugueses de San Francisco Javier*, 82.

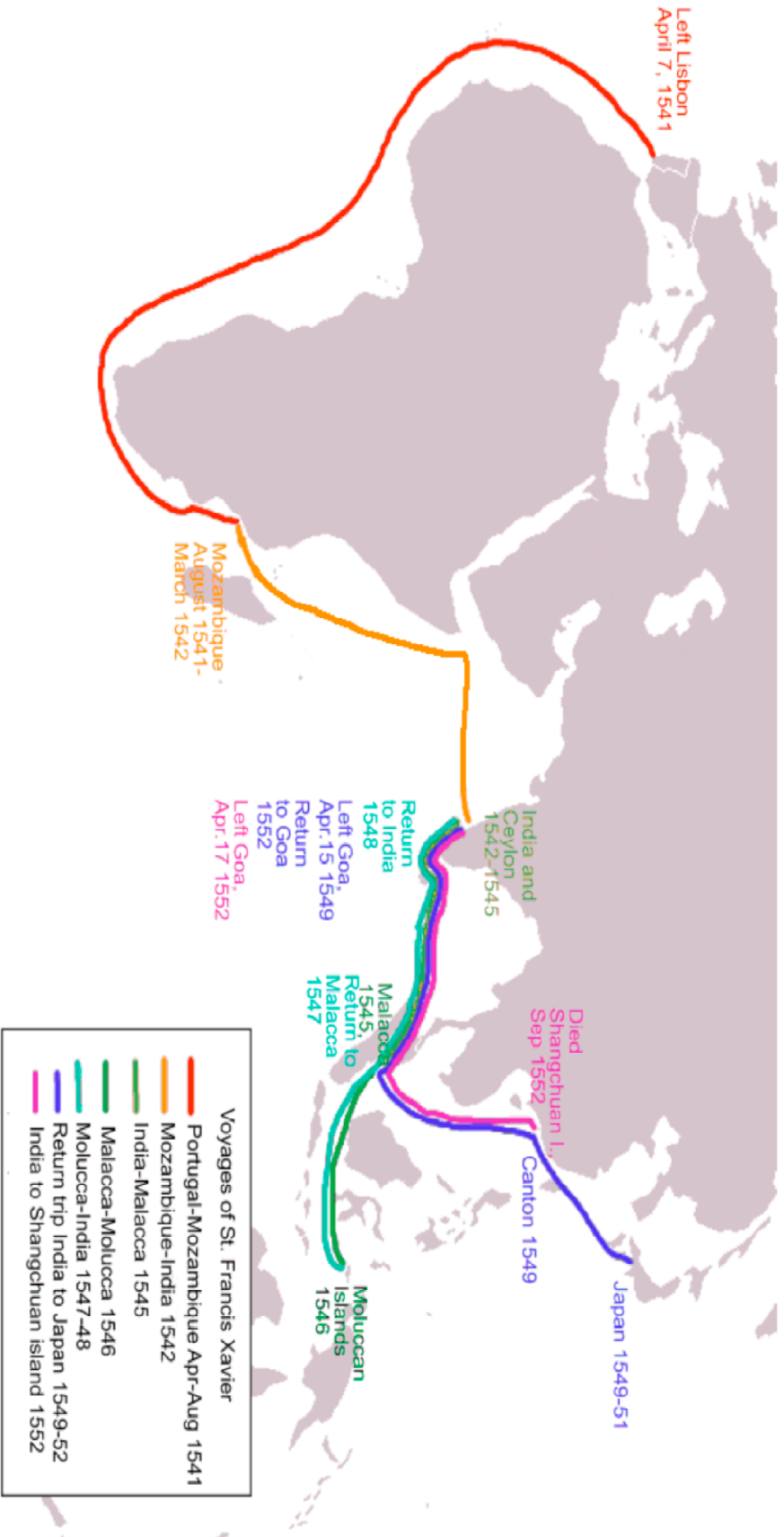
³¹ G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier IV*, 648.

³² G. SCHURHAMMER, "The Appointment as Provincial," *Francis Xavier IV*, 336 – 9; L. Szilas, "Francisco Javier 1506 – 1552," 277; *The Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier*, xx. In a letter that was dated October 10, 1549, written in Latin and signed by Ignatius, Xavier was appointed the provincial of the Indies Province that consisted of "India and other regions across the sea which are subject to the most serene king of Portugal and beyond them" [lands such as Japan and China]. Xavier did not learn of the letter until December of 1552 (G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier IV*, 336).

³³ W. BANGERT, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, 167.

³⁴ 149.

M. 1 Voyages of Francis Xavier (1541 - 1552)*



*Sources: http://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Archivo:Xavier_f_map_of_voyages_asia.PNG. Downloaded on December 9, 2010.

From 1540s until 1602, more than 250 Jesuits safely arrived to Goa, the “principal reception for partially prepared recruits arriving from Europe.”³⁵ It was the labor of these Jesuits, known and unknown, that built this mission to be one of the most successful in the history of the Society of Jesus. There, Jesuit missionary activities operating out of Goa continued to spread out to its neighbor vicinity, namely the great Mogul and the Malabar. The new approach Robert de Nobili (1577 - 1656) to evangelization initiated one of the major breakthroughs in mission history,³⁶ particularly in the Jesuit effort of penetrating deeper into India’s mainland, namely, the Madurai mission from 1607 - 1612.³⁷

In Japan, thanks largely to the policy of adaptation applied by Alessandro Valignano, the Visitor of all Jesuit mission in the East Indies,³⁸ Jesuits began reaping its fruits. In 1614, Jesuits opened a novitiate for native vocations to the Society and two seminaries for the secular priests. By 1613, nine Japanese Jesuit priests were ordained; in 1606 three native secular priest.³⁹ When the Jesuits left Nagasaki, there were about 300,000 Christians living in various provinces of Japan.⁴⁰ In China, Jesuits’ dream of reaching the capital became a reality. In 1609, Jesuits had residences in two imperial capitals (Peking and Nanjing), as well as two provincial

³⁵ D. ALDEN, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 47.

³⁶ 152.

³⁷ R. DE NOBILI, *Preaching Wisdom to the Wise: Three Treatises by Robert de Nobili, S.J., Missionary and Scholar in 17th Century India*, 3 – 4; W. BANGERT, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, 149 – 54. Also see D. ALDEN, *Making of an Enterprise*, 44 – 55 (on the growth of Jesuit mission in India) and 151 – 2 (on Robert de Nobili).

³⁸ Fr. Everard Mercurian, the fourth general of the Society of Jesus, appointed Alessandro Valignano to be the visitor of all Jesuit missions in the East Indies except the Philippines on September 20, 1573 (J. WITEK, “Mercurian and the Entry of Jesuits into China,” *The Mercurian Project*, 815 – 829, 822.

³⁹ J. MORAN, *The Japanese and the Jesuits: Alessandro Valignano in sixteenth-century Japan*, Routledge, New York 1993, 161. Bishop Cerqueira ordained to the priesthood two Japanese Jesuits (Kimura Sabastião and Niabara Luís) in 1601, three more (Hara, Nakaura, and Itō) in 1608, and four more between 1610 and 1613. He also ordained five Japanese. By the time of the 1614 expulsion, there were fourteen Japanese priests in the country. Also see D. ALDEN, *Making of an Enterprise*, 59 – 66.

⁴⁰ M. A. ÜÇERLER, “The Jesuit Enterprise in Japan (1573 – 1580),” *The Mercurian Project*, 831 – 875, 832; W. BANGERT, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, 154 – 7. Christian communities and Jesuits were found in Shimo (Western Japan) and Bungo. The Shimo region consisted of the provinces of Hizen, Chikuzen, Higo, and Satsuma.

cities. Leading by the genius work of Mateo Ricci, Jesuits successfully established their networks among the ruling class and high-rank mandarins. In 1605, there were fewer than one thousand Chinese Christians.⁴¹ By 1610, that number is reported to be double.⁴²

The growth of the Indies Province is part of the rapid growth of the Society's mission worldwide. In fact, the expansion of the Society during its first seventy-five years accounted for more two-thirds of its total maximum geographical size of the Society prior to its suppression in 1767.⁴³ How did the young Society maintained its charism and union in its global existence given the geographical expansion and separation? In other words, was there a common policy or the *modo de proceder* on the mission out of which all Jesuit missionaries operated and functioned? Equally important, how had the Jesuit mission in the Indies in return shaped the structure and the charism of the Society of Jesus?

1.3 The Indies in the *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*

The Indies, which was the third born province of the Society of Jesus,⁴⁴ hold one of the highest priorities in the *Constitutions* of the Society of Jesus. Generally, regarding discernment where Jesuits should be sent, the *Constitutions* insist on the principle of the “more universal the good is, the more is it divine” [621]. For Jesuits, this principle ought to serve as “the guiding norm” to keep “before [their] eyes” [621]. In the same paragraph, the Indies were explicitly identified as the “more universal good” on the same level of “important cities” and “universities [of] numerous persons.” Thus, the Indies together with “important cities” and “universities,”

⁴¹ L. BROCKEY, *Journey to the East*, 53.

⁴² W. BANGERT, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, 160; D. ALDEN, *Making of an Enterprise*, 66 - 71

⁴³ S. HARRIS, “Mapping Jesuit Science: The Role of Travel in the Geography of Knowledge,” *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540 – 1773*, (J. O'Malley et als., eds.), University of Toronto Press, Toronto 1999, 212 – 240, 222.

⁴⁴ *Chron* I, 360. Only after Portugal and Spain.

according to the *Constitutions*, would merit highest priority on where and how the Society of Jesus would distribute its human power and resource [621].⁴⁵

Looking from a different perspective, strategically, the Indies along with “important cities” and “universities,” played essential role in the embodiment of the innate universality character of the Society of Jesus. Due to its physical and cultural make-up, the Indies remained one of the significant settings where the Society of Jesus embodied its cultural diversity. Thus, its governance was called to adapt and to accommodate. Its union confronted, maintained and cultivated in the midst of the existing cultural plurality in the Indies. Springing from the graces of their founders and the charism of its Institute as demonstrated in the part II of the investigation, Jesuit method of cultural adaptation and accommodation was born and served as one of the ways to achieve the Society’s universalism concerning its mission in the Indies.

The *Constitutions* not only explicitly recognized the Indies as one of its highest priority on the Society’s distribution of human power and resource, but also dedicated its energy and effort in training Jesuits for the mission there. Concretely, the language of the Indies was to be taught in Jesuit schools [447] where those who are sent to the Indies ought to learn it [449]. Jesuit governance and administration in the Indies require special adaptation and accommodation, particularly regarding dismissal of Jesuits [208], admitting Jesuits to profession [517], mission and daily order of individual Jesuit [633], frequency of communication [679], representatives in of an administrative assistant to the general from the region [803]. All of these serve as the concrete framework and explicit expression of how the Society of Jesus strives to accommodate and to adapt its life and mission to the Indies.

⁴⁵ For in depth political analysis of this Ignatian principle of “el bien quanto más universal es más divino,” please read D. BERTRAND, *La Política de San Ignacio de Loyola. El análisis social*, M-ST, Bilbao – Santander 2003, 604 – 634.

The Jesuit method of cultural accommodation and adaptation, which is rooted in the *Constitutions*, reflects in Ignatius' letters and instructions to Jesuits who were working in the Indies during his generalate. Since the *Constitutions* were officially approved only more than a year early,⁴⁶ Ignatius who wrote Miguel de Torres (1509 – 1593),⁴⁷ the provincial of Portugal from 1555 until 1561, from Rome on November 21, 1555, indicated that besides the necessity of sending Jesuits “que tenga talento apropiado,”⁴⁸ “las constituciones muestran mucho desear en la India.”⁴⁹ Due to its lacking, Ignatius recognized that “alcunas vsanças que se han introducido *(l.r.) en aquel collegio, no conformes á estas nuestras constituciones.”⁵⁰ Therefore, Ignatius continued,

será menester suauemente, y sin uiolentia ni desedificación, quitarlas ó *accomodarlas*: á lo menos tener ojo á esto, para que con tiempo se uaya conformando lo de allá con lo de la Compañía uniuersal, quanto suffriere la disposición diuersa de la tierra.⁵¹

1.4 Jesuit union and governance contested

1.4.1 Jesuit union and governance

Because of the Society's *peregrinatio* nature and mission-oriented character, Jesuits are to “spread out in diverse parts of the world among believers and

⁴⁶ The *Constitutions* were approved and confirmed by the authority of the Apostolic See by Pope Paul III's Bull, *Iniunctum Nobis*, issued on March 14, 1544 (*The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and Their Complementary Norms*, xv).

⁴⁷ Miguel Torres was born in Zaragoza, Spain. He entered the Society in Rome as a priest in 1546. Before entering the Society, he was the chair and rector of the Art School of the Saint Idelfonso College of the Universidad de Alcalá from 1536 to 1538. In 1540, he went to Rome in the legal process taken against Juan de Tavera, the Archbishop of Toledo at the time. In Rome, he met and made the Spiritual Exercises with Saint Ignatius and decided to enter to Society of Jesus in 1542. He returned to Sapin in 1546 and together with Francis Borja remained Jesuits “en secreto.” Ignatius had great trust in M. Torres naming him the first provincial of Andalucía (1554 – 1555), provincial of Portugal (1555 – 1561). From the time of being provincial of Portugal until 1571, he also served as the confessor of Queen Catalina, who did not allow him to leave Portugal when General Borja wanted to name him the Visitor of Castilla and Toledo in 1566. He attended both the first and the third General Congregation in 1558 and 1573 respectively. In 1578, he retired to Spain and served as a superintendent for a college in Madrid (J. MARTÍNEZ de la ESCALERA / J.M.^a DOMÍNGUEZ, “Torres, Miguel de,” *DHCH*, IV, 3824).

⁴⁸ *Epp* X, 171.

⁴⁹ 176.

⁵⁰ *Epp* X, 176.

⁵¹ *IBID*. Italic is mine.

unbelievers” [Co 655]. As a result, for the Society of Jesus to be preserved and governed, so to attain the aim it seeks for the greater glory of God, its members “are united among themselves with their head” [Co 655]. According to the *Constitutions*, the office of the Superior General serves as that “head” from which all authority of the Society flows, all the matters concerning Jesuit mission are commissioned and approved [666]. In fact, “the Superior General is a source of unity in the universal body of the Society” decreed by the recent 35th General Congregation of the Society of Jesus.⁵²

Furthermore, to assist the Superior General to fulfill his responsibility of governing, the *Constitutions* insist that he is to be “frequently informed by the provincials” [790] “about everything” [792] “once a week if facilities for this exist, once a month where such facilities are lacking” [674]. In return, he is to “write to the provincials his opinion on the matters which have been communicated to him” [790] “ordinarily once a month” [674]. The *Constitutions* recognizes how essential this correspondence network remains in Jesuit governance so much so that the *Constitutions* establish the office of the secretary to the general and clearly define its role and responsibility to provide better administrative control and to assure its efficiency [800. 801.802].

Upon the information received and consultation sought, he is to make certain “provisions where it is proper, either through himself or through the helpers” [790]. The *Constitutions* clearly state that “the general ought to exercise this authority personally” [747]. However, having been aware of “urgent cases in which delay is impossible without notable inconvenience... especially in far-distant places such as the Indies,” the Superior General is “able to exercise [his authority] through ...

⁵² GC 35, D. 5, n. 7 (*Jesuit Life & Mission Today*, 770).

[giving] special commission to someone in whom he has confidence as in himself” [747]. The office of the Visitor was born out of this necessity serving as one of Father General’s helpers regarding the Jesuit mission in the Indies during the time period of this investigation.⁵³

The challenges pertaining union and governance of the young Society of Jesus regarding its mission in the Indies seem almost unfathomable. Recalling the fact that the *Constitutions* of the Society, though its first drawing had been composed and signed by Xavier and the companions in 1540, two years prior to his departure for the Indies,⁵⁴ was ratified by the Roman Curia only two years after his arrival in Goa in 1544.⁵⁵ In fact, Xavier had to give his written approval for the *Constitutions*, to cast his vote for the first general of the Society, and to pronounce his vows all in advance.⁵⁶

Moreover, “las regiones que llaman Indias” did not exist in the *Formula del Instituto de 1539*, but only appeared later on both that of 1540 and 1550.⁵⁷ In other

⁵³ Detailed study on the historical development of the office of the Visitor in the Society of Jesus is found in G. PHILIPPART, “Visiteurs, commissaires et inspecteurs dans la Compagnie de Jésus de 1540 a 1615,” *AHSI* 37 (1968) 3 – 128. Alessandro Valignano was perhaps the most important Visitor of the Society during this period instrumental in initiating and implementing the cultural adaptation policy in Japan and China. A more detailed bibliography of Valignano will be provided later in the chapter. For more information on Jesuit governance, please see A. ALDAMA, *El General de la Compañía de Jesús, su persona y su gobierno; Comentarios a la Parte IX de las Constituciones*, CIS, Roma 1982; D. FLEMING, “Spiritual Government: from Liberty to Freedom,” *The Way Sup* 61 (1988) 48 – 61; H. GRAY, “An Experience in Ignatian Government: Letter to a New Rector,” *SSJ* 14 (1982) 1 – 33; E. ROYÓN, “Un gobierno espiritual y apostólico,” *Man* 66 (1994) 283 – 296; U. VALERO, “El gobierno de la Compañía de Jesús al comienzo del tercer milenio,” *Man* 76 (2004) 5 – 23; ID., “Gobierno,” *DEI*, II, 914 – 921; Decrees 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, and 26 of the 34th General Congregation and Decree 5 of the 35th General Congregation, all of which can be found in *Jesuit Life & Mission Today*.

⁵⁴ The composition was approved and signed by the six early companions, namely, “Ynigo, Johannes Coduri, Simon Roderici, Alphonsus Salmeron, Claudius Jaius, [and] Franciscus” on March 4, 1540 (*MCo* I, LXI); the English translation could be found in G. Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier* I, 550 – 1.

⁵⁵ The *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus* was officially approved and confirmed by Paul III’s *Iniunctum Nobis* on March 14, 1544 (“Preface to the First Edition of the Constitution,” *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and Their Complementary Norms*, xv – xx, xv).

⁵⁶ G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* I, 554 – 5.

⁵⁷ “Formula del Instituto: Texto paralelo de las tres redacciones,” *Constituciones de la Compañía de Jesús: Introducción y notas para su lectura*, (S. ARZUBIALDE, ed.), M-ST, Bilbao – Santander 1993, 30 – 40, 33. “Aunque nos envíen a los turcos, o a cualesquiera otros infieles, incluso los que viven en las regiones que llaman Indias...”

words, the birth and the development of the Jesuit mission in the Indies represented a part of what the newly born Society of Jesus was graced and wrestling with. Therefore, Jesuits did not have any preceding blueprints or in-place structure to follow in their encounter with the cultural diversity in the Indies. What they possessed and relied upon consisted of the grace and the vision that were handed down through the *Spiritual Exercises* and the living experiences of the mission. Thus, what was later known as Jesuit policy of cultural adaptation and accommodation resulted from a long and messy ongoing process that involved errors and grace, failures and successes, daring and fear. Desirably, such a process actively engaged various levels of governance in the Society from the office of the superior to the Jesuits who labored on the mission field as outlined in the *Constitutions*.

In this chapter, Jesuit policy and practice of cultural adaptation or failure thereof will be examined from the three particular levels of Jesuit governance: first, the high level taken from the instructions of the general superior of the Society; second, the middle level the instructions or guidelines recommended by the delegate of the general superior, namely, the visitor to the mission; third, the ground level the implementation and practice of Jesuits on the field. All will be divided and examined in chronological order. However, before going further, it is important to consider the physical context in which these interactions were taking place and the cultural diversity/adversity that existed among Jesuits who dedicated themselves to the labor of the Indies mission of the Society of Jesus.

1.4.2 Physical distance and its hardships

The physical distance and condition of the journey, which Jesuits had to endure in their traveling to the Indies, presented one of the greatest physical hardships of the mission. The voyage from Western Europe to East Asia during this period

lasted “not weeks, but months or years.”⁵⁸ In fact, it took Xavier one year and one month to reach Goa from Lisbon.⁵⁹ Along the long distance came the enduring physical and emotional hardship. Natural calamities, shipwrecks, seasickness, and piracy were all part of the treacherous journey.⁶⁰ Just to have some kind of idea of what an experience of seasickness and its effect on the passengers, we read from Schurhammer’s description of the voyage:

Seasickness took its toll of victims. Only the sea-hardened boatsmen and sailors and a few of the voyagers were spared. The majority of the latter were afflicted with a violent gagging and retching, a loss of appetite, and a general distress and feeling of exhaustion.⁶¹

For some, the condition lasted for a few days. For others, it could range from a week to forty-five days, even two months.⁶² On the same journey made later, Valignano attested, “even the greatest heroes became pale, and no one could help another.”⁶³ Consequently, at the beginning of their seasickness, many already regretted for having made the trip since “if they had know what it was, they would not have gone to sea for all the treasures of India.”⁶⁴

The long distance and dangerous condition of the journey from Europe to the Indies made communication, which Jesuit governance heavily depends upon, utterly challenging. Thus, letters sent to Europe from the Indies were made into various copies and sent on different routes.⁶⁵ Lost and delay communications were common, thus expected. Information from Lisbon to Beijing via Goa took two years each way,

⁵⁸ L. CLOSSEY, *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2008, 46.

⁵⁹ His fleet left Lisbon on April 1541 did not arrive Goa until May of 1542 (G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* II, 3 and 151 respectively).

⁶⁰ L. CLOSSEY, *Salvation and Globalization*, 49; G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* I, 11.

⁶¹ G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* I, 11.

⁶² G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* I, 11, footnote 74.

⁶³ ARSI: *Goa* 12, 195v. I read it in G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* I, 11, footnote 74.

⁶⁴ G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* I, 11, footnote 74.

⁶⁵ E. ALONSO ROMO, *Los escritos portugueses de San Francisco Javier*, 83 – 84.

sometimes even longer.⁶⁶ Even within the continental Europe, communication was difficult. Ignatius acknowledged not only the distance from the Indies to Portugal but also the “dificultad de los pasos de Portugal a Roma.”⁶⁷ In fact, the *Constitutions* expected communication between Rome and remote regions such as the Indies “would not arrive for several years” [Co 517]. Accordingly, it has to make certain adjustments [Co 208. 447. 449. 517. 621. 622. 633. 679. 682.747.750.803]. Thus, delay communication was a reality with which Jesuits lived and dealt.

Xavier learned about Ignatius’s letter of appointing him to be the Provincial of the East two years later from the date on which the letter was written.⁶⁸ For the reason of distance, Xavier often referred to himself as Ignatius’ “hijo menor y en destierro mayor.”⁶⁹ Ignatius’ letter to call Xavier back to Europe was written in June 1553. Half of a year had passed since Xavier’s death.⁷⁰ General Láinez admitted Niccolò Lancillotti to his final vows in the Society of Jesus in August 1558, four month after his death.⁷¹ Schall von Bell (1591 – 1666), the Jesuit in Beijing wrote a letter dated March 15, 1655 to General Francesco Piccolomini (1582 – 1651), who on the date had been dead for forty-five months, his successor, General Aloysius Gottifredi (1595 - 1652), dead for thirthy-six months.⁷² In the letter dated January 20, 1548 written from Cochin, Xavier provided Jesuits in Rome a detailed explanation on the amount of time for the correspondence between India and Europe to take place. There we read:

⁶⁶ L. CLOSSEY, *Salvation and Globalization*, 46.

⁶⁷ *Epp* V, 148.

⁶⁸ Ignatius’ letter of appointment was dated on October 10, 1549. Xavier read the letter in December 1552 (G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* IV, 336).

⁶⁹ F. XAVIER, *Epistolae* II, 376; *MXav* IV, 556. How Xavier signed his letter to Ignatius in Rome dated April 9, 1552

⁷⁰ Ignatius’ letter calling Xavier back to Europe is found in *Epp* V, 148 – 151.

⁷¹ J. WICKI, “Lancillotto (Lancillotti), Nicolao,” *DHCHJ*, II, 2276. A more detailed bibliography on Lancillotti will be provided later in the chapter.

⁷² Schall von Bell, Beijing, to Piccolomini, March 15, 1655, ARSI JapSin 142, 45. I learned about this reference in L. CLOSSEY, *Salvation and Globalization*, 46, footnote 8.

Y para que sepáis quán apartados corporalmente estamos unos de otros, es que, quando en virtud de sancta obediencia nos mandáis de Roma á los que estamos en Maluco, ó á los que fuéremos á Japón, no podéis tener respuesta de lo que nos mandáis en menos de tres annos y nueve meses: y para que sepáis que es así como digo, os doy la razón. Quando de Roma nos escreuís á la India, antes que recibamos vuestras cartas en la India se pasan ocho meses; y después que recibimos vuestras cartas, antes que de la India partan los nauíos para Maluco, se passan ocho meses esperando tiempo: y la nao, que parte de la India para Maluco, en ir y tornar á la India pone XXI meses, y esto con muy buenos tiempos; y de la India, antes que vaya la respuesta á Roma, se passan ocho meses: y esto se entiende quando navegan con muy buenos tiempos; porque, á acontecer algún contraste, alargan el viage muchas vezes más de un año.⁷³

“The connection between Rome and the Indies,” noted Clossey, “was so tenuous that the only solution to the lack of information was a deeply disruptive recall of the principal missionary.”⁷⁴ Even that it was not a guarantee. Sometimes, not only information but also people’s lives were lost at sea. Fr. António Gomez (d. 1554), who was dismissed from the Society by Xavier,⁷⁵ died at sea on his way back to Rome to provide his own information.⁷⁶ In 1690, more than a century after the establishment of the Indies Province, it was estimated that out of more than six hundred Jesuits who were sent to China, only one hundred arrived.⁷⁷ Therefore, the materials presented and examined in this chapter must be considered in this context. They were only partially of what had been exchanged and communicated. And even if they had been exchanged and communicated, they were not done in the timely fashion as does in the modern time.

⁷³ *MXav* I, 437 – 8.

⁷⁴ L. CLOSSEY, *Salvation and Globalization*, 57.

⁷⁵ G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* IV, 478 – 480, 531 – 2, footnote 24.

⁷⁶ Polanco’s letter to the Vice-Provincial of the Indies, Gaspar Barzaeus, granting Fr. Gomez permission to come to Rome to give his own reason dated December 24, 1553. Fr. Gomez sailed from Cochin to Portugal on February 1, 1554. His ship was wrecked due to a heavy storm. His body was found among other passengers on April 23 of the same year (G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* IV, 532).

⁷⁷ L. CLOSSEY, *Salvation and Globalization*, 49 - 50.

1.4.3 Cultural diversity and adversity

Not only the long distance and the harsh condition of the journey, but also the cultural diversity and adversity posed great difficulties and challenges towards Jesuit union and governance. At the level of central government, cultural diversity acted as one of the major thrusts that drove the Third General Congregation (1573) towards electing the non-Spanish, Everard Mercurian (1514 - 1580), a Belgian, to be the Society's fourth General Superior.⁷⁸ Subsequently, cultural diversity served as one of the Mercurian's main motivations to name the Italian Alessandro Valignano to be the Visitor to all Jesuit missions in the Portuguese colonial empire in Asia in 1573, in order to free "the Indian province from an unwarranted tutelage on the part of the fathers in Portugal."⁷⁹ In doing so, General Mercurian wanted to inject more diverse cultures into the otherwise Portuguese's cultural monopoly on the Jesuit mission in the Indies. Therefore, it naturally followed that "other nations beyond Portuguese" served as the basis for Valignano's selection of Jesuits to accompany him to the mission of the Indies.⁸⁰ Cultural diversity was further enhanced since many of those whom Valignano selected were *confesi (nuevos cristianos)*.⁸¹

The diverse nationalities of the Jesuits whom Valignano brought with him to the Indies in 1590 helped to enhance the cultural diversity of the Jesuit population that

⁷⁸ Cultural and ethnical related issues such as Spanish dominance in Jesuit governance, membership of the New Christian in the Society were among some of the main challenges of the Third General Congregation (*For the Matters of the Greater Moment*, 6 – 8; M. FOIS, "Everard Mercurian," *The Mercurian Project*, 1 – 33).

⁷⁹ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano's Mission Principles for Japan: Volume I. From His Appointment as Visitor until His First Departure from Japan (1573 – 1582). Part I: The Problem (1573 – 1580)*, translated by J. Coyne, Gujarat Sahitya Prakash, Anand 1980, 82.

⁸⁰ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano's Mission Principles I*, 58 – 60, 88 – 91. It is noted here that "the general [Mercurian] had deliberately not included any Portuguese on the list of those destined for India" (60). Valignano's letter written to the General from Lisbon on February 8, 1574 echoed this cultural attitude (80 – 81).

⁸¹ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano's Mission Principles I*, 67. In return new remote frontiers for missionaries activities such as South America and the Indies provided a safe home for the New Christians who were often excluded in Europe (R. MARYKS, "Discrimination against Jesuits of Jewish Ancestry," 343).

was on the decline there.⁸² Demographic of Jesuit missionaries who sailed to the Indies via Lisbon from 1541 until 1580 showed 54.9% of Portuguese national, 28.3% Spanish, 12.4 % Italians, and 4.4 others. The decline in the number of non-Portuguese Jesuits, especially Spaniards, during the subsequent time period from 1581 until 1640 is evident. During this period, the Portuguese accounted for 63.8 %; whereas Spanish 4.4 %, Italians 26.8%, German 0.9%, and others 4.1%.⁸³ Austrians, Poles, Belgians, Swiss, Flemings, English and Irish Jesuits made up the “other.”⁸⁴ Moreover, though small in number, the presence of New Christian Jesuits, colonial-born white and mixed blood Jesuits, and non-white Jesuit added to the diversity of the Jesuit population in the Indies.⁸⁵

With diversity came tension and adversity. During Mercurian’s Generalate, the division among Jesuits, particularly rivalries between Spanish and Portuguese Jesuits, intensified so much so that the General Secretary, Antonio Possevino (1533 - 1611) wrote a *Memorial* in 1576 urging the General to write a “*lettera di unione*” to encourage “union and charity without distinction between races and nations,”⁸⁶ and to avoid a possible “irremediable schism” in the Society.⁸⁷ The drastic decline in the number of Spanish Jesuits who sailed to the Indies via Lisbon mentioned above confirmed this fiery rivalry during the formative period of the Society of Jesus. Aware of the national factionalism existed in the Society, Jorge Serrão, provincial of

⁸² A. ROSS, *A Vision Betrayed*, 40 – 42. It is here Ross not only defended Valignano from the accusation of Valignano’s anti-semitism but also praised Valignano’s multicultural mentality.

⁸³ D. ALDEN, *Making of an Enterprise*, 268.

⁸⁴ *IBID.*

⁸⁵ 257 – 266.

⁸⁶ D. ALDEN, *Making of an Enterprise*, 268.

⁸⁷ ARSI, Cong. 20/B, ff. 206 – 212, 206. More detailed information could be learned in ASTRAIN, III, 8; J. DONNELLY, “Antonio Possevino and Jesuits of Jewish Ancestry,” 10 – 11; *IBID.* “Antonio Possevino *From Secretary to Papal Legate in Sweden*,” *The Mercurian Project*, 323 – 349; M. Scaduto, “Possevino, Antonio,” *DHCJ*, IV, 3210 – 3203; T. COHEN, “Nation, Lineage and Jesuit Unity in Antonio Possevino’s Memorial to Everard Mercurian (1576),” *A Companhia de Jesus na península ibérica nos séculos XVI e XVII: Espiritualidad e cultura*, 543 – 61; *IBID.* “Racial and ethnic minorities in the Society of Jesus,” *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits*, 203.

Portugal from 1570 to 1574 insisted that “there must not be Italians nor Spaniards nor Portuguese but only perfection and the Company of Jesus.”⁸⁸ Disgruntlements and dissidents among Spanish Jesuits fighting for more authority independence from the central government under General Aquaviva (1543 - 1615), an Italian, were among the main reasons for summoning the Fifth (1593 – 1594) and the Sixth (1608) General Congregations.⁸⁹

The hostility and adversity among Jesuits of different nationalities did not confine to Europe but extended over to the Jesuit mission in the Indies and beyond the rivalry between Portuguese and Spanish Jesuits. In 1619, André Palmeiro (1569 – 1635), the Visitor of the Indies observed that “some Portuguese do not get on well with the Italians... one thing which [he] often hear and which [he] see[s] with [his] own eyes, is a source of discord.”⁹⁰ Quarrels between among Jesuits of different provinces in the Indies, namely, Japan versus China, Malabar versus Goa, and Goa versus the eastern provinces were common.⁹¹ Therefore, “it would be a mistake to think that from the outset Jesuit missionaries hit upon this formula [the method of cultural adaptation and accommodation in Far East Asia] or that they were unanimous in its acceptance.”⁹²

Hence, the Jesuit method of cultural accommodation in the Far East of Asia remained as an ongoing process of trials and triumphs, failures and successes. Its development must be considered and understood in the context of the physical distance of the Jesuit mission in the Indies in relation to the Society’s central

⁸⁸ D. ALDEN, *Making of an Enterprise*, 268; L. Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization*, 60.

⁸⁹ *For the Matters of the Greater Moment*, 10 – 14; D. ALDEN, *Making of an Enterprise*, 232 – 3; T. NEULINGER, “Renewing the Original Zeal: Comments and Observations on the Spiritual Writings of Claudio Acquaviva, S.J.,” *Ite Inflammate Omnia: Selected Historical Papers From Conferences Held at Loyola and Rome in 2006*, (T. McCoog, ed.), IHSI, Roma 2010, 149 – 158.

⁹⁰ D. ALDEN, *Making of an Enterprise*, 270.

⁹¹ 653.

⁹² G. DUNN, *Generations of Giants*, 14.

government in Rome, of the cultural diversity that existed among individual Jesuits and Jesuit provinces in the Indies, and of the adversity and challenges of both confronting the union and governance of the Society of Jesus.

2. THE GENERALATE OF IGNATIUS: *Vision and Inspiration*

2.1 Brief historical overview

After having together deliberated and adopted the name *Compañía de Jesús* for the group in 1537⁹³ and to remain as “un cuerpo” living under the vow of obedience in 1539,⁹⁴ and after having the Society of Jesus and its *Formula of Institute* approved by the Papal Bull *Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae* in 1540,⁹⁵ Ignatius and his first companions gathered and unanimously elected Ignatius as the first General Superior for the newly formed Society of Jesus in 1541.⁹⁶ Since being elected the first General Superior of the Society of Jesus until his death in 1556, Ignatius oversaw, directed and sent Jesuits onto various educational and foreign missions.

Under Ignatius’ leadership, Jesuits conducted retreats and diplomatic missions, reformed religious communities in various parts of the world, namely, France, India, Italia, Germany, Louvain, Portugal, and Spain in 1542; Ethiopia and Sicily in 1546; Colonia and Japan in 1547; the Grand Congo, Mauritania and Ceuta in 1548; Brazil in 1549; to Viena in 1552; to England and Polonia in 1555.⁹⁷ In other words, the Society’s *Constitutions*, its “nervatura y fundamentos,” were formed and

⁹³ Please refer to Chapter 3 of this investigation.

⁹⁴ Please refer to Chapter 3 of this investigation.

⁹⁵ Please refer to Chapter 4 of this investigation.

⁹⁶ At the time of election, Favre had left for various regions of Germany. Xavier and Rodrigues were in Portugal preparing to go to the mission in the Indies. Bobadilla was in Calabria at the papal request. Thus, only Ignatius, Jean Codure, Alfonso Salmerón, Diego Laínez, Paschase Broët, and Claude Jay were present in Rome for the election. Before leaving for the Indies, Xavier had casted his vote for Ignatius (*MXav* I, 814). Respectively, Favre sent his vote electing Ignatius (*MFab* 51 – 52). So did Rodrigues (*MBr* 519) and Bobadilla (*MBob* 619). On the first votes, Ignatius who was elected unanimously (except for his own vote) by the companions refused. Only with prayerful discernment and another round of unanimous votes, Ignatius accepted the position (R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 479 – 483).

⁹⁷ A. RAVIER, *Ignacio de Loyola*, 141 – 237; W. BANGERT, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, 22 – 45; J. BRODRICK, *The Origin of the Jesuits*, 103 – 218.

molded by the concrete experience of Jesuits *peregrinatio*. In return, after having drawn upon those experiences the *Constitutions* served as a guide pointing and directing Jesuits on their ever more expanding *peregrinatio*⁹⁸ or mission. At the death of Ignatius, there were approximately thirty-five professed fathers among the total of one thousand Jesuits who were living in twelve provinces: Portugal, Italy, Sicily, Upper Germany, Lower Germany, France, Aragon, Castile, Andalusia, the Indies, Ethiopia, and Brazil.⁹⁹

2.2 Knowledge of local cultures

To effectively govern and appropriately accommodate to its cultural customs and practices in the Indies, Ignatius insisted on the necessity of knowing the local cultures well first before making any decision. In the letter dated August 13, 1553 addressed to both Manuel de Nóbrega (1517 - 1570), the provincial of Brasil,¹⁰⁰ and Gaspar Barceo (1515 - 1553),¹⁰¹ rector of Saint Paul College and vice provincial of

⁹⁸ A. ALDAMA, *An Introductory Commentary on the Constitutions*, 12.

⁹⁹ *For Matters of Greater Moment*, 119.

¹⁰⁰ Manuel Nóbrega who came from Northern Portugal studied canon law in Salamanca from 1534 until 1538. Later, he attended and graduated from Coimbra in 1541. He was among the first five Jesuits who were sent to Brazil in 1549. A month after having arrived Bahia, he established the first house of the Society of Jesus there. From Bahia, he sent Jesuits to various places. In 1553, he was named provincial of Brazil and other extended regions in South America and served in this position until 1559. In 1553, he helped founding the modern day São Paulo. In 1567, he found the College of Rio de Janeiro where he served as the rector. As a missionary, he is known for his labor of reforming corrupted lives among European Christians who lived in Brazil and teaching catechism to the indigenous. Working tirelessly and suffering from unforgiving physical condition, his health deteriorated quickly. In 1568, he was once again named the provincial of Brazil, however, he was unable to take the responsibility due to health reason. He passed away in the same year completing his 53 years of age (J. VAZ DE CARVALHO, “Nóbrega, Manuel da,” *DHCJ*, III, 2826 – 7; His works included *Cartas do Brasil e mais escritos do Pe. Manuel da Nóbrega*, anot. e pref. Serafim Leite, Universidade, Coimbra 1955; *1570 Deaths: Joao de Barros, Manuel Da Nobrega, Moses Ben Jacob Cordovero, Daniele Barbaro, Cosme de Torres, William Herber*, Books LLC, 2010).

¹⁰¹ Gaspar Barceo, also known as Berze (Barzeu, Barzaeus), Gaspar (Jasper), was born in Goes, Holland. In 1536, he enrolled in the University of Louvain and completed a Master of Arts degree in seven months. A few days later, he enlisted and served in the army of emperor Charles V. Sicken with life in the army, he sought a life of a hermit in Montserrat but did not last long. He then went to Portugal and worked for Sebastião de Morais, the royal treasurer. At court he frequently met Simon Rodrigues, one of Ignatius’ first companions and other Jesuits through whose influence he entered the Coimbra Novitiate of the Society of Jesus in 1546. He was ordained to the priesthood in the same year. After having successfully served as a pastor in the area southeast of Coimbra, he was sent to India in 1548. From 1549 until 1551, Xavier sent him to work among Christians, Hindus, Muslims, and Jews

the Indies, we learned about Ignatius' emphasis on the need for detailed information on the local cultures and its place in Jesuit governance. Frustrating with the “informaciones muy imperfectas de las cosas” from these two places, Ignatius

ordena á [Nóbrega y Barceo] ,y á quien qu[i]era que tubiere cargo principal en esse collegio y los otros de la India, como prouincial, ó substituto del prouincial, que él tome cargo de ynbiar las letras de todos, y les haga scriuir algunos meses antes, *porque no se falte*.¹⁰²

The letter then goes on to instruct Jesuits who are responsible at length on what should be included in these reports. We read in the letter's next paragraph:

En las letras mostrables se dirá en cuántas partes ay residentia de los de la Compañia, cuántos ay en cada vna, y en qué entienden, tocando lo que haze á edificación; asimesmo cómo andan vestidos, de qué es su comer y beuer, y las camas en que duermen, y qué costa haze cada vno dellos. También, quanto á la región, dónde está, en qué clima, á cuántos grados, qué vecindad *(l.r.) tiene la tierra, cómo andan vestidos, qué comen etc. qué casas tienen, y cuántas, según se dize, y qué costumbres; cuántos xpianos. puede auer, cuántos gentiles ó moros; y finalmente, como á otros por curiosidad se scriuen muy particulares informaciones, asi se scriuan á N.P., porque mejor sepa cómo se ha de proueer;¹⁰³

The concluding sentence of the paragraph summarizes the purpose for which Ignatius demanded for such a detailed knowledge of the Indies, “porque mejor sepa cómo se ha de proueer.” Thus, for Ignatius, the better known the local cultures are, the more effective the Jesuit governance will be, and the need of Jesuits and their mission were better met.

Local cultures of the Indies can be communicated through experienced Jesuit missionaries, well-written reports, and from the natives themselves. In the letter dated

in the city of Ormuz. In 1552, Xavier called him back to Goa and named him rector of Saint Paul College and vice provincial of the Indies. Gaspar Barceo is considered as “el jesuita más importante después de Javier en la India portuguesa del siglo XVI” (D. ALDEN, *Making of an Enterprise*, 53; J. WICKI, “Berze (Barzeu, Barzaeus), Gaspar (Jasper),” *DHJ*, I, 427; G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* III, 496 – 501)

¹⁰² *Epp* V, 329 – 330. Italics are mine.

¹⁰³ *Epp* V, 329 – 330.

November 22, 1547 written from Rome addressed to Nicolao Lancilotto,¹⁰⁴ the rector of the College of Saint Paul of Goa, regarding his frustration on various practices in the College and how to accommodate them in India,¹⁰⁵ Ignatius first asked Lancilotto “to send a competent man who can faithfully report on the affair of the College and of India.”¹⁰⁶ In addition, he requested from Lancilotto a “full account of whatever it would be worthwhile to know such as climate, food, customs, and mentalities of persons and places, as well as whatever you think is needed for the worship of God and the help of souls *tota in India*.”¹⁰⁷ All of this were to be done *quae omnia diligenter scripta et ordinate veniant*.¹⁰⁸

Furthermore, personal reports from the natives themselves would be even more desirable. In the same letter, Ignatius further recommended to Lancilotto that “it will be a considerable help for understanding better the mentality of the Indians, if the man who comes [to give his personal account of India] to bring *quinque vel sex juvenes ex Indis* with him to Rome.”¹⁰⁹ The letter concluded in stating that decisions on “the manner of receiving boys in the college, supplications and public processions,

¹⁰⁴ N. Lancilotti who was personally acquainted with Ignatius, born in Urbino, Italy entered the Society in 1541 in Rome. Ignatius sent him to study in Coimbra, Portugal in 1542. There he was ordained priest in 1544 and missioned to the Indies. He arrived Goa in September 1545. He taught Latin and served as rector of Saint Paul College of Goa from 1545 until 1548. In 1549, Xavier sent him to start a small college for children in the Fishery Coast. He was named regional superior in the same year. From 1546, he contracted tuberculosis and terribly suffered from it. He died in 1558 in Quilon, India (J. WICKI, “Lancilotto (Lancillotti), Nicolao,” *DHCHJ*, III, 2276; G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier*, II, 594 footnote 247, III, 385 – 388, 570 – 1, 586 - 7).

¹⁰⁵ Among others, Lancilotto was frustrated with the lax practice of baptizing without instruction, the presence of pagans, Turks, and Moors at Mass, the participation of the pupils and priests in processions and with regard to burials in the college church (G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier*, III, 387).

¹⁰⁶ *Epp* I, 648. The letter is written in Latin originally. An English version of the letter can be found in *Ignatius of Loyola: Letters and Instructions*, 224 – 226, 224. “Expedire ergo videtur Patri nostro, vt istinc ad nos aliquem industrium virum mitteretis, qui de vestries et Indie rebus rationem...”

¹⁰⁷ *Epp* I, 649. “Deinde curate vt, de rebus vestries instructus, scriptum etiam copiose ad nos deferat quicquid scire precium opere sit, vt vestries et Indie rebus consulatur, puta de aëris temperie, victu, moribus et ingeniis locorum ac hominum, tum de his, quae vobis necessaria ad Dei cultum et animarum auxilium istic viderentur et tota in India...”

¹⁰⁸ *Epp* I, 649, “Carefully and methodically.”

¹⁰⁹ *Epp* I, 650, “Iuuerit etiam non parum, tum vt ingenia indorum melius cognoscamus, tum vt moueantur magis hi, penes quos summa rerum hic est, vt ille, qui huc est venturus, *secum quinque vel sex juvenes ex Indis* adducat...” Italics are mine.

funerals, and the constitutions for founders” must wait “until we are more fully informed about affairs there.”¹¹⁰

Given the distance of the Indies, demand for accurate information on its local cultures remained essential. Three times in his letter dated June 28, 1553 written from Rome recalling Xavier back to Europe *en virtud de santa obedientia*, Ignatius stressed on the fact that the King of Portugal, the Apostolic See and the Society of Jesus would be better served on the matter concerning the Indies by someone who “sabe por experiencia las cosas de allá [las Indias] tam bien como [Xavier].”¹¹¹ Because of his long experience and his well knowledge of the local cultures of the Indies, his presence in Europe “aunque sea para tornar presto á la India,” and his words can be a greater service for not only the Indies, but also that of Ethiopia, Congo, and Brazil, even “el mayor seruicio de Dios N.S. y ayuda de las ánimas en esas regiones.”¹¹²

Ignatius not only expected Jesuits to be knowledgeable on the local cultures of the Indies, he himself also showed a great deal of respect and interest on the cultures of the Indies and the lives of Jesuits there. We read from the testimony of Gonçalves da Câmara (c. 1519 - 1575)¹¹³ in his *Memorial*:¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ *Epp* I, 650, “Quod attinet ad modum suscipiendi pueros in collegio, quodque ad supplications vel processions publicas, et funera, et ipsas demum constitutiones fundatorum ad mos transmissas, suspendenda erit sententia donec ab eo, qui huc mittetur, exactius vestries de rebus instruamur, simulque quae mens sit Regis Portugaliae inteligamus. Poteritis interim eundem modum, quem hactenus tenuistis, tenere.”

¹¹¹ *Epp* V, 150.

¹¹² 149 - 150. Italics are mine.

¹¹³ Da Câmara who was a member of the Portuguese nobility, entered the Society in 1545. Early, Xavier knew him during his studies in University of Paris. Favre had won him over to the practice of weekly confession and Communion at the Carthusians in 1535 (G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* III, 220). After a year in the Society, he was ordained a priest and named rector of Coimbra in 1547. From 1548 until 1553, he involved in some pastoral work around Coimbra. In 1533, he came to Rome to report on the troubling affairs of the Portuguese Province, one of which specifically involved with the removal from provincial office of Simão Rodriguez, one of Ignatius’ first companions. He stayed in Rome until October 1555. In October 1554, he was named minister of the Roman House where Ignatius as the house superior and the Society’s first Superior General lived. He left Rome for Portugal in 1555. During his time working as the minister, Ignatius dictated to him what came to be known as

Cuando yo [Cámara] fuí de aquí, hablábamos nuestro Padre y yo muchas veces de los hermanos de Portugal y de la India, alegrándose en extremo de oír cómo comían, cómo dormían, cómo se vestían y otras particularidades y menudencias grandes; tanto que un día preguntándome muchas cosas de los de la India, dijo: Cierto, yo me holgara de saber, si posible fuera, cuántas pulgas les muerden cada noche.¹¹⁵

Similar interest and wisdom echoed in Xavier's attitude and action. Responding to Jesuits who had complained that he had traveled around too much, Xavier remained adamant deeming his voyages necessary. We read in his justifying words,

If I had not traveled to those lands, I would not know their needs, and how could I take care of them and, from practical experience, be able to tell the priests how they should conduct themselves, since experience is one of the principle parts of prudence?¹¹⁶

2.3 Cultural training and instruction for Jesuits who were sent to the Indies

2.3.1 On qualities expected from a Jesuit

Jesuits were trained and formed available and ready to be sent “en misión universal.” Thus, according to the *Constitutions*, those entered the Society had to go through a long formation process that consisted of “largas probaciones, diversos experimentos, múltiples ejercicios de abnegación y de toda clase de virtudes, también los estudios prolongados y llevados fundamentalmente.”¹¹⁷ For Jesuits who were to be

his *Autobiografía* (FN I, 324). After the death of Ignatius, he returned to Rome in 1558 to attend the first General Congregation where he was elected the Assistant for Portugal. In 1559, he returned to Portugal and served as tutor and confessor for the young king Sebastian and at the Portuguese court. He remained in this post until his death in 1575 (C. de DALMASES, “Introducción,” *Obras de San Ignacio*, 75 – 93, 75; *Ignatius of Loyola: Letters and Instructions*, 622; *Saint Ignatius of Loyola: Personal Writings*, 3 - 8).

¹¹⁴ Besides of writing down what Ignatius dictated to him, Da Câmara also kept a journal recording various things, which Ignatius said and did during his time as the minister of the Roman House (see footnote above). Some twenty years later, at the request of General Mercurian, supplemented the entries on that journal by writing a commentary on his own entries under the title *Algunas cosas que o Padre Luis Gonçalves notou na vida de mosso Padre Ignacio* (*Obras de San Ignacio*, 78 footnote 20). All of these text together are now known as the *Memoriale*, the English version is entitled Remembering Inigo. The original text can be found in FN I, 508 – 752 (*El Peregrino. Autobiografía de San Ignacio de Loyola*, 13, footnote 1; *Ignatius of Loyola: Letters and Instructions*, 622; *Recuerdos Ignacianos. Memorial de Luis Gonçalves da Câmara*, (B. HERNÁNDEZ MONTES, versión y comentarios), M-ST, Bilbao – Santander 1992).

¹¹⁵ *MScripta* I, 196.

¹¹⁶ G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* III, 389 – 90.

¹¹⁷ J. GRANERO, *La acción misionera y los métodos misionales de San Ignacio de Loyola*, El Siglo de los Misiones, Burgos 1931, 125

sent to the mission abroad, in addition to these trainings, they had to commit themselves to learning the language of the mission where they were to be sent [Co 449]. Observing Ignatius' method of training Jesuit missionaries, Granero notes:

Se imponía naturalmente una selección del personal todavía más esmerada, un más atento cuidado para obviar los peligros que rodean a la vida religiosa, una formación más orientada hacia el fin del misionero.¹¹⁸

For those who were to be sent to the Indies, Ignatius remained cautious and selective. Even after having had Jesuits going through rigorous courses of training, Ignatius relied on seasoned Jesuits who had personally experienced the local cultures and known what to expect to make the recommendation and selection. In the above-mentioned letter, Ignatius called Xavier back to Europe *in virtud de santa obediencia* partly because

También sabéis lo que importa para el bien de las Indias que las personas que se imbian allá sean idóneas para el fin que se pretende en unas partes y otras. Para esto seruirá mucho vuestra venida á Portugal y por acá; porque, no solamente se mouerían muchos más á desear de yr allá, pero aun de los que ay mouidos ueriades quiénes son al propósito para yr ó no; quiénes para una parte, quiénes para otra: pues el acertar en esto, vos mesmo juzgad si importa.¹¹⁹

Unfortunately, death met Xavier before he neither received Ignatius' letter nor returned to Europe. However, in his previous letters, Xavier had recommended to Ignatius the type of Jesuits needed for the mission in the Indies. In his letter dated January 27, 1545 written from Cochin addressed to Ignatius, Xavier described at length the Jesuits who were needed and where they were to be effectively sent. Xavier's letter provides not only description for the needed Jesuits but also diverse and vivid picture of Jesuit mission in the Indies, thus deserves to be quoted at length here:

¹¹⁸ IBID.

¹¹⁹ *Epp* V, 150.

Las personas que no tienen talento para confesar, predicar ó fazer cosas annexas á la Companhia, después de haber acabado sus exercitios, y haber seruido en offiçios humildes algunos meses,¹²⁰ farían mucho seruiçio en estas partes, si tuuiesen fuerças corporales juntamente con las espirituales; ... los que no son para la Companhia,¹²¹ y uíeredes que son para andar de lugar en lugar bautizando y enseñando las oraçiones, mandarlos eis, porque aquí seruirán mucho á Dios nuestro Señor... que sean pera muchos trabajos corporales, porque estas partes son mui trabajosas, por causa de las grandes calmas, y muchas partes faltosas de buenas agoas... Han de ser sanos, y no enfermos, para poder llebar los continuos trabajos de baptizar, enseñar, andar de lugar en lugar bautizando los niños que nascen, y fauoresçiendo á los christianos en sus persecuciones de los infieles. Y también Dios nuestro Señor les hará merced á los que uenieren á estas partes en uiersse en peligros de muerte; y esto no se pude euitar sino peruertiendo la orden de charidad: y guardándola, an de passar por ellos... y por esta causa y razón han de participar de fuerças espirituales... Ya diengo dicho que para andar entre infieles no tienen necesidad de letras; y estos, andando en estas partes algunos años, Dios nuestro Señor les dará fuerças para o demás. Y los que tuuieren talento talento ó para confessar. ó dar los exercitios, dado que no tiengan cuerpo para llevar más trabaos, mandarlos eis, por que estos estarán ó en Goa ó Cochín, donde farán mucho seruiçio á Dios.¹²²

Being aware of the immense need of the Indies, Xavier concluded the letter asking that Ignatius “mandéis todos los que pudiéredes, pues ay tanta falta de operarios en estas partes.”¹²³

Four years later, in the letter dated January 12, 1549 written from Cochin addressing to Ignatius, Xavier explicitly stated the reasons for providing Ignatius the account of his impression on the people and cultures of the Indies. We read in the letter:

Esta cuenta do[y] á vuestra Charidad por la neçessidad que me parece que hai para que prueue os spíritos de los que daquí adelante ha de mandar á estas partes de la India; y si no fueren prouados por vuestra Charidad, sean por personas de quien mucho confiéis porque hai necesidad desto: requiérense

¹²⁰ The phrase “completed their Exercises and have served in lowly offices for some months” referred to time of probation in Jesuit formation normally consisting of “year of probation, spend three months in spiritual exercises, in pilgrimage, and in the service of the poor in hospitals, or other exercises” (MCo I, 12); *Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier*, 114, footnote 4.

¹²¹ Referred to the non-professed, namely, the spiritual and temporal coadjutors in the Society of Jesus (*Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier*, 114).

¹²² *MXav* I, 363 - 4; G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier*, II, 536 – 8. An English version of the full letter is found in *The Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier*, 113 - 115, 114 - 5.

¹²³ *MXav* I, 365.

personas de mucha castidad y humildad, de manera que no sea notado de superbia.”¹²⁴

Though Xavier’s impression on people and cultures of the Indies remained negative,¹²⁵ the natives were to be won over, ministered, and governed “con amor y charidad..., y no de rigor ni temor servil.”¹²⁶ In the previous paragraph, Xavier adamantly petitioned for Jesuits especially those who possessed “mucha obediencia para se hazer amar” and those who were “afable y apazible con los que conversa.”¹²⁷ For Xavier, “Compañía de Jesús quiere dizir Compañía de amor y conformidad de ánimos, y no de rigor ni temor seruil.”¹²⁸

2.3.2 On learning the native languages

In the same letter written in 1549, Xavier also acknowledged the advantage of knowing the local language. He praised Henrique Henriques (1520 - 1602)¹²⁹ not because he was “mui uirtuosa persona y de mucha edificación, el qual sabe hablar y

¹²⁴ *MXav* I, 473 – 482, 474 - 5; G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier*, III, 581 – 587. An English version of the full letter is found in *Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier*, 215 – 223, 216.

¹²⁵ In the letter of 1545, Xavier recommended, “para andar entre infieles no tienen necesidad de letras” (*MXav* I, 364; G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier*, II, 537; *Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier*, 114). In the letter of 1949, Xavier remarked, “primeramente de la gente india natural destas partes, que son gente, quanta tengo uista, en general hablando, mui bárbara... Los indios desta tierra, assí moros como gentiles son mui ignorantes todos los que hasta agora tengo” (*MXav* I, 474; G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier*, III, 582; *Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier*, 216).

¹²⁶ *MXav* I, 476; G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier*, III, 582; *Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier*, 217.

¹²⁷ *MXav* I, 475.

¹²⁸ *MXav* I, 476; G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* III, 582; *Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier*, 217.

¹²⁹ Henrique Henriques was born a *Cristiano nuevo* in Évora, Portugal in 1520. At one time, he was a Franciscan novice. Because of his being *Cristiano nuevo*, he had difficulties entering the Society. However, in 1545 after having been ordained deacon and pursuing a degree in canon law, he was admitted to the Society by Simão Rodriguez for the Jesuit mission in the Indies. He left Lisbon on April 8, 1546 and arrived Goa in September of the same year. After Criminale’s death, he was elected regional superior of the Fishery Coast in 1547, although his election was protested by A. Gomes mainly because he was a *Cristiano nuevo* (J. WICKI, “Anriques (Henriques), Anrique (Henrique),” *DH CJ*, I, 177 – 8, 177). Though having suffered physical disorders, he spent all his years along the coast. One of his major achievements was the construction of the first Tamil grammar school – the first in any Indian language. He also published several works in Tamil, one of which being the famous *Flos sanctorum* (A. BROU, *Saint François Xavier*, 17; D. ALDEN, *Making of an Enterprise*, 50; J. WICKI, “Anriques (Henriques), Anrique (Henrique),” *DH CJ*, I, 177 – 8; ID. “Father Henrique Henriques, S. J. (1520 – 1600),” *Indian Ecclesiastical Studies* 4 (1965) 142 – 56; 5 (1966) 36 – 72 and 175 - 89).

escreuir malabar, *que faze más fruto que dos otros, por saber la lengua*, el qual los xpianos. de la tierra man cosa d'spanto, y le dan grande crédito por las predicaciones y pláticas que *en su lengua les haze.*"¹³⁰ Xavier then asked Ignatius "le scriuáis y consoléis, pues es tan buena persona y haze tanto fruto."¹³¹ After having learned about Henrique, in the letter dated December 26, 1553 written from Rome and addressed to Lancilotto, Ignatius explicitly affirmed Henrique and his method. We read words from Ignatius' hand:

El modo que tiene el P. Anríquez *(d.r.) en poner personas bien instrutas y de buenas costumbres por los lugares para enseñar, y reprehender, y baptizar, y las otras pías obras, *me parece mucho bien*, y asimesmo el dexar en scrito lo que quiere se proponga al pueblo; y el comunicarse con letras con los xpianos. que están á su cargo, declarando sus dudas y proueyendo en lo que conuiene. Dios N.S. dé buen suçesso á sus trabajos. Encomendadme mucho en sus oraciones y dezidle tenga esta por suya.¹³²

Ignatius' approval of Henrique's "modo" came at no surprise since according to the *Constitutions*,

Cuando se hiciese diseño en un Colegio o Universidad de preparar supósitos para entre moros o turcos, la arábiga sería conveniente, o la caldea. Si *para entre indios la indiana*. Y así de otras, por semjantes causas, podría haber utilidad mayor en otras regiones" [449]. (*Italics are mine*)

In the paragraph prior to the one in which Ignatius praised Henrique, Ignatius recommended Lancilotto to encourage his companions "el estar en prouincias firmes y aprender las lenguas para escusar intérpretes."¹³³ In addition, Ignatius was expecting that learning the native language "habrá proueydo allá nuestro hermano Mtro. Francisco."¹³⁴

From his own experience, Xavier understood how crucial the role of knowing the local language play in the evangelization process, thus committed himself and

¹³⁰ *MXav* I, 480. Italics are mine.

¹³¹ IBID.

¹³² *Epp* VI, 95. Italics are mine.

¹³³ *Epp* VI, 95.

¹³⁴ IBID.

ordered other Jesuits to dedicate themselves to language studies. Xavier himself tried to learn three: Tamil, Malay, and Japanese.¹³⁵ We got a vivid picture of how evangelization took place at Cape Comorin and the significant role of language during one of Xavier's earlier years in his letter dated January 15, 1544 written from Cochin addressed to his companions in Rome.

*Como ellos no me entiendiesen ni yo á ellos, por ser su lengua natural malauar y la mía bizcaina, ayunté los que entre ellos eran más sábios y, busqué personas que entiendiesen nuestra lengua y la suya, y después de auernos ayuntado muchos días con grande trabajo, sacamos las oraciones, començando por el modo de santiguar, confesando las tres personas ser un solo Dios: después el credo y mandamientos, pater noster, ave María, salve regina y la confesión general de latín en malauar. Después de auerlas sacado en su lengua y saberlas de coro, iua por odo el lugar con una campana en la mano, ayuntando todos los muchachos y hombres que podía, y después de auerlos ayuntado, los enseñaua cada día dos vezes; y en espacio de un mes enseñaua las oraciones, dando tal orden, que los muchachos á sus padres y madres, y á todos los de casa y vecinos, enseñasen lo que en la escuela deprendían. Los domingos hazía ayuntar todos los del lugar, así hombres como mugeres, grandes y pequeños, á dezir las oraciones en su lengua; y ellos mostrauan mucho plazer y venían con gran alegría.*¹³⁶

Eight years later, having realized the effective role of knowing the native language in the evangelization process, occupied with the Jesuit mission in Japan, Xavier hoped that “irão cada anno Padres da Companhia a Japão, e em Amanguche far-se-ha huma cassa da Companhia, e apremderão a limgoa.”¹³⁷ For Xavier himself, now as a veteran Jesuit missionary in the Indies, he continued to wrestle with the new languages, namely, Japanese and Chinese. We learned from his letter written to Ignatius from Cochin dated January 30, 1552, “fyzymos en lengua Japón vn lybro, que trataba de la cracyón del mundo y de todos los misterios de la vyda de Christo; y

¹³⁵ E. ALONSO ROMO, *Los escritos Portugueses de San Francisco Javier*, 75 – 77.

¹³⁶ *MXav* I, 279 – 280.

¹³⁷ Xavier's letter addressed to the companions in Europe written from Cochin dated January 29, 1552 (*MXav* I, 693; G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* IV, 445; An English version of the full letter is found in *Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier*, 326 – 343, here quoted 340. Italics are mine

después este mesmo lybro escrybymos en letra de la China, para quando á la Chyna fuere, para darne á entender hasta saber hablar chyna.”¹³⁸

Responding to the instructions from the *Constitutions*, and that of Ignatius and of Xavier, many Jesuits were successfully trained in various languages of the Indies. Some of the outstanding Jesuits and their works in native language exemplify Jesuit efforts of adapting and to accommodating themselves to the languages of the natives.

Au Japon, le Frère Fernandez¹³⁹ était arrivé très vite à parler convenablement le japonais, et il demeura dans l’église nouvelle de longues années. Il en fut sans doute ainsi de Jean de Beira¹⁴⁰ aux Moluques. Aux Indes, le Père Henri Enriquez sur l’ordre de Xavier se mit à l’étude du tamoul; il entreprit une grammaire et un lexique, cela sans rien supprimer de son travail courant.¹⁴¹

2.3.3 On the religious and cultural customs and practices of the natives

The realization of the necessity of knowing the native languages and the subsequent measures which Jesuits took to accommodate themselves in their mission proved to be far easier and much faster in comparing to what took them to understand and to appreciate, so to adapt themselves to the cultural and religious customs and practices in the Indies. Both the *Spiritual Exercises* and the *Constitutions* do not provide concrete detailed instructions. What they do provide consists of the overall

¹³⁸ *MXav* I, 674; J. GRANERO, *La acción misionera y los métodos misionales*, 148.

¹³⁹ Juan Fernández de Oviedo was born in Córdoba, Spain in 1526. As a rich merchant, he converted and entered the Society in 1547 and was sent to the Indies the year after. In April of 1549, he was sent to Malacca to work along side with Francis Xavier, who a month later took him to Japan as his companion. Having been able to learn Japanese quickly, he accompanied Xavier in his trip to Yamaguchi and Kyoto and served as interpreter and scribe for Xavier, and later for Cosme de Torres, the superior of Japanese mission. He also translated scriptures, prayers, and other Christian literature into Japanese. He was known not only for his language ability but also his virtues. In a letter written to General Laínez, Melchior Nunes Barreto referred to Fernández “el principal en evangelizar la Ley de Dios en Japón.” He passed away in Nagasaki, Japan in 1567 (R. YUUKI, “Fernández de Oviedo, Juan,” *DHCJ*, II, 1400 – 1; G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* IV, 67, 444 – 7, 559).

¹⁴⁰ Juan de Beira was born in Pontevedra, Spain in 1512. He was a priest and a canon lawyer in Coruña before entering the Society. Inspired by a homily given by Francisco de Estrada, he entered the Society in 1544 and sailed for India the following year. From 1547 to 1556, he was sent to work and named superior in the Moluccas. There, he built the foundation for the future Jesuit mission establishing school for children and converting natives to Catholicism. Due to illness, he returned to India and died in Goa in 1564 (H. JACOBS, “Beira (Bera, Vera, Viera, da Bera), Juan de,” *DHCJ*, I, 383; G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* II, 594; IV, 13 – 14, 600 – 1; *Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier*, 134 footnote 6).

¹⁴¹ A. BROU, *Saint François Xavier*, 17.

framework within which cultural adaptation and accommodation are encouraged. The overall scheme of this framework has been illustrated in details in chapter 4 of this investigation. Therefore, only a few points that are specifically relevant to this section will be presented here.

At the foundational level, the “Principle and Foundation” of the *Exercises* guides Jesuits towards recognizing “las cosas sobre la haz de la tierra son criadas para el hombre y para que le ayuden en la prosecución del fin para que es criado. De donde se sigue, que el hombre tanto ha de usar dellas quanto le ayudan par su fin, y tanto debe quitarse dellas quanto para ello le impiden” [23]. As stated, the “Principle and Foundation” confirms all things of its transcendental value.¹⁴² In other words, all things are capable of leading one to God. Whether it pertains to an individual or communal discernment, the challenge rests mainly on how to discriminate between what is helpful and what is harmful towards achieving the end purpose. For those that prove to be helpful, they mean to be kept. Those harmful are to let go.

Regarding all matters of Jesuit mission, chapter II of part VII of the *Constitutions* offer some codes of laws guiding Jesuit superiors on discerning “where, for what, whom, how many, in what manner, and for how long” Jesuits are to be sent.¹⁴³ Out of this chapter, [Co 624], which provides various instructions on whom to be sent and how many, besides entrusting to the “suma providencia y dirección del Santo Espíritu,” asks the superiors to consider these matters with careful thoughts and weighing prudence.

Primeramente, que a cosas de más importancia y done más va en no errar, quanto fuere de la parte de quien ha de proveer mediante su divina gracia, se deben enviar personas más escogidas y de quienes se tenga más confianza. En las cosas donde hay más trabajos corporales, personas más recias y sanas. En las que hay más peligros espirituales, personas más probadas en la virtud y

¹⁴² S. ARZUBIALDE, *Ejercicios*, 113.

¹⁴³ A. ALDAMA, *Missioning*, 69 – 70.

más seguras. Para ir a personas discretas que tienen gobierno espiritual o temporal, parece convienen más los que se señalan en discreción y gracia de conversar... Para con personas de ingenio delgado y letras, son más proporcionados los que en ingenio asimismo y en letras tienen don especial... Para pueblo comúnmente serán más aptos los que tienen talento de predicar y confesar... Y habiendo de ir dos, parece iría bien con un predicador o lector otro que cogiese la mies que el tal le preparase, en confesiones y ejercicios espirituales, y le ayudase en el conversar y los otros medios que se usan para con los prójimos... Con uno muy ferviente y animoso parece iría bien otro más circunspecto y recatado. Y así de otras mezclas como ésta, en manera que la diferencia, *unida con el vínculo de la caridad, ayudase a entrambos y no pudiese engendrar contradicción o discordia entre ellos, ni los prójimos* [Co 624].¹⁴⁴

On the matter regarding religious and cultural practices and customs of the natives in the Indies, Ignatius proved to be more cautious and prudent compared to the ardent and zealous Xavier. In the same letter of November 22, 1547 written to Lancilotti from Rome, we see how cautiously and prudently Ignatius proceeded in making decision on the “manner of receiving the boys in the college, supplications and public processions, funerals.” He notified Lancilotti that he “will reserve a decision until we are more fully informed about affairs there by the man you send, and also until we learn what is the mind of the King of Portugal.”¹⁴⁵ In other words, Ignatius will decide on these matters only after having learned about them and their implication from consulting both the local perspective and the official authority.

Even when reforms were to take place, they were to be done “suavemente” and with collaboration from the native and the authority. In the *Instrucciones* written from Rome around February 20, 1555 addressed to Juan Núñez Barreto (1517 -

¹⁴⁴ *Constituciones de la Compañía de Jesús*, 200. Italics are mine.

¹⁴⁵ *Epp* I, 650. “Quod attinet ad modum suscipiendi pueros in collegio, quodque ad supplications vel processions publicas, et funera, et ipsas demum constituciones fundatorum ad nos transmissas, suspendenda erit sententia donec ab eo, qui huc mittetur, exactius vestries de rebus instruamur, simulque quae mens sit regis Portugaliae inteligamus. Poteritis interim eundem modum, quem hactenus tenuistis, tenere.” The English version of the letter is found in *Ignatius of Loyola: Letters and Instruction*, 224 – 226, here quoted on 226.

1562)¹⁴⁶ and his companions entitled “Recuerdos que podrán ayudar para la reducción de los reynos del Preste Juan a la unión de la Yglesia y religión cathólica,” we learn how Ignatius instructed Jesuits to approach religious reform and conversion with pastoral prudence and sensitivity. We read from Ignatius’ handwritten *Instrucciones*:

Quanto á los abusos que tienen, primero procuren hazer capaz poco á poco al Preste y algunos particulares de más auctoridad, y después, sin tumultu, siendo estos dispuestos, se mire si so podrá hazer ayuntamiento de los que más estimados son en doctrina en aquellos reynos; y sin que se les quitase interesse ninguno ni cosa que ellos mucho estimen, hazerles capaces de las uerdades católicas y de lo que se deue tener en la yglesia, y animarlos á que procuren ayudar el pueblo á la conformidad con la yglesia cathólica romana.

...

Miren los abusos ó desórdenes que pueden reformarse *suauemente*, y en modo que los de la tierra uean claramente que la *reforma* era necesaria, y de aquellos se comienze, porque será ganar auctoridad para la reforma de otros.¹⁴⁷

The similar pastoral sensitivity and prudence was found in Ignatius’ instruction to Miguel de Torres in the earlier mentioned letter. We read it again here:

Alcunas vsanças que se han introducido *(l.r.) en aquel collegio, no conformes á estas nuestras constitutiones, será menester *suauemente*, y sin uiolentia ni desedificación, quitarlas ó accomodarlas: á lo menos tener ojo á esto, para que con tiempo se uaya conformando lo de allá con lo de la Compañía uniuersal, quanto suffriere la disposición diuersa de la tierra.¹⁴⁸

In contrast with the caution and prudence that are found in Ignatius’ approach, we witness the passionate Xavier filled with zeal and energy ready to impose himself and his beliefs on the religious and cultural customs and practices of the Indies. Only

¹⁴⁶ João Nunes Barreto was born of a noble family in Oporto, Portugal. His two brothers, Alfonso and Melchior, were also Jesuits. He studied canon laws at the University of Salamanca and was ordained a priest prior his entrance to the Society in 1544. From 1548 until 1554, he worked among the Christian captives in Morocco. In 1554, he returned to Portugal and a year later when the mission of Ethiopia was opened, he was named Patriarch off the Ethiopian Church. Barreto left Portugal for Ethiopia on March 30, 1556. However, before his arrival, he was notified that the emperor had accepted neither obedience to the Roman Church nor the patriarch. After having failed to reach the coast of Ethiopia, he went to Goa, specifically the Choram Island, to spend his remaining years as a pastor among the natives there (J. VAZ DE CARVALHO, “Barreto, João Nunes,” *DHCJ*, I, 352 – 353; for more on the background of the Ethiopian mission and Ignatius’ *Instrucciones* to Barreto, please read S. MADRIGAL, *Estudios de eclesiología ignaciana*, Universidad Pontificia Comillas, Madrid 2002, 27 – 49; R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *San Ignacio de Loyola*, 1000 – 8; W. BANGERT, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, 39 – 40).

¹⁴⁷ *Epp* VIII, 683, 686.

¹⁴⁸ *Epp* X, 176. The letter is dated November 21, 1555.

after having spent “muchos días” learned the language, we are told that Xavier “iua por todo el lugar con una campana en la mano, ayuntando todos los muchachos y hombres que podía, y después de auerlo ayuntado, los enseñaua cada día dos vezes.”¹⁴⁹ Furthermore, having described the natives as “bárbara é ignorante,”¹⁵⁰ their Brahmans “hombres de pocas letras, y lo que les falta en virtud tiene de iniquidad y maldad en grande aumento,”¹⁵¹ Xavier either encouraged or directly involved in the abomination of what he considered as “ídolos,” “idolatrías” and “idolstrar.”

We read from Xavier’s report from Cochin, dated January 15, 1544 addressed to the Jesuits in Rome:

Quando me dan auiso [los muchachos] de algunas idolatrías, que hazen fuera de los lugares, ayunto todos los muchachos del lugar y *uoy* con ellos adonde *hizieron* los ídolos; y son más las deshonorras que el diablo recibe de los muchachos que lleuo, que son las homrras que sus padres y parientes les dan el tiempo que los hazen y *adoran*. Porque toman los niños los ídolos y los hazen *más menudos como* la ceniza, y después escupen sobre ellos, y *los pisan con los pies*; y otras cosas les hazen que, aunque no parece bien nombrarlas por sus nombres.¹⁵²

A year later, in the report dated January 27, 1545 written from the same location, we read from Xavier’s report to his companions in Rome:

Acabada la gente de baptizar, mando derribar las casas donde tenían sus ídolos, y hago, después que son xpianos., que quebren las imágenes de los ídolos en minutísimas partes. No podría acabar de escreuiros la mucho consolación que mi ánima lleua en uer destruir ídolos por las manos de los que fueron idólatras.¹⁵³

Brou summed up Xavier’s attitude and method towards cultural and religious customs and practices as “éliminer ce qui était superstitieux et garder le reste.”¹⁵⁴ While such a policy seems simple, how to distinguish between what was “superstitieux” and “le

¹⁴⁹ *MXav* I, 280.

¹⁵⁰ 404, 474, 487.

¹⁵¹ 288.

¹⁵² *MXav* I, 283.

¹⁵³ *MXav* I, 368.

¹⁵⁴ A. BROU, *Saint François Xavier*, 79.

reste” remained one of the main challenges for the Jesuits in the Indies as demonstrated in the following section. Well intention though it was, quick and enthusiastic elimination would risk doing more harm than good to the native cultures.

Not until entering Japan whose people and cultures he highly regarded, Xavier took the first steps accommodating and adapting to the Japanese cultures. In the letter written from Cochin dated January 20, 1549 addressed to Simão Rodriguez, Xavier praised the Japanese as “ser gente de mucha arte y manera, y curiosa de saber, ansy en las cosas de Dios como en las otras cosas de scientia.”¹⁵⁵ Three years later, in the letter written from the same place addressed to his companions in Europe, he commended the Japanese as “gente tão discreta e de bons emgenhos, desejosa de saber, obediente á rezão, e de outras muytas partes boas, nam pode ser senão que emtre eles se ffaça muyto fruyto;” and their bonzes “tem grandes emgenhos muyto delgados; ocup ão-se muyto em comtemplar....”¹⁵⁶ Hence, it was in Japan where we are told that he and his companions return to Yamayuchi for the second time at the beginning of 1551 “vestidos mejor” more fitting with Japanese etiquette.¹⁵⁷ And coming for an audience with the prince in Yamaguchi, Xavier “came dressed in silk as the ambassador of the governor of India.”¹⁵⁸

Following the instruction from the *Constitutions* and that of Ignatius, “al acomodarse en lo posible a los usos y costumbres de aquellos indígenas”¹⁵⁹ remained the mode of proceeding of Jesuits in the Indies, namely, Gaspar Barceo en Ormuz, the

¹⁵⁵ *MXav* I, 487.

¹⁵⁶ *MXav* I, 692. “A race that is so prudent and so highly talented, so eager for knowledge, so obedient to reason and endowed with many other fine qualities, it is impossible that much fruits should fail to be gained... These bonzes have great and very subtle talents. They spend much of their time in contemplating...” (*Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier*, 340).

¹⁵⁷ A. VALIGNANO, *Historia del principio y progreso de la Compañía de Jesús en las Indias Orientales (1542 – 64)*, (J. WICKI, ed.), IHSI, Roma 1944, 176.

¹⁵⁸ G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier IV*, 216 – 7.

¹⁵⁹ J. GRANERO, *La acción misionera y los métodos misionales*, 188 referencing to *Epistolae indicae*, 36 – 37

rector of Saint Paul College and vice provincial of the Indies in 1552,¹⁶⁰ and to do so patiently, “poco a poco” with moderation as recommended Lancelotto,¹⁶¹ the regional superior of the Fishery Coast in 1549.

2.2 On the education of the natives and formation of native clergy

2.2.1 Education of the natives

Though different on their approach to the religious and cultural customs and practices of the natives, both Ignatius and Xavier agreed and insisted on the necessity of educating the natives. In the letter to Miguel de Torres mentioned above, we learn about Ignatius’ instruction:

De las scuelas, parece que la prouisión del año pasado será bien oportuna para començarlas; aunque, si se ha de hazer allí en Goa gran collegio, y donde haya muchos de los nuestros que studien, más de dos maestros serán necesarios, en spetial vbiendo de *enseñar también los muchachos de la tierra*.¹⁶²

To educate the native boys had been the principle reason for founding the College of the Holy Faith (Colegio de Santa Fe)¹⁶³ and the shared vision of its founders and Xavier.

¹⁶⁰ See footnote 940.

¹⁶¹ J. GRANERO, *La acción misionera y los métodos misionales*, 188 referencing to *Selectae Indiarum epistolae*, 18.

¹⁶² *Epp X*, 174. Letter to Patri Michaeli Turriano dated November 21, 1555. Italics are mine.

¹⁶³ Originally, Saint Paul College of Goa was found by the two Portuguese priests, Fr. Diogo da Borba and Fr. Miguel Vaz, the Vicar General of Goa in 1541. They had longed to build a college/seminary to promote the conversion of the non-Christians and to train native clergy in the Indies and the neighboring countries. The plan was approved both civilly and ecclesiastically. Its Statutes were drawn up and promulgated on April 24, 1541. The college was built and came to be known as the Seminary of Santa Fé. At first, the two founders had wished to entrust the seminary to the Franciscans who lived in their monastery nearby. However, the Franciscans declined the invitation. In the meanwhile, after having arrived Goa on May 6, 1542, Xavier quickly became good friend with the two founders who offered the college to the care of the Jesuits. Xavier refused the offer. However, he sent some Jesuits over to help administering the college and asked Ignatius to send more Jesuits to come and help (*MXav I*, 264). The Jesuit, though worked in the College, did not official owned it until February 20, 1551 when King John III donated the entire institution with all of its property, rights and revenues to the Society *in perpetuum*. Xavier mentioned in his letter to Ignatius in September 20, 1542 that “aquí algunos lo llaman la Conversión de Sant Pablo, y otros Santa Fe. este vltimo nombre me parece más conforme, según ha de esser predicada y plantada” (*MXav I*, 262). The Saint Paul College of Goa remained well endowed and favored by civil and ecclesial authorities until the Suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1759 (C. MERCÊS DE MELO, *Recruitment and Formation*, 65 – 73).

In his letter to Ignatius dated September 20, 1542 written from Goa, we learn about Xavier’s vision for a multicultural College and its role in the evangelization:

Creo que antes de seys anyos [ha] de hauer passados de trezientos estudiantes, entre los quales ha de hauer de varias lenguas, naciones y gentes. Espero en Dios nuestro Señor que desta casa han de salir hombres, antes de muchos anyos, los quales han de multiplicar el número de los xpianos.¹⁶⁴

We further learned about Xavier’s longing to go to back to his alma mater begging people there to come to help forming the natives intellectually. We read from his letter dated January 15, 1544 written to Jesuit living in Rome from Cochin “muchas vezes me mueve pensamientos de ir a los estudios dessas partes, dando bonzes, como hombre que tiene perdido el juizio, y principiamente a la Universidad de París.”¹⁶⁵

Three years later, in a letter dated January 25, 1550, Lancilotto from Quilon informed Ignatius that “there were a good number of Indian students, but no others, in keeping with the intent and support of those who had founded and arranged this college; ... these students are of different nations...”¹⁶⁶ Commenting on the cultural diversity of the College, Wicki noted that “[the College] was like a living image of the peoples and the languages, among whom the Society in the first decades [of its existence] exercises its apostolic ministry in the East.”¹⁶⁷ Its student body consisted of Portuguese, the mestiços, the Abissinians, negroes from Sofala and Mozambique, Siamese, Chinese, Indians for different part of the country.¹⁶⁸ In Lancilotto’s report dated November 5, 1546 written from Goa sending to Ignatius, we learned that “the boys who are being taught in this college are of nine languages and their total number is sixty.”¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁴ *MXav* I, 262.

¹⁶⁵ *MXav* I, 285; E. ALONSO ROMO, *Los escritos portugueses de San Francisco Javier*, 41.

¹⁶⁶ *DI* II, 8 – 13.

¹⁶⁷ C. MERCÊS DE MELO, *Recruitment and Formation*, 76.

¹⁶⁸ *IBID.*

¹⁶⁹ *DI* I, 131 – 146.

Education in the College was geared towards preparing them for future missionary work. Students were first taught grammar, cases of conscience, good habits, and basic Catechism.¹⁷⁰ For those who reached higher level, they were to learn Latin, grammar, music, rhetoric, philosophy and theology. In addition, students were trained in liturgical functions serving mass and attending other sacramental services and religious processions. Besides learning Latin, the practice of their native languages was also enforced. Xavier also insisted that special attention should be paid to Chinese and Japanese boys in the College “que sepan leer y escrever y hablar portuguezes, porque sean topazes dellos Padres que, plaziendo á Dios nuestro Señor, antes de muchos años vernán á Japán y á la China.”¹⁷¹

To maintain the mission of educating the natives, Xavier twice in 1552 instructed Gaspar Barzaeus, the rector of the College of the Holy Faith, to use the revenues for the “necessary needs of the house” and exclusively for the “native children and orphans.”¹⁷² Furthermore, Xavier dismissed Antonio Gomez from the Society mainly because the former during his rectorship of the College of the Holy Faith had dismissed the native students and replaced them with the Portuguese.¹⁷³ In addition, native boys were educated by the Jesuits not only at the College of the Holy Faith in Goa but also in Quilon.¹⁷⁴ Moreover, these native students were to be treated

¹⁷⁰ E. ALONSO ROMO, *Los escritos portugueses de San Francisco Javier*, 39 – 41.

¹⁷¹ Xavier’s instructions to Paulo Camerti and Antonio Gomes in Goa written from Kagoshima, dated November 5, 1549 (*MXav* I, 643 – 6, 644).

¹⁷² *MXav* I, 721. “Das rendas e bens de caza pagar-se-hão as dividas, e prover-se-hão as necessidades necessarias de caza; e fóra d’estas necessicazadades, olhai que vos mando que não desmembreis, e nem appliqueis e distribuaes as rendas d’esta caza, e fóra as necessidades dos Padres e Irmãos d’esta caza e fóra d’ella, e *os meninos da terra e orfãos*.” Italics are mine. Again in *MXav* I, 901, “todo o dinheiro tereis em bosso poder, e por vossas mãos sera distribuido n’as necessidades de caza, ssim dos Irmãos, como dos mossos da terra...”

¹⁷³ G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* IV, 478 – 480.

¹⁷⁴ G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* III, 596; C. MERCÊS DE MELO, *Recruitment and Formation*, 80 – 1.

with great care and tenderness. We read from Xavier’s instruction for Barceo, the recently named rector of the College in 1552:

Em o ensino dos meninos da terra e dos orphãos, olhando ás suas necessidades espirituas e depois ás temporaes, tereis muito cuidado de os fazer confessar, ensinar, vestir, comer e calçar, e curar aos doentes, pois este Collegio principiamente foi edificado para os da terra.¹⁷⁵

Detailed reports on “los mossos de [la] tierra cuántos son y cómo están aprouechados” must be made and sent to Xavier, the provincial of the Indies.¹⁷⁶

Even more radically innovative, Ignatius recommended the possibilities of bringing the native students to Europe for their advanced education. We read Ignatius’ instruction in the letter dated November 22, 1547 addressed to Lancilotto:

Iuverit etiam non parum, tum ut ingenia indorum melius cognoscamus, tum ut moveantur magis hi penes quos summa rerum hic est, ut ille qui huc esi veniurus, secum quinque vel sex iuvenes ex Indis adducat, qui optima specie et inter coeteros magis visendi erunt, ex quibus duo tresve Romam veniant, reliqui in Portugallia subsistent in collegio nostrae Societatis, quo et duo illi redire poterunt, qui Romam venerint, confectis negotiis vestries ut inter nostros excolantur et litteris et christianae disciplinae virtutumque ornamentis, ut sic demum ad suos redeundo, exemplo vitae ac doctrinae eis et aliis Indiae regionibus sint utiliores.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵ *MXav* I, 922 – 3 “With regard to the native boys and the orphans [brought up in the seminary] attend well to their needs, the spiritual ones first of all, and then the temporal. See to it carefully that they go to confession and that they are properly dressed, nourished, and provided with shoes, and well looked after in time of illness, that it is chiefly for the native students that this college was founded.” The English version of the letter is found in *Letters and Instructions of Francis Xavier*, 402 - 411. However, this translation is found in C. MERCÊS DE MELO, *Recruitment and Formation*, 81.

¹⁷⁶ *MXav* I, 644.

¹⁷⁷ *Epp* I, 649 – 50 “It will also be a considerable help, both for the better understanding the mentality of the Indians and for making an impression on those vested with supreme power here, if the man who comes could bring with him five or six young men from India. These should be of good appearance, particularly fine looking; two or three should come to Rome and the rest remain in our college in Portugal. There, once your business has been completed, *the other two could return to be formed among our men* in learning and the adornments of Christian discipline and virtues, so that upon their return to their own people, they can be of greater usefulness to them and to other regions of India by the example of their life and learning.” *Ignatius of Loyola: Letters and Instructions*, 224 – 6, 225 – 6. Italics are mine.

Ignatius' wish was fulfilled when Xavier sent two young Japanese¹⁷⁸ from the Indies with Andrés Fernandes (c. 1518 - 1598)¹⁷⁹ to Europe in 1553. The letter that was dated on January 20, 1555 confirmed that

El hermano Andrés, venido de la India, y el hermano Bernardo, xaponés, con su compañero Luys están en Roma, y buenos. Con el P. Luys Gonçales tornará el hermano Andrés Fernández; el xaponés, si la tierra le tratase bien, podría estudiar acá vn poco de latín, que él lo desea.¹⁸⁰

2.2.2 Formation of native clergy

Wholeheartedly though he was towards educating the native and training them for the mission, especially ordained ministry, Xavier and the Jesuits in the Indies were skeptical towards admitting them to the Society. As mentioned above, Chinese and Japanese students at the College of the Holy Faith in Goa were taught Portuguese besides Latin and their native language, as instructed by Xavier, to serve as interpreters for the future mission of the Society in Japan and China.¹⁸¹ After having finished their studies at the College, some of these “trained” interpreters chose the life of ministry and were ordained to the priesthood. Such were the cases of Francisco Coelho, Manuel, and Gaspar, three of the first students of students of the College of the Holy Faith, who accompanied Xavier as his interpreters to the Fishery Coast in 1543. Francisco Coelho was ordained early 1544; whereas Manuel and Gaspar at the

¹⁷⁸ Bernado and Matheus (*MXav* I, 904).

¹⁷⁹ André Fernandes was born in Portalegre, Portugal. He was serving as a captain of warship when upon hearing Barceo's preach resolved his business and entered the Society in Ormuz in 1550. Barceo brought Fernandes to meet Xavier in Goa in 1552. In 1553, Xavier sent Fernandes to Portugal and to Rome along with two Japanese (A. VALIGNANO, *Historia del principio y progreso*, 199 and 279). He arrived Rome in October in 1554 and received by Ignatius who observed, “quod est uerus israélita, in quo non est dolus” (*Epp* IX, 569). His report to Ignatius mainly concerned with the implementation of the *Constitutions* in the Indies and qualities asked of Jesuits working there. He left for Lisbon in September 1555 and returned to India in 1558. Upon his return, he was sent to Cochin and named superior from 1564 – 1565 of Quilon. He returned to Goa in 1571 and spent the rest of his life there until his death in 1598 (A. SANTOS, “Fernandes, André,” *DHCJ*, II, 1395; G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* IV, 492 – 3).

¹⁸⁰ *Epp* VIII, 433.

¹⁸¹ *MXav* I, 644. Also see E. ALONSO ROMO, *Los escritos portugueses de San Francisco Javier*, 39 – 41.

end of the same year.¹⁸² Starting with the ordination of the three native priests, the College that began in 1541 became the “chief nursery of priestly vocations for the whole India” until the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1770.¹⁸³ Besides ordained ministry, the natives were employed by the Jesuits to assist in the process of teaching and catechizing the Christian faith to the natives.¹⁸⁴

2.2.3 Membership to the Society of Jesus

Admittance of the natives to the membership of the Society, however, proved to be almost impossible under Xavier’s supervision. Since Xavier considered the natives as “barbarous and ignorant,”¹⁸⁵ he judged that the Indians were unfit to join the Society. We read from Xavier’s letter dated January 12, 1549 written to Ignatius from Cochin:

Por la experiencia que tengo destas partes veo claramente, Padre mío único, que por los indios naturales de la tierra no se abre camino cómo por ellos por ellos se perpetúe nuestra Compañía; y que tanto durará en ellos la cristiandad, quanto duraremos y uiuiremos los que acá estamos ó de allá mandáredes.¹⁸⁶

Furthermore, Xavier repeatedly instructed to Barceo, the rector of the College of Goa, almost until his dying breath to be highly selective and “tomes muito pouquos n’a Companhia, e os que receberdes sejam pessoas que a Companhia tem neççidade d’elles.”¹⁸⁷

¹⁸² C. MERCÊS DE MELO, *Recruitment and Formation*, 84; G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* II, 473 and 554; *MXav* I, 352.

¹⁸³ C. MERCÊS DE MELO, *Recruitment and Formation*, 84 - 5.

¹⁸⁴ J. GRANERO, *La acción misionera y los métodos misionales*, 165 – 6.

¹⁸⁵ *MXav* I, 404. 474. 487.

¹⁸⁶ *MXav* I, 476; G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* III, 583.

¹⁸⁷ *MXav* I, 795. Written on October 25, 1552 from Sancier, “I also earnestly recommend that you receive very few into the Society; and those whom you do receive should be persons who are needed by the Society” “According to Xavier’s instruction, Barceo were not to receive those who “não tenha alguma qualidade para ajudar” (*MXav* I, 754); who “não tenham talento para a Companhia” (904); who are “mas pouca e boa” (906); who “de pouca habilidade, juizo e rezão, pessoas fracas e pera pouco” (914); who “não tenham muitas partes e abelidade pera nossa Companhia, principalmente quando carecem de letras” (917);

Contrary to Xavier’s perspective, Ignatius keenly saw and encouraged the admission of the native into the Society. Responding directly to Xavier’s letter and comment about the “unfit” of Indians, Ignatius first invigorated Xavier, *Anímase[le] á perpetuar la Compañía en aquellas bandas,*” then went on to instruct him how to promote Jesuit vocation in the Indies:

Scogiendo los mejor inclinados, y gastando con los tales más tiempo, despidiendo los no tales; tomando de las tierras donde se hallan más capaces de perfección; tomándolos muy tiernos, antes que embeban la malitia de sus padres, multiplicando los collegios, donde los tales se instituyan, y tirando los que hallare idóneos de spañoles y portug[u]eses.¹⁸⁸

To the same Barceo, the rector of the College of the Holy Faith, we read from Ignatius’ instruction in 1553:

así el collegio de 100 niños, que se tengan 3 ó 4 años, como el de los 72, de biuos ingenios y buena índole, que se hagan letrados en artes y theología, *para que se açepten en la Compañía* los que Dios N.S. llamare y se juzgaren attos para el instituto della; y los otros sean cooperadores, ayudando la Compañía en la conuersion de los infieles y doctrina de los xpianos., y las otras ayudas spirituales que vsa la Compañía.¹⁸⁹

Two years later, written to Miguel de Torres, the provincial of Portugal, Ignatius insisted on the loving care for the native candidates in their admission process to the Society. We read from Ignatius’ instruction:

De los niños que se ynstitúin en el collegio de Goa, *los más ingeniosos y más firmes en la fe, y de mejores costumbres y apparentia más honesta, se podrán admictir para la Compañía, si á ella se inclinaren;* y bien que con más probaciones que otros, por ser uenidos de la infidelidad, no con menos uoluntad se deben abrazar, si salieren buenos, que los xpianos. uyejos, antes pareze que con más alegría, uiendo en estas plantas nuevas tanto más euidente la gracia del que los llamó de las tinieblas de la infidelidad á la luz de la fe y culto suyo.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁸ *Epp* II, 570. Letter of Ignatius of Loyola to Francis Xavier in India from Rome dated October 11, 1549.

¹⁸⁹ *Epp* VI, 91. Letter written by Ignatius to Gaspari Barzaeo from Roma dated December 24, 1553. Italics are mine.

¹⁹⁰ *Epp* X, 175. Letter written to Miguel de Torres from Roma dated November 21, 1555. Italics are mine.

2.3 Conclusion

The Jesuit mission in the Indies began with Ignatius' picking Xavier on a second thought. Xavier immediately responded, "Pues, ¡sus! Heme aquí" and headed out to the Indies without knowing what awaits of him ahead. Thus, the Society both in term of its central government and the members on the field entered its mission in the Indies without any preconceived plan. For this reason, they were "ignorant" of what entailed in their mission of the Indies. However, having been formed in the *Exercises* and relying on the grace of the founders and the charism of the institute, they remained open and willing to listen and to communicate within themselves and with the natives. In this manner, Jesuits were wisely engaging themselves and laboring in their mission among the Indies. It was Ignatius who molded the *Constitutions* to adapt and to accomodate the need of the Indies given its location and condition while Xavier taking "the first step toward the institutional establishment of the Society in the East."¹⁹¹

As demonstrated above, instructions of both Ignatius – the first General Superior of the Society of Jesus – and Xavier – the pionner of the Society's mission in the Indies – laid the foudation for the Jesuit method of cultural accommodation in the Indies. Such a method does not aim to provide specific and concrete answer for each situation. Its aim is to create a structure of ongoing discernment that involves close interaction between the Society's central and local government, intimate union among Jesuits in the field, and the readiness and willingness to enter the unknown with an open mind and discerning heart. Such a method of cultural accomodation demands Jesuits to be, using Nadal's expression, "wisely ignorant." How had this "wisely ignorant" method of cultural accommodation been consolidated as the Jesuit

¹⁹¹ D. Alden, *Making of an Enterprise*, 44.

mission in the Indies extended to Japan and China during the next three Superior Generals of the Society of Jesus will be the topic for the next section, to which this investigation will now turn its attention.

3. THE GENERALATES OF LAÍNEZ, BORJA, and MERCURIAN: *Expansion and Consolidation*

3.1 Brief historical overview

The twenty-five years after Ignatius' death (1556 – 1581), the Society of Jesus expanded to its “ever widening horizon” both in its membership and its mission territories.¹⁹² Under the leadership of three Superior Generals who were trained and worked side by side with Ignatius, namely, Diego Laínez (1556 – 1565), Francisco de Borja (1565 – 1572), and Everard Mercurian (1573 – 1580), membership in the Society grew 5 folds from 1000 to 5165¹⁹³ dividing into the four “nations” (later referred to as “assistancy”), namely, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and German, which divided further into various provinces.¹⁹⁴ Before moving on with the investigation, some background information on these Jesuit Generals would be helpful.

Diego Laínez, one of the first nine Companions of the Society of Jesus, was born in Almazán of the Soria Province in 1512. Having earned the Master of Arts degree from the Universidad de Alcalá, he went to Paris to pursue further studies in 1532 with his very close friends Alfonso Salmeron. In Paris, he met Ignatius and made the Exercises in 1534. He was a member of the group who vowed “castidad,

¹⁹² W. BANGERT, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, 46.

¹⁹³ *For Matters of Greater Moment*, xv; T. CLANCY, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, 121. It is important to note by Clancy that “these numbers are no means extraordinary [comparing to the growth of other men religious orders]. In 1264, thirty-eight years after the death of St. Francis, there were 30,000 Franciscans. In 1256, forty years after the foundation of the Dominicans, they numbered 7,000. In the sixteenth century the Capuchins were founded in 1517 and grew to 8,000 by 1600.”

¹⁹⁴ As arranged by the Second General Congregation in 1563, and the superiors of the assistancies were Benito Palmio for Italy, Antonio de Araoz Spain, Diego Mirón Portugal, and Everard Mercurian Germany (ASTRAIN, II, 219; *For Matters of Greater Moment*, 5; also see L. CLOSSEY, *Salvation and Globalization*, 23).

pobreza, e ir a Tierra Santa” [Au 85] at Montmartre on August 15, 1534. It was Laínez who went with Favre and Ignatius to Vicenza after the nine companions went to Rome to ask for the blessing for the passage to Jerusalem [Au 93 – 94]. Again, it was Laínez, who was with Favre and Ignatius on the journey to Rome from Vicenza, who provided details of Ignatius’ illuminated experience at La Storta (*FN* II, 133) and Ignatius confirmed “todo lo que Laínez decía era verdad” (Au 96). During the *Deliberaciones de 1539*, Laínez “fue el primero en arrojar sobre la admisión de colegios para estudiantes de la Compañía.”¹⁹⁵

From 1540 – 1542, he spent his time preaching and teaching in Parma, Venecia, Padua, and Brescia. In 1543, at the request of Pope Paul III, Ignatius designated him along with Favre and Salmerón to the first session of the Trent Council (1546 – 1547). After having attended the first session of the Council, he continued his preaching and teaching ministry in Florencia, Palermo, and Sicilia. Again, he was designated by Ignatius to attend the second session of the Trent Council (1551 – 1552). In 1552, Ignatius named him the provincial of Italy. In 1555, he and Nadal were part of the papal legate to the Diet of Augsburg. From 1555, he stayed in Rome where Pope IV wanted to make him a cardinal the position he successfully refused. In 1556, at the death of Ignatius, the professed fathers in Rome named him vicar general.

As mentioned above, after having weathered all the external and internal challenges, the First General Congregation of the Society of Jesus convened in 1558 and elected him as the second General Superior of the Society of Jesus. During his generalate, he not only helped to put the recently approved Constitutions into practice in the midst of challenges from Pope Paul IV, but also helped his successor, Pope Pio

¹⁹⁵ A. ALBURQUERQUE, *Diego Laínez: Primer biógrafo de S. Ignacio*, cf. *FNI*, 619.

IV, to prepare for the third and last session of the Trent Council (1562) at which he attended proved to be an accomplished theologian helping the Council towards reform. After the Council, he returned to Rome continued his teaching and preaching ministry until his death three years later on January 19, 1565.¹⁹⁶

Francis Borja was born in 1510 in Gandía into a family of two illustrious noble origins that consisted of popes Calixtus III and Alexander VI on one side and the kings of the crown of Aragón on the other. As a young boy, he led a pious life and with such a piety he later led the Society of Jesus as its third General Superior. In 1528, he began to serve the court of Charles V, during which the Empress arranged his marriage with the Portuguese lady Leonor de Castro in 1529. And together they had 4 boys and 4 girls. For the next 20 years, he faithfully provided service to the royal court as Viceroy of Catalonia, and later inherited the title of the Duke of Gandía 1543.

After having experienced death of the empress and of his wife, he became disenchanted with court life. He made the *Exercises* in 1546 and made the decision of entering the Society of Jesus and made his solemn profession in 1548. Earlier he had befriended with Favre and Araoz then later through whom he came to know Ignatius. Borja's decision to enter the Society was kept secret, according to Ignatius, "porque el mundo no tiene orejas para oír tal estampido."¹⁹⁷ In 1554, Ignatius named Borja Commissary General of Spain, Portugal, and all of its overseas mission. And Lainez named him Assistant General in 1564. After the death of Lainez, the Second General Congregation elected him Superior General in 1565. His generalate is known "por los

¹⁹⁶ A. ALBURQUERQUE, *Diego Lainez*; ID. "Lainez, Diego," *DEI*, II, 1109 – 1115; *Documenta indica (DI)*, 18 vols. ed. J. WICKI, MHSI, Roma 1988, especially III – VI during D. Lainez's Generalate; M. COLPO and M. SCADUTO, "Diego Lainez 1512 - 1565," *AHSI* 59 (1990), 191 – 225; M. SCADUTO, "Lainez, Diego," *DHCJ*, II, 1601 – 5; ID. *L'Epoca di Giacomo Lainez: Il governo (1556 – 1565)*, Edizioni "La Civiltà Cattolica", Roma 1964; ID. *L'Epoca di Giacomo Lainez: L'azione (1556 – 1565)*, Edizioni "La Civiltà Cattolica", Roma 1974; G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier I*, 203 – 5, 204, 237, 254, 269, 296, 410, and more).

¹⁹⁷ *Epp* I, 444.

noviciados, por la fidelidad a la oración, por las misiones extranjeras, y el equilibrio sereno entre la vida espiritual y apostólica.” He passed away in Rome in 1572.¹⁹⁸

Everard Mercurian was born in 1514 in Luxembourg. At age of twenty-two, he began to study for the priesthood at the College of St. Jerome in Liège, where he mastered Latin, German, and Italian, along with French, his mother tongue. After having finished his study, he was ordained a priest in 1546 and sent to be pastor of a small village near Marcour. Unsuccessful as a pastor, he decided to go to Paris seeking advice from the Jesuits whom he met earlier in Louvain during his time of studies. In Paris, he made the *Exercises* and decided to enter the Society. After having resolved his pastoral duties, he was accepted into the Society in 1548 in Paris.

As the war broke out between Spain and France, Ignatius summoned Mercurian and other Jesuits in France to Rome. In 1552, upon his arrival to Rome, Ignatius appointed Mercurian minister of the professed house and worked closely with him during this time. Having recognized his talent, Ignatius sent him to Perugia to be the rector and to establish a Jesuit college there. In 1557, Laínez as vicar-general after Ignatius’ death named him commissary of Lower Germany with a task of establishing another Jesuit province. He participated in the First General Congregation after which being named provincial of Northern Germany and Belgium. In 1565, he attended the Second General Congregation (1563) that subsequently elected him as the assistant of the German Assitancy that consisted of Germany,

¹⁹⁸ C. de DALMASES, “Borja, Francisco de,” *DHCJ*, II, 1605 – 1611; ID. *El Padre Francisco de Borja*, BAC, Madrid 2002; the English translation, *Francis Borgia: Grandee of Spain, Jesuit, Saint*, IJS, Saint Louis 1991; *Documenta indica (DI)*, 18 vols. ed. J. WICKI, MHSI, Roma 1988, especially VI – VIII during F. Borja’s Generalate; E. GARCÍA HERNÁN, *La acción diplomática de Francisco de Borja al servicio del pontificado 1571 – 1572*, Organismo Público Valenciano de Investigación, Valencia 2000; *San Francisco de Borja Santo y Duque (1510 – 2010)*, eds. E. GARCÍA HERNÁN et als., Fundación Cultural de la Nobleza Española, Madrid 2010; *Monumenta Borgia: Sanctus Franciscus Borgia quartus gaudere dux et Societatis Iesu praepositus generalis tertius 1510-1572*, 2 vols., editado por Enrique García Hernán, Generalitat – IHSI, Valencia – Roma 2003. M. RUIZ JURADO, “Francisco de Borja y el Instituto de la Compañía de Jesús,” *AHSI* 41 (1972) 176 – 206; ID., “Entrada del duque de Gandía en la Compañía de Jesús,” *Man* 44 (1972) 121 - 144.

Austria, France, Belgium, and missions to the British Isles. In 1569, Borja appointed him visitor to France to complete the visitation initiated by J. Nadal earlier.

At Borja's death in October 1571, the Third General Congregation convened in 1573. After having gone through much difficulties the Congregation elected Mercurian as the fourth Superior General of the Society. Commenting on Mercurian, Polanco wrote,

Es hombre doctor, piadoso, prudente, activo y apto para grandes empresas. Trabaja admirablemente en la viña del Señor, aunque él no cree tener talento para predicar en estos países. Sin embargo, explica al pueblo la Sagrada Escritura, oye confesiones, y con su trato familiar aprovecha mucho en Perusa, atrayendo las almas a Cristo.¹⁹⁹

During the Mercurian's generalate, the *Summary of the Constitutions* were published and the rules for the various offices in the Society of Jesus established. He passed away on August 1, 1580.²⁰⁰

During the generalates of Diego Laínez, Francisco Borja, and Everard Mercurian, Jesuit presence and ministry extend across Europe: the first Jesuit colleges opening in the Netherlands (1562) and Fleming (1575), the first Jesuit arrival to Hungary (1561), to Poland and neighboring Livonia and Lithuania (1575) and England (1580), the creation of new provinces in the Germany Assistancy, namely Belgian and Rhenish provinces (1564);²⁰¹ journeyed to the royal Ethiopian court in 1557²⁰² and went on a papal mission to the Middle East for the first time in 1578;²⁰³

¹⁹⁹ MHSI V, 610.

²⁰⁰ ASTRAIN, III, 2 – 210; *For Matters of Greater Moment*, 6 – 8; M. FOIS, “Mercuriano (Lardinois), Everardo (Everard),” *DHJCJ*, II, 1611 – 1614; *Documenta indica (DI)*, 18 vols. (J. WICKI, ed.), MHSI, Roma 1988, especially VIII – XI during E. Mercurian's Generalate; R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *Manual de Historia de la Compañía de Jesús*, Aldecoa, Madrid 1941, 143 – 186; *The Mercurian Project: Forming Jesuit Culture 1573 – 1580*, (T. McCoog, ed.), IHSI – IJS, Rome – Saint Louis 2004; T. SEVERIN, *Mercurian: Un grand Belge, Curé Ardennais, Général des Jésuites*, H. Dessain, Liège 1946.

²⁰¹ ASTRAIN I, 654; W. BANGERT, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, 55 – 83; also see R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *Manual de Historia de la Compañía de Jesús*, 155 – 177.

²⁰² Andrés de Oviedo, the auxiliary bishop to the Ethiopian patriarch led a party of five Jesuits to the royal court hoping to save the Jesuit mission there (W. BANGERT, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, 89; D. ALDEN, *Making of an Enterprise*, 52 – 55).

opened new mission territories in Florida, Mexico, and Peru in 1566 and granted the first bachelor's degree in 1575 and master's degree in 1578 to its student in Bahía;²⁰⁴ penetrated deeper into the heart of “the Indies” “from Akbar, the great mogul of an empire touching the Himalayas in the north and reaching from Bengal to Kabul and *beyond*,”²⁰⁵ entering China in 1579.²⁰⁶ Thus, the twenty-five years after Ignatius's death, members of the Society continued to extend the spirit of *pelerignatio* of the early Companions to the wider horizon of the world.

Jesuit communication to Rome showed that “place names like Goa, Malacca, Yamaguchi, Macao, Belém, Rio de Janeiro, Luanda became as familiar in the records of the Society as Naples, Augsburg, Cologne, Valladolid, and Coimbra.”²⁰⁷ In his Holiness blessing to the Fourth General Congregation of the Society of Jesus, Pope Gregory XIII (1502 – 1585) offered his impression on the Society's overwhelming presence in the world:

Vuestra Congregación es legítima, pues, como afirmáis, han concurrido todos los vocales y no interviene vicio alguno... Vuestra santa religión, que verdaderamente es santa, *está difundida por todo el mundo*. Doquiera tenéis colegios y domicilios. Vosotros dirigís los reinos, las provincias y todo el orbe.²⁰⁸

3.2 Mission policy in the Indies

In the Indies, after Xavier's death, Jesuits confronted with various challenges. In India, conflict between the Portuguese church and the old Syrian churches jeopardized the working relationship between European missionaries and native

²⁰³ Pope Gregory XIII (1502 – 1585) at the patriarch's invitation to renew the union between the Maronites and Rome chose the two Jesuit Hebrew and Arabic scholars, Tommaso Raggio and Giambattista Eliano, to the the Middle East (W. BANGERT, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, 83).

²⁰⁴ W. BANGERT, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, 92 – 93.

²⁰⁵ W. BANGERT, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, 85; also for references on “misiones entre infieles (1558 – 1580)” please see R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *Manual de Historia de la Compañía de Jesús*, 177 – 181; D. ALDEN, *Making of an Enterprise*, 51 - 2.

²⁰⁶ L. BROCKEY, *Journey to the East*, 4.

²⁰⁷ L. BROCKEY, *Journey to the East*, 84.

²⁰⁸ ASTRAIN, III, 215.

Christians. St. Thomas Christians accused the Portuguese church of suppressing and disfiguring the native identity of the Malabar church.²⁰⁹ In addition, the establishment of the Inquisition in India in 1560 further complicated the missionary effort among the natives.²¹⁰ As a result, St. Thomas Christians were put in a defensive position feeling as an “ever-present” threat if they were to protest against the Portuguese church.²¹¹ Furthermore, Jesuit mission in the islands that stretched from Amboina to Ternate, also known as the Spice Islands, which Xavier had laboriously built,²¹² was taken over first by a native Muslim uprising in 1574. In 1606, these islands were won over by the Dutch who eventually entrusted the future of Christianity in the care of the Protestant Church.²¹³ Due to the extended territories of the Indian mission field and the diversity of its population, communication between province superiors and individual missionary post of the Society of Jesus remained “very wearisome and difficult.” Reports on mission and decision on its business, therefore, rested mainly on the responsibility of local superiors.²¹⁴

In Japan, Xavier’s death left the Jesuit mission there with only one priest, Cosme de Torres (1510 – 1570)²¹⁵ as its superior and a lay brother. The most Jesuits he had at one time for the mission during this twenty-seven year span before the

²⁰⁹ S. MOFFET, *A History of Christianity in Asia: Volume II (1500 – 1900)*, Orbis Books, New York 2005, 12 – 16.

²¹⁰ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano’s Mission Principles for Japan. Part I: The Problem*, 112 - 3; S. MOFFET, *A History of Christianity in Asia II*, 13. It is noted here that Jesuits were discouraged to involve in the Inquisition (J. SCHÜTTE, *Mission Principles. Part I*, 113).

²¹¹ S. MOFFET, *A History of Christianity in Asia II*, 13.

²¹² G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier III*, 142 – 207.

²¹³ S. MOFFET, *A History of Christianity in Asia II*, 65.

²¹⁴ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano’s Mission Principles. Part I*, 125 – 6.

²¹⁵ Successor of Francis Xavier in Japan. He was born in Valencia, Spain. He was ordained a priest in 1534. After having spent a few years teaching in Mallorca and studying canon law in his hometown, he left for Mexico “buscando lo que no sabía” in 1538. In 1546, he journeyed Moluccas where he met and moved by Xavier and resolved to enter the Society in 1548. In 1549, he accompanied Xavier, J. Fernandez, and Anjiro to Japan. While Xavier moved around the country, he stayed in Yamaguchi from 1550 to 1556. Valignano considered his twenty year leadership in Japan after Xavier’s death the first stage of the Japanese Church (G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier IV*, 16.43.235.281, etc.; R. YUUKI, “Torres, Cosme de,” *DHCJ*, IV, 3819 -3820).

arrival of Valignano in 1579 was thirteen.²¹⁶ To respond to the immense need in the vast mission of Japan, Jesuits had to spread out and to live in isolation at their posts for long period of time. Each Jesuit served as his own superior.²¹⁷ Hence, not until the arrival of Alessandro Valignano (1539 - 1606), the Visitor of all the East Indian Jesuit missions, to India and Japan in 1574 and in 1579 respectively, a common mission principle was not officially formed in Jesuit missions in the Indies.²¹⁸

Alessandro Valignano was born in Chieti, Italy in 1539. His family was close friends of Gianpietro Carafa, who was bishop of Chieti from 1504 to 1524, cardinal bishop from 1537 to 1550, and later Pope Paul IV from 1555 to 1559. He earned a doctorate degree in Civil Law in Padua at the age of nineteen. He came to Rome in 1559 hoping to pursue an ecclesial career under the sponsorship of his family's family, Pope Paul IV. Having learned about the Pope's death, he returned to Padua and continue his studies. In 1566, he resolved all the business of his life and entered the Society. He studied philosophy and theology at the Roman College, and physics and metaphysics under the distinguished mathematician Clavius from 1567 – 1569.

Valignano was ordained into the priesthood in 1570. After his priestly ordination he continued to study in Rome while serving as novice master in 1571. He was named rector of the college at Macerata in 1572. On September 1573, the newly elected Jesuit General Mercurian summoned him to Rome and named him the Jesuit Visitor of the Indies. He left Genoa, Italy in 1573 and arrived Goa on September 1574. During his thirty-two years of labor in the Indies, he traveled extensively back and forth India and Japan consulting with Jesuits and natives and developing

²¹⁶ D. ALDEN, *Making of an Enterprise*, 61 and important table on page 46; S. MOFFET, *A History of Christianity in Asia II*, 73 – 5.

²¹⁷ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano's Mission Principles. Part I*, 223.

²¹⁸ To his credit, Cabral gathered all Japanese Jesuits for consultation in Kuchinotsu regarding future plan for Jesuit mission there (J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano's Mission Principles. Part I*, 230 – 8).

missionary methods for the Society. He was considered the “chief organizer of the mission enterprise that had been expanding since Xavier’s day.”²¹⁹ Upon his arrival, Valignano played a significant role as the chief “architect” organizing and shaping the foundation for the development and progress of Jesuit mission in the Indies in the late sixteenth century.²²⁰ Hence, Jesuit mission policy during this period will be studied accordingly to the time before and after Valignano’s arrival.

3.2.1 Before the arrival of Alessandro Valignano

After the generalate of Ignatius, the Jesuit mission in the Indies remained as one of the “alta misión” under the government of General Laínez. Having been aware of its growth and expansion, Laínez instructed the Jesuits to maintain the Society’s charism that had been instituted in the *Constitutions*. We read from Laínez’s instruction to the Jesuits in the Indies:

Es muy necesario que andéys cautamente in medio nationis pravae atque perversae, por conservar entre ella toda puridad, y que lo que falta de la clausura y vigilancia de los superiores, y ordenaciones y reglas de nuestra Compañía, que no podréis en todas partes observar, se suppla con el santa temor y amor de Dios, y con la diligente observación de los votos substiales, y lo demás que podréis, de nuestro Instituto, y con algún recogimiento que cada día.²²¹

Jesuit works in the Indies, as Laínez recognized, consisted of two aspects, namely, maintaining the Christian faith among the converts and converting those who were foreign to the faith. We read in the same letter mentioned above:

²¹⁹ *Alessandro Valignano S.I. Uomo del Rinascimento: Ponte tra Oriente e Occidente*, a cura di A. TAMBURELLO, M.A. ÜÇERLER, M. RUSSO, IHSI, Roma 2008, elaborated chronology of his life is found on 369 – 383; A. VALIGNANO, *Les jésuites au Japon: Relation missionnaire (1583)*, traduction, présentation et notes de J. BÉSINEAU, Désclée de Brouwer, Paris 1990, 24 – 43; D. ALDEN, *Making of an Enterprise*, 247.371.401.434.573.634; J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano’s Mission Principles. Part I*, xv – xviii, 30 – 43; J. CIESLIK / J. WICKI, “Valignano, Alessandro,” *DHCJ*, IV, 877 – 3879.

²²⁰ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano’s Mission Principles: Part I*, 3.

²²¹ General Laínez’s letter dated December 1, 1558 written from Rome to the Jesuits in the Indies (*DI* IV, 108 – 113, 111 – 2).

No solamente de conservar y ayudar los christianos que ya en la fe tienen principio de su salvación, ... pero aun de traer muchos otros de nuevo, que del todo eran siervos del demonio, y con él hijos de ira y de perdición, al estado de la libertad santa y adopción de los hijos de Dios, y herederos con Christo nuestro Señor.²²²

For the latter, Laínez reminded the Jesuits in the Indies of their mission in the Indies, that was, “en los próximos, ayudándolos a conocer y amar y obedecer a Dios N.X., y a conseguir el último y bien aventurado fin para que fueron criados y con tanto precio redimidos.”²²³

For both works mentioned above, the Society under the Laínez’s leadership continued to insist on the necessity of cultural adaptation in the Indies. As early as 1558, questions such as the importance of learning local language,²²⁴ the admittance of the native into the Society’s membership, priestly ordination of the native in the Society [17°],²²⁵ the “modus ad trahendos infideles ad christum excogitetur” [7°],²²⁶ the establishment of the bishopric of Japan [8°],²²⁷ and the establishment of the office of the general visitor of the East [2°]²²⁸ were discussed as part of the preparation of the First General Congregation (June – September of 1558).²²⁹ Though these questions were not addressed in the decrees of the Congregation, they became part of “l’intero piano missionario perseguito da Laínez fin dagli escordi del suo governo.”²³⁰ Laínez had himself visioned “un seminario bueno para América, como se ha hecho en

²²² 109 – 110.

²²³ Laínez’s letter dated January 10, 1561 from Rome to António de Quadros, the provincial of the Indies Province (*DI V*, 30 – 32, 32).

²²⁴ P. LETURIA, “Un significativo documento de 1558,” 102 – 117, 117.

²²⁵ 116.

²²⁶ 112.

²²⁷ 113.

²²⁸ 110.

²²⁹ 105

²³⁰ M. SCADUTO, *L’Epoca di Giacomo Laínez: Il Governo*, 241.

Coimbra para todas las otras partes transmarinas” as training center for Jesuit missionaries.²³¹

a. Learning the language of the natives and adopting their practices

One of the important issues, which the document of 1558 insisted upon, remained the necessity of learning the local languages and sending Jesuits with this learning ability. We read in [18°]:

Nostros etiam ex europa missos, linguas addiscere huiusmodi nationum oporteret, et arte ac usu ad id iuari, si quidem indole ad id praediti censerentur.²³²

Instructions from Jesuit Superior General, major superiors, and superiors confirmed that the “*studio linguarum indigenarum, quod in opere conversionis maxime necessarium est.*”²³³ Like Ignatius and Xavier, General Laínez praised the work of Henrique Henriques with the Indian languages “nos dan mucha edificación, y así mesmo consolación.”²³⁴ Similarly, we read from General Borja’s letter dated October 28, 1567 from Rome written to the provincial of India instructed Jesuits “que se haze las lenguas diversas que aprenden los nuestros.”²³⁵

While learning the local languages deserved praises and encouragement, adopting natives’ practices required prudent judgment and careful discernment. Regarding the use of “ciertas medicinas, que usa los jogues en aquellas partes para quitar la concupiscentia de la carne” which was raised by Henriques whose work with the natives languages had been praised and recommended, Laínez careful instructed:

²³¹ In a letter dated on the 20th of May 1560 (*MLain* V, 60; J. GRANERO, *La acción misionera y los métodos misionales*, 75).

²³² P. LETURIA, “Un significativo documento de 1558,” 117.

²³³ *DI* VII, 34*. Italics are mine.

²³⁴ We read from General Laínez’s letter dated December 11, 1562 written from Trent to Henrique Henriques, “y los trabajos vuestros y nuestros Hermanos, que andan ejercitando la charidad con essas gentes, nos dan mucha edificación, y así mesmo consolación el fructo que dellos se sigue conservándose los convertidos y convirtiéndose muchos otros de nuevo” (*DI* V, 660 – 661; *MLain* VI, 558 – 560).

²³⁵ General Borja’s letter dated October 28, 1567 from Rome written to António de Quadros, provincial of the Indies (*DI* VII, doc. 74, no. 16).

Bien será que se mire en esto, porque si no ay supersticiones ningunas mescoladas, y los remedios son naturales y no dañan a la salud corporal, ni tanpoco se teme scándalo de los próximos en que se use de tal remedio, no vemos por acá inconveniente que la castidad de los nuestros se ayude dél entre tantos peligros y molestias, como allá ocurren.²³⁶

Later, on the same issue, General Borja concluded:

Lo da la medicina que el P. Enrique Enríquez a cuenta para la castidad, puédesse dejar para los monjes, y contentarse los nostros con las receptas acostumbradas a los siervos de Dios en su Yglesia.²³⁷

b. Formation of Jesuit community and the native clergy

Responding to the recommendation of establishing the office of the Visitor of the East,²³⁸ Borja appointed Gonçalo Alvarez (1527 - 1573),²³⁹ former rector of the college of Coimbra, to be the first Jesuit visitor to the Portuguese missions in Asia.²⁴⁰

Writing from Rome on October 1, 1567, General Borja asked the Visitor to the Indies to remind the Jesuits to preserve the spirit of loving service as part of the charism of the Society in maintaining Jesuit vocation. We read from the letter:

Avisasse también de algunas partes de la India que en aquellas partes se procede muy diferentemente de lo de acá, y en algunas cosas fuera no sólo de nuestro Instituto, pero de la buena edificación. Dizen que dominantur in clerum, que usan de la superioridad con imperio, que, *no como Padres con hijos, sino con espíritu de servitud, dan fácilmente penitencias de diciplinas*; y no solamente esto, pero que ha hombre de treinta años, y en Goa a un diácono, y a otros han dado diciplinas rigurosas por manos ajenas, por donde se han salido algunos de la Compañía.²⁴¹

²³⁶ General Laínez's letter dated January 1 – 2, 1563 written from Trent to the provincial of the Indies Province, António de Quadros (*DI V*, 693 – 699, 698 – 699).

²³⁷ General Borja's letter dated November 29, 1565 written from Rome to the Provincial of the Indies, António de Quadros (*DI VI*, 522 – 529, 526).

²³⁸ P. LETURIA, "Un significativo documento de 1558," 110, [2°].

²³⁹ Alvares Gonçalo was born in Vila Viçosa, Portugal in 1527. He was associated with Coimbra university and entered the Society in 1549. He was ordained to the priesthood in 1553 and professed his final vows in 1560. He was appointed master of the novice from 1560 – 1562. From 1562 – 1565, he served as the rector of the Coimbra University. After having been rector, he was named superior of the professed house of São Roque in Lisbon. In 1567, Borja appointed him to be the visitor of the Portuguese missions in Asia. He left Lisbon on April 6, 1568 arrived India and remained there until 1572. Sailing from Macau to Japan with the hope to visit the Jesuit mission there, his ship was lost in a typhoon on July 21, 1573 (*DI VII*, 16 – 17; A. VALIGNANO, *Historia del principio y progreso*, 33* - 34*; J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano's Mission Principles. Part I*, 44 – 45; G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier IV*, 315 footnote 8).

²⁴⁰ *MBor IV*, 360.525.527-535; J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano's Mission Principles. Part I*, 44 – 45.

²⁴¹ "P. Francisci Borgiae, Praep. Gen. S.I, Altera instructio pro Visitatore Provinciae Indicae. Roma 1 Octobris 1567," *DI VII*, 303 – 313, 305. Italics are mine.

More importantly, General Borja, like his predecessor, insisted on “the intención de su Santidad,” that Jesuits “vayan ganando poco a poco, y fortificando lo ganado como a nosotros lo ha dicho, es que no se baptize más de los que se puedan sostener en la fe.”²⁴² To do so, Jesuits must rely on the formation of the native clergy.

We read from Borja’s instruction to the Visitor of the Indies:

Véase si abría *algunos de aquellas naciones, dignos de ser admitidos para la Compañía*, siendo probados y conocido(s) a la larga, o a lo menos procúrese de habilitarlos para que sean operarios que puedan ayudar a lo Obispo o a la Compañía en la viña del Señor.²⁴³

Alvarez, after having lived in India for a year, responded to Borja’s instruction of investigating the possibilities of admittance of the natives to the Society with reluctance. We read in the letter dated December 1568, addressed to Borgia:

Pola experiencia sentem os Padres que por agora nom convem receber a Companhia dos da terra, nem ainda mestiços; e superiores doutras religiões estão muito nisso. Todavía vou-me inclinando, depois que os tratei de se industriarem e habilitarem alguns que possam ajudar o Ordinario, e se tamben forem para nós, que nom se serrem de todo as portas a nenhuma nação, os por todos morreo Christo Noso Senhor.²⁴⁴

Thus, admittance of the natives to the Society while not impossible was highly selective. The natives who lacked the “requisite talent for the studies of the order or who did not command among the Portuguese and the natives themselves the respect necessary for a fruitful apostolate” were not permitted to enter. Neither did the mestizos, children of a Portuguese father and a native mother. Few exceptional cases

²⁴² General Borja’s instructions to Jesuits in Peru dated March 1567 (*MPer* I, 122).

²⁴³ “P. Francisci Borgiae, Praep. Gen. S.I., Instructio prima pro Visitatore Indiae. Roma 10 Ianuarii 1567,” *DI* VII, 185 – 192, 189. Italics are mine.

²⁴⁴ *DI* VI, 575.

““Experience has taught us that it is not now convenient for us to admit the natives of the land into the Society, not even if they are mesticos. The Superiors of the other religious Orders have likewise come round strongly to this way of thinking. Withal, I personally feel that if they are well trained and indoctrinated, some of them may be able to help the Ordinary. And in course of time, we may even be able to admit a very few of them ourselves, so as not to close to door altogether against any nation, since Christ Our Lord died for us all” (C.R. BOXER, “The Problem of the Native Clergy in the Portuguese and Spanish Empires from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries,” *The Mission of the Church and the Propagation of the Faith*, edited by G.J. CUMMING, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1970, Vol. VI, 85 – 105, 89).

of admitting the castizos, sons of a Portuguese father and a mestizo or vice versa, were made. Even candidates who were born in India to parents both of whom were of Portuguese origin, “special care had to be exercised because their rearing in the Indian climate, and their education usually made them less useful.”²⁴⁵

Such strict admission was due to the deep negative impression of the Indian culture from leaders of the Society. Xavier considered the Indians to be “barbarous and ignorant.”²⁴⁶ Later, Valignano judged them “pochissimo dediti a niuna religione nè setta,”²⁴⁷ lacking of “distinction and talent. They are born to serve rather than command.”²⁴⁸ And in his *Summario*, “es también toda la gente muy ignorante como quien no tiene ninguna suerte de letras ni de ciencias.”²⁴⁹

While admission remained highly selective, ordination of the natives in the Society proved nearly impossible. From the time of Xavier to the suppression of the Society, only one Indian, Pedro Luis (1532 – 1596),²⁵⁰ a Christian Brahmin, was ordained to the priesthood in the Society.²⁵¹ Later, based on Valignano’s negative assessment of the Indian culture, General Mercurian decided to bar both Asians and Eurasians from entering the Society in 1579. We read in his letter to the Ruy Vicente (1523 - 1587),²⁵² the Provincial of Goa in the same year:

²⁴⁵ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano’s Mission Principles: Part I*, 137.

²⁴⁶ *MXav* I, 476, 795; G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier III*, 583

²⁴⁷ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano’s Mission Principles: Part I*, 135.

²⁴⁸ 131.

²⁴⁹ C. BORGES, “Redrawing the face of the Jesuit Mission in India: High and Lows in Alessandro Valignano’s Mission Strategy,” *Alessandro Valignano: Uomo de Rinascimento: Ponte tra Oriente e Occidente*, 67, footnote 6.

²⁵⁰ Of the Malabar origin, entered the Society in 1561, ordained in 1576. He worked as a translator and catechist. He wrote and petitioned General Aquaviva to admit additional Indians into the Society (*DI* VII, 80; C. BORGES, “Redrawing the face,” 67; C. R. BOXER, “Problem of the Native Clergy,” 89; D. ALDEN, *Making of an Enterprise*, 263).

²⁵¹ C. R. BOXER, “Problem of the Native Clergy,” 89 – 90; D. ALDEN, *Making of an Enterprise*, 263.

²⁵² He was born in Badajoz, Spain. He entered the Society already having been ordained in 1553. Before being sent to India, he was a professor of the Coimbra in 1555, rector in 1559, master of novices of the College of Lisbon in 1562, vice-rector of Braga from 1564 – 66, rector of Braganza in 1570 and Oporto in 1572 where he left for India. He was appointed provincial of Goa from 1574 to

Avemos entendido qe de muchos mestizos y outros criados em essa tierra, recebidos em la Compañía, han quedado en ella poquíssimo y aum esses con quasi ninguna esperança de aver de ser utiles a la Compañía. Por donde nos parece en el Señor que conviene apertar la mano, como se ha ordenado em las provincias del Brasil y Peru, por la instancia que sobre ello nos han hecho. Y asi jusgamos que ultra de los que san del todo naturales de la tierra (los quales em ninguna manera se deven por agora recibir, sino en el Japón), no conviene también recibir mastizos. Y quanto a los castiços o del todo europeus, pero nacidos o criados em essas partes, nos parece que no se deven recibir, sino muy raro y con las condiciones sigientes. La 1.^a, que sean a lo menos de 18 anos de edad acabados; la 2.^a, que ayan perseverado en desear y pedir la Compañía dos anos; la 3.^a, que depois de recibidos se tenga particular miramiento de despedirlos primero que salgan del noviciado, si no dieren con él la satisfacción que se desea. E este ordem se observe hasta venir aquy procurador dessa Provincia, el qual nos dará particular información de cómo esto sale.²⁵³

In contrast with the Indian culture, Jesuits generally considered the Japanese as “gente bianca”²⁵⁴ whose culture either as equal or even surpassed that of Europe. Xavier viewed the Japanese to be “gente tão discreta e de bons emgenhos, desejosa de saber, obediente á rezão, e de outras muytas partes boas.”²⁵⁵ According to Cosmes de Torres, the Jesuit superior of Japan after Xavier, “the Japanese are more ready to be implanted with our holy faith than all the nations of the world. They are as prudent as can be imagined. They are governed by reason as much as, or more than, Spaniards.”²⁵⁶ According to Valignano, the Japanese were “très civilisée,..., très douée et de grande intelligence... C’est la nation la plus sensible au point d’honneur qui soit au monde.”²⁵⁷ As a result, Japanese merited favorable consideration regarding their admission to the Society.

1583, superior of Salsete from 1583 to 1584. He maintained a close relationship with Valignano who in turn esteemed his work and his advices (J. WICKI, “Rui Vicente,” *DH CJ*, IV, 3939).

²⁵³ C. MERCÈS DE MELO, *Recruitment and Formation*, 166.

²⁵⁴ A. VALIGNANO, *Historia del principio y progreso*, 127; ID. *Les jésuites au Japon*, 58; *MXav* I, 694.

²⁵⁵ *MXav* I, 692.

²⁵⁶ G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* IV, 269.

²⁵⁷ A. VALIGNANO, “Sumario,” *Les jésuites au Japon*, 53 – 245, 54 – 55. For diverse Jesuit opinions on the Japanese culture and how they changed with time, please see J.F. MORAN, *The Japanese and the Jesuits: Alessandro Valignano in sixteenth-century Japan*, 95 – 114.

Though Japanese was favorably admitted to the Society, prior to the arrival of Valignano, they were mostly discriminated against by the European members being treated as “second-class membership... more as servants than as religious brethren.”²⁵⁸ Unlike Xavier, Torres, and Valignano, Francisco Cabral (1533 - 1609)²⁵⁹ deemed the Japanese to be “haughty, avaricious, unreliable, and insincere,”²⁶⁰ “*barbarisimos en maneira do regimento.*”²⁶¹ Thus, under his leadership, Japanese Jesuits were treated “with a rod of iron (*in virga ferrea*), with blows (*açotes*) and rough words.”²⁶² His mission policy while stressed on abnegation, humility, and ascetical practices, failed to take Japanese culture into consideration.²⁶³ Instead of adapting themselves to Japanese cultures, Portuguese Jesuits not only maintained their ways of life, but also forced Japanese Jesuits to conform to Portuguese cultures.²⁶⁴ Thus, the Society remained European while living and laboring on Japanese soil.

Even worse, a deep division existed among Jesuits, especially between European and Japanese Jesuits. On the one hand, missionaries who were sent to

²⁵⁸ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano's Mission Principles. Part I*, 252 – 3.

²⁵⁹ He was born in São Miguel, Portugal from an ancient noble line in 1533. In 1550, searching for fame and adventure, he came to India. In 1552, during one of his expeditions, he met Antonio Vaz in Ormuz and learned about the Society. He resolved to enter the Society in 1554. He was highly esteemed in the Jesuit mission in India. He was appointed novice master before having been ordained a priest. Once he was ordained, he was named a province consultor. From 1561 to 1567, he spent most of his time teaching theology in Goa, sometimes serving as rector in Bassein and in Cochin. In 1568, he was appointed the regional superior of Malacca, Macao and the Japanese mission, succeeding Cosmes de Torres. Cabral remains “una de las figuras más discutidas de la misión japonesa.” Though the Japanese mission met with a lot of success during his superiorship, his severe treatment and policy created a lot of problems and tensions among Jesuits and with the Japanese, thus, opposed by Valignano. He left Japan in 1582 and named superior of the China mission from 1583 – 1586, provincial of Goa from 1592 – 1597. He became actively involved with the Indian Church during the later years of his life (J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano's Mission Principles. Part I*, 187 – 247; J.F. MORAN, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 21 – 28, 95 - 114 and others; R. YUUKI, “Cabral, Francisco,” *DHCJ*, I, 590 – 1).

²⁶⁰ J.F. MORAN, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 101.

²⁶¹ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano's Mission Principles. Part I*, 205.

²⁶² J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano's Mission Principles. Part I*, 255; J. F. MORAN, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 53.

²⁶³ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano's Mission Principles. Part I*, 208 – 210. It is also noted here that Cabral while stressing on imitating Xavier's life of humility and poverty in Japan, omitted the fact that Xavier had resolved to dress in silk when he came to visit the daimyo of Yamaguchi (210).

²⁶⁴ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano's Mission Principles. Part I*, 250.

Japan were neither encouraged to learn nor adequately trained in Japanese language since it was thought, “Japanese could not be learned... nor so easily acquired even by practice.”²⁶⁵ As a result, European Jesuits were unable to communicate with their Japanese companions or to understand their cultures. On the other hand, Japanese *irmão*,²⁶⁶ were sent directly to work after having been admitted to the Society being trained in or taught neither Latin nor Portuguese nor any ecclesiastical studies nor any kind of scholarly knowledge, nor even the rules of the Society.²⁶⁷ The Japanese *irmão* were kept “in their place,” withheld from any kind of intellectual learning not because of their inability, but because Jesuit superiors were afraid that if they did they would have little respect for the Europeans and thus lorded over them.²⁶⁸ Consequently, mistrust and hatred were bred between European and Japanese Jesuits who shared the same house. Fifteen years after his first arrival to Japan, reflecting on behaviors of Japanese *irmão* under Cabral’s leadership, Valignano observed:

The Japanese *irmãos* and *dojuku*²⁶⁹ living in our houses in conditions such constraint were very unhappy and mistrustful. They made no progress; rather they kicked against the goad and behaved more as enemies than as sons of the Society. They had no affection for the fathers and detested the whole regime. They spoke all manner of evil against Ours to their compatriots and the Japanese Christians. They made no recruits for the Society; and when some mentioned their desire to come and live in our houses, they dissuaded them from entering and told them all the evil they could of the life lived there.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁵ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano’s Mission Principles. Part I*, 250.

²⁶⁶ The non-priest members of the Society in Japan that include Jesuit scholastic and Jesuit brother, Portuguese or Japanese (J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano’s Mission Principles. Part I*, 181, footnote 376). The term also used for those who were “permanent scholastics,” those being delayed in their ordination (251 – 2, footnote 10).

²⁶⁷ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano’s Mission Principles. Part I*, 252.

²⁶⁸ 251 – 254.

²⁶⁹ Non-Jesuit catechists and other assistants living in the Jesuit houses in Japan. Some are studying to become religious or priests. They wear cassock but it is different from that of the Padres and irmãos (A. ROSS, *A Vision Betrayed*, 49; J.F. MORAN, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 52).

²⁷⁰ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano’s Mission Principles. Part I*, 257.

3.2.2 *After the arrival of Alessandro Valignano*

It was true that Valignano's failure to acquire better knowledge into India's cultures. Such failure not only led him to judge the Indians negatively,²⁷¹ but also subsequently moved General Mercurian's towards the prohibition of admitting Indians into the Society of Jesus.²⁷² However, to his credit, Valignano labored tirelessly to implement the *Constitutions* to the Indian Province and, accordingly, to adapt the Jesuit works to the native cultures. Both of these factors played a major influence in the process of building the Indian Church.²⁷³

a. Native languages and formation of Jesuits and native clergy

Jesuit governance in the Indian Province remained one of Valignano's highest priorities.²⁷⁴ He asked the General to send Jesuits who "possessed talents for government" to be superiors of the mission.²⁷⁵ Following the *Constitutions*,²⁷⁶ individual's talents, attitude, affinity towards specific task, and the nature of the apostolate was seriously taken into consideration regarding Jesuit assigned mission. Accordingly, not all Jesuits were to be sent to work among the natives, but only those who were "reliable, sensible, and zealous should be sent to work among the native Christians, men who were not concerned with making a name for themselves as scholars or orators. The remoter the districts, the more trustworthy must be the men working there."²⁷⁷ No Jesuit should be sent to Japan who did not have his temper well under control.²⁷⁸ A *Pai dos cristão* or *padre delli Christiani* was added to the

²⁷¹ 131.

²⁷² C. BORGES, "Redrawing the face of the Jesuit Mission in India: High and Lows in Alessandro Valignano's Mission Strategy," *Alessandro Valignano: Uomo de Rinascimento*, 67, footnote 6; C. MERCÈS DE MELO, *Recruitment and Formation*, 166.

²⁷³ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano's Mission Principles. Part I*, 154 – 155.

²⁷⁴ 162 – 179.

²⁷⁵ 166.

²⁷⁶ [Co 621.622.623.624]

²⁷⁷ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano's Mission Principles. Part I*, 168.

²⁷⁸ IBID.

office of the provincial who was in charge of issues pertaining to the matter of the native population and their conversion.²⁷⁹

Training Jesuit missionaries in the native languages was included in Valignano's overall plan. Following the instructions resulted from the first provincial congregation of the India province at Chorão in Goa in 1575, he institutionalized various "language seminaries" in major cities of the Indian Province, namely, Japan, Moluccas, on the Fishery Coast, and in Salsette.²⁸⁰ These "language seminaries" served as centers "para aprender la lengua conforme a la diversidad de las regiones y qué modo se tendrá para que los se appliquen a ello y a la ayuda de la Christiandad."²⁸¹ In addition, they were also used as communication centers for the mission where continual contact with natives²⁸² and correspondences among Jesuits in various mission posts took place. Jesuit who were awaiting for their assigned mission could also live in these seminaries to renew their apostolic zeal.²⁸³ One of such "language seminaries" which he later opened in Macao housed future Jesuits such as Michele Ruggieri (1543 - 1607) and Matteo Ricci (1552 - 1610) during their Chinese studies in 1579 and 1582 respectively,²⁸⁴ whose lives, works and their significances will be discussed in the next section of the investigation.

Besides institutionalizing "language seminaries," Valignano actively involved with the Indian Church's ongoing plan of training native clergy. Prior to his arrival, Jesuits in India were working with other religious orders and church leaders in India

²⁷⁹ *DI XVII, 5**; J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano's Mission Principles. Part I*, 178; C. BORGES, "Redrawing the face of the Jesuit Mission in India", 69.

²⁸⁰ C. BORGES, "Redrawing the face of the Jesuit Mission in India," 66

²⁸¹ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano's Mission Principles. Part I*, J. Schütte, 156, footnote 298.

²⁸² *IBID.*

²⁸³ 169.

²⁸⁴ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano's Mission Principles. Part I*, 186; L. BROCKEY, *Journey to the East*, 30 – 33; M. RICCI, *China in the Sixteenth Century. The Journals of Matthew Ricci: 1583 – 1610*, translated from Latin by L. GALLAGHER, Random House, New York 1942, 130 – 5.

to implement the recently approved decrees of the Council of Trent (1545 - 1563),²⁸⁵ one of which called for the training of the clergy. We read in the Council's twenty-third session and its Chapter XVIII:

Every diocese, according to its means and the size of its territory, must erect and support a seminary for the training of a certain number of clerical students chosen from the Episcopal city and from the whole diocese or from the entire Province.²⁸⁶

Applying concretely into the situation of India, the first decree of the Third Provincial Council of Goa (June 9, 1585) declared:

At least one common seminary for the whole Province be erected in this city of Goa, for the instruction and education of the young men sent by each of the Bishops, both sons of the Portuguese and sons of the natives, fit for that (way of life).²⁸⁷

Joining in this effort and following the dispensation by the 18th Decree of the Second Congregation (June – September of 1565),²⁸⁸ at the petition of the archbishop of Goa in 1574, Valignano assumed the archbishop's seminary in Goa under the Society's control.²⁸⁹ In addition, with the approval of General Mercurian in 1577, he erected other seminaries for native students including one for the Saint Thomas

²⁸⁵ The Council of Trent was summoned by Pope Paul III on May 22, 1542 and ended with the confirmation of all the decrees by Pope Pius IV on January 1564. It is considered one of the most important councils that shaped the life and the structure of the Catholic Church up to the last Vatican Ecumenical Council. Ignatius and his first companions were highly involved in this council's effort to reform the Church. Jesuits actively and directly participated in the Council namely Ignatius, Laínez, Salmerón, Jay, Polanco, Nadal (*Epp* I, 386 – 89, 733f; F. CERECEDA, *Diego Laínez en la Europa religiosa de su tiempo 1512 – 1565*, Ediciones Cultura Hispanica, Madrid 1945, vol. I, 199 – 368; Id. vol. II, 65 – 118; 247 – 282; J. O'MALLEY, *The First Jesuits*, 321 – 8; M. SCADUTO, *L'Epoca di Giacomo Laínez 1556 – 1565: L'Azione*, 137 – 267; T. DE SOUZA, "The Council of Trent (1545 – 1563): Its Reception in Portuguese India," *Transcontinental Links in the History of Non-Western Christianity/Transkontinentale Beziehungen in der Geschichte des Aussereuropäischen Christentums*, International Bulletin of Missionary Research, published online April 1, 2005, <http://www.scribd.com/doc/36540682/The-Council-of-Trent-1545-1563-Its-reception-in-Portuguese-India>; download on February 14, 2011, 189 – 201, 191 – 3.

²⁸⁶ C. MERCÈS DE MELO, *Recruitment and Formation*, 127.

²⁸⁷ 133 - 6.

²⁸⁸ "The question was raised: Would it be proper for the Society to accept diocesan seminaries such as the Council of Trent dealt with if the bishops wished to entrust governance of them to Ours? ... The congregation decided that it did not seem proper to accept them. Nonetheless, if the foundation was perpetual and so exceptional... and if the Society had a sufficient number of suitable staff ... the decision was that it could be accepted by dispensation of the superior general, but not otherwise" (*For Matters of Greater Moment*, 116).

²⁸⁹ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano's Mission Principles. Part I*, 157 – 9.

Christians.²⁹⁰ Equally important to the erecting and assuming control of these seminaries was education program in which these students were trained. Thus, Valignano insisted on providing the students the proper clerical training since he believed well-trained Indians could become good diocesan priests.²⁹¹ In addition to their own native languages, these students were to study not Portuguese but Latin and moral theology to enhance their theological knowledge for future ministry among their own people.²⁹²

Under the leadership of Valignano, Jesuit non-coercion policy towards conversion continued to be applied.²⁹³ He did away with the “gift of clothes” at baptism and with the paying of a tithe to the prelates, both of which proved to be burdensome to the natives.²⁹⁴ Native literature was to be made for religious instruction.²⁹⁵ To promote publication in native languages, he encouraged and influenced the setting up of the printing presses in Konkani and Tamil languages.²⁹⁶ In all, Valignano’s work helped to establish to fixed and definite structure proper to the *Constitutions* “redrawing the face of the Jesuit mission in India.”²⁹⁷ He left India in 1577 and arrived Japan via Goa for the first time in July 1579.²⁹⁸ It was in Japan and later in China, Valignano developed a new mission policy molding the Japan and

²⁹⁰ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano’s Mission Principles. Part I*, 157 – 159; C. BORGES, “Redrawing the face of the Jesuit Mission in India,” 66.

²⁹¹ C. BORGES, “Redrawing the face of the Jesuit Mission in India”, 67.

²⁹² J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano’s Mission Principles. Part I*, 161.

²⁹³ For the Conversion Policy of the Jesuits in India, please see H. HERAS, *The Conversion Policy of the Jesuits in India*, Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay 1933.

²⁹⁴ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano’s Mission Principles. Part I*, 173 – 4.

²⁹⁵ 175.

²⁹⁶ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano’s Mission Principles. Part I*, 176; C. BORGES, “Redrawing the face of the Jesuit Mission in India”, 66.

²⁹⁷ C. Borges’s titles of his article.

²⁹⁸ M. DI RUSSO, “Cronologia Valignanea,” *Alessandro Valignano: Uomo de Rinascimento: Ponte tra Oriente e Occidente*, 368 – 383, 373.

China mission “along lines fully consonant with what he believes to be the true Jesuit ‘way of proceeding.’”²⁹⁹

Finally, for greater impact not only on the Indies but also over all the mission of the Church, beginning with Laínez’s generalate, the Society’s central government worked closely with the Holy See to develop an alternative system of directing and managing the Church’s mission. Instead of placing the Church’s mission under the authority of the Patronage system, Polanco envisioned of “un centro direttivo” in Rome directing the mission in consultation with provincials on the field.

Propone, anzi, un’alternativa: che la direzione delle missioni sia affidata in Roma agli eligendi assistenti, altrove ai consultori dei provinciali. Gli uni e gli altri dovrebbero studiare insieme e in periodici rapporti con I superiori I mezzi più efficaci per lo sviluppo e il maggior rendimento spirituale dell’apostolato tra gli infedeli.³⁰⁰

After Laínez, Polanco and Borja, the newly elected Superior General of the Society of Jesus, served as trusted consultants and advisors for Pope Pius V (1504 - 1572) in serious talks and negotiations with the Portuguese and Spanish courts in an effort to create “una congregación permanente de Cardenales que ayudara al Papa en el gobierno de tales territorios para implantar en ellos la fe.”³⁰¹ Valignano’s policy of recruitment and training of Jesuits of diverse nationalities for the Jesuit mission in Asia served as the Society’s further attempt to disengage the Jesuit mission in the East from the Portuguese *padroado*’s stranglehold.³⁰² As a result, “la congregación de Propaganda” was realized and working by 1569.³⁰³ However, with the simultaneous deaths of Pope Pius V and Borja on May 1st and September 30th of 1572 respectively,

²⁹⁹ A. ROSS, “Alessandro Valignano and Culture in the East,” *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts (1540 – 1773)*, 336 – 351, 345.

³⁰⁰ M. SCADUTO, *L’Epoca di Giacomo Lainez: Il Governo*, 241.

³⁰¹ L. LOPETEGUI, “San Francisco de Borja y el plan misional de san Pío V. Primeros pasos de una Congregación de Propaganda Fide,” *AHSI* 11 (1942) 1 – 20, 6.

³⁰² A. ROSS, *A Vision Betrayed*, 38.

³⁰³ *PoCo* II, 697 – 710; L. LOPETEGUI, “San Francisco de Borja,” 12.

the congregation was dissipated.³⁰⁴ Though being short-lived, what Pope Pius V and Borja had envisioned and accomplished planted a seed for the birth of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in 1622.³⁰⁵

4. THE GENERALTE OF AQUAVIVA: *Trials and Triumph*

4.1 Brief historical overview

For the next thirty-four years, the Society of Jesus continued its *peregrinatio* and its rapid growth under Claudio Aquaviva (1543 – 1615),³⁰⁶ its fifth Superior General (1581 - 1615). Aquaviva's thirty-four year generalate, the longest and the “años más tempestos” in the history of the Society,³⁰⁷ signaled the beginning of the new phase in the formative period of the Society.³⁰⁸ Starting with the General Mercurian, there was a “willingness to look to the official leadership of the Society

³⁰⁴ L. LOPETEGUI, “San Francisco de Borja,” 17.

³⁰⁵ L. LOPETEGUI, “San Francisco de Borja,” 17; M. SCADUTO, *L'Epoca di Giacomo Lainez: Il Governo*, 241

³⁰⁶ He was the second son of the duke of Atri and destined for a career in the Vatican. After having finished his humanities studies (Latin, Greek and Hebrew) and mathematics, he went to study law at the University of Perugia. With the help from a family friend, Cardinal Altemps, he was introduced to the papal curia where Pope Pio IV named him his *cameriere segreto partecipante*. While he was in Rome, though the friendship he had with Borja and Polanco, he got to know and fell in love with the Society. In 1566, he renounced his position in the papal curia and with the Pope's blessing joined the Society at the age of twenty-four. After having finished his theological studies and tertianship, he was assigned to teach philosophy at the Roman College. From 1575 on, Mercurian as the Superior General appointed him to various leadership positions: rector at Naples College in 1575, provincial of the Naples Province in 1576, and the provincial of the Roman Province in 1579. At the death of Mercurian in 1580, the Fourth General Congregation was convened in 1581 and almost unanimously elected Aquaviva to be the fifth Superior General of the Society of Jesus. He was only thirty-seven years old, member of the Society for fourteen years, a first-time delegate to a general congregation, and the first General Superior who neither was trained by Ignatius nor knew him personally. Aquaviva's generalate, which weathered through both internal and external challenges and difficulties successfully, was considered the “edad de oro de la Compañía de Jesús” maintaining the character of the founder and adapting it to the new generation in an ever increasing international presence (A. GUERRA, *Un generale fra le milizie del papa. La vita di Claudio Acquaviva scritta da Francesco Sacchini della Compagnia di Gesù*, Franco Angeli, Milano 2001; ASTRAIN, III, 213 – 712; *I Gesuiti ai tempi di Claudio Acquaviva : strategie politiche, religiose e culturali tra Cinque e Seicento*, eds. P. BROGGIO et als., Morcelliana, Brescia 2007; J. de GUIBERT, “Le Généralat de Claude Acquaviva (1581 – 1615). Sa place dans l'histoire de la spiritualité de la Compagnie de Jésus,” *AHSI* 10 (1941) 59 – 93; M. FOIS, “Il generale dei gesuiti Claudio Acquaviva (1581 – 1651), i Sommi Pontefici e la difesa dell'istituto ignaziano,” *AHP* 40 (2002) 199 – 213; R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *Manual de Historia de la Compañía de Jesús*, 187 – 307; W. BANGERT, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, 97 – 175).

³⁰⁷ R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *Manual de historia de la Compañía de Jesús*, 241.

³⁰⁸ Neulinger referred to Generalate of Acquaviva as the “phase of differentiation” (T. NEULINGER, “Renewing the Original Zeal,” 154.

rather than to the survivors of the Ignatian age for the new directions to the Society.”³⁰⁹ However, the Jesuit spirit of *peregrinatio* continued to head on meeting the new future.

Jesuit membership grew more than double from 5,000 to 13,000, Jesuit colleges from 150 to 370, Jesuit residences quadrupled from 30 to 120.³¹⁰ Number of new provinces increased from 21 to 32. The 6th General Congregation in 1608 established the French Assistancy in addition to the four that had already existed, namely, Italy, Germany, Spain, and Portugal.³¹¹ Jesuit continued to extend their missionary territory moving further and deeper into Eastern Europe, Middle East, Asia, Africa, and the Americas.³¹² Japanese was separated from the India Province and became a vice-province directly under Rome.³¹³ Most notably for this investigation, following the Dominicans and Franciscans, Francesco Buzoni (1576 - 1639)³¹⁴ and other Jesuit companions were sent and arrived in Cochin China (modern Vietnam) in 1615.³¹⁵

³⁰⁹ T. CLANCY, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, 117.

³¹⁰ P. BEGHEYN, “The Controversies on Prayer after the Death of Ignatius and their Effect on the Concept of Jesuit Mission,” *CIS* 24 (1993) 78 – 93, 89.

³¹¹ *For Matters of Greater Moment*, 9 - 15; R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *Manual de Historia de la Compañía de Jesús*, 188; T. CLANCY, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life*, 121; W. BANGERT, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, 98.

³¹² W. BANGERT, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, 136 – 168.

³¹³ C. BORGES, “Redrawing the Face of the Jesuit Mission in India,” 71.

³¹⁴ He was born in Naples, Italy and completed two years of humanity studies and civil law before entering the Society. As a Jesuit, he continued his formation in Naples. He taught theology at College of Naples from 1603 to 1607 and minister of the professed house in Naples from 1607 to 1609. In 1609, he began his mission to Asia through Lisboa then to Macao in 1610. For the next five years, he taught theology in Macao. On January 28, 1615, he was sent to Cochinchina (Vietnam) by the Provincial of Japan, Valentim Carvalho, along with other Jesuits namely, Diego Carvalho, Tsuchimochi José, Saito Pable, and António Dias to found a mission there. For the next eighteen years, as an “infatigable apóstol” he worked tirelessly to build up the mission. In 1635, he was named superior of the mission and as the superior attended the Provincial Congregation of Japan in 1638. In 1639, due to the royal edict expelling all the foreign missionaries, he returned to Macao and passed away there (*Voyages*, 51 – 54, 57, 87 – 90 (Vietnamese), 67 – 70, 72, 116 – 120 (French); J. RUIZ DE MEDINA, “Buzomi, Francesco,” *DHCJ*, I, 586; H. CHAPPOULIE, *Aux Origines d’une Église*, 22 – 26; P. PHAN, *Mission and Catechesis*, 10).

³¹⁵ P. PHAN, *Mission and Catechesis*, 10; R. GARCÍA-VILLOSLADA, *Manual de Historia de la Compañía de Jesús*, 266; W. BANGERT, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, 249;

The Jesuit spirit of *peregrinatio*, which was cultivated by Ignatius and first Companions, continued to advance through Ignatius' immediate successors, then blossomed in the new generation and to the new lands. By about the middle seventeenth century, "one could have said without exaggeration that the sun never set upon the Jesuit empire, 'none can hide from its [i.e., the Society's] glow.'"³¹⁶ Nadal's words in 1551 became a self-fulfilling prophecy as the presence and ministry of the Society of Jesus spread from the East to the West of the world a century after the election of the Society's first Superior General. The world had become the house for the Jesuits.

4.2 Mission Policy in the Indies

With the new growth and success, the Society of Jesus under the leadership of Aquaviva faced a new set of problems and challenges. As found in previous generelates, due to the time and distance, "diverso grado deformava ogni comunizzazione" between the central and local government, between the General and local superior persisted.³¹⁷ Positively, such a situation presented Aquaviva "una strategia per guadagnare tempo o per rimandare la decisione definitiva."³¹⁸ Negatively, efficient governance and union among Jesuits were lacking. Thus, mission matters were left to individual will and decision as happened in Japan prior to Valignano's arrival.³¹⁹

Furthermore, as the mission expanded, the tension between meeting the needs and demands of "missioni interne" in rural Europe, namely Italy, and versus that of

³¹⁶ S. HARRIS, "Mapping Jesuit Science," 218.

³¹⁷ I. ŽUPANOV, "Corrente e Controcorrenti: La geopolitica gesuita in Asia (XVI secolo)," *I Gesuiti ai tempi di Claudio Acquaviva*, 205 – 218, 216.

³¹⁸ IBID.

³¹⁹ In a letter to the General dated 27 October 1580, Valignano accused of Cabral of not following the *Constitutions of the Society* in his administration but depending mostly on his personal will (A. ROSS, *A Vision Betrayed*, 57).

outside Europe, such as South America or the Indies, became ever more apparent.³²⁰ In the mission itself, while the international character of the Jesuit mission was maintained, “mala affición y poca charidad” were found not only between veteran Jesuits and those who arrived recently from Italy and Spain, but also between Portuguese Jesuits who were born in Portugal and Portuguese Jesuits who were born in India. We read from General Acquaviva’s instruction from Rome after November 21, 1595 for the Visitor of the East Indian Province:

Siendo la Provincia de la India como las demás transmarinas tan falta de sujetos propios, y aviéndosele de mandar de otras por la de Portugal tener tantas cargas, ..., es fuerza que aya de ser ayudada la India de las Provincias de Italia y España, como se haze embiándoles de los mejores sujetos que tienen, no sin pérdida de los collegios donde los sacan, suffriéndola con la charidad que a la Compañía y sus cosas tienen. Por donde importa que V.R. trate de versa y con effecto de extirpar radicitus mala affición y poca charidad, que de poco acá se descubrió con que algunos tartan y hablan mal de los estrangeros que allá les van ayudar en la viña del Señor...

Somos informados que entre nuestros Hermanos portugueses ay en essa Provincia algún poco de desunión, con la qual se impide el progreso de las virtudes religiosas y fraternal caridad que de nosotros pide la Compañía.³²¹

Valignano earlier confirmed these problems of nationalism and Jesuit disunity.³²²

Interior problem in Jesuit communities extended beyond problems of “mala affición, poca charidad” and disunity. We learned from the same instruction, which General Acquaviva gave to the Visitor, that “se reciben coadjutors muchos en

³²⁰ G. PIZZORUSSO, “La Compagnia di Gesù, gli ordini regolari e il processo di affermazione della giurisdizione pontificia sulle mssioni tra fine XVI e inizio XVII secolo: Tracce di una ricerca,” *I Gesuiti ai tempi di Claudio Acquaviva*, 55 – 85, 55; for the demands of the “mission interne” in Italy during this period see B. MAJORANA, “Tra carità e cultura: Formazione e prassi missionaria nella Compagnia di Gesù,” 219 – 260, 219 of the same book.

³²¹ “Instruction of Fr. Claudio Acquaviva S.J., for the Visitor of the East Indian Province of the Society of Jesus,” (*DI XVII*, 238 – 258, 243 – 4).

³²² Valignano’s letter dated November 18, 1595 written from Goa to General Acquaviva (*DI XVII*, 191 – 200). In this letter, Valignano concerned mainly with the problem “entre los castellanos y portugueses porque, como son naciones confines, tuvieron muchas vezes entre sí guerra” (192 – 3).

número, y de poca edad y de pocas partes para la Compañía” and “los nuestros no procedan como deven.”³²³ Consequently, the General insisted:

Examinar la manera que tienen los nuestros de bivar en las residencias y iglesias que tienen a su cargo, tanto en la vida como sustentación; y si ay cosa contra pobreza, llevando por missas, sermons o ministerios limosnas; quanto al buen exemplo a que todos, y muy principalmente los que assí están expuestos, son obligados a dar.³²⁴

Concerning poverty, General Acquaviva also reminded Valignano of minimizing the gifts and expenses for the missions of Japan and of work of evangelization ought to involve with more “humiltà e povertà.” We read from General Acquaviva’s letter to A. Valignano:

Nondimeno non voglio lasciar d’avvertire a V.R. una cosa, la quale, sib en so che ha molte e potent ragioni per farsi, nientedimeno da molti che hanno anche cognitione del Giappone, e tengono zelo della Gloria del Signore e conversione de’ gentili, è notata et io anche son di parere che vi si debba mettere moderatione. Et è che non si faccino tante spese in presenti e donativi perché, ancorché queste cose allettino e tirino quelle genti, non si può negare che più potente è la virtù divina, la quale nella publicatione del l’Evangelio s’è vista chiaramente servirsi più d’altri mezi d’humiltà e povertà.”³²⁵

Despite all of the internal tension and challenges, Jesuit labor to convert, to preserve the baptized, and to form the native clergy continued. Saint Paul College in Goa and the College in Bassein both under the care of the Society provided vocations to various religious orders and seminary.³²⁶ In Vaipikotta, Jesuits were actively involved in training native clergy of the Syro – Malabar rite.³²⁷ Similar Jesuit work of

³²³ *DI XVII*, 242.

³²⁴ 247 – 8.

³²⁵ General Acquaviva’s letter dated January 16, 1595 written from Rome to A. Valignano, Visitor of Japan (*DI XVII*, 39 – 41, 40).

³²⁶ In 1595, from College of Bassein, Fr. Cabral reported that “Os estudantes frequentão muitos os sacramentos e vivem mui exenplamente; algun se meterão en religiã e outros andãõ pera fazer o mesmo” (“Annual Letter of Fr. F. Cabral S.J., Provincial, to the Jesuits in Europe, Goa, November 29, 1595,” *DI XVII*, 358 – 422, 398). In 1596, from Saint Paul College, Fr. Cabral reported that “Soo da l classe entrarão 14 em religião: des em São Domingos, e os 4 na Companhia, de boas partes; hum da 2 nos capuchos, do siminario; outro theologo de boas partes, em S. Augustinho” (“Father’s Francisco Cabral S. J., Provincial, Annual Letter from Goa, December 16, 1596,” *DI XVIII* 646 – 686, 660). From all Jesuit colleges, number of baptism were recorded (J. WICKI, “State of the Province 1595 – 1597,” *DI XVII* 4* - 23*).

³²⁷ “Annual Letter of Fr. F. Cabral S.J., in 1595,” *DI XVII*, 406.

forming native clergy was found in Tuticorin.³²⁸ More especially, it was reported that “quasi todos [jesuits] sabem bem a lingua da terra.”³²⁹ Though native candidates were admitted to the Society, their admission and formation were done with special care. Again, we read from the same General Acquaviva’s instruction to the Visitor in 1595:

Importa mucho ver cómo se crían los allá recibidos, y cómo salen aprovechados y qué gente es para la Compañía, por que siendo la tierra floxa, si la criación fuere tal, poco aprovechamiento se puede esperar en los sujetos aunque fuesen buenos: cuánto más que entendemos que todas las otras religiones tienen particular consideración en recibir gente allá nacida.³³⁰

All of these works were part of the Society’s ongoing labor in its mission in the Indies. However, during the generalate of General Acquaviva, the Society had to face with more urgent needs and issues concerning the Society’s practices of cultural adaptation in its mission and the structure under which it was carried out. In all, General Acquaviva strove to preserve and defend the “autenticità e originalità dello Statuto ignaziano”³³¹ and renewed the original zeal in the Society.³³²

4.2.1 *Padroado*³³³ or “*Congregation of Propaganda*”?

By the early seventeenth century, church leaders perceived the Patronage system to be more hindrances than helps to the church mission.³³⁴ In addition, as Portugal’s political declined, other colonial powers, namely, England and Holland,

³²⁸ “Annual Letter of Fr. F. Cabral S.J., in 1595,” *DI* XVII, 415.

³²⁹ “Annual Letter of Fr. Simão de Sá S.J. for the Year 1597 from Goa, January 1, 1598,” *DI* XVIII, 865 – 932, 913.

³³⁰ *DI* XVII, 242.

³³¹ M. FOIS, “Il generale dei gesuiti Claudio Acquaviva (1581 – 1615) i Sommi Pontefici e la difesa dell’istituto ignaziano,” *AHP* 40 (2002) 199 – 213, 232.

³³² T. NEULINGER, “Renewing the Original Zeal,” 149 – 158.

³³³ For information on *patronato* or *padronado*, see footnote 71.

³³⁴ A. ROSS, *A Vision Betrayed*, 184; Id. “Alessandro Valignano and Culture in the East,” 338 – 9. It was noted here that due to the powerful positions which Henriques and Câmara held at the Portuguese royal court, the Indian Province of the Society was in danger of becoming identified with the crown, thus jeopardizing the Jesuit autonomy essential to its “way of proceeding” (339). Also see J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano’s Mission Principles. Part I*, 81 – 83.

arrived the Indies and challenged the Portuguese monopoly in the Indies.³³⁵ As mentioned above, as early as 1558, Polanco already envisioned of an alternative system of directing and managing the Church's mission.³³⁶ Later, he and General Borja had worked closely with Pius V's papacy to realize "la congregación de Propaganda" in 1569.³³⁷ Furthermore, General Mercurian's appointment of Valignano as the Visitor of all Jesuit mission in the East Indies in 1573 indicated "a desire on the part of the general of the Society to strike a radically different balance" between the Jesuit mission in the East and the Portuguese *Padroado*.³³⁸ Consequently, how Valignano recruited Jesuits for the Indies and how he trained them and appointed the office of Indian procurator to directly conduct the business of Jesuit mission in the Indies, all of which were largely independent of superiors in Portugal, demonstrated an attempt to establish a more direct relationship between Rome and the Indies.³³⁹

The Generalate of Aquaviva (February 1581 – January 1615) witnessed the growing momentum of the effort to centralize all matters concerning the Church mission under the power and authority of the Holy See. Such centralized body would take over the power and authority of the Patronage system. As mentioned, Jesuits had and continued to actively involve in this development.³⁴⁰ In addition, other religious orders, namely the mendicant orders such as Dominican and Franciscan friars,³⁴¹ had begun to gain their entries into what had been granted exclusively to the Society of

³³⁵ C. MERCÊS DE MELO, *Recruitment and Formation*, 29.

³³⁶ L. LOPETEGUI, "San Francisco de Borja y el plan missional de san Pío V. Primeros pasos de una Congregación de Propaganda Fide," *AHSI* 11 (1942) 1 – 20, 6.

³³⁷ *PoCo* II, 697 – 710; L. LOPETEGUI, "San Francisco de Borja y el plan missional," 12.

³³⁸ A. ROSS, "Alessandro Valignano and Culture in the East," 339.

³³⁹ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano's Mission Principles. Part I*, 74 – 90.

³⁴⁰ G. PIZZORUSSO, "La Compagnia di Gesù, gli ordini regolari," 56 – 70.

³⁴¹ C. R. BOXER, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 155.

Jesus in the Indies, namely, Japan and China.³⁴² Thus, Jesuit monopoly on mission policy in the Indies was threatened.

Facing with these challenges, General Acquaviva's main interest did not focus on the centralization of the papacy in the mission matter, though Jesuits remained highly interested and actively involved. What Aquaviva was largely concerned with was: first, the spiritual well being of and union among Jesuits of diverse nationalities dispersed in various mission territories;³⁴³ and second, the "equilibrî politici che necessariamente le questioni missionarie toccavano nel mondo coloniale allora dominato dalla Spagna."³⁴⁴ Therefore, Aquaviva's political strategy focused on *both* maintaining the Society's privilege from the Church *and* the political support from the civil authority. Pizzorusso summarized Aquaviva's strategy succinctly:

Legato in parte al problema del patronato, al centro della discussione sulle missioni restava anche quello sul ruolo degli ordini religiosi. Essi ponevano al primo punto della loro agenda la difesa dei loro privilegi, sia per quanto riguardava l'affidamento di territori di missione, sia per quanto riguardava l'appoggio politico e economico. Per il primo punto essi dovevano mantenere buoni rapporti con il papa, per il secondo con l'autorità civile. Dunque erano costretti a barcamenarsi tra queste due posizioni. Come si è visto, per Acquaviva qualunque mutamento di strategia missionaria che implicasse delle conseguenze sull'organizzazione sociale e politica doveva essere approvato

³⁴² In his 1583, Valignano petitioned the papacy via the general to maintain the exclusive right of evangelization for the Jesuits (except those from Spanish). In the "Sumario," he dedicated chapter IX for "raisons de s'opposer à la venue au Japon d'autres congregations religieuses" mainly with the purpose of maintaining the uniformity of the Church teaching done by the Jesuits. For Japanese, such uniformity would be an indication for the Church's divine origin (A. VALIGNANO, "Sumario," *Les Jésuites au Japon*, 127 – 133; C. R. BOXER, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 156). Against those who came from Spanish dominion including Jesuits, Valignano was afraid of their "conquistador" mentality and attitude (A. ROSS, *A Vision Betrayed*, 44; J.F. MORAN, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 49 – 50). Valignano received the Pope's approval through General Acquaviva's on November 10, 1583 (J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano's Mission Principles. Part I*, 305). However, with the union of the crown under King Felipe II, the Spanish monarch proved to play a more dominant role. Mendicant orders who used to be under the Spanish Patronato declined to recognize the Portuguese Patronado. As a result, they challenged the Jesuit monopoly in Indies. In 1600, Rome issued the brief *Cum Onerosa* revoking the Society's exclusive privilege paving the way for other mendicant orders to enter and pursue their apostolic ministry in the Indies (C. R. BOXER, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 155; G. PIZZORUSSO, "La Compagnia di Gesù, gli ordini regolari," 66).

³⁴³ As stated above in General Acquaviva's instruction to the Visitor from Rome in 1595 (*DI XVII 238* – 258); Also see D. ALDEN, *Making of an Enterprise*, 269; I. ŽUPANOV, "Corrente e Controcorrenti," 206.

³⁴⁴ G. PIZZORUSSO, "La Compagnia di Gesù, gli ordini regolari," 67.

dalla corona spagnola. Al contempo, gli ordini volevano mantenere il monopolio dell'azione missionaria.³⁴⁵

4.2.2 *A black soutane or silk kimono?*

In the Indies, at the expiration of Valignano's term as provincial of India in 1585, Acquaviva reappointed Valignano as its visitor with "full authority over the provincial, rectors, and all other persons and properties whatsoever of the Society, in accordance with the Institute."³⁴⁶ One of the immediate problems confronting the newly appointed visitor was: whether Jesuits in Japan ought to wear silk or not? Before Valignano's arrival, Jesuits in Japan were involved in the silk trade whose profit went into supporting and financing the mission there.³⁴⁷

To the eyes of Jesuit superiors, who had neither lived nor understood Japanese cultures, the "wearing of silk offended against religious humility and poverty and was scarcely in keeping with the example given by Christ our Lord."³⁴⁸ Thus, Alvarez, Valignano's predecessor ordered the Jesuits to get rid of the silk.³⁴⁹ In contrary, to Jesuits, who had labored in Japan, wearing silk served as a concrete way of adaptation to the Japanese culture. To the Japanese, Jesuits were considered as bonzes. Therefore, they should wear silk since it was the "material usually worn by the bonzes in Japan."³⁵⁰ Thus, the question wearing silk or not touched into the fundamental question of whether the Society of Jesus was to remain an European body that lived

³⁴⁵ 71.

³⁴⁶ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano's Mission Principles. Part I*, 52.

³⁴⁷ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano's Mission Principles. Part I*, 184 – 5.

³⁴⁸ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano's Mission Principles. Part I*, 215. Also as mentioned above, in his letter to Valignano from Rome dated January 16, 1595, General Acquaviva had reminded of Valignano of work of Evangelization ought to be done with "humiltà e povertà." In addition, "colla sua prudential e zelo grande che tiene del servitio e Gloria maggiore del Signore sarà bene che vada mettendo a queste cose quella moderatione che conviene; come anche in schivare per quanto si potrà queste ambasciarie e nome d'ambasciadore, sib en so che tutto è stato fatto da V. R. havendo mira a poter con questo mezzo tanto più aiutare le cose di nostra santa fede" (*DI XVII 39 – 41, 40*).

³⁴⁹ 208 – 217.

³⁵⁰ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano's Mission Principles. Part II*, 44.

and worked in Japan or and body that was willing to adapt itself to the Japanese culture and thus became Japanese?

After having gone through period of “agonizing indecision,”³⁵¹ Valignano opted for the latter. After having arrived Japan and consulted with other Jesuits their, the visitor decided that from the “matter of taking food” to the “reception of guests,” from the way in which Jesuits organized their house to the manner in which they conducted themselves outside of their house had to be adapted to that of the Japanese.³⁵² Japanese Jesuits were to be considered on the same level of European Jesuits and to be given “thorough training in the truths of the faith and in the spiritual life.”³⁵³ Mutual understanding and respect must be maintained among all Jesuits according to the *Constitutions*.³⁵⁴ In addition, seminaries were to be built for the education of native young men and for the formation of native clergy in the process of building the Japanese church.³⁵⁵ Language schools were to be opened for all Jesuit newcomers to study the language and customs of Japan.³⁵⁶ Most notably, echoing Ignatius’ instruction,³⁵⁷ Valignano sent the first Japanese embassy to Europe that consisted of two ambassadors, two Japanese youths of noble descent, two *dojuku*, one *irmão*, and a tutor in 1582 so that “Europeans ... Your Paternity will get acquainted not only with Japanese lay people but with our irmãos also, an acquaintaince based on personal experience... [And] when they get back to their own country, their testimony to the fame and the grandeur of the Christian religion will have good results.”³⁵⁸

³⁵¹ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano’s Mission Principles. Part I*, 271.

³⁵² J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano’s Mission Principles. Part II*, 155 – 61.

³⁵³ 31.

³⁵⁴ 32.

³⁵⁵ 19.

³⁵⁶ 28 – 29, 229 – 30.

³⁵⁷ *Epp* I, 649 – 50.

³⁵⁸ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano’s Mission Principles. Part II*, 263 – 266; J. F. MORAN, *The Japanese and the Jesuits*, 189.

Cultural adaptation to the Japanese, according to Valignano, meant neither adopting indiscriminately nor simply combining European and Japanese cultures. What was being formed as a result of Valignano's missionary strategy was, in chemical terms, "a solution not a mixture."³⁵⁹ For example, a new solution was formed concerning the issue of wearing silk. According to Valignano, Jesuits in Japan were to "not differ from person to person in Japan nor depart too much from the type usual in Europe."³⁶⁰ Since Jesuits were not bonzes, they were not to wear the bonzes' silk kimono. They were religious and in keeping their vow of poverty, Jesuits were to wear a soutane of black cloth, however, "with the Japanese *dobuku* (travel dress), con goroyal alevantado (with high collar), as overcoat, and a round black hat after the Portuguese style."³⁶¹ A new dress code, simple as it seemed, symbolized a whole paradigm shift. In doing so, Valignano had freed Jesuit practices from European bound and adapted them to the local cultures. Valignano determined the Society of Jesus in Japan was to be Japanese. We read Ross' assessment the magnitude of Valignano's missionary strategy and its influence on Christianity and Western thoughts:

In Japan and China, among the 'gente bianca' whose sophisticated societies appeared to him to be on a cultural level with Europe's and which were external to the Padroado and the Patronato, the Jesuit Visitor shaped and oversaw the outworking of a new missionary approach. This broke with the conquistador tradition of the Iberian missions and at a deeper theological and philosophical level broke with the very concept of Christendom and with a Eurocentric understanding of religion, culture and history.³⁶²

Valignano never set foot in China. He died in Macao on January 20, 1606 while preparing for his upcoming trip to visit the Jesuit mission there.³⁶³ However, the

³⁵⁹ A. ROSS, "Alessandro Valignano and Culture in the East," 338.

³⁶⁰ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano's Mission Principles. Part II*, 245.

³⁶¹ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano's Mission Principles. Part II*, 245.

³⁶² A. ROSS, *A Vision Betrayed*, 42.

³⁶³ 45.

groundwork which he laid had started in India and Japan began to blossom fully in the Jesuit mission in China.

4.2.3 *Deus* or “Tianzhu”?

Cultural adaptation in Japan was incomplete. Earlier, Xavier, at the advice of his Japanese assistant used the term “Dainichi” for “the almighty God.”³⁶⁴ Later, he learned that “Dainichi” did not communicate “a personal God.” Rather, it indicated “the material beneath things, the materia prima of the Scholastics” or the “center of human body and its powers of procreation.”³⁶⁵ As a result, Xavier disallowed the use of the term “Dainichi.” Instead, he used the Latin word *Deus* for God, which Japanese pronounced as *Deusu*.³⁶⁶ The new word while satisfied the need of European missionaries met created grave confusion if not fatal error among the Japanese. Since the term “Deusu” was never heard of in Japan, it was considered a “great demon.”³⁶⁷ Even worse, “Deusu” was closely pronounced as “Daiuso” which meant “the Great Lie.”³⁶⁸ The “Dainichi” error and the Latin use of “Deusu” “blocked off one channel of translating Christianity into Japanese forms.”³⁶⁹

Unlike Japan, Jesuits like Matteo Ricci (1552 - 1610)³⁷⁰ under Valignano’s visionary planning,³⁷¹ were well prepared and well trained in Chinese prior to their

³⁶⁴ G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier IV*, 154.

³⁶⁵ G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier IV*, 225.

³⁶⁶ 226.

³⁶⁷ 229.

³⁶⁸ IBID.

³⁶⁹ A. ROSS, *A Vision Betrayed*, 29.

³⁷⁰ Mateo Ricci, S.J. was considered the founder of the Jesuit mission in China. He first arrived in Macao in August 1582, then lived and worked in various cities of the mainland China such as Guangzhou (1583), Shaozhou (1589), Nanjing (1595), and finally Pekin (1598). He served as the first superior of the Jesuit mission in China in 1604 when it was first broken off from the Jesuit Province of Japan. He widely wrote and published his works both in Latin and Chinese. Five of his works are kept in China’s *Four Great Books of Learning*. His method of cultural adaptation and accommodation to Chinese culture resulted in the controversy that was known as the Chinese Rites controversy (A. ROSS, *A Vision Betrayed*; *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci*; J. SEBES, “Ricci, Mateo” *DHCJ*, IV, 3351 – 3353; L. BROCKEY, *Journey to the East*; V. CRONIN, *The Wise Man from the West*).

entrance into China. Thus, they were well verse in Chinese and knowledgeable of Chinese custom and cultures.³⁷² Most exceptionally, Ricci mastered Chinese and the Confucian Classics.³⁷³ As a result, Ricci was quickly to “discard his Buddhist robes and taking on the vestment of the madarins,” grew his hair and beard as Chinese since he wanted to be known and accepted on the Chinese term as “learned men.”³⁷⁴ Because of their knowledge and their accommodation to the Chinese culture, Ricci was finally able to do what Xavier had longed to do, to have the Jesuit mission officially confirmed in the heart of China.³⁷⁵

To avoid Xavier’s mistake in Japan, Valignano instructed Ricci to translate the Four Books of Confucianism.³⁷⁶ Through its translation, Ricci was able to penetrate and to achieve deeper knowledge of Confucian thought and thus Chinese culture. In doing so, he had gone further than adapting to Chinese dress, Chinese manners and food, and Chinese way of life, but grasp the very thought around which Chinese society was constructed and functioned. Coming from Chinese thought and Chinese term, the term “Tianzhu” was chosen to communicate the Christian God. In using the term “Tianzhu,” Ricci was able to show “a transcendent God contained in what he insisted was original Confucianism.”³⁷⁷ In “Tianzhu,” God no longer existed and explained in European term alone, but also Chinese. Regarding Jesuit achievement in the China, Clark commented:

When all is said and done, one must recognize gladly that the Jesuits made a shining contribution to mission outreach and policy in China. They made no

³⁷¹ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano’s Mission Principles. Part I*, 186; ID. *Valignano’s Mission Principles. Part II*, 49, 219.

³⁷² Extensive of Jesuit knowledge on Chinese social, science and politics are found in *The Journals of Matthew Ricci*, 5 – 106.

³⁷³ A. ROSS, *A Vision Betrayed*, 135.

³⁷⁴ L. BROCKEY, *Journey to the East, 1579 – 1724*, 43.

³⁷⁵ *The Journals of Matthew Ricci*, 388 – 393.

³⁷⁶ A. ROSS, *A Vision Betrayed*, 143. The Four Books are the Great Learning, the Doctrine of the Mean, the Analects of Confucius, and Mencius.

³⁷⁷ A. ROSS, *A Vision Betrayed*, 147.

fatal compromises, and where they skirted this in their guarded accommodation to the Chinese reverence for ancestors, their major thrust was both Christian and wise. They succeeded in rendering Christianity at least respectable and even credible to the sophisticated Chinese, no mean accomplishment.³⁷⁸

5. CONCLUSION

What Jesuits had accomplished during the Society's formative period in the Indies was more than extending mission territories and growing in numbers, though both did take place. What they had achieved had been part of the Society's creating and advancing a method for mission, a "modo de proceder" de la Compañía en la evangelización."³⁷⁹ As this chapter has demonstrated and Medina concurred, such a "modo" entailed:

El conocimiento del evangelizado y de su lengua; la formación y utilización de auxiliares seculares para el trabajo apostólico y promoción humana; le enseñanza de la doctrina y predicación por calles y plazas; misiones circulares o volantes; universidades, colegios y escuelas para la instrucción y educación religiosa y humana de la población.³⁸⁰

In all, the triumph of the accommodation policy in the Jesuit mission was a result of a long process of labor along this "modo" striving to implement the original inspiration and understanding of "mission" according to Ignatius and his first companions – "personal, operativo, y territorial"³⁸¹ – in the diverse cultures of the Indies. Such a process had gone through various trials and errors, successes and triumphs. Its direction had met with its antagonists and protagonists whose voices were both needed in the search for the more and the better. Its foundation was laid and built by both known and unknown Jesuits both of who labored tirelessly side by side of one another. All had their share and investment in this achievement. All were

³⁷⁸ K. LATOURETTE, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, Ch'eng-wen Pub Co., Taipei 1970, 83.

³⁷⁹ F. B. MEDINA, "Método misionales de la compañía de Jesús en América Hispana y Filipinas." *Mar Océana* 4 (1999) 159 – 192.

³⁸⁰ F. B. MEDINA, "Método misionales de la compañía de Jesús," 174.

³⁸¹ M. SIEVERNICH, "La misión y las misiones en la primitiva Compañía de Jesús," 255.

pursuing, according to the *Constitutions*, “el mayor servicio divino y el bien más universal” [Co 622].

Thus, successes of the Jesuit accommodation policy in India, Japan, and China all had one thing in common. No matter what kind of cultures Jesuits encountered, no matter what type of hardship Jesuit endured, Jesuits who succeeded were those who followed the spirit of the *Constitutions*. No wonder that one thing which Valignano, one of the main architects of the mission policy in the Indies, asked for and insisted on was Jesuits with good understanding of the *Constitutions* to be sent to Japan³⁸² and that Jesuits in the Indies ought to learn them.³⁸³ As shown in previous chapter, the *Constitutions* demand constant adaptation according to the circumstances of the countries, places, languages, diversity of mentalities and personal temperament [Co 64.66.71.136.211.238.301. 395.449.458.462.508.581.671.747] since in God has created them, dwells and thus could be found in them as indicated in the “Principle and Foundation” of the *Spiritual Exercises* [Ej 23]. Follow the inspiration of their founders which was instilled in the *Spiritual Exercises* and the *Constitutions*, Jesuits dedicated their lives and their labors entirely to the people constantly seeking for the Divine’s greater glory in their cultures. For doing so, Jesuits remained “wisely ignorant.”

³⁸² J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano’s Mission Principles. Part II*, 61.

³⁸³ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano’s Mission Principles. Part I*, 144 – 7, 152 – 3, 275, 365, 376; ID. *Valignano’s Mission Principles. Part II*, 64, 282, 297 – 8.

CHAPTER 6

SOCIETY OF JESUS: *A Society of Catechists in Vietnam*

Cualquiera que en nuestra Compañía, que deseamos se distinga con el nombre de Jesús, quiera ser soldado para Dios bajo la bandera de la Cruz, y servir al solo Señor y a su Vicario en la tierra, tenga entendido que, una vez hecho el voto solemne de perpetua castidad, forma parte de una Comunidad fundada ante todo para atender principalmente al provecho de las almas en la vida y doctrina cristiana, y para la propagación de la fe, por medio del ministerio de la palabra de ejercicios espirituales, y de obras de caridad, y *concretamente por medio de la educación en el Cristianismo de los niños e ignorantes.*

F39, [1].

INTRODUCTION

From the beginning, “propagación de la fe” has always been part of the *raison d’être* of the Society of Jesus. Pastorally, it took place in the “medio del ministerio de la palabra de ejercicios espirituales, y de obras de caridad, y *concretamente por medio de la educación en el Cristianismo de los niños e ignorante.*”¹ Out of this Society’s pastoral program, teaching catechism became one of the main missions of the first Jesuits.

Certainly, teaching catechism is not exclusive to the mission of the Society of Jesus. From the Early Church, words of Saint John Chrysostom (349 – 407) – “*Quid maius quam animis moderari, quam adolescentulorum fingere mores?*”² – have accentuated catechesis as the Church’s highest priority and privilege. For the Early Church, catechesis consisted of instruction on the law, announcing the the Kingdom of God, and teaching Christian doctrine. Eventually, catechesis evolved into the

¹ F39, [1]. Italics are mine. O’Malley named the Jesuit pastoral program in a triad consisting of “ministries of the Word, of the sacraments, and of works of mercy” (J. O’MALLEY, *The First Jesuits*, 84 – 90).

² *Hom. 60 in c. 18 Matth.*: “What greater work is there than training the mind and forming the habits of the young?” Pope Pius XI quoted it in the Papal Encyclical on Christian Education (*Divini Illius Magistri*) on December 31, 1929. (http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/pius_xi/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_31121929_divini-illius-magistri_en.html, read on April 25, 2011, [8]).

process of preparing adults for baptism. Instruction of Christian doctrine revolved around the Creed, Our Father, and Christian morality. Later, the Dominicans and the Franciscans further added various God's various salvific acts to its content.³ Though not being exclusive to the mission of the Society of Jesus, teaching catechism had not only been made into one of the Society's principal missions, but also served as an active testimony of how Jesuits applied and exercised its spirituality and method of cultural adaptation in their mission.

Since their first arrival in Vietnam in 1615,⁴ Jesuits had built their catechist program there to be the "institución más perfecta que la de los catequistas de la India y del Japón" judging on both what happened to the Church during peaceful time and time of persecution.⁵ Thus, the Jesuit mission in Vietnam provided an excellent case to investigate how had Jesuit method of cultural adaptation had advanced especially concerning the instruction of Christian doctrine at the beginning of the seventeenth century, also the end of the Society's formative period? Consequently, this question will serve as the guide directing this chapter's investigation.

Accordingly, this chapter will be divided into two parts. The first part will examine the tradition of the Society of Jesus as a "Society of Catechists." Such a tradition had began with Ignatius' and the first companions' experience as found in the writings of Saint Ignatius as well as the Society's foundational documents and had extended into the Jesuit mission in the Indies. The second part will provide the political, social and cultural context of Vietnam during the time when the first Jesuit arrived. The main objective of the chapter will be to demonstrate the effectiveness of

³ F.J. BUCKLEY, "Catequesis," *DHCJ*, II, 713 – 717, 713.

⁴ At a request of Fernandes de Costa, the captain of a Portuguese merchant ship, the Jesuit provincial of Japan, Valentin de Carvalho (1559 – 1631), sent a group of Jesuits headed by Francesco Buzomi (1576 – 1630) to Cochinchina in 1615 (A. RHODES, *Voyages*, 68; C. BORRI, "An Account of Cochinchina," *Views of Seventeenth Century Vietnam*, 89 – 185, 139). More detailed background on the Jesuit mission in Vietnam will be provided later in the chapter.

⁵ 397 – 8.

Jesuit *modo de proceder* in teaching catechism was rooted in the Jesuits' ability to adapt and to accommodate their instruction into the Vietnamese cultures.

1. THE SOCIETY OF JESUS: *A Society of Catechists*

1.1 Ignatius of Loyola: a passionate catechist

During his time of studying in the University of Alcalá, Iñigo also “se ejercitaba en dar ejercicios espirituales y en *declarar la doctrina cristiana*” [Au 57].⁶ We are informed in more details by Ribadeneira's words that Iñigo was engaged himself in “dándoles los *Ejercicios Espirituales*, y juntamente *enseñaba la doctrina cristiana à los niños y gente ignorante.*”⁷ In fact, one of the reasons for which he was jailed in Alcalá, according to the read sentence, because “se coartaba la libertad de enseñar a doctrina cristiana.”⁸ Similarly, during the time in Salamanca, when being inquired by the Subprior, Iñigo confessed that “no predicamos, sino con algunos familiarmente hablamos cosas de Dios,..., cuándo de una virtud, cuándo de otra, y esto alabando; cuándo de un vicio, cuándo de otro, y reprehendiendo” [Au 65]. We are told in more details of Iñigo's response to the Subprior by Polanco's words, “que él no predicaba, sino que explicaba familiarmente á los ignorantes las cosas que pertenecen à la doctrina cristiana, exhortándolos à cultivar las virtudes y huir los vicios.”⁹ Again he was jailed, inquired, and released with the condition that he and his companions pursued more studies so to be better catechists [Au 70]. From May until July of 1535, during the time of recuperating from his illness in the “aire natal”

⁶ Italics are mine.

⁷ P. RIBADENEIRA, *Vida de San Ignacio, fundador de la religión de la Compañía de Jesús*, Librería de la viuda e hijos de J. Subirana, Barcelona 1863, 97. Both Láinez and Polanco confirmed that Iñigo was engaging in “pláticas sobre los mandamientos de Dios y de la doctrina cristiana” [24] and [36] respectively (A. ALBURQUERQUE, *Diego Láinez, S.J. Primer biógrafo de S. Ignacio*, 160). Italics are mine.

⁸ *Chron* I, 37. “Quia libertatem docendi christianam doctrinam [Vicarii sententia] restringere videbatur.”

⁹ *Chron* I, 38. “Se non concionari, sed familiariter, quae ad doctrinam christianam pertinent, rudibus se explicare, et ad virtutes sectandas et vitia fugienda hortari.”

after having studied in Paris [Au 85], Ignatius “determinó enseñar la doctrina cristiana cada día a los niños” in Azpeitia [Au 88]. Even when facing the opposition from his brother who was afraid that no one would come, Ignatius insisted that “le bastaría con uno. Pero después que comenzó a hacerlo, iban continuamente muchos a oírle, y aun su mismo hermano” [Au 88].

Regarding the contents of Ignatius taught, we read from O’Malley’s assessment:

First, it can be inferred that for the most part he [Ignatius] correlated catechism with the First Week, which deals with issues such as human origins, sin, and conversion. Second, his trouble with critics often revolved around the distinction between mortal and venial sin. Third, the subject to be taught when the Exercises were given according to the eighteenth “Preliminary Observation” were the Commandments and Capital Sins, the uses of the five senses, the precepts of the Church, and the works of mercy – all of which are the traditional subjects of late – medieval catechisms.¹⁰

1.2 La Compañía de Jesús: a Society of catechists

Ignatius’ fervent and passionate dedication to teaching Christian doctrine inflamed the hearts of the first companions and remained one of their highest priorities in practice. After having reunited in Venice in 1537 and having failed to find the passage to Jerusalem, Ignatius and the early companions were once again dispersed to various universities in Italy.¹¹ Though scattered in different cities, all the companions shared one ministry in common, that was, “enseñaban a los niños, y a los ignorantes y rudos, la doctrina cristiana.”¹²

By the time of the first companions’ seminal *Deliberaciones de 1539*, teaching catechism had become such an important part of their ministry, so much so, that

¹⁰ J. O’MALLEY, *The First Jesuits*, 87.

¹¹ Ignatius, Favre, and Laínez to Rome; Salmeron and Broët to Sena; Javier and Bobadilla to Bologna; Jay and Rodriguez to Ferrera; finally Codure and Diego Hozes to Padua (P. RIBADENEIRA, *Vida de San Ignacio*, 164).

¹² P. RIBADENEIRA, *Vida de San Ignacio*, 164; *Chron* I, 65. “Doctrina etiam christiana doceri coepta est, et aliqui ludimagistri suos scholasticos, ut christianam doctrinam audirent, ad nostros adducebant.”

questions regarding its correct method and its duration overwhelmed the first companions' deliberation from May 3rd to the 5th of the same year. We learned that

El 4 de Mayo fueron determinados siete puntos. El primero y segundo se refieren á la obediencia debida al Sumo Pontífice, y exigen, así de los profesos como de los que no lo son... *El tercero, cuarto y quinto versan sobre la enseñanza de los niños, prescribiendo que se les enseñe los mandamientos, y señalando el tiempo de cuarenta días al año para este ministerio.* El sexto y el séptimo hablan de la obediencia á los superiores ordinarios... El sábado antes [3 de Mayo], se resolvieron estos dos puntos: Primero, que *la enseñanza del catecismo á los niños se haga diariamente por espacio de una hora.* Segundo, que los novicios de la Compañía sean probados un mes en Ejercicios espirituales, otro en peregrinar, y otro en servir á los enfermos de los hospitales.¹³

To understand and to appreciate the importance of teaching catechism, we read from the first companions' final decision at the end of the deliberation, on the 23rd of May:

Por todos, excepto Bobadilla,¹⁴ fue concluído y confirmado, que el artículo que trata de *enseñar a los niños durante cuarenta días, como arriba se dijo, y por una hora, cayese bajo voto formal, que obligara á obligando bajo pecado mortal, como los demás votos de obedecer al Prelado y al Sumo Pontífice, y de no acudir á éste cuando alguno quiere ser enviado inmediatamente por él.*¹⁵

At the end of June 1539, entrusted by the first companions, Ignatius inscribed the decision, which the first companions deliberated and adopted regarding teaching catechism into the 1539 “Quinque Capitula,” also known as la Prima Instituti Summa del año 1539.¹⁶ We read from a part of its first chapter:

Cualquiera que en nuestra Compañía, que deseamos se distinga con el nombre de Jesús, quiera ser soldado para Dios bajo la bandera de la Cruz, y servir al

¹³ ASTRAIN, I, 95 (referenced from *Constituciones S.J. Appendiz prima, p. 300*). A complete detailed of the points of this deliberation could be found in G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier I*, 458 – 461; also see A. RAVIER, *Ignacio de Loyola*, 103 – 5. Italics are mine.

¹⁴ Though Bobadilla raised an objection, the article was nevertheless adopted (G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier I*, 460).

¹⁵ “Die veneris ante Pentecosten ejusdem anni ab omnibus, dempto Bobadilla, conclusum fuit et confirmatum, quod ille articulus, qui est de docendis pueris per quadragenta dies, ut supra, et per unam horam, caderet sub votum formale obligans ad peccatum mortale, sicuti et cetera vota obediendi Praelato et Summo Pontifici, et de non recurriendo ad ipsum cum quis velit mitti immediate” (*Constitutiones Societatis Jesu latinae et hispanicae cum earum Declarationibus*, Madrid 1892, 301. I’ve found the reference in C. GÓMEZ RODELES, *La Compañía de Jesús Catequista*, 11; G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier I*, 460; A. RAVIER, *Ignacio de Loyola*, 105. Italics are mine.

¹⁶ J. CORELLA, “Formula del Instituto. Introducción: que es la formula y como se hizo,” *Constituciones de la Compañía de Jesús*, 13. Also see A. ALDAMA, *The Formula of the Institute*, 25 – 35.

solo Señor y a su Vicario en la tierra, tenga entendido que, una vez hecho el voto solemne de perpetua castidad, forma parte de una Comunidad fundada ante todo para atender principalmente al provecho de las almas en la vida y doctrina cristiana, y para la propagación de la fe, por medio del ministerio de la palabra de ejercicios espirituales, y de obras de caridad, y *concretamente por medio de la educación en el Cristianismo de los niños e ignorantes*.¹⁷

Attending to the education of children and unlettered persons in Christian doctrine remained in all of the subsequent redactions of the *Formula*.¹⁸ It is important to note that by “*educación en el Cristianismo de los niños e ignorantes*,” Ignatius and his first companions meant first and foremost teaching catechism or instructing the Christian doctrine, not the establishing Jesuit schools which came later, an often mistaken interpretation.¹⁹

Teaching catechism again was explicitly pronounced as part of the solemn profession of Ignatius, the first elected Superior General, together with first companions in the chapel of Saint Paul Basilica on April 22, 1541. We hear from their profession.

Ego, Ignatius de Loyola, promitto omnipotenti Deo et Summo Pontifici, ejes in terris Vicario, coram ejes virgine Matre et tota coelesti curia, ac in praesentia Societatis, perpetuam paupertatem, castitatem et obedientiam, juxta formam vivendi, in Bulla Societatis Domini nostri Jesu, et in ejes Constitutionibus declaratis seu declarandis, contentam. Insuper promitto specialem obedientiam Summo Pontifici circa Missiones in Bulla contentas. *Rursus promitto me curaturum ut pueri erudiantur in rudimentos fidei juxta eamdem Bullam et Constitutiones*.²⁰

After Ignatius, the other five companions, namely, Laínez, Salmeron, Jay, Broët, and Codure all professed with the same words.²¹ In addition, Ignatius instructed Jay, Salmerón, Laínez who were serving as theologians at the Council of Trent (1545 - 1563) that “la mayor gloria de Dios es el fin de nuestros Padres en Trento, y esto se

¹⁷ F39, [I]. Italics are mine.

¹⁸ The three redactions of the Formula (F39, F40, and F50) in Spanish can be found in J. CORELLA, “Formula del Instituto,” 30. In English, F39 and F50 can be found in A. ALDAMA, *The Formula of the Institute*, 2 - 23.

¹⁹ J. O’MALLEY, *The First Jesuits*, 116 – 7.

²⁰ *Epp* I, 67; ASTRAIN, I, 119. Italics are mine.

²¹ ASTRAIN, I, 117 – 120.

conseguirá predicando, oyando confesiones, *enseñando a los niños*, visitando a los pobres en los hospitales, y exhortando al prójimo.”²²

The importance of teaching catechism, which was obligated by the *Formulas* and were professed by Ignatius and the companions, were further expounded throughout the *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*.²³ In Part V of the Constitutions entitled “Admission or incorporation into the Society,” right after the vow formula, we read:

La promesa de enseñar los niños y personas rudas, conforme a las Letras Apostólicas y Constituciones, no obliga más que los otros ejercicios espirituales con que se ayuda el prójimo, como son confesiones y predicaciones. etc., en las cuales cada uno debe ocuparse según la orden de la obediencia de sus Superiores. *Pero pónerse lo de los niños en el voto, para que se tenga más particularmente por encomendado este santo ejercicio, y con más devoción se haga, por el singular servicio que en él se hace a Dios nuestro Señor en ayuda de sus ánimas, y porque tiene más peligro de ser puesto en olvido y dejado de usar que otros más aparentes, como son el predicar, etc., [Co 528].*²⁴

Therefore, teaching catechism or instructing Christian doctrine is to be done by novices [Co 69], by those who are to be promoted to final vows [NC 128], and by new provincials and rectors [Co 437],²⁵ in the Society’s churches, in other churches, squares, or places of the region depending upon the one in charge who judges it expedient for God’s greater glory [Co 647].

According to the *Constitutions*, adaptation and accommodation which catechism necessitate not only concerns the places where the teaching takes place and the person who teaches, but also consider and involve the audience, those who are being taught. Regarding the “modo de enseñar la doctrina cristiana,” Jesuits are

²² *Epp* I, 386 – 9.

²³ Topics related to Christian doctrine are mentioned more than 50 times in the Constitutions (“Indice tematico,” *Constituciones de la Compañía de Jesús*, eds. por S. ARZUBIALDE et als., 361).

²⁴ Italics are mine.

²⁵ GC 34 abolished the part, “the rector ought himself to explain or teach Christian doctrine for forty days” [Co 437] as a strict norm, however, retained it as counsel for the exercise of a humble pastoral ministry (*Constituciones de la Compañía de Jesús y Normas Complementarias*, 152 footnote 36).

specifically instructed during their formation to “acomodarse a la capacidad de los niños o personas simples, se pongan estudio competente” [Co 410] and “tener en escrito sumariamente la explicación de las cosas necesarias para la fe y vida cristiana” [Co 411]. In other words, Jesuits are to take their ministry of catechism seriously, to be prepared and ready to adapt their instruction of Christian doctrine according to places, times, persons, and circumstances.

Such importance and seriousness concerning catechism again were reinforced at the first two general congregations. We read these words from the decree 138 of the First General Congregation (1556), “the professed are to be required to fulfill the vow of catechizing children... according to the mind of the apostolic letters and the Constitutions ... enjoined by our father Ignatius... once for forty days.”²⁶ And again from the decree 58 of the Second General Congregation (1565):

Every professed of three or four vows and every formed spiritual coadjutor, within a year after pronouncing the vows of the profession or simple vows, is bound to teach Christian doctrine to children or uneducated persons for forty days, continuous or interrupted. Moreover, this was judged to be a holy and devout practice that should be commended to Very Reverend Father General, so that forgetfulness of it may not at any time creep into our spirits, even though we do include it in the formula of our vows.²⁷

The rectors’ duties of teaching catechism were further expounded in decree 65 of the same congregation.²⁸ Thus, from Ignatius and his first companions to the *Formula* and the *Constitutions* to the decrees of general congregations, the Society of Jesus was meant to be a society of catechists.

Consequently, teaching catechism became one of the Society’s principal missions. We read from Nadal’s writings:

Se debía enseñar a los niños el rosario, la devoción a Cristo y a su niñez, a María y al ángel de la guarda; a los adultos, a creer todo lo que la Iglesia

²⁶ *For Matters of Greater Moment*, 102.

²⁷ 125 – 6.

²⁸ *For Matters of Greater Moment*, 127.

enseña, particularmente lo que celebra en sus fiestas; a esperar en el cielo si cumplen los mandamientos de Dios a amar a Dios sobre todas las cosas, y también sobre el peligro de cometer un pecado mortal y recomendarles la confesión... Los maestros de debían concentrarse más en la voluntad que en el entendimiento; que la finalidad del catecismo no era la tradición especulativa sino la práctica, alzando las almas hacia el amor.²⁹

Accordingly, most Jesuit works in catechism had been done through writing and publication. Until the beginning of the twentieth century, more than five hundred publications and translations of Jesuit catechism, not including their subsequent editions, were recorded.³⁰ Most outstanding was P. Canisius' *Parvus catechismus Catholicorum*, which was reprinted one hundred and twenty times during his lifetime alone.³¹ Besides writing and publication, while the contents remained similar, Jesuit works in catechism took place in various forms ranging from sacramental renewal to work of devotion, from teaching in schools to preaching in the pulpit, from confraternities to parish association, from theater to architecture, etc...³²

For the modern world, Jesuit instruction of Christian doctrine has reemphasized on the “promotion of justice.” Decrees from GC XXXII absolutely required “promotion of justice” as part of the mission of the Society in the “service of the faith” (D. 4, n. 2).³³ Later, such “absolute requirement” was confirmed by GC XXXIII (D. 1, n. 50),³⁴ spelled out in details and implemented by GC XXXIV (D. 3, n. 17.18.19.20),³⁵ and reaffirmed by GC XXXV (D. 3, n. 2.3).³⁶ Most especially, GC XXXV has learned from the Society’s long tradition that for the contemporary world teaching catechism or instructing Christian doctrine “can best be achieved if inculturation and dialogue become essential elements of our way of proceeding in

²⁹ *MNad V*, 846 – 850.

³⁰ F. J. BUCKLEY, “Catequesis,” 715.

³¹ *IBID.*

³² 714.

³³ *Jesuit Life & Mission Today*, 298.

³⁴ 455.

³⁵ 534.

³⁶ 744.

mission” (D. 3, n. 3). Part of the long tradition of inculturation and dialogue took place in the Jesuit catechists in Asia.

1.3 Jesuit catechists in Asia

1.3.1 Francis Xavier: the pioneer

As one of Ignatius’ early companions and pioneer of the Jesuit mission in Asia, Francis Xavier carried with him the Society’s enthusiasm and devotion to catechism to Asia. After having arrived in Goa in 1542, one of Xavier’s main occupations was teaching catechism to children in the plazas, prisoners in jails, soldiers in churches, merchants and people in the city squares. A typical letter that described Xavier’s daily activities would read along this line:

Después de haber confesado los presos, escribe á sus hermanos en religión que vivían en Roma, tomé una ermita de nuestra Señora, que estaba cerca del hospital, y ahí comencé a enseñar á los muchachos las oraciones, el credo y los mandamientos: pasaban muchas veces de trescientos los que venían á la doctrina cristiana. Mandó el señor Obispo que por las otras iglesias se hiciese lo mismo.³⁷

Similarly, Xavier and his Jesuit companions conducted his teaching of the Christian doctrine to children wherever they went, namely, in Goa,³⁸ in Tuticorin,³⁹ in Cape Comorin,⁴⁰ in Manapar,⁴¹ on the Fishery Coast,⁴²... in Kigoshima,⁴³ and in Yamaguchi.⁴⁴

³⁷ *MXav* I, 257.

³⁸ Xavier’s letter to Jesuit companions living in Rome written from Goa, dated September 20, 1542 (*MXav* I, 250 – 272, 257); G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* II, 271 – 3.

³⁹ Xavier’s letter to Ignatius from Tuticorin, dated October 28, 1542 (*MXav* I, 273 – 6, 273).

⁴⁰ Xavier’s letter to Jesuit companions living in Rome written from Cochin, dated January 15, 1544 (*MXav* I, 278 – 309, 280 - 2); G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* II, 406 - 410.

⁴¹ Xavier’s letter to Francisco Mansilhas, in Punicale written from Manapar, dated March 14, 1544 (*MXav* I, 311 – 2); G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* II, 428.

⁴² Xavier’s letter to Francisco Mansilhas, on the Fishery Coast from Negapatam, dated April 7, 1545 (*MXav* I, 377 – 380); G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* II, 553 - 4.

⁴³ Xavier’s letter to Jesuits in Europe from Cochin dated January 29, 1552 (*MXav* I, 675 – 697, 680 - 1); G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* IV, 441 – 7).

⁴⁴ In the same letter aboved (*MXav* I, 683).

Not only personally engaged in teaching catechism to the children and the natives, in India, Xavier also composed a Small Catechism in 1542,⁴⁵ a set of instructions for Jesuit catechists in 1545,⁴⁶ and an explanation of the Creed in 1546.⁴⁷ In Japan, Xavier and his companions with the help of a Japanese friend composed an extensive catechism (Large Catechism) in Japanese and had it printed.⁴⁸ Most importantly, Xavier's composition of these texts demonstrated a great creativity in adapting and accommodating the Christian doctrine according to places and cultures of the natives as called for in the *Constitutions*. Consequently, in composing these texts, Xavier wanted to share with his companions what he had himself successfully employed in teaching the elements of Christian doctrine to children and unlearned people, hoping to help his Jesuit companions to be more effective and to become more fruitful in their teaching.⁴⁹

Xavier's Small Catechism in 1542 was but an adapted version of the catechism that had been published in Lisbon in 1539 by João de Barros to be used in the context of the Indies.⁵⁰ However, he enhanced the latter by adding to it the Creed and the Our Father.⁵¹ To help them to keep the Commandments, he instructed them to offer a triple colloquy after having explained them, the prayer pattern resembled that which was found in the *Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius* [Ej 147].⁵² To the

⁴⁵ *MXav* I, 819 – 28; G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* II, 219 – 224.

⁴⁶ *MXav* I, 828 – 31.

⁴⁷ *MXav* I, 831 - 44; G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* III, 153 – 4.

⁴⁸ *MXav* I, 675 – 697; G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* IV, 105 – 9.

⁴⁹ *MXav* I, 828 “Elementorum Doctrinae Christianae rudibus hisce populis tradendorum viam ac methodum usu et successu mihi probatam proponam hic vobis, Fratres Carissimi, sperans fore, si tenueritis, ut ex ea non poenitendum Dei ac Domini Nostri gloriae, salutisque Animarum fructum referatis.”

⁵⁰ G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* II, 220.

⁵¹ F. J. BUCKLEY, “Catequesis,” 714.

⁵² *MXav* I, 821. “Rogo-vos, meu Senhor Jesvs Xpo., ... Rogo-vos, minha Senhora Santa Maria, ... Rogo-vos, meu Senhor Jesvs Xpo.” in compared to “un coloquio a nuestra Señora ... otro tanto al Hijo... otro tanto al Padre.”

liking of the Indies' ears, he inserted Saint Thomas into the *Confiteor* since St. Thomas was their Apostle and their Patron.⁵³

To the catechists, Xavier instructed that they would “sermone perpetuo, sed plano, et *ad rudium captum accommodato*, explicans quod docet, atque in fine quod docuit confirmans narratione alicuius exempli, argumento tractato congruentis.”⁵⁴ Xavier himself was known to adapt himself to the mental capacities of his listeners using broken Portuguese of the Negro slaves in order to be better understood.⁵⁵ In the cases where the natives didn't understand Portuguese, Xavier sought help from individuals who had knowledge of both languages to translate the most necessary sections of the Small Catechism, namely, the Sign of the Cross, the Creed, the Commandments, the Our Father, Hail Mary, Salve Regina, and the *Confiteor* in the native tongues.⁵⁶ Besides, the catechism written in Tamil, there are evidences suggesting that there was another catechism composed in Malay by Xavier including “el Credo, una declaración sobre los artículos, la Confession general, Pater noster, Ave María, Salve Regina, y los Mandamentos de la ley.”⁵⁷

Similarly, Xavier and his companions were occupied with “doutrinar ox xpão, em apremder a lingua, e em tirar muitas cousas da ley de Deus em lingua de Japão, a saber, açerqua da criação do mundo, como toda a breuidade” as soon as they reached

⁵³ *MXav* I, 823.

⁵⁴ *MXav* I, 830 – 1.

⁵⁵ G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* II, 223 see further discussion in footnote 175.

⁵⁶ G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* II, 307 – 8, especially see footnote 204 – 209. To avoid misunderstanding Xavier retained the Portuguese words for the Holy Spirit, Catholic church, Communion of Saints, heaven, grace, Mass, Christ, Lent, Communion, Easter, and other similar expressions. Translations of Xavier's Small Catechism, which were found “cheas de mil errors” and full of “mentiras” later, were then better in Tamil by Henriques in 1578 and perfected in 1579 (G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* II, 308; *DI* I, 583; II 299, 302); Henriques' letter to Ignatius dated 1552 confirmed “tenho escrito a V.R. que as orações que se ensinavão na propria lingua da terra os tempos passados, antes que eu soubesse a lingua, estavam cheas de mentiras, e depois que aprendi a lingua, as tirey com muito trabalho de novo, porque o que antes era feyto nom aproveytava” (*DI* II, 389 – 390).

⁵⁷ E. ALONSO ROMO, *Los escritos portugueses de San Francisco*, 76.

Kagoshima, Japan in 1549.⁵⁸ Most notably, during the winter of 1549 until the beginning of 1550, with the help of the Japanese guide, Anjirō, Xavier composed an “o qual liuro com muito trabalho tiramos n’a limgoa de Japão e o escreuemos em letras nossas.”⁵⁹ Attempting to accommodate to the Japanese and their cultures, various Japanese words were used to denote Christian concepts. For example, to denote the one personal God who rewarded the good and punished the evil, the Creator of all things, *Dainichi* was used.⁶⁰ Although such attempts proved to be erroneous and later was replaced with the Latin word *Deus* later,⁶¹ such work demonstrated Xavier’s and his companions’ genuine efforts striving to adapt and to accommodate to the Japanese cultures, and more especially, the first Jesuit attempt to translate “God” into an Asian tongue.⁶²

1.3.2 Alessandro Valignano: the vision

By the time Alessandro Valignano, the Visitor of the East, arrived Goa in 1574, various centers for teaching the catechism, namely, in Goa, Ormuz, Bazáin, Cochim, Coulán, Malaca, Ceilán, the Fishery Coast, and Japan, had been established and fully used.⁶³ Outstanding Jesuit catechists such as Henrique Henríquez (1520 – 1602) in the Indies,⁶⁴ and Francisco Cabral (1533 – 1609)⁶⁵ in Japan, had been

⁵⁸ Xavier’s letter to his companions in Europe from Cochin dated on January 29, 1552 (*MXav* I, 675 – 697, 680; G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* IV, 105 – 133).

⁵⁹ *MXav* I, 680.

⁶⁰ G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* IV, 108.

⁶¹ G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* IV, 238 – 9; for further discussion please see K. HISASHI, “From *Dainichi* to *Deus*: The Early Christian Missionaries’ Discovery and Understanding of Buddhism,” *Christianity and Cultures: Japan & China in Comparison 1543 – 1644*, (M. A. ÜÇERLER, ed.), IHSI, Roma 2009, 45 – 60.

⁶² K. HISASHI, “From *Dainichi* to *Deus*,” 49. Hisashi pointed out that Xavier did not translate *Deus* into Tamil in his Small Catechism (*EX* II, 588 – 90).

⁶³ C. RODELES, *La Compañía de Jesús Catequista*, 338 – 392.

⁶⁴ Henrique Henriques spent all his years along the Fishery Coast. One of his major achievements was the construction of the first Tamil grammar school – the first in any Indian language. He also published several works in Tamil, one of which being the famous *Flos sanctorum*. His works and method were commended and encouraged by Ignatius (*Epp* VI, 95), and by Borja (*DI* VI, 462). He also translated Xavier’s Small Catechism into Tamil from 1578 - 9 (A. BROU, *Saint François Xavier*, 17; D. ALDEN, *Making of an Enterprise*, 50; G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier* II, 308; *DI* I, 583; II

working tirelessly evangelizing, adapting and instructing the Christian doctrine to the natives' cultures. After having attended the province consultation in 1577, Valignano submitted a report to General Mercurian⁶⁶ recommending and encouraging the creation of native literature in which “catechism, booklets on confession, and the lives of saints should be given pride of place.”⁶⁷ As example, he composed two short catechisms and had them translated into the native languages.⁶⁸ More importantly, he initiated the setting up of a printing press in the Konkani and Tamil languages to promote and to facilitate the publication of catechism materials in native languages.⁶⁹

Even more revolutionary in Valignano's strive towards adaptation and accommodation to the native cultures was found in his *Catechismus Christianae Fidei*.⁷⁰ An extensive treatment of Valignano's Catechismus is beyond the scope of this investigation. However, it is important to point out some of the revolutionary adaptation and accommodation in Valignano's *Catechismus*, whose implication and influence proved to be beyond Japan regarding Jesuit mission principles, more

299, 302 J. WICKI, “Anriques (Henriques), Anrique (Henrique),” *DHJ*, I, 177 – 8; ID. “Father Henrique Henriques, S. J. (1520 – 1600),” *Indian Ecclesiastical Studies* 4 (1965) 142 – 56; 5 (1966) 36 – 72 and 175 - 89).

⁶⁵ As regional superior overseeing the Japanese mission, Cabral was responsible for the founding of Congregaciones de la Doctrina Cristiana, training catechist, and Seminary for the natives (C. RODELES, *La Compañía de Jesús Catequista*, 380 – 392).

⁶⁶ Also known as the *Summario Indico* (Indian Summary) written by Valignano from Malacca as early as November 20, 1577 (J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano's Mission Principles. Part I*, 122).

⁶⁷ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano's Mission Principles. Part I*, 175 – 6.

⁶⁸ 176. These two catechisms have not survived.

⁶⁹ IBID.

⁷⁰ It was suggested that Valignano worked on this project from September 1580 until March 8, 1581 at St. Paul's College in Funai. The catechism appeared for the first time in Lisbon in 1586 without Valignano's knowledge. Its full title is *Catechismus Christianae Fidei, in quo veritas nostrae religionis ostenditur, et sectae Japonenses confutantur*, editus à PATRE ALEXANDRO VALIGNANO, Societatis Jesu. Valignano's *Catechismus* consisted of two books: Book I which had 76 pages and Book II 24. The theme of Book I included Christian teaching, Book II Christian living. For the first printing, these books were organized into *conciones*; whereas, Possevino's reproduction of the *Catechismus* which was found in *Bibliotheca Selecta* divided them into seven chapters. Number “seven” has a very special meaning in Japanese culture. It is “un chiffre faitdique, pour le bon our le malheur. Les dieux de la fortune, dont Ebisu, le gros joufflu, sont au nombre de sept. Il y eut aussi sept générations avanti l'apparition de la déesse du soleil en terre nippone. Les “trésor” de la doctrine douddhique sont encore au nombre de sept” (A. VALIGNANO, *Les Jésuites au Japon*, 143, 260 - 1; J. Schütte, *Valignano's Mission Principles. Part II*, 67 – 89). Instead of seven, Standaert contended that Valignano's *Catechismus* consists of eight chapters (N. STANDAERT, “Responses & Reflections,” *Christianity and Cultures. Japan & China in Comparison 1543 – 1644*, 61 – 4, 62).

particularly for this investigation, how the book of catechism were to be composed and how the instruction of the Christian doctrine was to be done in China and Vietnam.

First of all, Valignano's *Catechismus*, which resulted from the collaboration between the Jesuit Visitor and Japanese experts on Japanese religions, established a common ground on which Japanese Buddhism and Christianity could share. To Valignano, the Japanese sects and their laws in their own "fashion" grappled with the same issues and problems which Christianity also struggled with, namely, divine nature, divine communication with human beings, life after death, human's free will and God's omniscience and omnipotence, moral reward and punishment, etc.⁷¹ Secondly, Valignano appealed to reason and intelligence⁷² to point out the inconsistency in Japanese beliefs since he realized that the Japanese were "de grande intelligence, ... sont capables d'apprendre toutes nos sciences et nos disciplines intellectuelles...; en general, les Japonais sont tous intelligents, bien élevés et industriels."⁷³ Thirdly, even having pointed out their errors, according to Valignano, teaching catechism meant neither condemning nor degrading others and their cultures. We read from the preface of Valignano's *Catechismus*.

Nothing will be said which could offend or hurt anyone; rather our sole purpose and sincere desire is that all understand the difference between true and false; this one thing we carefully seek and greatly desire, that all embrace and follow the true way of life and hold to a line of conduct which will enable them to save their souls and reach without fail the desired goal of eternal life.⁷⁴

⁷¹ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano's Mission Principles. Part II*, 72

⁷² 71. Also a well rationalized argument behind each points demonstrated Valignano's value and respect of his audiences' ability to reason.

⁷³ A. VALIGNANO, "Sumario," *Les Jésuites au Japon*, 53 – 243, 58. Valignano's realization echoed what Xavier thought of Japanese thirty years early. In Xavier's letter to his companions in Europe from Cochin dated January 29, 1552, we read, "os japoens são homens de muito symgulares emgenhos e muito obedientes á rezão" (*MXav I*, 681).

⁷⁴ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano's Mission Principles. Part II*, 71 – 2 (referenced from the end of the Preface of Book I, fol. 2/3).

In addition, a directive at the end of each *conciones* or chapters further demonstrated a deep respect and care for which Valignano insisted the catechist on having. We read from the directive at the end of chapter 2 of Valignano's *Catechismus*:

On prendra soin d'utiliser avec prudence l'autorité du seigneur sur la conscience de ses sujets. *Pas de violence ni d'indiscrétion* vis-à-vis de ceux-ci, *mais douceur et mansuétude*. Ceci est surtout vrai dans le cas des *hyakusho*,⁷⁵ des paysans, qui sont sans défense.⁷⁶

Fourthly, having gained insight about Japanese Buddhism from the local expert, Valignano was “able to elucidate and expound those principles (as opposed to Christian teaching) and to unfold Christian dogma in a positive way by a solid and at times brilliant marshaling of proofs.”⁷⁷ Perhaps, it was the same intention that Xavier had earlier recommended to Jesuit companions in Europe once they came to Japan to learn the language and to become familiar with the teachings of each of Japan's religious sects.⁷⁸ Finally, following Ignatius' example of “ad virtutes sectandas et vitia fugienda hortari,”⁷⁹ Valignano “describes first [the Japanese's] positive qualities, their unpretentious mien, their patience and courage in suffering, their outward control, their cleanliness; only then does he speak of their shortcomings.”⁸⁰

Valignano's approach to catechism directly determined how the instruction of Christian doctrine was to be done in China at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century. After having learned from Xavier's experience

⁷⁵ farmers.

⁷⁶ A. VALIGNANO, “Catéchisme,” *Les Jésuites au Japon*, 260 – 1. Italics are mine.

⁷⁷ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano's Mission Principles. Part II*, 70. Perhaps, this was the intention of Xavier's desire to have a Jesuit house in Yamaguchi where Jesuits ()

⁷⁸ Xavier's letter to the Jesuit companions in Europe written from Cochin, dated January 29, 1552 (*MXav* I, 693). “Agora, prazemdo a Deus noso Senhor, irão cada anno Padres da Companhia a Japão, e em Amanguche far-se-ha huma cassa da Companhia, apremderão a limgoa; e mais, saberão ho que cada çeita tem em sua lemnda; de maneira que, quando de laa vierem pessoas de grande confiança pera ir a estas huniversidades, acharão Padres e Irmão da Companhia em Amanguche, que saybão muyto bem falar a limgoa e estem ao cabo dos erros das suas çeitas, ho que sera grande ajuda pera os Padres, que de Europa forem escolhidos pera ir a Japão.”

⁷⁹ *Chron* I, 38.

⁸⁰ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano's Mission Principles. Part II*, 85.

in Japan,⁸¹ Valignano learned that “no headway could be made in China until [Jesuits] were available who knew the language well.”⁸² Thus, he determined to have Jesuits study Chinese and Chinese culture *before* they were to set foot on the mainland. Consequently, he sent Michele Ruggieri (1543 - 1607)⁸³ and Matteo Ricci (1552 - 1610) to Macau in 1579 and in 1582 respectively for these purposes.

1.3.3 Michele Ruggieri: an experiment

During his time of studying Chinese and prior to Ricci’s arrival, Ruggieri worked closely with Jesuit theologians in Macau on a project, part of which included “a book for Christian Doctrine in dialogue format that will be translated into Chinese.”⁸⁴ In 1584, Ruggieri’s “book of Christian doctrine” was printed under the title *Tianzhu shilu*, or *The True Record of the Lord of Heaven* with the author signed

⁸¹ A. VALIGNANO, *Historia del principio y progreso*, 2; Valignano stated that the reasons for which he composed this *Historia* was “la primera es, porque, como los vivos exemplos de los passados mueven mucho a los que después suceden, especialmente quando fueron todos de una mesma religión y profesión, me parecía que animaría mucho a los nuestros saber los exemplos de virtud que dieron los primeros Padres, que pasaron a estas partes... La segunda fue, porque,..., me pareció necesario escribirse una historia de todas aquellas cosas más clara y ordenadamente. La tercera, ..., para que con el tiempo no se perdiese la memoria y certeza de muchas cosas que pueden aprovechar, como suele acontecer.”

⁸² J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano’s Mission Principles. Part I*, 186.

⁸³ Ruggieri was born in Spinazzola (Bari), Italy. Prior to the entrance to the Society in 1562, he had completed his doctorate in civil and canon laws and had been serving the Spanish crown in Naples. He entered the Society and was one of Valignano’s novices. After having been ordained, he left Roma for Lisboa to sail to India in 1577. As missioned by Valignano (due to his “age, virtue, and ability”), Ruggieri arrived in Macau in July 1579 to read, to write, and to speak Chinese. In fact, he was the founder of the Jesuit mission in China, the pioneer in learning Chinese. His catechism was the first Christian work published in the Chinese language and the first book printed in China by an European. In 1588, he went to Rome to petition to the pope for an ambassador to the royal court of Emperor Wanli, so to gain official permission for Christian missionaries to stay in the empire. Since Rome was undergoing various papal deaths in rapid succession, (5 different popes lived during the time Ruggieri stayed in Rome). While waiting, Ruggieri revised his translation of the *Four Books* of Confucius in Latin, composed Chinese poetry, and served as spiritual director. He never returned to China and died in Rome in 1593 (L. BROCKERY, *Journey to the East*, 30 – 41; *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matteo Ricci: 1583 – 1610*, 132 – 199; G. DUNNE, *Generation of Giants*, 15 – 30; R. PO-CHIA HSIA, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci (1552 – 1610)*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2010, especially the chapter entitled “Ruggieri” 97 – 115; ID. “The Jesuit Encounter with Buddhism in Ming China,” *Christianity and Cultures. Japan & China in Comparison 1543 – 1644*, 19- 44; J. SHIH, “Ruggieri, Michele,” *DHCJ*, IV, 3433 – 4).

⁸⁴ A. M. ÜÇERLER, “Christianity & Cultures. Japan and China in Comparison, 1543 – 1644,” *Christianity and Cultures. Japan & China in Comparison, 1543 – 1644*, 1 – 18, 10 footnote 14. The author referenced this information from Pedro Gómez to General Mercurian (Macau, 25 October 1581), ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, 9 I, f. 51.

as Luo Mingjian [Ruggieri's Chinese name] with the title *Tianzhuguoseng* [Buddhist monk from India].⁸⁵ At first, Valignano was excited about the newly printed catechism and for its use not only in China, but also in Japan.⁸⁶ Later, however, under the Jesuits' "better trained minds and eyes," Ruggieri's catechism looked "to be truncated and inadequate."⁸⁷ Therefore, Valignano asked the printing of Ruggieri's catechism to be stopped. Instead, a "more suitable and well arranged" catechism was to be "revised, augmented, and re-edited" by Matteo Ricci, who had now "mastered the Chinese language very well" to be used.⁸⁸

1.3.4 Matteo Ricci: the triumph

Ricci, since his arrival to the Jesuit mission in 1582, had "become a Chinese ... in dress, appearance, in ceremonies and in all external things."⁸⁹ Even deeper than external, Ricci mastered Chinese language and Confucian thought.⁹⁰ After having

⁸⁵ P. D'ELIA, "Quadro storico sinologico del primo libro di dottrina cristiana in cinese," *AHSI*, 3 (1934), 193 – 222; R. PO-CHIA HSIA, "The Jesuit Encounter with Buddhism in Ming China," 8. A picture of Ruggieri's catechism can be found in the same book on page 18 which was taken from ARSI, *Jap-Sin*, I 190, f.2. Ricci's report to General Acquaviva in 1585 gave an account of a man named Paul who had devoted himself to a life of ascetical practices after having seen and read Ruggieri's *Tianzhu shilu* "brought his idols and books to be burned, and kneeling before [the Jesuits] and kowtowing on the ground begged [the Jesuits] to make him a Christian (R. PO-CHIA HSIA, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci 1552 – 1610*, 105).

⁸⁶ Valignano's correspondence with General Acquaviva from Goa dated December 28, 1585 (*DI XIV*, 270) found and translated in A. M. ÜÇERLER, "Christianity & Cultures. Japan and China in Comparison, 1543 – 1644", 11. Part of the correspondence read, "the Catechism that was composed in Chinese will also be of great help to the learned Bonzes; and that is why I have written to China instructing them to send numerous copies to Japan"

⁸⁷ *The Journals of Matthew Ricci: 1583 – 1610*, 448.

⁸⁸ Valignano's correspondence with General Acquaviva from Goa dated December 22, 1596 (ARSI, *Jap-Sin.*, 10 II, f. 214 (A. M. ÜÇERLER, "Christianity & Cultures. Japan and China in Comparison, 1543 – 1644", 11); *The Journals of Matthew Ricci: 1583 – 1610*, 448.

⁸⁹ R. PO-CHIA HSIA, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City*, 105 (Ricci's letter to his friend, Giulio Fuligatti dated November 24, 1585).

⁹⁰ By 1591, Ricci with the help of a Chinese scholar Qu Taisu began to the process of translating the Chinese Classical *Four Books* into Latin. By December of 1593, he finished three of the four (Ricci's letter to General Acquaviva dated December 10, 1593). In 1594, he started to write a *Catechism* in Chinese. A year later, he composed his first Chinese work entitled, *Treatise on Friendships* (*Xiaoyou lun*), which immediately met with great success and established his reputation as scholars of talent and virtue (G. DUNNE, *Generation of Giants*, 44). In addition, he demonstrated his ability to recite Confucian classics from memory forward and backward in Nanchang (R. PO-CHIA HSIA, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City*, 154 – 6). In 1596, he started his second Chinese work on *Treatise on Mnemonic Arts*. In 1601, he composed *Eight Songs for a Western String Instrument* in Peking. In 1603, he concluded and published his work on the catechism under the title *Tianzhu shiyi*, or *The True Meaning*

found himself closely identified with Chinese Confucian scholars, Ricci renounced the former status as *Tianchu guo seng* [Buddhist monk from India] and instead adopted the garment and identity of Confucian literati.⁹¹ In addition to the “low state of morals” which was associated with Buddhist monks at the time, we read Ricci’s explanation of his changing into Confucian attire:

It was necessary for ours to have a suitable garment of silk and the corresponding head piece of the visits of magistrates and other important persons who come to the house in their robes of ceremony.⁹²

More importantly, for the Chinese culture that highly valued greater learning with ceremonies, speech, and costumes, adapting to the way of the Confucian literati was the only way to bear fruit for the evangelization in China.⁹³

After having spent years of learning and perfecting his commanding of Chinese and the understanding of Confucian thought from within, Ricci’s catechism entitled *Tianzhu shiyi* [*The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven*]⁹⁴ presented “Catholic doctrines dressed up in a Confucian gown.”⁹⁵ Ricci was convinced that Confucian precepts, which strove towards achieving public peace and order, were “in conformity” and “harmony” with the light of conscience and with Christian

of the Lord of Heaven. In addition, he published the fourth edition of the world map entitled *Mysterious Visual Map of the Entire World*, which was “printed time and time again and circulated throughout all China, winning for [Jesuits] much credit” (G. DUNNE, *Generation of Giants*, 29 referenced from M. Ricci, *Fonti Ricciane*, ed. P. D’ELIA, Libreria dello Stato, Roma 1942 – 1949, I, 211). In 1605, he published the *Summary of the Christian Doctrines* and *Twenty-five Moral Sentences* (*Ershiwu yan*). He translated and published the first six books of Euclid’s *Elements of Geometry* in Chinese. A year later, he published *Ten Discourses by a Paradoxical Man* and began to write *The Story of the Entry of the Society of Jesus and Christianity into China* (“Essential Chronology of Father Matteo Ricci,” *Mateo Ricci in China: Inculturation through Friendship and Faith*, (C. SHELKE and M. DEMICHELE, eds.), Gregorian Biblical Press, Roma 2010, 209 – 211).

⁹¹ G. DUNNE, *Generation of Giants*, 32 – 33; R. PO-CHIA HSIA, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City*, 135 – 140.

⁹² G. DUNNE, *Generation of Giants*, 33 referenced and translated from *Fonti Ricciane*, I, 337.

⁹³ R. PO-CHIA HSIA, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City*, 136.

⁹⁴ An English version of Ricci’s catechism together with its Chinese version was published under the title M. RICCI, *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven (T’ien-chu Shih-i)*, translated and notes by D. LANCASHIRE and P. HU KUO-CHEN, (E. MALATESTA, ed.), IJS, Saint Louis 1985.

⁹⁵ R. PO-CHIA HSIA, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City*, 158.

truth.”⁹⁶ Thus, applying the natural light of reason and citing the Confucian classical text, Ricci argued in favor of Christianity’s fundamental principles.

Ricci’s construction worked brilliantly for two reasons. By applying reason, “the road was leveled and made clear for the acceptance of the mysteries dependent upon faith and upon the knowledge of divine revelation.”⁹⁷ By citing Confucian ancient text, Ricci was able to not only adapt and accommodate but also penetrate deeply into the Chinese heart and mind. For example, to reject the duality of the “Lord of Heaven and Earth,” Ricci drew his reason from the example of one of the Five Human Relationships in Confucian teachings,⁹⁸

Every state or country has [its own] lord; is it possible that only the universe does not have a lord? A country must be united under only one [lord]; is it possible that the universe has two lords? Therefore, a superior man cannot but know the source of the universe and the creator of all creatures, and then raise his mind [to Him].⁹⁹

He then called on the ancient Chinese sages who knew and worshipped this one true Lord. However, somehow their teachings were tainted and fell into error. Again, we read in the introduction:

I, Matteo, left my country as a young man and travelled through the whole world. I discovered that doctrines which poison men’s minds had reached every corner of the world. I thought that the Chinese, since they are the people of Yao and Shun,¹⁰⁰ and the disciples of the Duke of Chou¹⁰¹ and of Chung-ni,¹⁰² must not have changed the doctrines and teachings about Heaven and must never have allowed them to be stained. But inevitably, even they sometimes also [fell into error].¹⁰³

⁹⁶ *Journals of Matteo Ricci 1583 – 1610*, 97.

⁹⁷ 448.

⁹⁸ We read in Ricci’s journal, “father and son, husband and wife, master and servants, older and younger brothers, finally, companions and equals” (*Journals of Matteo Ricci*, 97).

⁹⁹ M. RICCI, *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven (T’ien-chu Shih-i)*, [3], 57.

¹⁰⁰ Two of the most celebrated sage-kings in ancient China: Yao (c. 2300 B.C.) and Shun (c. 2200 B.C.) (M. RICCI, *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven (T’ien-chu Shih-i)*, 58).

¹⁰¹ The brother of the first ruler of the Chou dynasty, whom Confucius and subsequent generations of Chinese considered to be the best and greatest politician (M. RICCI, *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven (T’ien-chu Shih-i)*, 58).

¹⁰² Another name for Confucius (551 – 478 B.C.).

¹⁰³ M. RICCI, *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven (T’ien-chu Shih-i)*, [6], 59.

Thus, Ricci presented his catechism as a “little” way to recover the understanding of the “Great Relationship” between Heaven and man.¹⁰⁴

Regarding the order of presentation and reasoning, like Valignano, Ricci followed the “rational-scholastic approach: [where] first God is discussed, then human beings, while Jesus Christ is only mentioned at the end.”¹⁰⁵ Regarding the structure and theme, Ricci’s catechism resembled that of a Confucian Eight Point Program that stressed on “self discipline, moral introspection, a focus on ancient Confucian texts, and rejection of the late Ming syncretism with Buddhism.”¹⁰⁶

The eight chapters of *Tianzhu shiyi* could be summarized as follow.¹⁰⁷ In the first two chapters, Ricci labored to argue for the existence of the one “Lord of Heaven and Earth” who created and governs all things. In chapter three, Ricci dealt with the immortality of human’s soul and explained how evil deeds were punished and good deeds rewarded. Chapter four included discussion over the differences between spirits and souls. Ricci took a different turn in chapter five refuting the Pythagorean doctrine of transmigration of souls, which he believed, the foundation of Buddhist teachings of reincarnation. Chapter six served as the key text explaining the Catholic concepts of free will and salvation. For chapter seven, issues of reward and

¹⁰⁴ 63.

¹⁰⁵ N. STANDAERT, “Responses & Reflections,” *Christianity and Cultures*, 62.

¹⁰⁶ R. PO-CHIA HSIA, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City*, 161.

¹⁰⁷ The number “eight” is significant since it holds special meaning for both Chinese cultures and Christianity. For Chinese, number “eight” is considered to be sacred. It symbolizes good fortune and power. For example, *eight* triangles represent the I-Ching or the “Book of Changes” (an ancient Chinese divination guide). In Mandarin, the sound of *eight* is similar to that of “prosperity or wealth;” whereas, in Cantonese “fortune.” For that reason, the opening ceremony of the Summer Olympics in Beijing began on 8/8/08 at 8 seconds and 8 minutes past 8 pm (J. AREDDY, “Chinese Investors Crunching Numbers are Glad to See 8s; Linked to Good Luck, They Influence Stock Picking; A Good Buy at 8.08 Yuan,” *The Wall Street Journal*, Vol. 249, no. 121, on May 24, 2007, A1 – A11. I am grateful to Ms. Thảo Nguyễn for helping me locate this reference). For Christianity, *eight* (7 + 1), thus specially associated with the Resurrection, or regeneration, or the beginning of something new. Circumcision was to be performed on the eighth day (Genesis 17:12). It was Noah, “the eight person” (2 Peter 2:5) who stepped out to a new earth. The first-born was to be offered to God on the eighth day (Exodus 22:29, 30). Jesus’ transfiguration took place on the eighth day (Lk 9: 28). Christ rose from the dead on “the first day of the week” (Mark 16:9; Mt 28:1; Lk 24:1; Jn 20:1, 19).

punishment, which was raised in chapter three, were further discussed. Finally, Ricci introduced the church, its hierarchy, and the practice and reason for chastity. Ricci ended the catechism with a dialogue that led to how Christ was sent to the world.¹⁰⁸

Conclusion

From the time of Xavier arrived Goa in 1541 to Ricci's death in 1610, the Society of Jesus had traveled a long journey of adapting and accommodating the teaching of Christian doctrine to the natives spreading across India, arriving in Japan and reaching the Middle Kingdom. What Ricci achieved, particularly in the teaching of catechism, accomplished what Xavier had pioneered, what Valignano envisioned, and Ruggieri experimented. The foundation for Jesuit catechism, which remained fundamental to the mission of the Society of Jesus, was laid and ready to be productive. Built on what Xavier, Valignano, Ruggieri and Ricci had accomplished, Jesuits of later generation composed a more complete version of catechism that not only included the teaching of the Holy Trinity, the life and death of Christ, sin and redemption but also explained them in Chinese terms.¹⁰⁹

Similarly to Ignatius' vision at La Storta,¹¹⁰ Ricci had a dream in Nanchang on his journey to Peking, the capital of the Middle Kingdom, in 1595. Like Ignatius, Ricci was consoled and graced with God's assuring words, "nelle Corti lo

¹⁰⁸ A more detailed summary of each of the chapter of Ricci's Tianzhu shiyi can be found in chapter 10 entitled "The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven" in R. PO-CHIA HSIA, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City*, 224 – 244. Also see *Journals of Matteo Ricci*, 449. A detailed outline can be found in M. RICCI, *The True Meaning*, 25 – 31.

¹⁰⁹ J. WITEK, "Catecismos chinos," *DHCJ*, I, 718 – 719, 719.

¹¹⁰ [*De* 67], G. CÂMARA [*Au* 96], D. LAÍNEZ ("Adhortationes 1559" *FN* II, 133), J. NADAL ("Natalis Exhortationes (1554)" *FN* I, 313; or "Adhortationes Conimbricenses (1561)", *FN* 158), J. POLANCO ("De Vita P. Ignatii", *FN* II, 585 and 596), P. RIBADENEIRA ("Vita Sancti Ignatii", *FN* IV, 271). Please see page 76, footnote 246 of chapter 4 in this investigation. In these references, we are told that God, the Father's words to Ignatius was "Ego ero vobis Romae propitius."

favorirebbe.”¹¹¹ Comparing Ricci’s experience to that of Ignatius, Po-chia Hsia wrote,

A classic “wish-fulfilment,” to use Freud’s formulation, Ricci’s dream in Nanchang contained multiple meanings: ... Just as Ignatius founded the Company that became the bulwark of Catholic renewal after the Protestant Reformation, Ricci was promised by God the role of founder of the Christian Church in China as a faithful son of that Company of missionaries.¹¹²

Po-chia Hsia’s interpretation of Ricci’s role in Asia could be extended beyond the “founder of the Christian Church in China.” As Ignatius’ grace at La Storta and the labors of the Society’s first companions did neither confine nor benefit the Church and the Society of Jesus at its center, Ricci and his Jesuit predecessors’ achievement and impact meant not only for the Middle Kingdom, but also graced all Jesuit mission throughout Asia. From his journal, Ricci had himself realized that the fruit of his work would benefit souls not only of the Chinese but also of those who make use of Chinese writings, namely, the Japanese, the Koreans, the Cochinchinese [modern Vietnamese], the Leuchians, and others.¹¹³ We read from Ricci’s own words, dreaming of how the catechism was to be used:

This [catechism] does not treat of all the mysteries of our holy faith, which need to be explained only to catechumens and Christians, but only of certain principles, especially such as can be proved and understood with the light of natural reason. Thus it can be of service both to Christians and to non-Christians and can be understood in *those remote regions which our Fathers cannot immediately reach, preparing the way for those other mysteries which depend upon faith and revealed wisdom.*¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ R. PO-CHIA HSIA, “Dreams and Conversions: A Comparative Analysis of Catholic and Buddhist Dreams in Ming and Qing China: Part I,” *Journal of Religious History*, 29/3 (October 2006), 223 – 40, 224; ID. *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City*, 146 – 7 reference is taken from Ricci’s letter to his friend Girolamo Costa. Po-Chia Hsia indicated that this was the only dream narrated by Ricci in his long memoir and the only dream described by any Jesuit missionary in China about himself in almost 200 years (*A Jesuit in the Forbidden City*, 148). G. DUNNE, *Generation of Giants*, 273 – 4. Here the English translation reads, “I shall be propitious to you in both of the royal cities.”

¹¹² R. PO-CHIA HSIA, “Dreams and Conversions,” 225; ID. *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City*, 147 - 8.

¹¹³ *Journals of Matthew Ricci*, 94, 446.

¹¹⁴ G. DUNNE, *Generation of Giants*, 96 – 7 referenced from *Fonti Ricciane II*, 292.

Indeed, by the time the first Jesuits arrived Vietnam in 1615, not only Ricci's catechism was widely used, but also the network of Jesuit catechists and catechist centers had been well established and functioned across India, the Fishery Coast and its neighboring islands, Japan and China.¹¹⁵ Before 1800, a collection of fifteen catechisms were composed in Chinese with their contents more complete compared to that of Ricci's and more Chinese terms were used to express the Western concepts.¹¹⁶ However, among these catechist centers, the one found in Tonkin (modern Vietnam) was considered the “*institución más perfecta que la de los catequistas de la India y del Japón*” judging from both the time of peace and the time of persecution.¹¹⁷ To understand the work of Jesuit catechists and their success in Vietnam, it is necessary to understand its religious and historical context, to which the chapter will now turn its attention.

2. SOCIETY OF JESUS: *A Society of Catechists in Vietnam*

In 1614, Fernandes de Costa, a captain of a Portuguese merchant ship, after having been engaged in trade with the Cochinchinese, came to the superiors of the Society of Jesus in Macao and asked the Jesuits “to advance the glory of God in Cochin-China.”¹¹⁸ In response, Carvalho sent a group of Jesuits that included two priests, namely, Francesco Buzomi (1576 – 1630),¹¹⁹ Diogo Carvalho (1578 -

¹¹⁵ C. RODELES, *La Compañía de Jesús Catequista*, 338 – 397.

¹¹⁶ J. WITEK, “Catechismos Chinos,” 719.

¹¹⁷ C. RODELES, *La Compañía de Jesús Catequista*, 397 – 8.

¹¹⁸ C. BORRI, “An Account of Cochin-China,” *Views of Seventeenth – Century Vietnam*, eds. by O. DROR and K. W. TAYLOR, Southeast Asia Program Publications, Ithaca 2006, 89 – 185, 139; C. ĐỒ, *Dòng Tên trong xã hội Đại Việt 1615 – 1773* [The Society of Jesus in the Grand Viet 1615 – 1773], Nhà xuất bản Tôn Giáo – Antôn & Đuốc sáng, Wichita Falls 2006, 17 – 18.

¹¹⁹ He was born in Napoli, Italy. Before entering the Society, he studied humanities and civil law and continued after his entrance until 1599. He taught theology at the Jesuit College in Napoli until he was sent to the Jesuit mission in Asia in 1609. He arrived Macao and began to teach theology there in the same year. He was sent to start the Jesuit mission in Cochin-China in 1615. Due to illness, he went back to Macau in 1617 to recover. In 1618, he returned to Cochinchina and extended the Jesuit mission to Camboya and Champa. He was named superior of the mission in 1635. Due to the royal edict expulsing all the missionaries from Vietnam, Buzomi spent the remaining time of his life directing the Jesuit mission in Cochinchina from Macau. According to de Rhodes, Buzomi was “un

1624),¹²⁰ Antonio Dias (1585 - ?)¹²¹ to start the Jesuit mission in Cochinchina in 1615. More priests, brothers and Japanese *dōjukus* were to be sent to the mission later.¹²² Though few in numbers, the Jesuits who first came to Vietnam brought with them a rich history and tradition of teaching the Christian doctrine and catechism. To better understand, thus appreciate the work of Jesuit missionaries at the beginning of the seventeenth century, it is important to consider the cultural and historical context in which these works were taking place, to which this investigation will turn its attention.

2.1 Vietnam's history: a case of multicultural identity

Perspectives on Vietnam's history are as diverse and as complex as the history itself.¹²³ From the historical debate with China to the attempt of reconstructing the national identity, whether being done from the Western colonialist or the nationalist viewpoints, whether being examined from the position of power or marginalized,

homme da Sainste vie, infatigable dans les travaux, courageux dans tous les dangers, ferme dans toutes ses resolutions" (C. BORRI, "An Account of Cochinchina," 139; J. RUIZ DE MEDINA, "Buzomi, Francesco," *DHCJ*, I, 586; *Voyages*, 116 - 7).

¹²⁰ He was sent to Asia during his philosophy studies and arrived Macao in 1601. In 1609, he went to Japan where he began to learn Japanese and worked in Miyako (modern Kyoto). During the persecution under Ieyasu in 1614, he was expelled from Japan and returned to Macao. In January 1615, he was sent to Cochinchina to minister the Japanese who were living there. After having spent a brief time in Faifo (modern Hội An, Việt Nam), he returned to Macao and went to work underground in Japan starting in 1616. For the next eight years, he labored tirelessly in Akita, Sendai, Tsugaru, and Ezo Island. On February 22, 1624 he was caught in a winter storm and died frozen in the Hirose river. He was beatified by Pius IX on July 7, 1867 (J. RUIZ DE MEDINA, "Carvalho, Diogo" *DHCJ*, I, 671).

¹²¹ António Dias left Cochinchina in 1639 (P. PHAN, *Mission and Catechesis*, 10 footnote 16).

¹²² By 1618 Francisco de Pina (1585 – 1625), Christopher Borri (1583 – 1632), Antonio Fernandez (? – 1630) and Pedro Marques (1577 – 1657) joined Buzomi in the Jesuit mission in Cochinchina (C. ĐỖ, *Đòng Tên trong xã hội Đại Việt 1615 – 1773 [The Society of Jesus in the Grand Việt 1615 – 1773]*, Nhà xuất bản Tôn giáo – An tôn & Đuốc sáng, Wichita Falls 2008, 50 – 53 footnotes 46, 49, 50, 51; See "Pièces justificatives" found in *Voyages et travaux des missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jesus. Mission de la Cochinchine et du Tonkin*, publiés par des pères de la même Compagnie, editeur C. DOUNIOL, Paris 1858, 386 – 395). Among the Japanese brothers were Saitō Paulo (1576 - 1633) and Tsuchimochi José (1568 - ?) who came to Cochinchina in 1620. Saitō left Cochinchina in 1622, returned to Macao, studied theology and was ordained to the priesthood by 1625. He went back to Tonkin in 1629 and left for good in 1630. Later, he was captured and martyred in Nagasaki in 1633 (J. RUIZ DE MEDINA, "Saitō, Shōzaemon Paulo," *DHCJ*, IV, IV, 3465 – 6; and Tsuchimochi José. Among the *dōjukus* was Nishi Tomé (J. RUIZ DE MEDINA, "Vietnam," *DHCJ*, IV, 3953 – 3968; *Views of Seventeenth – Century Vietnam*, 35 footnote 86).

¹²³ For an overview of these perspectives please see N. TRAN and A. REID, "The Construction of Vietnamese Historical Identities," 3 – 22.



Early Map of Tonkin (A. RHODES, *Tunquin* 1)

historians have struggled to narrate a complete picture of Vietnam’s history. As diverse as they are, these perspectives concur on the three distinct periods that generally define Vietnam’s history, namely, the country’s origin (before the 2nd century B.C.E.), its encounter with China (2nd B.C.E. – 15th C.E.), and later, with the West (16th C.E. onward). This section will further highlight the fact that in all of these periods cultural plurality has proved to be an essential characteristic of Vietnam’s national tradition and identity.

2.1.1 Vietnam’s origin

For Vietnam, cultural plurality existed in its birth and its growing consciousness.¹²⁴ Vietnam’s long history begins in the myth of the marriage between King Lạc Long and goddess Âu Cơ who gave birth to the Hùng kings, the first king of Vietnam. Lạc Long, a grandson of a sea god, married Âu Cơ, a mountain goddess, and gave birth to one hundred children. According to the myth, half of the children eventually followed Lạc Long into the sea domain, while the other half followed Âu Cơ into the mountains. From these one hundred children, the Kingdom of One Hundred Principalities (Bách Việt) was born. The oldest son was named Hùng, king of Văn Lang kingdom.¹²⁵ This mythical origin of the earliest Vietnamese kings “reflects a maritime cultural base with political accretions from continental

¹²⁴ For analysis on early Vietnamese history and culture, I am relying on TRƯƠNG HỮU QUÝNH, *Đại Cương Lịch Sử Việt Nam: Từ Thời Nguyên Thủy đến Năm 2000*; TRẦN NGỌC THÊM, *Tìm về bản sắc văn hóa Việt Nam*, [Going back to the authenticity of Vietnamese cultures], Nhà xuất bản Tổng Hợp Thành Phố Hồ Chí Minh, TP Hồ Chí Minh 2004; K.W.TAYLOR, *The Birth of Vietnam*, University of California Press, Berkeley 1983; P. PHAN, *Mission and Catechesis*. In addition, thanks to Anh Tran, a fellow Jesuit, I’ve also learned of valuable sources such as *Đại Việt Sử Ký Toàn Thư* [Complete History of the Great Viet] by PHAN PHÚ TIẾN, NGÔ SĨ LIÊN, and others and *Khâm Định Việt Sử Thông Giám Cương Mục* [General History of Vietnam by Imperial Order]. Other valuable documents are TRẦN TRỌNG KIM, *Việt Nam Sử Lược* [Survey of Vietnamese History] (1932, reprinted in many editions).

¹²⁵ T. TRẦN, *Tìm về bản sắc văn hóa Việt Nam*, 81; Văn Lang which literally means “Country of the cultured” (P. PHAN, *Mission and Catechesis*, 4).

influences... The genealogy of Lac Long Quan and Au Co brought together the southern aquatic line and the northern continental line of a single family.”¹²⁶

Furthermore, archeological evidence demonstrates that “*different cultures* of northern Vietnam became united under the influence of the oldest bronze-using culture.”¹²⁷ It was within this culture, which is also known as the Đông Sơn culture, that marked the formative period of Vietnam’s national identity under the Hùng kings.¹²⁸ In addition, linguistic analysis indicates that “ancient Vietnam was a meeting place of different linguistic cultures” such as Thai, Cham, and Jarai.¹²⁹ Most especially, Vietnamese language, which belongs to the Mon-Khmer linguistic group, was markedly different to that of the Chinese.¹³⁰ Thus, Vietnam in its origin had embodied various cultures and established itself as a multicultural nation.

2.1.2 Vietnam’s encounter with Chinese cultures

After its birth, Vietnamese history consisted of generations of Vietnamese men and women fighting to maintain its multicultural identity against the Chinese attempt to assimilate Vietnam into China.¹³¹ The Hồng Bàng Dynasty of Hùng kings was followed by the Thục Dynasty which renamed the country Âu Lạc.¹³² The Thục Dynasty lasted until 208 BCE when Zhao Tuo (Triệu Đà in Vietnamese), a Qin general, took control over the country, established the Triệu Dynasty and changed its name to Nam Việt.¹³³ The Triệu dynasty came to an end around 111 B.C.E. when the

¹²⁶ K. TAYLOR, *The Birth of Vietnam*, 1.

¹²⁷ 4. Italics are mine.

¹²⁸ K. TAYLOR, *The Birth of Vietnam*, 4; T. TRẦN, *Tìm về bản sắc văn hóa Việt Nam*, 82 – 3.

¹²⁹ K. TAYLOR, *The Birth of Vietnam*, 8 - 9.

¹³⁰ T. TRẦN, *Tìm về bản sắc văn hóa Việt Nam*, 86 – 7.

¹³¹ T. TRẦN, *Tìm về bản sắc văn hóa Việt Nam*, 88 – 9.

¹³² K. TAYLOR, *The Birth of Vietnam*, 20.

¹³³ Though Chao T’o was Chinese in his origin, he rebelled against Chinese authority and fought for Vietnamese. Thus, Vietnamese historians embraced him as one of Vietnam’s very own (T. TRẦN, *Tìm về bản sắc văn hóa Việt Nam*, 88).

leaders of the Hán dynasty invaded from China.¹³⁴ For the next fifteen centuries, under various emperors, China ruled Vietnam for more than one thousand years at different time periods, namely, 111 B.C.E.-39 C.E., 43-544 C.E., 602-918 C.E., and 1414-1427 C.E. In all of the periods of Chinese occupation, Vietnamese desire for independence ignited many uprisings and insurrections amounting against Chinese attempts to assimilate Vietnam into its cultures. Various Vietnamese dynasties that successfully gained and guarded independence for the country, namely, Hai Bà Trưng (40 – 43 CE), the Early Lý (544 – 602 C.E.), the Ngô (939-965 CE), the Đinh (968-980 CE), the Early Lê (980-1009 CE), the Later Lý (1010-1225 CE), and the Trần (1225-1400 CE, 1409-1413 CE), testified to Vietnam’s resilience in maintaining and enhancing its multicultural national identity.¹³⁵

After having endured through almost ten centuries of Chinese occupation that was intertwined with sporadic independences, Vietnam learned to accept the fact that their history had been inevitably entangled with that of China. Consequently, Vietnamese cannot deny that Chinese cultures had become part of Vietnam’s economic and political life. Vietnamese “scholarship and literature were unavoidable impregnated with the classical heritage of China; Chinese (*chữ Nho*) was the language of administration and scholarship, as Latin was in pre-modern Europe.”¹³⁶ However, despite a long Chinese dominance, Vietnam had refused to be assimilated into China, thus maintain its separate identity.¹³⁷ Vietnamese were able to retain their vernacular language *chữ nôm*,¹³⁸ cultures, and their memories of pre-Chinese civilization with

¹³⁴ K. TAYLOR, *The Birth of Vietnam*, 27 – 37.

¹³⁵ T. TRẦN, *Tìm về bản sắc văn hóa Việt Nam*, 89.

¹³⁶ K. TAYLOR, *The Birth of Vietnam*, 298.

¹³⁷ 299.

¹³⁸ This demotic script whose earliest surviving manuscript was found around the end of the seventh century. The name “nôm” is a combination of Chinese characters for “south” and “mouth.” It was used among Vietnamese as alternative sphere of thought for educated Vietnamese besides Chinese in

their proud tradition and national heroes. As a result, such a patrimony had given Vietnamese a “cultural realm that remained distinct and separate from the Chinese sphere of thought.”¹³⁹ Therefore, whatever came from China was absorbed, interpreted and understood through the lens of Vietnamese language and culture.¹⁴⁰ In other words, Vietnam had grown into an expert in absorbing Chinese cultures into its cultures, and in doing so enriched its multicultural tradition and identity.

2.1.3 Vietnam's encounter with the Western cultures

Vietnam's encounter with the Western cultures occurred at the time when its union was challenged and divided by its cultural and political diversity and adversity. Such cultural and political diversity emerged from Vietnam's very own people. In 1407, the Ming dynasty of China invaded Vietnam under the pretext of helping the Trần monarch to regain the throne usurped by Hồ Quý Ly and his son. When the Ming forces defeated the Hồ family, they instead re-established the Chinese occupation of the country.¹⁴¹ However, in 1417, Lê Lợi led a campaign successfully gaining independence for Vietnam against the Ming dynasty. After successfully overthrowing the Chinese, he founded the *Hậu Lê* (Later Lê) dynasty, as distinguished from the Early Lê dynasty of 980 – 1009 C.E.¹⁴² Inaugurated as the first king of the Hậu Lê dynasty, Lê Lợi reclaimed the country's name as *Đại Việt* (Grand Viet) from Annam (An Nam), which the Ming dynasty had previously named Việt Nam.¹⁴³

The Hậu Lê dynasty reached its climax in the second half of the fifteenth century. The early kings of the Hậu Lê greatly improved the country's political, economic,

the subsequent centuries (P. PHAN, *Mission and Catechesis*, 29 – 31; R. JACQUES, *Portuguese Pioneers of Vietnamese Linguistics*, 79; K. TAYLOR, *The Birth of Vietnam*, 205 – 6, 232, 264, 28).

¹³⁹ K. TAYLOR, *The Birth of Vietnam*, 300.

¹⁴⁰ IBID.

¹⁴¹ K. TRẦN, *Việt Nam Sử Lược* [Outline History of Vietnam], first published in 1919, recently published by Nhà xuất bản văn hóa Thông tin, Hanoi 2008, 213 – 217.

¹⁴² K. TRẦN, *Việt Nam Sử Lược*, 218 – 250.

¹⁴³ Q. TRƯƠNG, *Đại Cương Lịch Sử Việt Nam*, 316.

cultural and educational conditions.¹⁴⁴ The country's condition during this period reached its prosperity so much that “rice is so abundant even buffaloes are tired of eating.”¹⁴⁵ However, after more than fifty years of restoration and growth, the Hậu Lê dynasty began to decline in the early sixteenth century. The cultural and political diversity, which had previously been subdued by the prosperity of the Hậu Lê dynasty, demonstrated itself in different factions formed within the royal courts. Corruption and abuses of power and authority were widespread. Political and social reformists were either killed or forced to withdraw from public life. In addition, natural disasters like famine and drought claimed many lives. Consequently, various feudal powers arose rebelling against the Hậu Lê dynasty and fought against one another.¹⁴⁶

In 1527, a leader of one of those uprisings, Mạc Đăng Dung, murdered King Lê Chiêu Tôn (1506 – 1527) and founded the Mạc dynasty. However, the Mạc Dynasty did not last long. In 1532, Nguyễn Kim and his son-in-law, Trịnh Kiểm, both warlords who had remained faithful to the Hậu Lê dynasty, led a rebellion against the Mạc dynasty.¹⁴⁷ The conflict between Nguyễn Kim and the Mạc dynasty eventually led to a split between *Bắc Triều* (the Northern Kingdom), which was ruled by the Mạc, and *Nam Triều* (the Southern Kingdom), which was ruled by Nguyễn Kim. In 1592, Trịnh Tùng, Trịnh Kiểm's son, defeated King Mạc Mậu Hợp of Bắc Triều and reunited the country.¹⁴⁸ However, this reunion was short-lived.

¹⁴⁴ K. TRẦN, *Việt Nam Sử Lược*, 250 – 267; T. TRẦN, *Tim về bản sắc văn hóa Việt Nam*, 90.

¹⁴⁵ Q. TRƯỜNG, *Đại Cương Lịch Sử Việt Nam*, 325.

Đời vua Thái Tổ, Thái Tông

Thóc lúa đầy đồng, trâu chằm buồn ăn.

¹⁴⁶ Q. TRƯỜNG, *Đại Cương Lịch Sử Việt Nam*, 337.

¹⁴⁷ K. TRẦN, *Việt Nam Sử Lược*, 273 – 6.

¹⁴⁸ *Views of Seventeenth – Century Vietnam*, 20.

The competition for power and the mistrust between the Trịnh clan (descendants of Trịnh Kiểm) and the Nguyễn clan (descendants of Nguyễn Kim) eventually divided the country into two regions. Đàng Ngoài (External Region), ruled by the Trịnh clan, consisted of the region that spread northward from the northern part of Quảng Bình to Hà Tĩnh to the Chinese border. Đàng Trong (Internal Region), ruled by the Nguyễn clan, consisted of the region that ran southward from the southern part of Quảng Bình to Quảng Ngãi to the border of the ancient Champa Kingdom. Đàng Ngoài, whose capital was Thăng Long (modern day Hà Nội), was known to Westerners as Tonkin.¹⁴⁹ Đàng Trong, whose capital was Thuận Hóa or Sinoa (Huế), was known to Portuguese traders as Cochinchina.¹⁵⁰ Both Đàng Trong and Đàng Ngoài were often collectively referred to as *An Nam* which literally means the “Pacified South” in Western accounts.¹⁵¹ Both Đàng Trong and Đàng Ngoài which officially pledged allegiance to the Lê *vua* (king in Vietnamese). However, the real power and authority lay in the hands of the Nguyễn and Trịnh *chúa* (lord or warlord in Vietnamese).¹⁵² For most of the first half of the seventeenth century, the two sides were “locked in a series of wars that lasted into the 1670s.”¹⁵³ The

¹⁴⁹ Also known as “Tunquim,” “Tunkim,” “Tunchin,” “Tungking,” “Tonquin,” etc. which were derived from the Sino-Vietnamese Đông Kinh, or “Capital of the East” (R. JACQUES, *Portuguese Pioneers of Vietnamese Linguistics prior to 1650*, 15; P. PHAN, *Mission and Catechesis*, 6 footnote 4).

¹⁵⁰ Also known as “Cochim-China,” “Cocinchine,” “Cauchichina,” “Canchimchyna,” etc. The name was derived from the Malaysian term for Vietnam, “Kochi,” which in turn came from “Giao chí,” the ancient name of Vietnam used in the Han dynasty. “Giao chí,” literally means “people of separated toes,” or “intertwined feet.” Later of the sixteenth century, Japanese traders referred to Vietnamese as “Coci” while Portuguese “Cochi” (R. JACQUES, *Portuguese Pioneers of Vietnamese Linguistics prior to 1650*, 14; P. PHAN, *Mission and Catechesis*, 7 footnote 5; *Views of Seventeenth – Century Vietnam*, 20). On “Giao chí” please see K. TAYLOR, *Birth of Vietnam*, 25 – 26.

¹⁵¹ R. JACQUES, *Portuguese Pioneers of Vietnamese Linguistics prior to 1650*, 14. Westerner often mistook An Nam as part of Vietnam during the seventeenth century. Such mistake was found in I. ECHÁNIZ, *Pasión y gloria: la historia de la Compañía de Jesús en sus protagonistas*, Mensajero, Bilbao 2000, vol. I, 301. It is here that Echániz wrongly stated that “Vietnam comprende tres regiones que en el siglo XVII eran independientes: Tongking al norte, Annam en el centro, y Cochinchina al sur.”

¹⁵² *Views of Seventeenth-Century Vietnam*, 20 – 21.

¹⁵³ D. LACH & E. VAN KLEY, *Asia in the Making of Europe III*, 1248; *Views of Seventeenth-Century Vietnam*, 20.

existence of the two kingdoms in conflict that both superficially pledged alliance to the same king manifested Vietnam's reverence for national unity in the midst of its cultural and political diversity.

Vietnam's cultural and political diversity and adversity was further enriched and challenged in encountering the arrival of Western cultures. Starting from the sixteenth century, both Đàng Trong and Đàng Ngoài welcomed trading agreements with Westerners in seeking to recover economic stability and gain military advantage over each other.¹⁵⁴ Consequently, both began to open their ports to trade with Western countries, namely, Portugal in the late 1500's, Holland in the early 1600's, and France in the late 1600's.¹⁵⁵ Three different groups of people arrived in Annam in these ships: merchants who sought trade to make money, Christian missionaries who focused on Christianizing the country, and colonizers who looked for the opportunity to take over the country.¹⁵⁶ As with Chinese invasion and its assimilating attempt, Vietnam once again practiced its expertise in absorbing Western cultures into its cultures, and thus enriched its multicultural identity. While Chinese (*chữ Nho*) and *chữ Nôm* continued to be used and popularized both by Vietnamese and Christian missionaries,¹⁵⁷ a new Vietnamese script *chữ Quốc ngữ* (national script) was born and

¹⁵⁴ Giuliano Baldinotti (1591 – 1631), a Tuscan Jesuit, was sent from Macao early in 1626 with a group of Japanese merchant to determine the feasibility of Jesuit mission in Tonkin. According to Baldinotti, the motive of the Vietnamese king's overwhelming hospitality extended to the delegate was to attract more trades with the Portuguese. We read from Baldinotti's reports, "le motif qui poussa le Roy à déployer en notre endroit toutes ses liberalitez, semble être le desir qu'il avoit de nouer Alliance, & contracter traffic avec les Portugais, à raison du bruit épandu par tout ce Royaume, du grand profit qu'ils aportent avec leurs navires" (G. BALDINOTTI, "Relation dv voyage fait av royavme de Tunquim nouvellement découuert," *Histoire de ce qui s'est passé es royaumes d'Ethiopie en l'année 1626, jusqu'au mois de Mars 1627. Et de la Chine, en l'année 1625 jusques en Febrier de 1626. Avec une briefve narration du voyage que s'est fait au Royaume de Tunquin nouvellement découuert*, Chez Sebastien Cramoisy, Paris 1629, 191 – 9, 193; also see D. LACH and E. VAN KLEY, *Asia in the Making of Europe III*, 1248 and P. PHAN, *Mission and Catechesis*, 71.

¹⁵⁵ P. PHAN, *Mission and Catechesis*, 371–375.

¹⁵⁶ Q. TRƯỜNG, *Đại Cương Lịch Sử Việt Nam*, 375-376.

¹⁵⁷ One of the outstanding examples was Geronimo Maiorica, an Italian Jesuit who wrote more than forty-eight books of Christian teachings in this demotic script. For details of his work, please see B.

developed as a new product of the Vietnam's encounter with the Western cultures.¹⁵⁸ As a popular Vietnamese phrase often states: Vietnamese *hòa nhập* (adapting and accomodating) but not *hòa tan* (neither diluting nor losing). Warning the French in her attempt to assimilate Vietnamese cultures at the early of the twentieth century, Julien Dupré realized,

l'assimilation était d'autant plus dangereuse en Cochinchine, que nous nous trouvions en présence d'une civilisation très ancienne, d'une mentalité très différente et constituée par des facteurs héréditaires très puissants.¹⁵⁹

In summary, throughout its long history of enslavement and colonization first by the Chinese imperial forces and then by Western colonial power, Vietnam learned both to integrate and to resist the various foreign elements and dynamics that entered the country while forming a society and culture that has become distinctly Vietnamese. Such ability to build and to maintain its cultural identity by adapting and absorbing other cultures has become the hallmark of Vietnam's history. Regarding this unique trait of Vietnamese, the French scholar Paul Mus observed:

Dès que commence le Việt Nam, le maître mot de ses problèmes historiques paraît ... se trouve dans cet esprit de résistance qui associe, de façon paradoxale, à d'étonnantes facultés d'assimilation une irréductibilité nationale à l'épreuve des défaites, des démembrements et des conquêtes. Un millénaire et plus, d'annexion pure et simple à la Chine du deuxième siècle avant J.C. au dixième siècle après J.C. loin d'être venu à bout de l'user, paraît l'avoir renforcée.¹⁶⁰

OSTROWSKI's doctoral dissertation "The Nôm works of Geronimo Maiorica, S.J. (1589 – 1656) and Their Christology," Cornell University, January 2006.

¹⁵⁸ T. TRẦN, *Tìm về bản sắc văn hóa Việt Nam*, 92. More on the origin of chữ quốc ngữ, please read R. JACQUES, *Portuguese Pioneers of Vietnamese Linguistic*, also C. ĐỖ, *Lịch sử chữ quốc ngữ (1620 – 1659)* [History of the national script, *chữ quốc ngữ*, from 1620 - 1659] Nhà xuất bản tôn giáo, Saigon 1972 (reprinted version with author's correction by Anton & Duốc sáng, Frisco 2008). Since chữ quốc ngữ is closely related to the Jesuit mission and its inculturation attempt, more on this topic will be discussed later.

¹⁵⁹ J. DUPRÉ, "De L'assimilation des indigènes aux nationaux: au point de vu répressif, en cochinchine," thèse pour le doctorat de l'Université de Toulouse – Faculté de Droit (Magistrat en Indochine), Montpellier 1913, 17.

¹⁶⁰ referenced in THANH LÃNG, *Bảng Lược Đồ Văn Học Việt Nam*, Tủ Sách Đại Học, Saigon 1967, 6.

Arguably, one of the best modern Vietnamese artists and composers Trịnh Công Sơn, in one of his most famous songs, *Gia tài của mẹ* [Mother's Heritage] has poignantly captured the Vietnam's history and millions Vietnamese soul. We hear from his words:

One thousand years enslaved by the Chinese forces,
 One hundred years colonized by the Western powers,
 Twenty years of civil war each day.
 O Mother Viet! The heritage you have left your children.
 ...Has taught them to speak with a true voice,
 Has insisted them on not to forget the color of their skin,
 Forgetting not the color of Vietnam of old.¹⁶¹

Such lyrics offer a glimpse into Vietnam's history and civilization as multiculturalism in becoming.

2.2 Vietnam's Religion: a case of multi-religious identity

Multiculturalism-in-becoming is not only found in Vietnam's history and civilization, but also in its religion. For Vietnamese, all religions are called “đạo” or *the way*. Vietnamese people freely take values from other religious traditions and incorporate them into their own religious practices and worship. A common Vietnamese saying states that “đạo nào cũng tốt” [all religions are good]. However,

This dictum should not be taken as espousing religious indifference in the sense that all religions are equally true and therefore it does not matter which religion one follows. Rather, it affirms the existence of good elements in all religions and therefore one should respect and learn from any one of them. In this sense, all Vietnamese, including Christians, are to some extent Buddhist, Confucianist, and Taoist since these religions have permeated the Vietnamese culture and way of life.¹⁶²

¹⁶¹S. TRỊNH, “Gia tài của mẹ,” <http://songlyric.phanvien.com/song/7382/gia-tai-cua-me.htm>, downloaded on March 24, 2011. English translation is mine.

“Một ngàn năm nô lệ giặc Tàu
 Một trăm năm đô hộ giặc Tây
 Hai mươi năm nội chiến từng ngày
 Gia tài của mẹ để lại cho con
 ... Dạy cho con tiếng nói thật thà
 mẹ mong con chớ quên màu da
 Con chớ quên màu da, nước Việt xưa...”

¹⁶² P. PHAN, *Vietnamese – American Catholics*, 49.

In other words, Vietnamese are multi-religious in their religious identities. Furthermore, the delicate difference and harmony exist among Vietnam's various religious traditions remains at the heart of the interreligious interaction in Việt Nam. Before the arrival of Christianity, interaction among the *Tam Giáo* [The Three Religions] – Taoism, Confucianism, Buddhism – and Vietnam's indigenous religion were essential to each of these religions' vitality and development. To understand the religious context of Vietnam, one must have some basic knowledge on each of these religions.

2.2.1 *Đạo Thờ Trời [The Way of Heaven]: Vietnam's indigenous religion*

Vietnam's indigenous religion “has no history, because it dates from the origin of the [Vietnamese] race.”¹⁶³ It is two-tiered reverence, namely, *đạo hiếu* (the way of filial piety) and *đạo thờ trời* or *thiên đạo* (the way of worshipping Heaven). In practice, people maintained the religion of filial piety by venerating their ancestors; they worshipped Heaven through loyalty and commitment to the words and rule of the king or emperor who was believed to be *thiên tử* (Son of Heaven). Traditionally, the emperor or his delegate official conducted various rituals offering sacrifice to Heaven. The imperial ceremonies took place at a raised platform outside the *Cửa Nam* (South Gate) of the imperial citadel (*nam giao*), whereas, sacrifice in a household took place at the family's altar.¹⁶⁴

There are also two different groups of words that the Vietnamese traditionally use to refer to the Supreme Being. The first group of words, heavily influenced by Chinese thought, consists of *Thượng Đế* [Ruler on High, Supreme Ruler], *Thiên*

¹⁶³ L. CADIÈRE, *Croyances et pratiques religieuses des Vietnamiens*, Deuxième édition, vol. 1, Bulletin de la Société des Études Indochinoises. Imprimerie d'Extreme – Orient, Hanoi 1944 – 57, 6 (I am grateful to Anh Trần for this reference).

¹⁶⁴ P. PHAN, *Vietnamese – American Catholics*, 35.

[Heaven], *Thiên Chúa* or *Thiên Chủ* [Lord of Heaven], and simply *Chúa* [Lord]. The second group, which is purely Vietnamese, includes *Trời* [Heaven] or more commonly, *Ông Trời* [Mr. Heaven], and sometimes, *Ông Thanh* [Mr. Blue Heaven]. For the title “God,” Vietnamese Christian tradition often combined words from these two traditions into one title commonly used in the church today as *Thiên Chúa* or *Thiên Chủ* [Lord of Heaven] in Sino-Vietnamese or *Đức Chúa Trời* [Venerable Lord of Heaven] in vernacular, or simply *Chúa* [Lord].¹⁶⁵

For the Vietnamese, *Trời* [Heaven] or *Ông Trời* [Mr. Heaven] is communicated through popular proverbs or folk songs as personal, immanent and transcendent, *Trời có mắt* [Heaven has eyes], benevolent and just, *Trời sinh voi; Trời sinh cỏ* [Heaven that bears elephants also gives grass], creator of the universe, *Ngẫm hay muôn sự tại Trời, Trời kia đã bắt làm người có thân* [Know that all things depend on Heaven, Heaven has assigned each person a station in life], and source of all life *Trời sinh, Trời dưỡng* [Heaven creates, Heaven nurtures]. It is to this dear and personal *Ông Trời* that the Vietnamese often pray for what are some of the most essential in their lives:

Heaven, send down the rain
So I have water to drink
A field to plow
Plenty of rice to eat
Big fish to catch.¹⁶⁶

Besides *Ông Trời*, various spirits are also worshipped in the network of divinities ranked by order of antiquity. The cult of goddess (*đạo Mẫu*) is also prominent in Vietnam.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁵ 36 – 37.

¹⁶⁶ This folk song is commonly found in Vietnamese oral tradition especially among children.

*Lạy Trời mưa xuống,
Lấy nước tôi uống,
Lấy ruộng tôi cấy
Lấy bát cơm đầy
Lấy khúc cá to.*

It was into this cultural and religious medium of *Đạo Trời Trời* [The Way of Heaven] which different religious faiths and beliefs had entered and found a home in Vietnam. As medium, *Đạo Trời Trời* had served as “the matrix that binds” all religions in Vietnam together, at the same time, transformed the into “Vietnamese.”¹⁶⁸ In other words, how a religion could flourish in Vietnam depends largely on how successfully it could identify and integrate the basic characteristics of *Đạo Trời Trời*, namely, belief in Heaven and filial piety.

2.2.2 *Nho Giáo* [Confucianism]

Confucianism, known in Vietnam as *Nho Giáo*, which was founded on the teachings of Confucius (551-479 BCE),¹⁶⁹ entered Vietnam from China during Han dynasty between the first century and second century.¹⁷⁰ As mentioned above, during

¹⁶⁷ THIEN DO, *Vietnamese Supernaturalism: Views from the Southern Region*, RoutledgeCurzon, New York 2003, 2. Please also see, T. NGÔ, *Đạo Mẫu tại Việt Nam* [Cult of Mother Goddess in Vietnam] 2 Vols., NXB Tôn Giáo, Hà nội 2006; O. DROR, *Cult, Culture and Authority: Princess Liễu Hạnh in Vietnamese History*, University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu 2007; *Possessed by the Spirits: Mediumship in Contemporary Vietnamese Communities*, edited by K. FJELSTAD and H. NGUYEN, Cornell University SEAP, Ithaca 2006. I am grateful to Anh Trần for these references.

¹⁶⁸ P. PHAN, *Vietnamese – American Catholics*, 49.

¹⁶⁹ Confucius is a Latinized name of K'ong-Tseu or Kong Fuzi, Master Kong (Khổng Tử in Vietnamese). He was born in the Zhou feudalistic dynasty. Originally, there were about 124 states all of which functioned well with one another within the dynasty. However, as the Zhou power over these states declined so did the administrative system. As a result, power struggles and military conflict among different states arose. Into the midst of this chaos and disorder, Master Kong strove to re-established peace and order for the country through his teaching. He served in various offices, namely, magistrate of district Zhongdu (501 BCE), Zhongdu's Minister for Construction (500 BCE), Zhongdu's Chief Justice and Prime Minister (499 BCE). Unable to put his theory into practice, he left his home in the Lu state and traveled to other states in 497 BCE. For the next thirteen years (497 – 484 BCE), he and his disciples journeyed through various states promoting his teaching. He returned to his home town and devoting the remaining days of his life teaching and editing ancient classics. He passed away in the fourth month of 479 BCE. Confucianism is most known for its three characteristics: a. its members are mostly learned people or civilized intellectuals, in other words, learning is a way to better society; b. commitment to interpreting and understanding ancient tradition; c. putting ancient principles and tradition into practice will transform society (Y. XINZHONG, *An Introduction to Confucianism*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2000, 20 – 24, 30). The Jesuit, Nicolas Trigault, first introduced Confucianism to the West during his trip to Europe in the early seventeenth century (Y. XINZHONG, *Confucianism*, 2).

¹⁷⁰ H. NGUYỄN, “The Confucian Incursion into Vietnam,” *Confucianism and the Family*, edited by W. SLOTE and G. DE VOS, Albany State University of New York, Albany 1998, 91 – 104, 91; L. NGUYỄN, *La tradition religieuse spirituelle sociale au Vietnam*, Bauchesne, Paris 1997, 127 – 92, 127; K. TAYLOR, “Vietnamese Confucian Narratives,” *Rethinking Confucianism: Past and Present in China, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam*, eds. J. DUNCAN and H. OOMS, UCLA Asian Pacific Monograph Series, Los Angeles 2002, 337 – 369; ID. *The Birth of Vietnam*, 70 – 80.

a long period of Chinese occupation, Chinese rulers used different ways to assimilate the Vietnamese into the Chinese way of living. Confucianism, originally the social, political and moral system for China, was imposed on Vietnam for the same purpose. Confucian teachings, such as the *Five Classics*¹⁷¹ and the *Four Books*,¹⁷² were introduced into Vietnam as early as the third century. During the ten centuries of Chinese occupation, Confucianism “a dominé la culture et l’activité intellectuelle des Vietnamiens, et la sagesse confucéenne est devenue leur règle de vie.”¹⁷³ Like China, Confucianism permeated the ruling class in Vietnam by virtue of their education.¹⁷⁴ Thus, by the time Vietnam acquired its independence in the tenth century, Confucianism took root in Vietnamese society.¹⁷⁵

Starting from the late eleventh century, Confucianism exerted its influence on Vietnam’s social, political, and spiritual life. In 1075, King Lý Nhân Tông authorized the first three-class examinations to select mandarins for suitable positions in the royal court. The king’s authorization marked the official point at which Confucianism entered into Vietnamese politics. Symbolically, he ordered the building of *Văn Miếu*, the “Temple of Literature,” to honor Confucius and his disciples and established the Quốc Tử Giám (National Academy) also often known as the first university of Vietnam, and dedicated its school to the study of Confucianism.

¹⁷¹ In the Confucian tradition, there are two kinds of sacred literature: the first (*jing*, 經) consists of ancient scriptures or classics that embodied the constant principles that guide life and history. The other (*shu*, 論) contains the “records of sayings.” Originally, there were six Confucian classics, namely, the *Book of Poetry*, the *Book of History*, the *Book of Rites*, the *Book of Music*, the *Book of Changes*, and the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. However, the *Book of Music* was completely lost. So the Six Classics became Five (Y. XINZHONG, *An Introduction to Confucianism*, 56 – 7).

¹⁷² Originally, the Five Classics served as the key texts books for Confucian Learning and state examination. However, during the Song Dynasty, Zhu Xi (1130 – 1200) published the *Collected Annotations on the Four Books* as a “necessary ladder for scholars who wanted to learn the Way of Sages.” Eventually, the *Four Books* became part of Confucian sacred literature. The *Four Books* are the *Great Learning*, the *Doctrine of the Mean*, the *Analects of Confucius*, and the *Book of Mengzi* (Y. Xinzhong, *An Introduction to Confucianism*, 63).

¹⁷³ L. NGUYỄN, *La tradition religieuse spirituelle sociale au Viêtname*, 127

¹⁷⁴ K.TAYLOR, *The Birth of Vietnam*, 83.

¹⁷⁵ H. NGUYỄN, “The Confucian Incursion into Vietnam,” 93.

From the control of state examinations to the establishment of schools, Confucianism dominated the educational system even though Buddhism was considered the national religion in Vietnam.¹⁷⁶ The Trần dynasty (1225-1400, 1409-1413), especially King Trần Thái Tông, recognized Confucianism's importance and made every effort to combine Buddhism with Confucianism.¹⁷⁷

Under the Hậu Lê dynasty (1428-1503), Confucianism reemerged as the dominant religion in Việt Nam. King Lê Thái Tổ (1385 – 1433), the founder of the Lê dynasty, decided to promulgate Confucianism as the base on which to consolidate the dynasty's educational and moral system which the “whole population [must] study frequently and thoroughly.”¹⁷⁸ Furthermore, he inaugurated the court examinations for the doctoral degree; those who earned one would receive high positions in the royal court.¹⁷⁹ All examinations, including those designed for entrance into Buddhist and Taoist monasteries, were based on Confucianism curriculum. Money and donations that had been used to erect pagodas and to support Buddhist monasteries were now used to build Confucian schools and temples.¹⁸⁰ Therefore, “it is safe to say that by the reign of King Lê Thánh Tông (1460-1497) Confucianism had completely replaced Buddhism” as the foundation of Vietnam's social and political structure.¹⁸¹

Up until the late nineteenth century, most if not all subsequent rulers in Vietnam all devoted themselves strongly to Confucianism. Thus, Confucianism

¹⁷⁶ H. NGUYỄN, “The Confucian Incursion into Vietnam,” 93; P. PHAN, *Mission and Catechesis*, 20.

¹⁷⁷ T. NGUYỄN, *History of Buddhism in Vietnam*, Social Sciences Publishing House, Hanoi 1992, 194. Understandably so, since most of learned men in Vietnam at the moment were Buddhist monk, they were educated in Confucianism. Therefore, they not only spread their religious beliefs (Buddhism) but also taught Confucianism, as philosophical structure of Vietnamese society (H. Nguyễn, “The Confucian Incursion into Vietnam,” 93).

¹⁷⁸ H. NGUYỄN, “The Confucian Incursion into Vietnam,” 97.

¹⁷⁹ T. NGUYỄN, *History of Buddhism in Vietnam*, 230.

¹⁸⁰ L. NGUYỄN, *Việt Nam Phật Giáo Sử Luận* [History of Buddhism], Nhà Xuất Bản Văn Học, Hà Nội 1994) 46.

¹⁸¹ T. NGUYỄN, *History of Buddhism in Vietnam*, 231.

became the “permanent DNA” that remained alive and active in Vietnam’s political, social, and religious life.¹⁸²

2.2.3 *Phật Giáo [Buddhism]*

Buddhism was introduced to Vietnam from India at the end of Emperor Lingdi’s reign in the Han dynasty (168-189 A.D.).¹⁸³ A Buddhist story involves two Indian Buddhist monks, Mahajivaka and Kalacarya, who stopped in Luy Lâu, Giao Chỉ (North Vietnam) on their way to China. While Mahajivaka decided to continue his trip, Kalacarya stayed in Giao Chỉ where he preached and taught Buddhism.¹⁸⁴ Interestingly, Luy Lâu is believed to be a center of Buddhist activities earlier than those in China, namely, Pengcheng and Luoyang. Vietnam (Giao chỉ at the time) became a “center for the diffusion for Buddhism into China.”¹⁸⁵ Besides the Central Asian, Indian, and Chinese monks who frequent Vietnam, several native monks were prominent during this early period. At least two were mentioned in the *Biographies of Prominent Monks (Tục Cao Tăng Truyện)*: Thích Huệ Thăng and Thích Đạo Thiên.¹⁸⁶

At the end of sixth century, Vinitaruci, an Indian monk and member of the Brahmin caste, came to Vietnam and established the first Vietnamese *thiền* (Japanese *zen*, Chinese *chan*, or “meditation”) school. He had first gone to China in 562 CE. In

¹⁸² P. PHAN, *Vietnamese-American Catholics*, 40.

¹⁸³ Most notable works regarding Buddhism in Vietnam include the Buddhist monk, L. NGUYỄN’S (THÍCH NHẤT HẠNH), *Việt Nam Phật Giáo Sử Luận* [History of Vietnamese Buddhism], Lá Bối, Saigon 1974; Nguyễn’s work was edited and reappeared in a book published in Hanoi by NGUYỄN TÀI THỤ et als., entitled *Lịch Sử Phật Giáo Việt Nam*, NXB Khoa Học Xã Hội, Hanoi 1988 later an English version entitled *History of Buddhism in Vietnam*, Social Sciences Publishing, Hanoi 1992. Please also see C. NGUYỄN, *Zen in Medieval Vietnam*, University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu 1997, especially chapter 1, 9 – 21. I am grateful to Anh Trần for the last reference.

¹⁸⁴ T. NGUYỄN, *History of Buddhism in Vietnam*, 27 - 31.

¹⁸⁵ K. TAYLOR, *The Birth of Vietnam*, 80 - 81.

¹⁸⁶ Thích Huệ Thăng was the first Buddhist monk of Vietnamese origin; he was known for meditating and reciting prayers from *The Lotus sutra* at Châu Sơn pagoda. The second known Vietnamese monk, Thích Đạo Thiên, who excelled at Buddhist teaching, became a renowned figure throughout Vietnam and China. His lectures attracted thousands of listeners and he was said to have had several hundred disciples. (T. NGUYỄN, *History of Buddhism in Vietnam*, 54, 63).

580, after having converted to Chinese Chan Buddhism, he came to Vietnam to practice and to teach *thiền* at Pháp Vân pagoda in what is now Bắc Ninh province.¹⁸⁷ In 820, a Chinese monk whose Vietnamese name was Vô Ngôn Thông established the second *thiền* school; he lived in the Kiến Sơ pagoda in Phù Đổng village, also in Bắc Ninh.¹⁸⁸

From the ninth to the fourteenth century, these two *thiền* schools expanded and prospered influencing people throughout Vietnam. Most significantly, Buddhist monks were seen as the most learned and influential members of their communities. Their Buddhist affiliation gave these monks the opportunity to study in China, Indonesia, or India making them the “intelligentsia” of Vietnam at the time. Besides practicing *thiền*, they actively engaged in the country’s struggle for liberation and independence.¹⁸⁹ Moreover, from the Đinh dynasty (968-980) to the the Lý dynasty (1010-1225), Buddhist monks were highly esteemed in the royal courts as king advisors and entrusted with the diplomatic task of welcoming and communicating with Chinese ambassadors.¹⁹⁰ Pagodas were built and monasteries founded both in cities and in remote regions including those inhabited by ethnic minorities.¹⁹¹ Consequently, “Vietnamese Buddhism helped stable dynastic institution that gave political shape to the new Vietnamese identity” during the tenth and the eleventh century.¹⁹² Furthermore, under the Trần dynasty (1225-1400), Buddhism served as a driving force behind the effort to unify different religious traditions in Vietnam.¹⁹³ The birth of *Trúc Lâm* (The Bamboo Forest) Buddhist sect in the early fourteenth

¹⁸⁷ T. NGUYỄN, *History of Buddhism in Vietnam*, 71-74.

¹⁸⁸ T. NGUYỄN, *History of Buddhism in Vietnam*, 85; K. TAYLOR, *The Birth of Vietnam*, 229 – 30.

¹⁸⁹ T. NGUYỄN, *History of Buddhism in Vietnam*, 98.

¹⁹⁰ 100 –101.

¹⁹¹ 117-121.

¹⁹² K. TAYLOR, *The Birth of Vietnam*, 264.

¹⁹³ T. NGUYỄN, *History of Vietnamese Buddhism*, 195.

century symbolized the emergence of Vietnamese nationalism and the climax of Vietnamese Buddhism.¹⁹⁴

Beginning with the Chinese occupation in the early fifteenth century, Vietnamese Buddhism began to show signs of decline. After having gained independence, under the Lê dynasty (1428 – 1788), Vietnam shifted from a Buddhist to a Confucian society. The Trúc Lâm Buddhist sect, symbol of Vietnamese Buddhism, largely disappeared and was almost forgotten. The Hồng Đức Imperial Code (*Quốc Triều Hình Luật*), promulgated in the middle of the fifteenth century made no mention of Buddhism. By then, it was recognized that Confucianism had completely took over Buddhism's previous role as the country's ideological, philosophical, and political system.¹⁹⁵

Despite its decline, Buddhism had become deeply rooted in Vietnamese society. While Buddhist teachings and morals were not published in written form, they were transmitted orally through stories and folk songs. Buddhist popular stories such as *Quan Âm Thị Kính* (the Goddess of Mercy, Quan Yi) and *Quan Âm Nam Hải* (the Goddess of the Southern Sea) were instilled in the hearts of Vietnamese.¹⁹⁶

2.2.4 Lão Giáo [Taoism]

Taoism (known in Vietnam as *Lão giáo* or *Đạo giáo*) was also introduced into Vietnam from China during the first and second century.¹⁹⁷ Since then, Taoism was popularized and practiced by indigenous geomancers, astrologers, and sorcerers who helped to guide human affairs most especially during the tenth and the eleventh

¹⁹⁴ After having ruled the country for fifteen years, King Lê Thánh Tông (1258 – 1308) resigned, withdrew to Mount Yên Tử, and entered the monkhood. There, the “king – monk” found the Trúc Lâm [The Bamboo Forest] Buddhist sect (T. NGUYỄN, *History of Vietnamese Buddhism*, 181).

¹⁹⁵ T. NGUYỄN, *History of Vietnamese Buddhism*, 231.

¹⁹⁶ THANH LÃNG, *Bản lược đồ văn học Việt Nam*, [A Survey of Vietnamese Literature], 607 – 10.

¹⁹⁷ Taoist disciples brought Taoism to Vietnam during their fighting against the corrupted Han dynasty in the political movement known the Yellow Turban Rebellion (K. TAYLOR, *The Birth of Vietnam*, 72).

centuries.¹⁹⁸ In Vietnam, Taoism was often practiced together with Buddhism and Confucianism as described as follow.

Buddhism in particular captured the imagination of the common people by attaching itself to the indigenous spirit cults associated with the worship of trees and aquatic powers. Ruling-class people were predominantly Confucianist by virtue of their education. Taoism lay between Buddhism and Confucianism. Many public Confucianists were private Taoists, and many Taoists found Buddhism but a short step away.¹⁹⁹

Generally, in Vietnam, Taoism is understood both as a philosophical system and as a set of religious practices. Philosophically, Taoism is built on the writings of one of the most famous sages, Lao Tzu and his *Tao Te Ching*.²⁰⁰ The doctrine of *Tao* (the way) constitutes the central teaching of Taoism. According to the Vietnamese understanding of the doctrine, *Tao* embodies both *vô* [Chinese *wu*; English nonbeing], which points to the absolute un-manifested, unchanging, and transcendent source of all things; and *hữu* (being), which indicates the manifested, immanent and ever-changing dynamic of nature.²⁰¹ For example, the familiar *yin* and *yang* are dynamic entities of the *hữu* that operate actively, both opposing and complementing one another in the five agents: water, wood, fire, earth, and metal.²⁰²

Cosmologically, Taoism perceives the universe as a “vast array of forces” that is organized into a hierarchical system, at the top headed by the Tao. Below the Tao located the Great One, then the yin-yang, then the five elements, and finally a multitude of beings. The same dynamic and energy of being and nonbeing function

¹⁹⁸ K. TAYLOR, *The Birth of Vietnam*, 264. 28. 283.

¹⁹⁹ 83.

²⁰⁰ Lao Tzu’s date of birth remains unknown. Some argue that he was born in 6 BCE, others 4 BCE, others a mythical figure (M. TERESA ROMÁN, “Estudio preliminary: El *Lao zi* y el taoísmo,” *Tao Te Ching. Los libros del Tao [por] Lao Tse*, edición y traducción del chino de I. Idoeta, Trotta, Madrid 2006, 43 – 141, 53).

²⁰¹ M. TERESA ROMÁN, “Estudio preliminary,” 51.

²⁰² M. TERESA ROMÁN, “Estudio preliminary,” 82; P. PHAN, *Mission and Catechesis*, 17.

within each entity at all levels of this hierarchy.²⁰³ In summary, the Tao could be interpreted as,

“principio de orden”: un orden de la Naturaleza, y aun metafísico, para el primero, y un orden moral y político para el segundo. Un orden moral que sólo se puede alcanzar mediante la práctica de las virtudes.²⁰⁴

For example, the human body, according to Taoism, is a microcosm that reflects this cosmic hierarchy. Consequently, unlike Confucianism, which endorses continuous human efforts towards moral self-cultivation and just governance, Taoism encourages humans to achieve and to maintain harmony according to this hierarchical order in all things.²⁰⁵

Unlike Taoism in China, Taoism in Vietnam sought neither to build schools nor to form a clergy. Very few people knew Taoist doctrine. However, Taoist philosophy greatly influenced Confucianist and Buddhist thought and writings in Vietnam. Regarding Taoism, Thich Nhat Hanh admitted that “the essence of Lao Tzu’s and Chuang Tzu’s philosophy is expressed only in the thought and conduct of educated persons of both Buddhist and Confucian faith.”²⁰⁶ Furthermore, since those who practiced Taoism knew very little of its doctrine, they made their living from their supposed magical powers. Most often, Taoist priests performed rituals for ordinary Vietnamese: exorcism, healing, divination, petitions for personal welfare, as well as prayers and offerings. Therefore, although Taoism lacked a visible structure, religious and philosophical Taoism has remained “very popular among the less

²⁰³ M. TERESA ROMÁN, “Estudio preliminar,” 82; C. ELORDUY, *Lao Tse – Chuang Tzu. Dos grandes maestros del Taoismo*, Editora Nacional, Madrid 1983, 43.

²⁰⁴ 63.

²⁰⁵ C. ELORDUY, *Lao Tse – Chuang Tzu. Dos grandes maestros del Taoismo*, 50; P. PHAN, *Vietnamese-American Catholics*, 42.

²⁰⁶ THÍCH NHẬT HẠNH, *Vietnam: Lotus in a Sea of Fire*, Hill and Wang, New York 1967, 13.

educated and poor Vietnamese.”²⁰⁷ For these reasons, Taoism permeated inter-religious interactions, especially in the daily practices of Vietnamese people.

2.2.5 Christianity

Compared to the *Tam Giáo* (the Three Religions), Christianity is a latecomer to Việt Nam. The Vietnamese Imperial Historical Records (*Khâm Định Việt Sử Thông Giám Cương Mục Khâm*) reports the story of a Westerner named Inêkhu (possibly *Ignatius*), who secretly preached the doctrine of Christianity in the villages of Ninh Cường, Trà Lũ, and Quần Anh in the province of Sơn Nam (modern Nam Định in North Vietnam) in 1533.²⁰⁸ The first known Christian missionaries in Vietnam were Portuguese Dominicans who came to Hà Tiên (the southern tip of Vietnam) from Malacca as early as 1550.²⁰⁹ Spanish Franciscans arrived to Đà Nẵng (Central Vietnam) came from Manila as early as 1583.²¹⁰ Secular priests were also found in the country at the end of the sixteenth century.²¹¹ However, the work of

²⁰⁷ P. PHAN, *Vietnamese-American Catholics*, 42.

²⁰⁸ Q. TRƯỜNG, *Đại Cương Lịch Sử Việt Nam: Từ Thời Nguyên Thủy đến Năm 2000* [General Survey of Vietnam’s History], Nhà Xuất Bản Giáo Dục, Hà Nội 2001, 383; T. NGUYỄN, *Công giáo trên quê hương Việt Nam* [Catholicism in Vietnam], 37 – 9.

²⁰⁹ They were Diego Aduarte and Alonso Ximénez according to Diego Aduarte’s *Historia de la provincia de santo Rosario de Filipinas, Japon, y China de la sagrada Orden de Predicadores*, Zaragoza 1693 (P. PHAN, *Mission and Catechesis*, 9; also see S. MOFFET, *A History of Christianity in Asia II*, 43).

²¹⁰ Christopher Borri in his “Account of Cochin-China” confirmed that “some fathers of the order of St. Francis that went from Manila and one of St. Augustine from Maccao to Cochin-China, merely for the conversion of those souls.” And those Franciscan were identified namely Diego de Oropesa, Bartolome Ruiz, Francisco de Montilla, Ortiz Cabezas, and four lay brothers, Cristobal Gomez, Diego Jimenez, Francisco de Villarino, and Manuel de Santiago (*Views of Seventeenth-Century Vietnam: Christoforo Borri on Cochinchina and Samuel Baron on Tonkin*, introduced and annotated by O. DROR and K.W. TAYLOR, Cornell University, Ithaca 2006, 89 – 185, 138); M. RIBADENEIRA, *Historia de las islas del archipiélago filipino y reinos de la Gran China, Tartaria, Cochinchina, Malaca, Siam, Cambodge y Japón*. Madrid 1947. Ribadeneira’s report on CochinChina was based on account of the Franciscan friar, Bartolome Ruiz, who previously lived there for two years (D. LACH and E. VAN KLEY, *Asia in the Making of Europe. Volume III: A Century of Advance*, 3 Books, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1993, 1249).

²¹¹ Pedro Ordóñez y Cevallos (b. ca. 1550), also known as “the grateful priest”, claimed to be in Cochin-China from 1589 to 1593. The background which he provided in his *Tratado de las relaciones verdaderas de os reinos de la China, Cochinchina y Champa y otras cosas notables y varios sucesos sacados de sus originales*, por el licenciado don Pedro Ordonnez de Cevallos Presbytero que dio la vuelta al mundo, is factual. However, the story of his adventures is deemed to be fictional (D. LACH and E. VAN KLEY, *Asia in the Making of Europe III*, 325).

these early Christian did not have much success partly because they were forbidden to preach to the natives.²¹² Consequently, they worked exclusively with Japanese Portuguese Christians in Faifo (modern Hôï An) where trade between Vietnamese and foreigners took place. No attempt was made either to learn the language of the country or to promote Christianity with the natives.²¹³ Consequently, after having stayed in the area for a while, the Dominicans left for the Philippines.²¹⁴

Jesuits, though came later, pioneered the establishment of a permanent Christian mission in Vietnam starting in the beginning of the seventeenth century.²¹⁵ Jesuits came to Vietnam not on their own initiatives but at the request of a layman. As mentioned above, Fernandes de Costa, captain of a Portuguese merchant ship. After having been engaged in trade with the Cochinchinese, de Costa asked Valentim de Carvalho (1559 – 1631),²¹⁶ the Jesuit provincial of Japan, to send Jesuits to *Cochinchina*.²¹⁷ In response, Carvalho sent a group of Jesuits that included two priests, namely, Francesco Buzomi (1576 – 1630),²¹⁸ Diogo Carvalho (1578 -

²¹² C. BORRI, “An Account of Cochin-China,” *Views of Seventeenth-Century Vietnam*, 138.

²¹³ D. LACH and E. VAN KLEY, *Asia in the Making of Europe III*, 1256; P. PHAN, *Mission and Catechesis*, 9.

²¹⁴ P. PHAN, *Mission and Catechesis*, 9.

²¹⁵ S. MOFFET, *A History of Christianity in Asia II*, 43.

²¹⁶ He studied at Coimbra University before entering to the Society in 1577. He arrived Macao in 1595 and served as secretary to the bishop while teaching theology at the Jesuit college in Macao. In 1598, he went to Japan where he worked with A. Valignano. He was named provincial of Japan from 1611 to 1617. As provincial, he started Jesuit mission in Cochinchina in 1615, Camobya in 1616. After being provincial, he was named vicar apostolic of Macao in 1616. In 1626, he went to India to assist the Fourth Provincial Congregation in Goa (J. RUIZ DE MEDINA, “Carvalho, Valentim” *DHCJ*, I, 675 – 6).

²¹⁷ Southern part of modern Vietnam, these regions will be explained later in the investigation. Respecting to the starting of the Jesuit mission in Vietnam, we learned from Alexandre de Rhodes, “Celuy qui donna occasion de commencer cette Mission fust Ferdinand à Costa Seigneur, Portugais, qui estant retourné à Macao d’un voyage qu’il audit. faiet à la Cochinchine, vint trouuer nos Peres & leur raconta ce qu’il auoit veu, de la Belle esperance, qu’on pouuoit auoir de convertir ce Royaume” (*Voyages*, 68). Christopher Borri (1583 – 1632), a Milanese Jesuit, confirmed the request of a “certain Portuguese merchant” in his “An Account of Cochin-China” in 1631 (*Views of Seventeenth-Century Vietnam*, 139).

²¹⁸ He was born in Napoli, Italy. Before entering the Society, he studied humanities and civil law and continued after his entrance until 1599. He taught theology at the Jesuit College in Napoli until he was sent to the Jesuit mission in Asia in 1609. He arrived Macao and began to teach theology there in the same year. He was sent to start the Jesuit mission in Cochin-China in 1615. Due to illness, he went back to Macau in 1617 to recover. In 1618, he returned to Cochinchina and extended the Jesuit

1624),²¹⁹ Antonio Dias (1585 - ?)²²⁰ to start the Jesuit mission in Cochinchina in 1615. More priests, brothers and Japanese *dōjukus* were to be sent to the mission later.²²¹

Labors of Jesuit missionaries combining with Vietnamese's religious character, the first half of the seventeenth century witnessed the blossomed growth of the Church in Cochinchina and Tonkin. The three years, during which only de Rhodes, Marquez, and few Japanese *dōjukus* labored in Tonkin, witnessed a large number of conversions. According to de Rhodes' statistics, "la premiere année le nombre des batizez fust de douze cent, l'année apres il y en eust deux mille, & a troisieme trois mille cinq cens."²²² In Cochinchina, by the time de Rhodes returned in 1640, there were 12000 – 15000 Christians. In 1663, three years after de

mission to Cambogia and Champa. He was named superior of the mission in 1635. Due to the royal edict expulsing all the missionaries from Vietnam, Buzomi spent the remaining time of his life directing the Jesuit mission in Cochinchina from Macao. According to de Rhodes, Buzomi was "un homme da Sainste vie, infatigable dans les travaux, courageux dans tous les dangers, ferme dans toutes ses resolutions" (C. BORRI, "An Account of Cochinchina," 139; J. RUIZ DE MEDINA, "Buzomi, Francesco," *DHCJ*, I, 586; *Voyages*, 116 - 7).

²¹⁹ He was sent to Asia during his philosophy studies and arrived Macao in 1601. In 1609, he went to Japan where he began to learn Japanese and worked in Miyako (modern Kyoto). During the persecution under Ieyasu in 1614, he was expelled from Japan and returned to Macao. In January 1615, he was sent to Cochinchina to minister the Japanese who were living there. After having spent a brief time in Faifo (modern Hoi An, Việt Nam), he returned to Macao and went to work underground in Japan starting in 1616. For the next eight years, he labored tirelessly in Akita, Sendai, Tsugaru, and Ezo Island. On February 22, 1624 he was caught in a winter storm and died frozen in the Hirose river. He was beatified by Pius IX on July 7, 1867 (J. RUIZ DE MEDINA, "Carvalho, Diogo" *DHCJ*, I, 671).

²²⁰ António Dias left Cochinchina in 1639 (P. PHAN, *Mission and Catechesis*, 10 footnote 16).

²²¹ By 1618 Francisco de Pina (1585 – 1625), Christopher Borri (1583 – 1632), Antonio Fernandez (? – 1630) and Pedro Marques (1577 – 1657) joined Buzomi in the Jesuit mission in Cochinchina (C. ĐỖ, *Dòng Tên trong xã hội Đại Việt 1615 – 1773*, 50 – 53 footnotes 46, 49, 50, 51; See "Pièces justificatives" found in *Voyages et travaux des missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jesus. Mission de la Cochinchine et du Tonkin*, publiés par des pères de la même Compagnie, editeur C. DOUNIOL, Paris 1858, 386 – 395). Among the Japanese brothers were Saitō Paulo (1576 - 1633) and Tsuchimochi José (1568 - ?) who came to Cochinchina in 1620. Saitō left Cochinchina in 1622, returned to Macao, studied theology and was ordained to the priesthood by 1625. He went back to Tonkin in 1629 and left for good in 1630. Later, he was captured and martyred in Nagasaki in 1633 (J. RUIZ DE MEDINA, "Saitō, Shōzaemon Paulo," *DHCJ*, IV, IV, 3465 – 6; and Tsuchimochi José. Among the *dōjukus* was Nishi Tomé (J. RUIZ DE MEDINA, "Vietnam," *DHCJ*, IV, 3953 – 3968; *Views of Seventeenth – Century Vietnam*, 35 footnote 86).

²²² *Voyages*, 95. In *Tunquin*, De Rhodes recorded a higher number of Christian baptism during his first year in Tonkin, "plus de seize cens" to be exact (209).

Rhodes' death in Persia, there were 50,000 Christians in Cochinchina comparing to 300,000 in Tonkin.²²³

Though the exact number of Christians remained uncertain and was perhaps exaggerated by de Rhodes, one thing remained certain: Christianity was growing quickly in Vietnam.²²⁴ Having witnessed such a tremendous growth in the number of Vietnamese Christians, de Rhodes went to Rome to petition for the establishment of a local episcopal hierarchy. In 1658, in response to de Rhodes' persistent requests, Pope Alexander VII appointed François Pallu (1626 – 1684)²²⁵ Bishop of Tonkin and Pierre Lambert de la Motte (1624 – 1679)²²⁶ Bishop of Cochinchina.

²²³ C. ĐỖ, *Dòng Tên trong xã hội Đại Việt*, 198. A Jesuit report in 1646 explained these successes, particularly regarding the Church in Tonkin as followed: first, Jesuits' effective use of zealous and enthusiastic native catechists; second, witnessed change of behaviors especially among those who were in position of authority and power; third, Jesuit missionaries remained personal in relating to the people; and fourth, how Christian honored their dead with elaborated funeral rites and anniversary memorials (C. ĐỖ, *Dòng Tên trong xã hội Đại Việt*, 200 referenced from A. CARDIM et F. BARRETO, *Relation de ce qui s'est passé depuis quelques années, jusques à l'an 1644 au Japon, à la Cochinchine, au Malabar, en l'Isle de Ceilan, & en plusieurs autres Isles & Royaumes de l'Orient compris sous le nom des Provinces du Japon & du Malabar, de la Compagnie de Jesus. Divisée en deux Parties selon ces deux Provinces*, Paris 1646, 76 – 77).

²²⁴ Number of Christian converts in Vietnam outnumbered those of China. For the Chinese Church, the first fifty years witnessed around 38,000 converts. During the eighty years since the Gospel was first introduced to China (1586) until the great persecution by Yang Guangxian (1665), number of Christians had never exceeded 200,000 (J. DEHERGNE, *Répertoire des jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800*, IHSI, 325-45).

²²⁵ Born in Tours, France, he was a member of the Bons Amis, a youth group that dedicated themselves to high piety and spiritual perfection. Already being an ordained priest when meeting with de Rhodes in 1653, Pallu was de Rhodes' choice for the bishopric position in Vietnam. In 1658, he was ordained bishop in Rome and named Vicar Apostolic of Tonkin in 1659. He left Marseille in 1662 and arrived Ayuthia (Thailand) in 1664 to take over his responsibility of Tonkin from there. However, after having encountered opposition from the Portuguese authority, he returned to Paris and Rome helping to found the *Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris* (M.E.P.), an organization of secular priests and lay persons of the Catholic Church, dedicated to missionary work in foreign lands (D. LACH and E. VAN KLEY, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol III, 231). He returned to Ayuthia in 1673 and attempted to go to Tonkin in 1674. However, a storm took him to the Philippines where he was brought back to Madrid. The court in Madrid found him innocent and let him go. After having resigned from being Vicar Apostolic of Tonkin, he was named Vicar Apostolic of Fukin, China in 1680. He arrived Fukin via Ayuthia in 1684. There he died less than a year later (H. CHAPPOULIE, *Aux origines d'une église*, tome I, 114 - 28; C. ĐỖ, *Hai Giám mục đầu tiên tại Việt Nam* [The first two bishops of Vietnam], Antôn&Đuốc sáng – Nhà xuất bản Tôn giáo, Frisco 2007, 106; D. LACH and E. VAN KLEY, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol III, 222 – 69).

²²⁶ He was born in Saint-Jacques de Lisieux, France. Like Pallu, he was an ordained priest and a friend of the Bons Amis group and former advisor of the Court of Rouen. He offered to the Propaganda the necessary fund to sustain the bishopric of Indochina. He himself was chosen and ordained bishop in 1660. In July of the same year, Pope Alexandre VII named him Vicar Apostolic of Berytus (Beirut) with jurisdiction over Cochinchina. He arrived Tonkin in 1669 but was retained in Faifo. A year later, he arrived to Cochinchina and stayed for two years. During his time in Cochinchina, he found the

Over the next three hundred years of Vietnamese history Christianity was soaked in the blood of her martyrs. Phan Phát Huồn, a Vietnamese church historian, summarized this period of the Vietnamese Catholic Church:

Chúng ta đã rảo bước qua con đường tử-nạn của Giáo-Hội Việt Nam từ các Chúa Trịnh, Nguyễn qua đời Minh-Mạng, Thiệu Trị, Tự Đức đến Văn Thân. Một cuốn phim máu sống động đã diễn ra trước mắt chúng ta: trong đó chúng đã mục-kích không những các vị Giám-Mục, Linh-Mục từ Nam chí Bắc, nhưng còn là những ông già, trẻ con, những thanh niên nam nữ hiên ngang hy sinh xương máu ngõ hầu giữ vững Đức Tin mà Thiên Chúa đã ban cho lúc chịu phép rửa tội.²²⁷

Indeed numerous Vietnamese Christians were persecuted. At times persecution seemed endless. From the early seventeenth to the late eighteenth century, under the rule of the Trịnh clan in the North and the Nguyễn and the Tây Sơn regimes in the South, about 30,000 Catholics were killed. Approximately 40,000 more were killed under the rule of the three emperors of the Nguyễn dynasty: Minh Mạng (1820-1840), Thiệu Trị (1841-1847), and Tự Đức (1848 -1883). Finally during the Văn Thân movement (1864-1885), 60,000 more were killed. These Christians were persecuted mostly because they were accused of following a false religion (*tà đạo*) or collaborating with foreign powers.

After three centuries of bloody persecution, Vietnamese Christianity began to enjoy peace and growth, especially under the protection of the French colonial government. From 1888 until 1933, French and Spanish missionaries returned, together with Vietnamese Christians who survived the persecution, worked to restore

Congregation of Lovers of the Holy Cross, a Vietnamese women religious congregation. He had to return to Ayuthia since the Ayuthian king did not allow him to stay in Cochinchina. From then on until his death, he managed his diocese from Ayuthia (H. Chappoulie, *Aux origins d'une église*, tome I, 114 - 28; C. ĐỖ, *Hai Giám mục đầu tiên tại Việt Nam*, 107 -9; D. LACH and E. VAN KLEY, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, III, 222 – 69).

²²⁷ H. PHAN, *Việt Nam Giáo Sử (1533 – 1933)* [History of Vietnamese Church], Cứu Thế Tùng Thư, Saigon 1965, 540. We journeyed through the passion and death of the Vietnamese Catholic Church from the Trịnh and Nguyễn clans, to emperors Minh Mạng, Thiệu Trị, Tự Đức, to the Văn Thân movement. A live bloody movie had happened in front of our eyes. We were profoundly touched by the deaths of not only bishops and priests from the North to the South, but also of those who were old and young, men and women who had courageously sacrificed their flesh and blood in order to preserve the Faith which God has given them in their baptism. *Translation is mine.*

the church and to spread the faith.²²⁸ They rebuilt old churches and constructed new ones. Catholic social and educational institutions were founded and flourished. Consequently, new dioceses were established, and by 1932, the Catholic Church had thirteen dioceses in Vietnam.²²⁹ (For a brief chronology of Vietnam’s historical and ecclesiastical events, please see Appendix 1).

Though no longer suffering from persecution, the fast-growing Vietnamese church faced a new challenge: establishing her identity apart from the western colonial power and building an authentic Vietnamese church. As France gained more and more control over Việt Nam, Christianity gained a more dominant status over the country’s other religious traditions. However, because of its close affiliation with the French and the West, Christianity has often been referred to as a foreign religion and at times has even been accused of being anti-national. Whether or not the accusations were accurate, the close relationship between Christianity and the colonial power was undeniable. Regarding this relationship, Trương Hữu Quýnh notes:

Trên bước đường hình thành và phát triển của chủ nghĩa thực dân phương Tây, Thiên Chúa giáo hầu như là người bạn đồng hành. Các giáo sĩ Bồ Đào Nha, Tây Ban Nha, Pháp vào Đại Việt đều có những hoạt động ít nhiều xác nhận điều nói trên.²³⁰

2.2.6 Conclusion

Regarding Vietnamese religions, Leopold Cadière, a French anthropologist who spent more than sixty years studying Vietnam’s society, its cultures and religions described it as a “thick forest” made up by rich and intricate dynamic and interactions among various “enormous ancient trees” with their “leaves and branches.” Cadière’s

²²⁸ H. PHAN, *Việt Nam Giáo Sử (1533 – 1933)*, 540.

²²⁹ 577.

²³⁰ Q. TRƯƠNG, *Đại Cương Lịch Sử Việt Nam*, 385. As the Western colonialism [in Vietnam] formed and developed, Christianity was always its traveling companion. The missionaries who came from Spain, Portugal, and France engaged more or less in that activity. *Translation is mine.*

metaphor presented a well-studied Western's perspective of Vietnamese religions, thus worth quoted in length here.

La religion annamite, si tant test que l'on puisse employer le singulier, donne une impression analogue à celle que l'on ressent quand on pénètre dans la grande forêt de la Chaîne annamitique: de ci de là, de grands troncs qui plongent leurs racines à des profondeurs inconnues et soutiennent une voûte de feuillage noyé dans l'ombre; des branches qui se recourbent vers le sol et prennent Racine; des lianes qui courent d'un arbre à l'autre, qui naissent on ne sait où, et qui semblent ne pas avoir de fin; des ronces inextricables; des frondes d'une finesse, d'une élégance rares; de larges fleurs, des fleurs bizarres qui jonchent le sol, couvrent le sommet d'un arbre d'un dôme de feu, ou se tapissent à la Fourche de deux branches; des écorces rugueuses, noires, visqueuses, qui donnent le frisson; des branches mortes; un épais tapis d'humus, de la pourriture; partout une sève abondante, une vie profonde qui vous submerge.

De même, chez les Annamites, et dans toutes les classes de la société, le sentiment religieux se manifeste d'une façon puissante et domine la vie tout entière; il enveloppe les actes journaliers, les plus importants comme les plus humbles, des mailles serrées de ses pratiques. Tantôt il éclate au grand jour, dans la pompe des cérémonies légales, dans les temples des cultes reconnus par l'État, et tantôt il se cache, furtif, au pied d'un arbre, devant une Pierre brute. Ou bien on exprime sa prière, en langage relevé, en vers accompagnés de musique et de danses, mais aussi, on marmotte sa demande en passant devant le petit pagodon redouté, ou l'on énonce simplement son vœu au plus profond du cœur. On se prosterne, lentement, dignement, solennellement, la tête couverte de la mitre carrée, vêtu de larges habits de soie éclatant, ou l'on va consulter le devin aveugle, la pythonisse aux yeux brillants d'excitation hystérique, le géomancien, la bonze à amulettes, le sorcier aux pattes de poule, la gardien de pagode aux baguettes divinatoires...

Tell est la religion des Annamites, atteignant, par ses sommets, mais sans en prendre tout le contenu, jusqu'aux religions supérieures, voisinant, se confondant presque, pour la plupart des croyances et des pratiques, avec les religions inférieurs des populations primitives de la grande montagne, formée de couches successives, d'alluvions de toute nature déposées au cours des âges, au hasard des lieux d'habitat de la race, d'emprunts parfois mal assimilés, souvenirs de dominations subies ou imposées, de resurgences, de survivances....²³¹

In this thick “forest” of Vietnam's multi-religions, *Tam Giáo* [the Three Religions, e.g., Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism] dominated. During peaceful

²³¹ L. CADIÈRE, *Croyances et Pratiques religieuses des Vietnamiens* I, 1 – 2; H. ĐỒ, *Văn hóa, tôn giáo, tín ngưỡng Việt Nam dưới nhãn quan học giả L. Cadière chủ bút tạp chí Bulletin des amis du vieux Hue Đô Thành Hiếu Cổ (1914 – 1944)*, Nhà xuất bản Thuận hóa, Huế 2006, 103 – 105.

times, the *Tam Giáo* could maintain harmony and complement one another in their religious practices and understanding. The understanding of *ngiệp-quả* (consequence) in Buddhism, the acknowledgement of *số mệnh* (fate) in Confucianism, and the appreciation of *vô vi* (non-contrivance) in Taoism are religious values that have been deeply rooted in the hearts and souls of Vietnamese.²³² One could argue that Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism are the religious, social, and philosophical foundations that work harmoniously to hold Vietnamese society together. Therefore, a clear distinction among the three religions neither exists in Vietnamese thought, nor deems necessary.

On the relationship among different religions in Vietnam, Phan observes, “there is a strong tendency among the Vietnamese to unify all religions. This is particularly true with regard to Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism, which the Vietnamese often refer to as *tam giáo đồng nguyên*, literally ‘three religions with the same principle or origin.’”²³³ Regarding the Vietnamese, both Phan and the Buddhist monk Thích Nhất Hạnh agree that their religious belief consists of elements that belong to all three religions.²³⁴ More importantly, when these three religions were working well together as did happen under the Trần dynasty (1225 – 1400), the country prospered.²³⁵

Unfortunately, towards the end of the sixteenth century, the Three Religions witnessed their decline. The writings of Nguyễn Bình Khiêm (1491 - 1585), a

²³² T. VÕ, *Lịch Sử Văn Học Công Giáo Việt Nam* [History of Vietnamese Catholic Literature], Nhà Xuất Bản Tư-Duy, Sài Gòn 1965, 49.

“Ngiệp quả” can be understood as result or consequence of one’s action even beyond death. “Số mệnh” can be translated as fate. In *Mission and Catechesis*, Phan translates the Taoist ethic of “vô vi” as “non-contrivance” to convey the Taoist belief that “human conduct should not be contrary to the spontaneity of Tao.”

²³³ P. PHAN, *Vietnamese-American Catholics*, 48.

²³⁴ P. PHAN, *Vietnamese-American Catholics* 49; THÍCH NHẤT HẠNH, *Vietnam: Lotus in a Sea of Fire*, 12.

²³⁵ T. NGUYỄN, *History of Buddhism in Vietnam*, 195.

Confucian, illustrate a stern, negative, and even cynical perspective on the corrupt and dishonest feudal system and religious corruption. Regarding Confucianism, he lamented, “Confucianism has its own difficulties.”²³⁶ Therefore, he urged that, “Confucian mandarins should examine themselves and know that they have many faults.”²³⁷ Regarding Buddhism, he warned people “not to trust those lying monks.”²³⁸ In general, he was disgusted with religious corruption. “This religion and that religion, so many flowery words; listen carefully, it’s all about money.”²³⁹

For Bình Khiêm, given the religious corruption and decline at the time, success in renewing Vietnam’s religions had to recover the two basic characteristics of Vietnam’s indigenous religion, namely, *Đạo Trời* [the Heaven’s Way] and *Đạo Người* [the Human’s Way]. In respect to the Heaven’s Way, he taught, “*Sinh sinh dục thực thiên cơ diệu - Nhận thử hàn mai nghiệm nhất dương*” [to know the Way of Heaven among the living, feel the warm air that is springing out from the cold chrysanthemum]. Pointed towards the Human’s Way, he insisted on the love and kindness among all members of society. “*Trung với vua, hiếu với cha mẹ, thuận giữa anh em, hòa giữa vợ chồng, tín nghĩa giữa bạn bè là trung vậy.*” [True characters consist of loyalty to kings, respect to parents, peace among brothers and sisters, harmony between husband and wife, fidelity and trust among friends].²⁴⁰ Thus, *Tam Giáo* – Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism - all have harmoniously relied on the soil of Vietnam’s indigenous religion to grow and to prosper in Vietnam.

²³⁶ T. TRẦN, *Nguyễn Bình Khiêm về tác giả và tác phẩm*, [Nguyen Binh Khiem: His Life and His Writings], Nhà Xuất Bản Giáo Dục, Hà Nội 1999, 149. “Cửa Không, làng Nhan đạo khó khăn”

²³⁷ 150. “Nho quan tự tín đa thân ngộ.”

²³⁸ K. ĐÌNH, *Thơ Văn Nguyễn Bình Khiêm* [Poetry and Prose of Nguyen Binh Khiem], Nhà Xuất Bản Văn Học, Hà Nội 1997, 258. “Dối trá, đừng nghe đũa xuất gia.”

²³⁹ T. TRẦN, *Nguyễn Bình Khiêm về tác giả và tác phẩm*, 148. “Đạo nọ nghĩa này trăm tiếng bướm – Nghe thôi thỉnh thỉnh lại đồng tiền.”

²⁴⁰ T. TRẦN, *Nguyễn Bình Khiêm về tác giả và tác phẩm*, 147-153.

Therefore, any attempt to renew or to improve the religious context of Vietnam demands a deep knowledge and understanding of Vietnam's religions and their ongoing interactive relationship. Cadière, a well-known of the religious landscape of Vietnam, insisted that, “de toute façon, il est absolument nécessaire de connaître les croyances religieuses des païens pour évangéliser.”²⁴¹ Furthermore, he went on offering valuable advice on how to instruct Vietnamese in the new faith.

L'instruction d'un catéchumène ne consiste pas à étendre, comme un linge immaculé, les croyances et pratiques chrétiennes *sur les croyances et pratiques païennes*. Il faut en même temps arracher ces dernières de l'âme et de la vie du païen. On ne pourra le faire avec fruit que si l'on est au courant de ces croyances.”²⁴²

Into the “thick forest” of Vietnamese religions, Christianity has enriched Vietnam's religious values by promoting self-sacrifice and love of neighbors.²⁴³ In fact, the change of behaviors among those who were in position of authority and the personal relationship between Jesuit missionaries and people were among the main reasons that first attracted Vietnamese to Christianity.²⁴⁴ Most importantly, Christianity was able to harmonize with Vietnam's indigeneous religion in its elaborated funerals rites and anniversary memorials that acknowledged and honored the deceased.²⁴⁵

While Christianity enhanced Vietnam's religious values and practices, its emphasis on monotheism, monogamy, and exclusive attitude, “outside the church, no salvation,” posed threats to Vietnam's religious and political structure and authority.

²⁴¹ L. CADIÈRE, “Instructions pratiques pour les missionnaires qui font des observations religieuses,” *Anthropos*, St. Gabriel Modling, vol. 8, Vienna 1913, 593 – 606; 913 – 928, reproduced in *Annales de la Société des Missions Étrangères*, Paris 1913, no. 92. I found this referente in C. LANGE, “‘Croyances et Pratiques religieuses des Vietnamiens’ L'œuvre du père Léopold Cadière (1869 – 1955),” *Anthropologie et missionologie: XIXe – XXe siècles: Entre connivence et rivalité*, (O. SERVAIS et G. VAN'T SPIJKER, dirs.), Karthala, Paris 2004, 211 – 228, 218.

²⁴² IBID. Italics are mine.

²⁴³ T. VÕ, *Lịch Sử Văn Học Công Giáo Việt Nam*, 49 - 50.

²⁴⁴ C. ĐỖ, *Dòng Tên trong xã hội Đại Việt*, 200.

²⁴⁵ C. ĐỖ, *Dòng Tên trong xã hội Đại Việt*, 200.

From the beginning, while Jesuit missionaries had gained favor with Lords from both Cochinchina and Tonkin, they realized that the Lords' motif was based mainly on their desire to maintain alliance and trade with the Portuguese.²⁴⁶ As soon as the Portuguese left, Christianity remained vulnerable to be accused as *tà đạo* [false religion] or *Hoa Lang Đạo* [Portuguese religion],²⁴⁷ or threat to national stability.²⁴⁸ Thus, persecutions followed.²⁴⁹

Regarding its relationship with other Vietnam's religions, Christianity tended to be favorable towards Confucianism while remained hostile towards Taoism, Buddhism, and Vietnam's indigenous religions.²⁵⁰ The relationship between Christianity and Vietnam's other religions²⁵¹ while important and interesting remains beyond the scope of this investigation.

For this investigation, the arrival of Christianity has both enhanced Vietnam's cultural and religious values and created threats and tensions with Vietnam's other religions and political authority. Furthermore, I would argue that in consistent with what Jesuits had done from the beginning from Europe to Asia, Jesuit missionaries to

²⁴⁶ G. BALDINOTTI, "Relation dv voyage fait av royavme de Tunquim nouvellement decouvert," *Histoire de ce qui s'est passé es royaumes d'Ethiopie en l'année 1626, jusqu'au mois de Mars 1627. Et de la Chine, en l'année 1625 jusques en Febrier de 1626. Avec une briefve narration du voyage que s'est fait au Royaume de Tunquin nouvellement decouvert*, Chez Sebastien Cramoisy, Paris 1629, Chez Sebastien Cramoisy, Paris 1629, 193.

²⁴⁷ *Đại Việt Sử Ký Toàn Thư* [Complete History of the Great Viet] XIX, 4a – 4b (I am grateful to A. Tran for this reference). Also, de Rhodes refuted this misunderstanding in his *Catechismus* 25 ("Neque verò dicatis hanc esse Lusitanorum legem...")

²⁴⁸ Both Baldinotti and de Rhodes were accused of being spies for the Lord of Cochinchina (G. BALDINOTTI, "Relation dv voyage fait av royavme de Tunquim nouvellement decouvert," 197 – 198 and *Tunquin* respectively).

²⁴⁹ *Voyages*, 76 – 77. Please also read J. SHORTLAND, *The Persecutions of Annam: A History of Christianity in Cochinchina and Tonking*, Burns and Oates, London 1875. I am grateful to A. TRAN for this reference.

²⁵⁰ *Catechismus* 104 – 124; Also see A. SANTA THECLA, *Opusculum de sectis apud Sinenses et Tonkinenses* [A Small Treatise on the Sects among the Chinese and Tonkinese], trans. and intro. by O. DROR, 2002.

²⁵¹ Regarding the treatment of the relationship between Christianity and Vietnam's other religions, please see A. TRAN's S.T.L thesis entitled *Hội Đồng Tứ Giáo/Conference of Four Religions: An Encounter of Christianity with the Three Religions in Eighteenth-Century Vietnam*, Jesuit School of Theology in Berkeley, 2006 and his doctoral dissertation entitled, *Tam Giáo Chư Vọng [The Errors of the Three Religions]: A Textual and Analytical Study on the Practical of the Three Religious Traditions in Eighteenth-Century Vietnam*, Georgetown University, 2011.

Vietnam at the beginning of the seventeenth century not simply taught the Vietnamese the Christian doctrine, but also inspired and engaged them into the Ignatian paradigm of visioning and comprehending how the Lord of Heaven and human beings on earth are intimately related with each other. Such a vision and inspiration are exemplified in Alexandre de Rhodes' *Catechismus*, which the next chapter will dedicate its full attention to.

CHAPTER 7

TEACHING TRUTHS TO THOSE WHO REASONED: *Alexandre de Rhodes' Catechismus and its Ongoing Adaptation of Jesuit Spirituality in Vietnam*

Je les trouuay merueilleusement souples à la raison... Ils estoient tous rauis quand ie leur faisois voir la conformité de nostre Religion avec la raison... La methode que ie tenois estoit de leur proposer l'immortalité de l'ame, & l'autre vie, de là ie passois à prouuer la diuinité, puis la prouidence, ainsi de degré en degré nous venions aux mysteres les plus difficiles. L'experience nous a fait voir que cette maniere d'instruire les Payens est fort vtile, ie l'ay expliquée au long dans mon Catechisme, que ie diuise en huit iournées, où ie tache de proposer toutes les veritez principales sur lesquelles il faut instruire les Idolatres.

Alexandre de Rhodes, *Voyages et missions*, 96

INTRODUCTION

Following Ignatius' example and being faithful to the *Constitutions*, Jesuits who first came to Cochinchina in 1615 and eleven years later to Tonkin engaged in the instruction of Christian doctrine as soon as they landed in the two kingdoms. We learned from Borri's account of Cochinchina written in 1631, the very first publication on any part of modern Vietnam written by an European.¹

Nor the fame of [Fr. Buzomi's] charity and zeal for the gaining of souls confin'd to Turon, his usual place of residence, but spread abroad into other places; he labouring in all places to instruct, convert, and dispose the people to receive baptism with such fervour, and so great a concourse about him, that in a short time those new Christians built a very large church at Turon, in which the most holy sacrifice of the mass was quickly celebrated, and *the Christian doctrine preach'd and taught, by means of the interpreters, then well instructed.*²

Regarding Tonkin, we learned from de Rhodes' reports from the very first time he and his Jesuit companions landed in the kingdom.

¹ *Views of Seventeenth-Century Vietnam*, 23.

² C. BORRI, "An Account of Cochin-China," 140. Italics are mine.

Nostre nauire ne fust pas plustost arriué au bord, que nous le vîmes inuesty, d'un grand peuple qui accourut à foule pour voir les belles marchandises qu'il portoit. Le commancay aussi-tost à leur debiter la mienne, & à leur dire que i'auois vne marchandise plus precieuse, & à meilleur marché que toutes les autres, que ie la donnois pour rien à qui la voudroit, que c'estoit la vraye Loy, & le vray chemin du bonheur, ie leur fis sur cela vn petit Sermon, parce que le mesme mot Dang signifie en leur langue, & Loy, & chemin.³

Due to the untiring labors of Jesuit missionaries and Vietnamese's religious nature, the Church in Cochinchina and Tonkin at the first half of the seventeenth century blossomed. The three years, during which only de Rhodes together with his superior Pierre Marquez (c. 1567 – 1657),⁴ and a few Japanese *dōjukus* labored in Tonkin, witnessed a huge success. According to de Rhodes' statistics, “la premiere année le nombre des batizez fust de douze cent, l'année apres il y en eust deux mille, & a troisieme trois mille cinq cens.”⁵ In Cochinchina, by the time de Rhodes returned in 1640, there were 12000 – 15000 Christians. In 1663, three years after de Rhodes' death in Persia, there were 50,000 Christians in Cochinchina comparing to 300,000 in Tonkin.⁶ Reasons for Jesuit success was explained as followed: first, Jesuits' effective use of zealous and enthusiastic native catechists; second, witnessed change of behaviors especially among those who were in position of authority and power; third, Jesuit missionaries remained personal in relating to the people; and

³ *Voyages*, 91.

⁴ He was born in Mourão (Portugal) and entered the Society there in 1593. In 1600, he sailed to Goa and later to Macao where he finished his theology and was ordained priest there. He was sent to Japan as superior of the Kuchinotsu residence. With other Jesuits, he was expelled from Japan in 1614. In 1615, he was sent by the Visitor, F. Viera, to Cochinchina mission as its superior. However, at the death of the Visitor, he returned to Macao in 1619 and directed the novitiate there until 1627. After the novitiate in Macao, he went to Tonkin and worked there for three years. He was expelled from Tonkin in 1630 and returned to Macao. In 1633, he began the Jesuit mission in the Hainan island where he labored for three years. He was named provincial of Japan in 1642. He was captured in 1643. Being tortured and apostasized. He died in 1657 (J. RUIZ DE MEDINA, “Marques (senior), Pedro,” *DHCJ*, II, 2512).

⁵ *Voyages*, 95. In *Tunquin*, De Rhodes gave a higher number of baptism during his first year in Tonkin, “plus de seize cens” to be exact (209).

⁶ C. ĐỒ, *Dòng Tên trong xã hội Đại Việt*, 198.

fourth, how Christian honored their dead with elaborated funeral rites and anniversary memorials.⁷

Due to the shortage of Jesuits⁸ and the increasing needs of instructing the Christian doctrine to the newly converts, de Rhodes and his Jesuit companions relied heavily on the help of the native catechists. De Rhodes confessed:

Ce qui m'ayda merueilleusement à cultiuer cette belle vigne, & à dilater nostre Sainte Foy, fut le secours des Catechistes, qui à dire le vray ont tout fait après Dieu, dans les grands progresz, qu'a eus cette Eglise: comme ie vis que i'estois seul Prestre qui pouuois prescher, parce que le Pere que i'accompagnois ne fçauoit pas la langue, ie m'auisay de prendre en ma compagnie quelques Chrestiens qui ne fussent pas mariez, & qui fussent pleins de zele & de pieté pour m'ayder en la Conversion des Ames.⁹

To train these catechists, “comme pour le rendre plus fçauant des points du catéchisme,” de Rhodes recalled, “que nous luy dictions vne heure châce iour, qu'il apprit par coeur durant quelques mois.”¹⁰ These notes, which were spoken by de Rhodes and written down by the catechists, done neither in Portuguese nor Latin, were the seeds and inspiration for de Rhodes' *Catechismus*.¹¹ Before going deeper into the work, let's retrace its author's life, his Jesuit vocation and mission in Vietnam.

⁷ C. ĐỒ, *Dòng Tên trong xã hội Đại Việt*, 200 referenced from A. CARDIM et F. BARRETO, *Relation de ce qui s'est passé depuis quelques années, jusques à l'an 1644 au Japon, à la Cochinchine, au Malabar, en l'Isle de Ceilan, & en plusieurs autres Isles & Royaumes de l'Orient compris sous le nom des Provinces du Japon & du Malabar, de la Compagnie de Jesus. Divisée en deux Parties selon ces deux Provinces*, Paris 1646, 76 – 77.

⁸ From the first 30 years (1615 – 1645), there were 25 Jesuits who worked in Cochinchina. The longest stay lasted 24 years (4), the shortest stay 1 year (1), some passed by for their official visit (2). There were 5 brothers. On an average, each Jesuit's stay lasted 10 years. For Tonkin, the first 20 years (1626 – 1646) witnessed the presence of 34 Jesuits. All were ordained priests. Their stay lasted for one year or less (5), 4 years or less (6). A complete list of all Jesuits who worked in the Jesuit mission in Cochinchina and Tonkin from 1615 – 1783 and 1626 – 1788 respectively, please see *Voyages et travaux des missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 386 – 395).

⁹ *Voyages*, 102.

¹⁰ *Tunquin*, 190.

¹¹ H. CHAPPOULIE, *Aux origines d'une église*, 35 footnote 35.

1. ALEXANDRE DE RHODES: *A Missionary of Multicultural Identity*

1.1 Multicultural identity with questionable origin

While de Rhodes' Jewish origin has been called into question, his multicultural identity is indisputable. In his recent publication, R. Maryks contended that due to their Jewish origin, de Rhodes' "grandparents had escaped the Iberian persecutions and, changing their name from Rueda, [and] had settled in Avignon."¹² Maryk's research concurs with López Gay's assessment,¹³ Dehergne's directory listing de Rhodes as "d'origin juive,"¹⁴ and with Chappoulie's earlier finding. We learn from Chappoulie that:

Les ancêtres d'Alexandre de Rhodes étaient des *marranes originaires* de Catalayud en Aragon. Établis en Avignon dès avant l'expulsion générale ordonnée par l'Inquisition d'Espagne en 1492, ils faisaient le comerce de la soie. Diverses pièces du Fonds des notaires aux Archives du Vaucluse permettent d'établir que les Rhodes se sont alliés jusqu'au milieu du XVI siècle à des famillas de même origine.¹⁵

Furthermore, because of the discriminatory climate against the Jewish converts and their admission to the Society,¹⁶ according to Maryks, de Rhodes' "surreptitious admission [to the Jesuits] was probably due to the fact that his wealthy family had donated 3,000 *librarum* to the Jesuit College in Avignon."¹⁷ Moreover, he stated that "Jesuits opened many new remote frontiers for missionary activities that often became to *conversos* or their superiors a veiled opportunity to avoid intolerance at home."¹⁸ Could it be one of the motivations that sent de Rhodes to Asia? Evidences of de

¹² R. MARYKS, *The Jesuit Order as a Synagogue of Jews*, 151.

¹³ J. LÓPEZ – GAY, "Rhodes, Alexandre de," *DHCJ*, IV, 3342 – 3344, 3342.

¹⁴ J. DEHERGNE, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800*, IHSI, Roma 1973, 215.

¹⁵ H. CHAPPOULIE, *Aux origines d'une église* I, 3 footnote 1. Similarly, ĐỖ QUANG CHÍNH also confirmed De Rhodes' background as "sinh tại Avignon trong một gia đình gốc Do Thái" [born in Avignon into a family of Jewish origin] in his work entitled *Lịch sử chữ Quốc Ngữ* [History of the Vietnam's National Script], 106.

¹⁶ On this topic, please read the "Admission of the Christianos nuevos" section found in chapter 4 of this investigation on pages 217 – 221.

¹⁷ R. MARYKS, *The Jesuit Order as a Synagogue of Jews*, 151.216.

¹⁸ R. MARYKS, "Discrimination against Jesuits of Jewish Ancestry," 343.

Rhodes' Jewish origin seem amply, however, Jacques argued that these evidences “rest on very weak arguments.”¹⁹ Most notably, the “wheel emblem in the family crest proves that the Ruedes/Rode family had no knowledge of a possible Jewish ancestry, or they would have avoided it altogether as degrading.”²⁰

While de Rhodes' Jewish origin remains questionable, all evidences strongly demonstrate de Rhodes' multicultural background and upbringing. Politically, like all those who were born in Avignon, de Rhodes belonged to the Pope not the King of France. Culturally, Avignon, where de Rhodes was born and grew up, remained a culturally diverse region where Provençal and French were used mainly. However, Spanish, Italian and Hebrew were also spoken among its respective immigrant descents and communities.²¹

1.2 Multicultural Jesuit formation

After having finished his studies at age of eighteen he entered the Society of Jesus because, in his own words,

Il me donna la resolution de quitter l'Europe pour aller aux Indes; ce fust le principal motif que i'eus de choisir cette sainte Religion plustost que les autres, parce que ie creus que i'y aurois plus de facilité d'aller en ces belles Terres, où tant d'ames perissent faute de predicateurs.²²

Because of being subject to the Pope and having desired to go to the Indies, he petitioned to the Roman province for his admission to the Society of Jesus. In April

¹⁹ R. JACQUES, *Portuguese Pioneers of Vietnamese Linguistics*, 16.

²⁰ R. JACQUES, *Portuguese Pioneers of Vietnamese Linguistics*, 16 – 7. It is important to note that Jacques' questioning of De Rhodes' Jewish origin serves as basis for his argument against “allusions to Hebrew in the descriptions of the Vietnamese phonemes” (17). One could still maintain De Rhodes' Jewish origin without making a connection with the Jewish influence on Vietnamese since Francisco de Pina, not Alexandre de Rhodes was mainly responsible for the formation of the Vietnam's modern script (*chữ quốc ngữ*), the basic argument of his book. Furthermore, as Jacques points out De Rhodes' great-great grandfather, Juan Chimenes de Ruedes, “was in fact an immigrant from Aragon” (16). After more than 4 generations of being persecution and immigration, Jewish influence could be kept to the minimal in De Rhodes' life. P. PHAN's *Mission and Catechesis* does not discuss this issue.

²¹ H. CHAPPOULIE, *Aux origines d'une église*, Tome I, 3 footnote 1; J. DEHERGNE, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800*, 215; C. ĐỒ, *Lịch sử chữ Quốc Ngữ*, 106; R. JACQUES, *Portuguese Pioneers of Vietnamese Linguistics*, 16 – 7; P. PHAN, *Mission and Catechesis*, 39.

²² *Voyages*, 5.

14, 1612, he was admitted to Saint Andrea al Quirinal Novitiate and subsequent studies at the Roman College,²³ the same novitiate and college that housed Matteo Ricci (1552 - 1610) forty years before.²⁴

Residing at Saint Andrea Novitiate and subsequently at the Roman College at the beginning of the seventeenth century, de Rhodes' early formation in the Society occurred during one of the most dramatic clashes between the old and the new Western culture in the early seventeenth century.²⁵ In 1611, the college's science faculty led by Christopher Clavius (1537 – 1612), himself “one of the most brilliant mathematicians of his generation,”²⁶ who “orientó al colegio en una línea de estudios científicos que lo hizo famoso en toda Europa.”²⁷ It was he who officially welcomed Galileo Galilei (1564 – 1642) and his recent astronomical discovery.²⁸ Galileo's finding and his allegiance to the Copernican worldview against that of Aristotle-Ptolemy presented “one of the most famous intellectual controversies of the seventeenth century” and a new dawn for the Copernican worldview with its heliocentrism and orbiting planets.²⁹ In education, the *Ratio Studiorum*, which was officially approved and issued in 1599, had provided the college more flexibility in adapting itself to the undergoing changes. While Latin remained the primary language in the classroom, the college witnessed more popular use of vernacular or

²³ J. DEHERGNE, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800*, 215.

²⁴ Matteo Ricci entered St. Andrea Novitiate in Rome in 1571 (C. SHELKE, “Creative fidelity in inculturation,” *Mateo Ricci in China: Inculturation through Friendship and Faith*, 123 – 168, 123; R. PO-CHIA HSIA, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City*, 12).

²⁵ W. BANGERT, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, 180.

²⁶ R. PO-CHIA HSIA, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City*, 14.

²⁷ M. COLPO, “Colegio Romano (Universidad Gregoriana desde 1873),” *DHCJ*, I, 848 – 850, 848.

²⁸ D. MUNGELO, *Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology*, Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH, Stuttgart 1985, 26.

²⁹ IBID.

national tongues both in and out the classroom. Textbooks in the vernacular appeared and became widespread.³⁰

Regarding mission, being located next to the central authority of the Church, the Roman College saw the changing guardian of the Church mission taking place in the birth of the Sacred Congregation for the Propaganda of the Faith in 1622 and observed its clash and tension with the former Portuguese and Spanish patronage systems playing out in the Jesuit mission in Japan, China, and Vietnam up until the Suppression of the Society in 1773.³¹ At the time, Colegio Romano, which presented “un gran ambiente misionero,”³² served as host for Jesuit discussion and decision-making regarding certain Jesuit practices in their mission in Japan and China. In January 1615, under the order of general Aquaviva (1543 – 1615), the faculty of the Roman College discussed the petition of Nicolas Trigault (1577 - 1628), the Jesuit sent by his superior in China, seeking permission to keep the head cover while celebrating mass and adoption of Chinese as the liturgical language.³³ The college approved Trigault’s request on the 6th of January 1615, and almost ten days later, heard similar decision for the Holy Office granting Jesuits “permission for priests to wear a head-piece while celebrating Mass; permission to translate the Bible into literary Chinese; permission for Chinese priests to celebrate Mass and recite the canonical hours in literary Chinese.”³⁴ However, Rome’s decision on Trigault’s

³⁰ W. BANGERT, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, 182. As early as 1556, Ignacio “se empeñó activamente en dotar al Colegio Romano de una imprenta con el fin de publicar libros de texto baratos para los estudiantes pobres y de facilitar textos clásicos expurgados; la imprenta comenzó a publicar en 1557 y duró sesenta años” (M. COLPO, “Colegio Romano,” 848).

³¹ L. LOPETEGUI, “San Francisco de Borja y el plan misionero,” 1 – 20; A. ROSS, *A Vision Betrayed*, 184 – 9; W. BANGERT, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, 183 – 187.

³² J. LÓPEZ – GAY, “Rhodes, Alexandre de,” 3342.

³³ G. DUNN, *Generation of Giants*, 162.

³⁴ IBID.

petition was opposed by Jesuits in Japan represented by Gabriel de Matos (1571 – 1634),³⁵ who arrived in Rome in 1617.³⁶

The cultural diversity which de Rhodes was formed had been manifested not only through pictures of Jesuit martyrs from Jesuit mission around the world painted on the walls of Saint Andrea Novitiate,³⁷ but also by the current controversies and living witness of Jesuit missionaries, like Trigault and de Mattos who came to Rome to seek directives from the central authority of the Society and to recruit Jesuits for the mission.³⁸ Such cultural diversity and zeal for the mission ignited De Rhodes' original desire to serve in the Indies. We read from his words:

Quand i'eus finy le temps de mon Nouiciat, ie commençay a faire mes poursuittes pour le Japon, iustement au temps que la persecution y commença; l'en presentay vn memorial au R. P. Claude Aquaiuia nostre General; puis ie continuay la mesme instance au R. P. Mutio Vittellesqui son successeur pendant les Quatre années de ma Theologie, recommandant continuellement cette affaire à Dieu.³⁹

Finally, his prayer was answered; his request heard. On Easter Sunday 1618, Alexandre de Rhodes received the General's approval on his request to go to the Jesuit mission in Japan.⁴⁰ In October of 1618, he left Rome for Avignon to visit and to bid farewell to his family. From Avignon traveling through Barcelona, he reached

³⁵ He was born in Vidigueira, Portugal and entered the Society in Evora in 1588. In 1597, he arrived Macao where he studied his theology for the next three years. After having finished theology, he went to Nagasaki, Japan in 1600. In Japan, he served as assistant to the novice director (1600), socius of the provincial (1612), and rector of Jesuits in Kyoto (1614). During the provincial congregation in 1614, he was elected to be the province's procurator and sent to Rome where he arrived in 1617. Upon return, he was named rector of the Jesuit college in Macao in 1620, and Visitor of Jesuit mission in Japan and China in 1621. In 1624, he made a canonical visit to the Jesuit mission in Cochinchina. Enabled to enter Japan due to the persecution, he spent his remaining years in Macao (G. DUNN, *Generation of Giants*, 166; J. LÓPEZ – GAY, "Matos, Gabriel de," *DHJ*, III, 2578; *Voyages*, 71).

³⁶ G. DUNN, *Generations of Giants*, 166.

³⁷ Pictures of Jesuit martyrs from 1549 to 1606 from India, Japan, and England were painted on the walls of Saint Andrea Novitiate to remind Jesuit novices "not only to give honor to their memory but also [to imitate] their examples" (W. BANGERT, *A History of the Society of Jesus*, 110).

³⁸ Phan speculated that de Rhodes had probably met Trigault while he was in Rome since his assignment was also to recruit more missionaries for the China mission. Furthermore, perhaps it was Trigault who encouraged de Rhodes to write the general to express his desire to go to the mission in 1614 (P. PHAN, *Mission and Catechesis*, 40).

³⁹ *Voyages*, 6.

⁴⁰ *IBID.*

Lisboa at the end of January 1619. On the 4th of April, 1619, he sailed from Lisboa with other five Jesuits⁴¹ and arrived Goa on October 9, 1619.⁴²

1.3 Multicultural availability

1.3.1 Unforeseeable journey

The persecution in Japan at the beginning of the seventeenth century⁴³ served both as the inspiration for De Rhodes to come to the Jesuit mission in Japan and the main hindrance that kept him out of Japan. Upon de Rhodes' arrival to Goa, Jesuit superiors asked the newly arrived missionaries to wait until the persecution would quiet down before sending them to Japan.⁴⁴ Consequently, while waiting de Rhodes was immersed in the cultural diversity of Goa and its surrounding vicinity catechizing orphan children whom he “chased and captured” for baptism, learning Kanarese, preaching and hearing confession in the same language in Salsette.⁴⁵ After two and a

⁴¹ Besides De Rhodes, the five Jesuits were Geronimo Maiorica (1589 – 1656), Diego Mursius, two other Portuguese and one Italian (*Voyages*, 12 – 3). On Geronimo's life and work, B. OSTROWSKI's doctoral dissertation, “The Nôm Works of Geronimo Maiorica, S.J. (1589 – 1656) and Their Christology,” Cornell University, January 2006.

⁴² *Voyages*, 8 – 18; J. LÓPEZ – GAY, “Rhodes, Alexandre de,” 3342.

⁴³ Towards the end of his shogunate, Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542 – 1616) issued two imperial edicts in January and February of 1614 charging Christian missionaries with disseminating “evil laws” disrespecting traditional doctrines. Consequently, Jesuits along with other religious were deported and sent to Macao and Manila. However, few Jesuits remained underground in Japan to sustain the surviving Christian community. Persecution became more severe during the following shogunate led by Ieyasu's son, Tokugawa Iemitsu. Japanese were under threat of being deprived of their property and burned alive if found helping Christian missionaries. Missionaries if found were executed. In 1622, the “Great Martyrdom” in Nagasaki witnessed the beheading of 30 Christians and the other 25 were roasted to death. Augustinian, Dominican, Franciscan, and Jesuit priests and brothers were among the martyrs. Not only death but also apostasy brought an end to the Jesuit mission in Japan. As Japan turned inward and became increasingly suspicious and hostile to foreigners, Japan violently closed its door to the outside world. Though Japan was closed and no Jesuits were left in Japan, the Japanese Province of the Society of Jesus remained active in exile. Its members were active in Macao, India, Tibet, Laos, Cambodia, Siam, Tonkin and Cochinchina (D. ALDEN, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 130 – 140; G. ELISON, *Deus Destroyed: The Images of Christianity in Early Modern Japan*, Council on East Asian Studies Harvard University, Cambridge 1988, 142 – 184; J. RUIZ DE MEDINA, “Mártires Jesuitas víctimas de la fe en Japón,” *DHJ*, III, 2541 – 5; also see C. R. BOXER, *The Christian Century in Japan (1549 – 1650)*.

⁴⁴ *Voyages*, 21 – 2.

⁴⁵ 22 - 26.

half years, he left Goa for Macao in hopes to go to Japan soon. Finally, he arrived in Macao on May 29, 1623.⁴⁶

Having encountered and immersed in the diverse cultures on his journey, de Rhodes' *Voyages et missions* showed a keen awareness of the distinction among different cultures and a deep respect for them. In Salsette, he was impressed of how effective preaching can be when being done in the native tongues and strove to do the same.⁴⁷ Passing through the Fishery Coast, he watched how the local people harvested pearls in oysters from the sea and was in awe of their generosity in offering them to the Church.⁴⁸ In Ceylon and the Kingdom of Negapatam, he noticed the abundance of natural resources as well as the kindness of the Franciscans.⁴⁹ In Malacca, he detected not only the wind pattern that determined the harbors' season, but also the shape and size of the fruits and the lack of flowers in the vicinity.⁵⁰ In China, he took notes not only of her population but also her streets and her rivers. He paid close attention to what people ate and drank as well as how they greeted each other. Though remained censorious, he was able to make the distinction among China's different religious practices and customs. He learned and gained certain knowledge about China's history and stayed hopeful towards her conversion.

Accommodating and adapting the Gospel into the native cultures remained one of the chief concerns for de Rhodes in his encounters with these diverse cultures. While sojourning in Goa, he observed how poorly were the newly converts treated, even to the point of being forced to give up their native dress. Against these insincere

⁴⁶ *Voyages*, 44.

⁴⁷ 24 – 25.

⁴⁸ 30 – 31.

⁴⁹ 33 – 35.

⁵⁰ 37.

treatments and unjust ecclesial demand, de Rhodes expressed distress and anger.⁵¹

His stand on the issue was clear. “Pour moi,” de Rhodes wrote,

i’ay resisté vigoureusement à ceux qui vouloient obliger les nouveaux Chrétiens à couper leurs grands cheueux, que tous les hommes portes ussi longs que les femmes, & à moins que cela, ils ne fçauroient aller libremente par le pais, ny auoir accez dans les compagines. Je leur disois que l’Euangile les obligeoirà retrancher les erreurs de leur esprit, mais non pas les grands cheueux de leur teste.⁵²

Embraced such a positive attitude on cultural plurality and cultural adaptation, de Rhodes arrived Cochinchina in December 1624.

1.3.2 Cochinchina and Tonkin: a stranger in a strange land

De Rhodes was the first Jesuit who labored in both parts of Vietnam at the beginning of the seventeenth century, namely, Cochinchina and Tonkin. Interestingly, it was the mission for which he had neither wanted nor planned in the first place. What he did was to remain open and available for what the Jesuit mission and his Jesuit superiors presented to him. We read from his pen describing how he was first sent to Cochinchina.

Nos Superieurs voyants que les portes du Iapon estoient fermées, creurent que Dieu permettoit ce mal-heur, pour ourir celles de la Cochi-chine au Saint Euangile. Ils enuoyèrent l’année 1624, Le Pere Gabriël de Mattos qui auoit depuis peu esté à Rome Procureur de nos Prouinces, pour estre Visiteur de la Mission, de la Cochinchin, & luy donnerent pour compagnons cinq Peres d’Europe, dont i’auois l’honneur d’estre le cinquiesme, & vn Iaponnois qui entendoit fort bien les lettres Chinoises.⁵³

De Rhodes’ first impression of Cochinchina was her language and how it was spoken by the natives. “Il me sembloit,” he noted, “d’entendre gafoüiller des oyseaux, & ie perdois l’esperance de la pouuoir iamais aprendre.”⁵⁴

⁵¹ *Voyages*, 21.

⁵² *IBID.*

⁵³ 71.

⁵⁴ 72.

Contrary to his first impression on not being able to learn the language, after having realized how incomparably effective and productive “en proposant nos mysteres en langue [Cochinchine],” and having “prendre à coeur” the study of the language, de Rhodes could boast that “dans quatre mois i’en sceus assez pour entendre les Confessions, & dans six mois ie preschay en la langue de la Cochinchine.”⁵⁵ In fact, when Jesuits opened their mission in Tonkin,⁵⁶ de Rhodes was chosen precisely due to his proficiency of the language.⁵⁷ Going deeper than the proficiency of the language, de Rhodes also bettered himself in the knowledge of Cochinchina and Tonkin. His *Histoire du Royaume de Tunquin*, which was judged by his contemporary as a “more true” account of Tonkin,⁵⁸ and in the recent time as one of “the two best Jesuit accounts of Tongking,”⁵⁹ portrayed a profound awareness of Vietnam’s multi-cultural and multi-religious background.

De Rhodes spent almost ten years of his missionary career in Vietnam, three in Tonkin and six and a half in Cochinchina including the sporadic expulsions among these years.⁶⁰ As a result, de Rhodes was able to trace Vietnam’s independence from China back “plus de huit cents ans; quand les Tunquinois ne pouuant plus supporter

⁵⁵ *Voyages*, 73.

⁵⁶ As the persecution in Japan persisted, the Jesuit visitor of Japan and China, Jerónimo Rodriguez (1567 – 1628), sent Gabriel de Matos to learn about the situation of Tonkin in 1624. Two years later, he sent Giuliano Baldinotti to accompany Portuguese merchants to Tonkin to examine the feasibility of opening a Jesuit mission there. The Tonkinese Lords, whose main desire was to use the Jesuits to attract trades with the Portuguese, welcomed the Jesuits to Tonkin. After his return, Baldinotti gave a positive report on the condition of Tonkin. (In fact, his was the first eyewitness account of Tonkin to Europe). In 1627, the new Jesuit visitor of Japan and China decided to found the Jesuit mission in Tonkin electing Pierre Marquez to be the founding superior y Alexandre de Rhodes to serve as the interpreter for the Jesuit missionaries (G. BALDINOTTI, “Relation dv voyage fait av royavme de Tunquim nouvellement decouvert,” 193; *Tunquin*, 117 – 130; J. RUIZ DE MEDINA, “Vietnam,” *DHCJ*, IV, 3953 – 3968 especially on the Tonkin section 3956 – 8; Also see D. LACH and E. VAN KEY, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol III, book 1, 376 – 379; book 3, 1276 - 99).

⁵⁷ *Voyages*, 80 – 1; *Tunquin*, 123.

⁵⁸ S. BARON’s “A Description of the Kingdom of Tonqueen” written in the early 1680s, published in *Views of Seventeenth-Century Vietnam*, 195.

⁵⁹ D. LACH and E. VAN KEY, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol III, 1276. The other being *Delle misión de’ Padri della Compagnia di Giesu nella Provincia del Giappone, e particolarmente di quella di Tunkino libri cinque* (Rome 1663) written by Giovanni Filippo de Marini (1608 – 82).

⁶⁰ A chronology of Alexandre de Rhodes can be found in P. PHAN, *Mission and Catechesis*, xx – xxiii.

l'outrageuse domination des Chinois, la secouèrent, apres auoir massacré le Gouverneur de la Prouince,"⁶¹ and Cochinchina's breakaway from Tonkin "pas encore cinquante ans."⁶² While the two kingdoms remained separated, according to de Rhodes, both had "mesmes Loix, & quasi les mesmes Coustumes."⁶³ Though the Vietnamese had won their independence from the Chinese, de Rhodes believed, they remained subjected to the Chinese especially in their religious beliefs and practices. Consequently, for de Rhodes,

Il eust esté à souhaitter que les Tunquinois, à mesme qu'ils current secoué la domination des Chinois, se fussent défait des superstitions qu'ils tenoient, & qu'ils auoient apprises d'eux.⁶⁴

Perhaps, such a fervent desire for Vietnam's complete freedom from China served as one of the grounds on which de Rhodes based his attack against *Tam Giáo*, namely, Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism, which according to de Rhodes all originated from China.⁶⁵

Besides pointing out the Chinese influence on Vietnam, de Rhodes' *Histoire du Royaume de Tunquin* provided a good illustration of life in Vietnam at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Such a life manifested and portrayed through various political, social, cultural, and religious practices and activities that included how kings were revered (11 – 15) and soldiers paid (31 -33), how government organized (37 - 40) and positions of power in the royal courts examined and advanced (40 - 43), how trade and business were conducted (56 - 60), how the dead were honored (77 - 89) and wedding arranged (99 - 104), how the old year's end and the new year's beginning was celebrated (104 - 109), how people changed their names to

⁶¹ *Tunquin*, 5; *Voyages*, 82. Both referred to the beginning of the Ngô dynasty that reigned from 939-965 CE (*Tunquin*, 211, footnote 5).

⁶² *Voyages*, 62 and 82.

⁶³ 64.

⁶⁴ *Tunquin*, 69.

⁶⁵ *Catechismus*, 104 – 124.

protect themselves from the evil spirit (112 - 116), etc. De Rhodes' meticulous observation was shown not only in the various types of fruits and animals (47 - 55), but more importantly, in the plurality of Vietnam's religions and their practices (61 – 77).

On the latter, though considered these religions to be either “superstitions” or “false religions,” Vietnamese's religiousness and their devotion left great impression on de Rhodes. We read from de Rhodes' account:

Estant vray qu'il y a aujourd'huy dans la Royaume de Tunquin vn nombre inestimable de Temples, & d'Idoles, n'estant point de petit Hameau qu n'ayt vn Temple d'Idoles, frequenté de la deuotion superstitieuse du peoples encore qu'il soit sale, & mal tenu, pour l'auarice des Prestres qui vseruent, qui conuertissent toutes offrandes à leur vsage, & de leurs femmes, & enfants, sans prendre aucun soin de l'ornement des Temples, & de la decence des simulachres de leurs Dieux.⁶⁶

And regarding the reverence for the dead, “il n'est peut-estre point de nation en toute la terre habitable qui ait rendu plus de deuoirs, & plus respectueusement aux ames, & aux corps des Trépassés, que les peoples du Royaume d'Annan.”⁶⁷ Similarly, commenting on the newly converted Christians in Tonkin, de Rhodes compared their zeal and piety to that of the “Chrestiens des premiers siecles.”⁶⁸ And in Cochinchina, de Rhodes “aduoüe franchement que c'est là, non pas en Europe qu'on apprend à ressentir la passion de nostre Seigneur.”⁶⁹

1.3.3 Beyond Tonkin and Cochinchina: mission continued

After having been placed under the death penalty and banished from Cochinchina in 1645, and having earlier been expelled definitively from Tonkin in 1630, de Rhodes left Vietnam for good on July 3rd 1645. If de Rhodes had come to

⁶⁶ *Tunquin*, 69.

⁶⁷ 80.

⁶⁸ *Voyages*, 99; *Tunquin*, 308 – 12.

⁶⁹ *Voyages*, 122.

Vietnam as a stranger who lost all hope of ever learning the language,⁷⁰ he left his heart in the country as he departed. We read about de Rhodes' heartfelt description of his departure in Tonkin in May 1630.

Enfin quan nous commençâmes a faire voile, les larmes se renouellerent de part & d'autre, nous nous fuiuîmes des deux tant que nous peûmes, & nos cœurs ne se sont iamais separez, car à lire le vray, tout le mien est dans le Tunquin.⁷¹

And of his ultimate departure of Cochinchina,

Ce fut au troisieme Iuillet de l'an 1645 que ie quittay de corps la Cochinchine, mas certes non pas de cœur, aussi peu que le Tunquin: à la verité il est entier en tous les deux, & ie ne croy pas qu'il en puisse iamais sortir.⁷²

Staying true to his words, though having physically left Vietnam de Rhodes continued to work tirelessly to build the Church in Vietnam especially her native clergy and hierarchy. After having arrived to Macao, de Rhodes petitioned to the provincial of the Japanese province to have an open consultation over the validation of the baptismal formula in Vietnamese. In response, the provincial consultation was convened from July to December of 1645.⁷³ Most importantly, due to de Rhodes' knowledge of the country, the provincial consultation also charged de Rhodes with some of the responsibilities that determined the survival and the growth of the young Vietnamese Church. We learned about de Rhodes' three commissions given by his Jesuit superiors in Macao from his own account.

Sur cette pensée d'attendre que sa colere [du roi cochinchinois] fust vn peu passée, ils [les superieurs] prirent resolution de m'envoyer en Europe pour leur aller chercher du secours spirituel, & temporel, ils creurent que i'estois assez intruit de toutes les grandes necesites de ce païs où i'ay passé tant d'année, & que ie representerois au sain□t Pere l'extreme besoin que ces Chrestienez ont d'auoir des Euesques, aux Princes Chrestiens la grande

⁷⁰ *Voyages*, 72.

⁷¹ 112.

⁷² 269.

⁷³ C. ĐỒ, *Lịch sử chữ Quốc ngữ*, 98. The text of the Vietnamese formula of baptism is found on page 99. Referenced from *ARSI, JS*. 80, f. 35r.

pauvreté de tous nos Peres qui trauaillent en ces belles missions, & à N.R.P. General les grandes esperances qu’il y a de conuerrir tous ces Royaumes si nous auons des Predicateurs qui leur annoncent l’Euangile.⁷⁴

At the end of 1645, de Rhodes left Macao and arrived Rome in June 1649. For the next three years in Rome, de Rhodes “parler souvent à Notre Saint Pere... tous les tours à la porte de Missieurs les Cardinaux, pour leur représenter ces nouvelles Chrestientez.”⁷⁵ In September 1652, Pope Innocent X (1574 – 1655) commissioned him to France⁷⁶ to recruit “plusieurs soldats qui allent à la conquête de tout l’Orient, pour l’assuiettir à Iesus-Christ, & particulièrement que i’y trouuerois moyen d’auoir des Euesques qui fussent nos Peres, & nos Maistres en ces Eglises.”⁷⁷ De Rhodes’ mission in France consisted of three aspects, namely, “demander à Rome des évêques, afin d’ordonner un clergé en Chine, au Tonkin et en Cochinchine; solliciter des aumônes des princes chrétiens, pour soulager l’extrême indigente des missionnaires; recruter une nouvelle et abondante équipe de jésuites pour évangéliser ces pays.”⁷⁸ In France, he was able both to fundraise and to awaken interest for the mission in Vietnam particularly among the founding members of Les Mission Étrangères de Paris (MEP).⁷⁹ However, his direct involvement with the mission in

⁷⁴ *Voyages*, part III, 2 – 3.

⁷⁵ *Voyages*, part III, 78. De Rhodes’ proposal to the Holy See regarding necessary personnel for Vietnamese Church consisted of 1 patriarch, 2 or 3 archbishop and 12 bishops *in partibus infidelum*. De Rhodes’ ambitious plan was rejected in 1652. (C. ĐỒ, *Dòng Tên trong xã hội Đại Việt*, 205).

⁷⁶ He was sent by Pope Innocent X for look for capable candidate for the bishopric position in Vietnam with three papal instructions: being non-religious, financial responsible for himself and those under him, and being non-French. The last instruction seemed contradictory since de Rhodes was sent to France to look for a non-French candidate (H. CHAPPOULIE, *Aux origins d’une église* I, 107 footnote 3).

⁷⁷ *Voyages*, 79.

⁷⁸ L. CAMPEAU, “Le voyage du père Alexandre de Rhodes en France 1653 – 1654,” *AHSI* 48 (1979) 65 – 85, 66.

⁷⁹ Founded by Bishop François Pallu, Bishop Pierre Lambert de la Motte and Bishop Ignace Cotolendi in France during 1658 to 1663. Recalling both Bishop François Pallu and Bishop Pierre Lambert de la Motte were the first bishops named for Cochinchina and Tonkin respectively. The MEP became instrumental in consolidating the authority of the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, which was established by Pope Gregory XV in 1622, over the Portuguese and Spanish patronage system in the Church mission in the French Indochina and neighboring regions. At the second half of the eighteenth century, the MEP, which took control over most of the mission territories previously run by the suppressed Society of Jesus and expanded throughout French controlled territories, thus played

Cochinchina and Tonkin came to an abrupt end due to the opposition of the Portuguese authority and the silence of the Congregation for Propaganda of the Faith.⁸⁰ However, part of de Rhodes' labor in French resulted in the Holy See's naming François Pallu and Pierre Lambert de la Motte as Vicar Apostolics of Cochinchina and Tonkin respectively in 1658.⁸¹ More significantly, “del metodi di De Rhodes è innegabile che De Rhodes fu un antesignano delle direttive dell'istruzione di Propaganda Fide del 1659” to the two named vicar apostolics.⁸²

To avoid further conflict with the Portuguese, de Rhodes was sent to the Jesuit mission in Persia. He left Marseille on November 16, 1654 and arrived Isfahan in November of the following year. For the next five years, he once again learned the new language and labored in the new assigned mission. On November 5th 1660, Alexandre de Rhodes died a peaceful death in Ispahan,⁸³ one year after Tonkin and Cochinchina were established as two independent vicariates in Asia. (For a summary of de Rhodes' journey, please see picture below).

important role in political and cultural affairs between the French government and Asia. Since its birth, the MEP has dedicated to building local clergy and promoting local culture and Church through the publication of local dictionaries, grammars, bibles, liturgical texts, catechetical materials, prayer books and scientific works. Some of the publication include in Mandarin, Cantonese, Hakka, Chaozhou, Hoklo, Thai (Chau-Laos), Annamite (Vietnamese), Japanese, Cambodian, Laotian, Bahnar, Malay, Kanaka, Tibetan, Chamorro, Palau, Kanao, Tagalog, Latin, French, English, Portuguese, German, Italian, Spanish, Korean, Siamese, Tho, Dìoi, Ainu and Yap (L. BAUDIMENT, *François Pallu, principal fondateur de la Société des Missions Étrangères (1626-1684)*, Beauchesne, Paris, 1934; J. GUENNOU, *La fondation de la Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris*, Roma 1971; ID, *Les Missions Étrangères*, ed. St. Paul, Paris, 1963; H. CHAPPOULIE, *Aux origines d'une église*, 2 vols.; A. LAUNAY, Adrien, *Mémorial de la Société des Missions Étrangères*, 2 vols., Paris 1916).

⁸⁰ H. CHAPPOULIE, *Aux origines d'une église* I, 111; L. CAMPEAU, “Le voyage du père Alexandre de Rhodes en France,” 73 – 85.

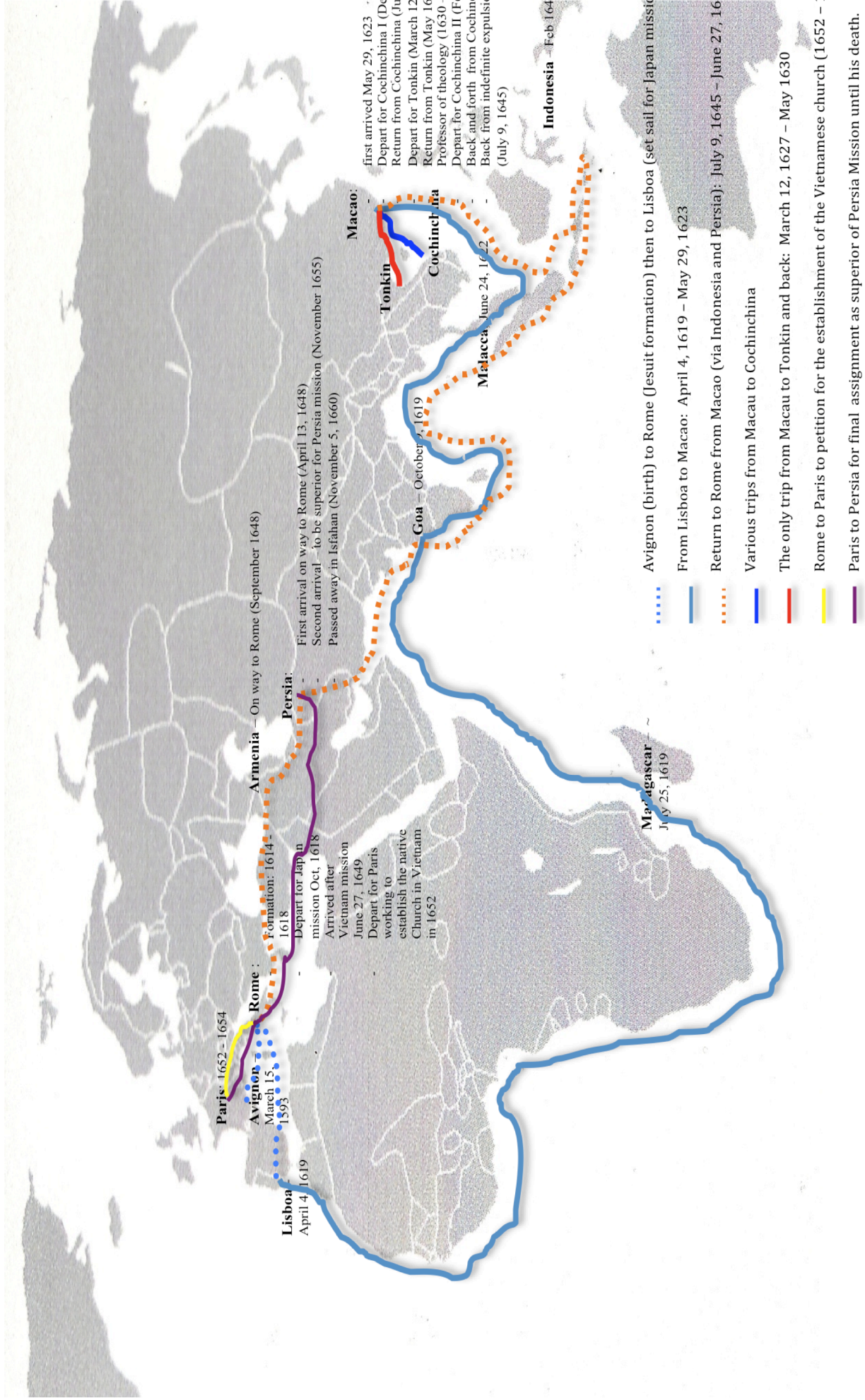
⁸¹ C. ĐỒ, *Dòng Tên trong xã hội Đại Việt*, 209 – 10. Also see footnote 1446 and 1447 above on the two bishops.

⁸² F. GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ, “Alessandro de Rhodes e la genesi dell'istruzione di P.F. ai vicari apostolici dell'oriente del 1659,” one of the key lectures at the Giornata di Studio su: “Chiesa ed incontro con le culture: a 350 anni dall'Istruzione di Propaganda Fide,” Roma 12 marzo 2009, 1 – 33, 21 (http://www.unigre.it/struttura_didattica/Missologia_2010-11/documenti/090312_giornata_di_studio_it.pdf downloaded on January 19, 2011).

⁸³ H. CHAPPOULIE, *Aux origines d'une église* I, 112 – 3; C. ĐỒ, “Nhà thừa sai Alexandre de Rhodes từ trần” [the death of Alexandre de Rhodes], *Tản mạn lịch sử Giáo hội Công Giáo Việt Nam* [Some scattered historical facts of the Catholic Church in Vietnam], Antôn & Đuốc sáng – Nhà xuất bản Tôn giáo, Frisco 2007 – 2008, 271 – 305.

Map of Alexandre de Rhodes' Life Journey

From birth (Avignon – March 15, 1593) to death (Isfahan – November, 1660)*



* Sources: DE RHODES, Alexandre, *Voyages*; ID., *Tunquin*; PHAN, Peter, *Mission and Catechesis*, xx – xxiii.

2. THE *CATECHISMUS*: A READING FROM THE IGNATIAN PARADIGM

2.1 The *Catechismus*' origin

The *Catechismus* was composed out of the necessity of the young Tonkinese and Cochinchinese Church. As mentioned above, de Rhodes and his Jesuit companions had realized the need to train native catechists due to the shortage of Jesuit missionaries who were facing the great demand for teaching Christian doctrine to the newly converts and the catechumens. In addition, after having had to leave his flock frequently either by the royal order of expulsion⁸⁴ or the order of his Jesuit superior, de Rhodes learned that it was the natives catechists who “à dire le vray ont tout fait apres Dieu, dans les grands progrez, qu’a eus cette Eglise.”⁸⁵ Consequently, a team of catechists were formed. We learn from de Rhodes’ report from Tonkin in 1630:

Les premiers que ie choisie furent, François, André, Ignace, & Anthoine, qui firent publiquement pendant la Messe vn iurement de s’employer toute leur vie au seruice de l’Eglise, de ne se marier point, & d’obeir aux Peres qui viendroient prescher l’Euangile; tous les Chrestiens qui virent cette Belle ceremonie, en furent ravis, & eurent depuis vn grand respect pour les seruiteurs de Dieu, qui veritablement se sont acquittez si dignement de ce Ministere, que nous leur deuons vne bonne partie de tout ce qui s’est fait en ce Royaume. Maintenant ils sont plus de cent en ce Seminaire.⁸⁶

Similarly in Cochinchina in 1643,

Je suiuis leur aduis, & auant que partir ie iugeay à propos de lier mes dis Catechistes avec le mesme iurement que m’auoient fait ceux de Tunquin quand ie les quittay. Nous choisimes la feste de nostre glorieux Patriarche Sainet Ignace pour fair cette ceremonie, où les dix seruiteurs de Dieu parurent publiquement en l’Eglise, laquelle estoit pleine de Chrestiens; ils se prosternerent deuant l’Autel avec des flambeaux blancs en la main, puis firent leur iuremet de seruir tout leur vie l’Eglise, sans se marier iamais, & d’obeir

⁸⁴ Left Cochinchina in 1626 by order of Jesuit superior to start the new Jesuit mission in Tonkin (*Voyages*, 79 – 86). During his stay in Tonkin, twice expelled 1628 and 1630 respectively and exiled once in 1629. The second expulsion in 1630 resulted in de Rhodes’ leaving Tonkin for good (*Voyages*, 104 - 112). Returned to Cochinchina in 1640 (*Voyages*, 116 - 120), twice expelled, 1640 and 1645 respectively (*Voyages*, 143 – 9). The second expulsion, first was a sentence to death, but then reduced to definitive expulsion from Cochinchina (*Voyages*, 256 – 8).

⁸⁵ *Voyages*, 103.

⁸⁶ *IBID.*

aux Peres de la compagnie qui viendroient prescher en leur pasi ou à ceux qu'ils deputeroient en leur place.⁸⁷

Consequently, de Rhodes composed the *Catechismus* to use as an accompanying text for these catechists.

The *Catechismus* was first printed in Rome by the Congregation of the Propaganda Fide in 1651. It was composed in two columns: the left in Latin and the right in *chữ quốc ngữ* (Vietnam's modern script). De Rhodes though himself was not the inventor of the new script,⁸⁸ but his *Catechismus* was the first publication in it. Unfortunately, manuscript of de Rhodes' *Catechismus* is lost.

The composition of de Rhodes' *Catechismus* was heavily influenced by the rich tradition of the "society of catechists" in Asia carrying out by outstanding Jesuit individuals such as Xavier, Valignano, Ruggieri and Ricci. During his early arrival to Goa at the beginning of 1620, he had been impressed and learned how effective the instruction of the Christian doctrine was when done in the native language in Salsette.⁸⁹ He was consoled upon his encountering with "vn viellard aagé de cent cinquante ans qui auoit esté autresfois baptizé de la propre main du grand Apostre des

⁸⁷ *Voyages*, 160 – 1.

⁸⁸ A. RHODES, "Ad Lectorem," *Dictionarium annamiticum, lusitanum et latinum*, Sacrae Congregatione de la Propaganda Fide, Romae 1651, vi - vii. There we read: "In hoc autem opere prater ea que ab ipsis indigenis didici per duodecim fermè annos quibus in illis regionibus tam Cochina Quam Tunkini sum commoratus, ab initio magistrum lingua audiens P. Franciscum de Pina lusitanum è nostra minima Societate IESV, qui primus è Nostris lingua illam apprimè calluit & primus sine interprete concionari co idiomare caepit; aliorum etiam eiusdem Societatis Patrum laboribus sum vsus pracipue P. Gasparis de Maral & P. Antonij Barbosa, qui ambo suum composuerant dictionarium, ille à lingua Annamitica incipiens, hic à lusitana, sed immatura vierque morte nobis ereptus est." ("For this work, besides what I have learned from the natives during the almost twelve years I have lived in these regions, both in Cochinchina and in Tonkin, and by listening from the beginning to the teachings of Father Francisco de Pina – he was a Portuguese member of our little Society of Jesus, and a true master of the language, the very first among us to achieve a deep knowledge of this language and the first who could make use of it to preach – I drew mainly upon the works of Fathers Gaspar do Amaral and António Barbosa, who each composed a dictionary, the first starting with the Annamite language and the latter with Portuguese; both passed away prematurely and were thus taken away from us," translated by R. JACQUES, *Portuguese Pionneers of Vietnamese Linguistics pror to 1650*, 12 footnote 5). On the history of Vietnam's modern script, please also read C. ĐỒ, *Lịch sử chữ quốc ngữ 1620 – 1659* [History of Vietnam's modern script 1620 – 1659], Nhà xuất bản Tôn giáo – Antôn & Đuốc sáng, Frisco 2007.

⁸⁹ *Voyages*, 24 – 5.

Indes Sainet François Xauier, qua nil estoit au Japon.” And from their conversation, de Rhodes

prenoio plaisir d’apprendre par ses discours, & plus par les solides vertus qui paraissoient en sa vie, *les instructions admirables que Saint François Xauier donnoit à ceux qu’il conuertissoit à la Foy, & la methode qu’il tenoit pour les affermir en leur premiere resolution.*⁹⁰

Furthermore, having been inspired and initially assigned to the Jesuit mission in Japan, de Rhodes who spent a year in Macao “rendre familiere la langue du Japon” ought to be aware of Valignano’s *Catechismus* and his instruction for Jesuit missionaries to Japan.⁹¹

Concerning Ruggieri and Ricci, it would be almost unthinkable that de Rhodes was not aware of the works of these two influential Jesuits. De Rhodes, who during his more than ten-years stay, had traveled to the mainland China was learning well not only Chinese,⁹² but also Chinese religion and customs;⁹³ who was occupied with baptism preparation “pendant toute la iournée,” sermons and theology courses preparation “la nuit” as professor at the Jesuit College in Macao,⁹⁴ had to know about Ruggieri’s and Ricci’s legend.⁹⁵ In fact, de Rhodes recalled an occasion when a Chinese catechism was shown to him. We read from de Rhodes’ report.

Le matin d’un iour de Dimanche dans nostre Eglise, à l’heure que les Chrestiens se prepaioient pour entendre la Messe, il leur monstra vn *Liure écrit en lettres Chinoises*, qui estoit marqué en la premiere page du sainet Nom de Iesvs, peint en gros caracteres: Ce que ie voulus voir, & reconnu aussi-

⁹⁰ 115. Italics are mine.

⁹¹ It was Valignano’s intention to build the Jesuit College in Macau as the center for training qualified missionaries for Japan and China (J. OLIVEIRA E COSTA, “The Japanese in the College of Macau (1595 – 1614),” *Christianity and Cultures. Japan & China in Comparison 1543 – 1644*, 305 – 327, 312). In fact, Valignano sent Ruggieri and Ricci to Macau for intensively studying Chinese in 1579 and in 1582 respectively as part of their preparation for the Jesuit mission in China (J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano’s Mission Principles. Part I*, 186). De Rhodes’ arrived to Macau in 1623, that means, less than 20 years had passed since Valignano’s death (1606) in the same city.

⁹² *Voyages*, 114.

⁹³ 45 – 57.

⁹⁴ 115.

⁹⁵ Only 13 years had passed since Ricci’s death (1610) until the year de Rhodes’ first arrival to Macau for the first time, and 20 years until the time when Ricci first worked as theology professor at the Jesuit College in Macau (1630 – 40).

tost, que c'estoit vn *Liure apporté de la Chine, & composé par quelqu'un de nos Peres*; mais i'estois ébahy comment il pouuoit estre tombé entre les mains de ce Saj. Sur quoy il me satisfit en me racontant, comme son Pere autrefois ayant accompagné l'Ambassadeur qui est enuoyé de trois ans en trois ans pour prester l'hommage, & payer le tribut ordinaire au Roy de la Chine, *auoit rapporté ce Liure de la Cour de Pequin*; duquel il faisoit si grand estat, que mourant il le luy auoit laisné en heritage, & comme precieux thresor qu'il preferoit au reste de ses biens; luy adjoustant qu'il *auoit receu estant à Pequin en compagnie de l'Ambassadeur, des Docteurs du grand Occident, avec assurance qu'ils luy auoient donnée, que celui qui croiroit, & obserueroit ce qui estoit contenu dans ce Liure, passeroit sainctement, & heureusement de ce monde dans le Ciel.*⁹⁶

While opinion on whose Chinese catechism belonged remained inconclusive, a close read on the structure of de Rhodes' *Catechismus* showed a closer resemblance to that of Ricci, and definitely belonged to the Jesuit rational-scholastic approach to catechism which had been done by Xavier, Valignano, Ruggieri, and Ricci.

2.2 The Catechismus' structures and themes

Like Ricci's *True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven*, de Rhodes' *Catechismus* was also divided into eight different sections, which he referred to as "dies" in Latin or "ngày" in Vietnamese.⁹⁷ Like Xavier and Valignano to the Japanese, Ruggieri and Ricci to the Chinese, de Rhodes found the Tonkinese "merueilleusement souples à la raison."⁹⁸ Thus, he "faisois voir la conformité de nostre Religion avec la raison,"⁹⁹ thus centered his *Catechismus* on the "concepto de 'verdad': después de una introducción, habla de la verdad en sí misma, la verdad en historia (creación, hombre,

⁹⁶ *Tunquin*, 180 -1. Italics are mine. Vietnamese scholars have splitted their opinions on whether this "book" belonged to Ruggieri or Ricci (P. PHAN, *Mission and Catechesis*, 117 footnote 30). I tend to side with P. PHAN that it most likely belonged to Ricci. As early as October 1596, a first draft of Ricci's *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* in Latin was sent to Don Luis Cerqueira, the Bishop of Japan who resided in Macao at the time. Between 1596 and 1601 numerous handwritten drafts were copied and widely circulated to various people in various places. After it was finished and officially published in 1603, a copy of the first edition was sent to Rome in 1604. In 1605, Valignano ordered the second edition to be published in Canton to be sent to Jpana later (M. RICCI, "Translators' Introduction," *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven*, 3 – 53,15 – 20).

⁹⁷ "days" in English.

⁹⁸ *Voyages*, 96. On how Jesuits like Xavier, Valignano, Ruggieri, Ricci and de Rhodes all belonged to the rational scientific approach, B. Maggs, "Science, Mathematics, and Reason: the Missionary Methods of the Jesuit Alexandre de Rhodes in the Seventeenth-Century Vietnam" is very helpful.

⁹⁹ IBID.

pecado), la verdad en las religiones (origen de las religiones) y en la última parte presenta Cristo como el médico” verdadero.¹⁰⁰

To his Vietnamese audience, de Rhodes argued that

Quare lex vera necessario rationi debet esse conformis: si rationem ducem in nostris operibus sequuti fuerimus meritum consequemur:” si verò à ratione deflexerimus in peccatum iucidimus.¹⁰¹

Furthermore, like his Jesuit predecessors, de Rhodes backed his argument with the wisdom found in a Vietnamese proverb.

Scriptum est apud Annamitas pouerbiium” firmis funibus ligantur bubalorum cornua, at firmis rationibus hominum corda trabuntur.¹⁰²

Thus, de Rhodes concluded that, “quod si apud Annamitas datur lex rationi congrua, non esto pus ut illam alibi è terris fcilices remotissimis maxiommo labore quærant.”¹⁰³

In other words, the true way has always existed, thus can be found within Vietnamese cultures.

Regarding de Rhodes’ use of reason, Maggs has pointed out that de Rhodes was truly a child of his time where reason was considered an innate endowment of all human beings. Consequently, reason was used both as a methodology and as a principle that determined whether it was life authentic or not.¹⁰⁴ However, looking from this perspective alone de Rhodes’ brilliant creativity might be overlooked. In fact, like his Jesuit predecessors in Japan and in China, de Rhodes was able to grasp

¹⁰⁰ J. LÓPEZ – GAY, “Métodos misonales,” *DHCJ*, III, 2700 – 2703, 2701.

¹⁰¹ *Catechismus*, 11. In Vietnamese, “đạo thật là đạo lí, là đạo phải mlẽ. phải mlẽ ta làm thì có phúc, chẳng phải mlẽ ta làm thì có phạm tội.” I translated, “true religion is true reason, is the way of right reason. If we follow reason, then we are blessed. If we fail to follow reason, we sin.”

¹⁰² *Catechismus*, 11. “Có chữ tlaõ sách An Nam rằng (kien thàng khá kể ngou giác lí ngữ nang phúc nhìn tâm) dêu bên khá buộc được sùng tâu, mlẽ thật khá phục được lảo người ta.” I translated, “There are words in Vietnamese book that said, ‘strong cord can tie buffaloes’ horn, true reason win over people’s heart.”

¹⁰³ IBID. “Bí bang nước An nam có đạo nào phải mlẽ, đi tìm về bởi nước khác xa làm chi mà khó lảo.” I translated, “Since Vietnam already had reasonable religion, why suffered by going to other far away country to find one.”

¹⁰⁴ B. MAGGS, “Science, Mathematics, and Reason: The Missionary Methods of the Jesuit Alexandre de Rhodes in Seventeenth – Century Vietnam,” *Catholic Historical Review*, 86 (July 2000) 439 – 458, 448 – 9.

the important value of reason in the Vietnamese cultures so to position them accordingly in his argument for the case of Vietnamese Christianity. Consequently, for de Rhodes, Christianity had not only been reasonably understood in the Vietnamese terms, but also had become the fulfilment of what had been lacking in the Vietnamese cultures.

Though de Rhodes' *Catechismus* bore "substantial similarities" to Ricci's *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven*,¹⁰⁵ de Rhodes' *Catechism* remained a more complete catechism than Ricci's "pre-evangelical dialogue."¹⁰⁶ In fact, those "substantial similarities" mentioned above were found only in the first two "days" of de Rhodes' *Catechismus*.¹⁰⁷ For better understanding, an outline of *Catechismus* is helpful.

¹⁰⁵ In *Mission and Catechesis*, P. PHAN has pointed out fifteen of those "substantial substances," to name some important ones, both argued for God as Lord of Heaven in respective languages, both concurred on the Chinese word for heaven meant "one and great," both argued told the story of how the king asked his minister about the incomprehensibility of God's nature, thus related to the story of Augustine's encounter with a child on the beach, both shared the point of view of Christianity as a universal religion, both shared the same positive attitude towards Confucianism and negative attitude towards Buddhism and Taoism, etc.. (119 – 120).

¹⁰⁶ Ricci himself admitted to this fact ("Translators' Introduction," M. RICCI, *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven*, 15).

¹⁰⁷ P. PHAN, *Mission and Catechesis*, 121.

2.3 Outline of the Catechismus¹

I. DIES PRIMUS - the True “Way”² of the Lord of Heaven

An opening prayer: asking for the Lord’s help to know more clearly the true “way” of the Lord (5).

1. Criteria of the “true” way
2. Nature of human being
3. Nature of Creator of heaven and earth
4. The true “way” or the true religion
5. Concerning things of heaven
6. The hierarchy of social order, thus of worship:
7. Worship of the Vietnamese
8. The holy Way of the Lord of Heaven

II. DIES SECUNDUS – Relationship between the Lord of Heaven and creatures

A summary on the three hierarchical orders taught in the previous day

1. Knowledge of who God is and where God lives
2. Division of three kinds of being
3. The nature of the Lord of Heaven

III. DIES TERTIUS – Creation and the Fall.

Summary of the previous day’s teaching, adding, Deus is the Lord of Heaven.

1. Creation
2. The Fall

IV. DIES QUARTUS – History of humanity, the true “way” from Judaea and the false “way” from China.

1. Beginning of humanity
2. False “way” of China
3. Repudiation of Buddhist doctrine of reincarnation
4. The true “way” revealed to Judaea: from Abraham, father of Judaea, and his line of descendants to Isaac and David.

V. DIES QUINTUS – Teaching of the Church

These teaching are taught once renunciation of idol worshipping has been made, and preparing for baptism with fasting and doing acts of mercy. At this time, the catechumen should be given the Lord’s Prayer, the Hail Mary, and the Apostle’s Creed to memorize (133).

1. The Sanctissima Trinitas
2. The Incarnation

¹ A. RHODES, *Phép giảng tám ngày. Catechismus in octo dies divisus. Catechisme divisé en huit jours*, Tủ sách Đại kết, 1993. A republication of A. DE RHODES’ *Catechismus Pro ijs, qui volunt sscipere Baptismvm in Octo dies diuisus. Phép giảng tám ngày cho kẻ muốn chịu phép rửa tội, ma bẻo đạo thánh đức Chúa bời*, Ope Sacra Congregationis de Propaganda Fide in lucem editus, Roma 1651; English version used for consultation, P. PHAN, *Mission and Catechesis*, 211 - 315; French version consulted, H. CHAPPOULIE, *Aux origins d’une église*, 145 – 261. A detailed outline of the *Catechismus* can be found in the Appendix 4.

² De Rhodes has noted that the word “đạo” or “religion” meant “loy, & chemin” (*Voyages*, 91).

VI. DIES SEXTUS – How the true Son of the Lord of Heaven has become truly human.³

1. Three sins resulted from the Fall of our first ancestor: inclination to sin, ignorance of the path that leads to eternal life, condemnation to death.
2. Jesus: the healer from heaven.

VII. DIES SEPTIMUS – Jesus’ Passion and Resurrection

The Lord of Heaven predestines the Lord Jesus, the Only Son, to death because of our salvation and revealing obedience to the Father.

1. The Passion of Jesus.
2. The Death of Jesus.
3. The Burial of Jesus.
4. The Resurrection of Jesus.
5. The Founding of the Church.
6. Jesus’ ascension.
7. The Pentecost.
8. Punishment for the Jews.
9. Praise and adoration devoted to the Risen Christ on high.

VIII. DIES OCTAUUS – The end time

1. Final judgment
2. Final resurrection
3. The mission of de Rhodes
4. The Ten Commandments
5. Pause for advices.
6. Profession of faith: the creed
7. Act of fear:⁴ fear the Lord of Heaven and the Lord Jesus above all things.
8. Act of hope.
9. Act of love (315)
10. Act of intimate pain due to sin⁵

Finally, everyone is dismissed to their home for one night with instructions.

Ad maiorem Dei gloriam (319).⁶

As seen in the outline, de Rhodes’ *Catechismus* advanced the teaching of Christian doctrine further than Ricci’s pre-evangelical dialogue. Compared to the catechism of Xavier, Valignano, Ruggieri, and Ricci, de Rhodes’ *Catechismus* presented a more complete book of catechism found in Vietnam, one of the “más

³ “humanam naturam assumer, fibitam ... hypostatica unionis vinculo copulare dignata fit vere Deus inuisibilis, immoortalis...” In Vietnamese, “Con thật đức Chúa Trời mà lấy tính người buộc chặt chừng ấy cho đến làm một ngôi cùng” (171).

⁴ *actus timoris* in Latin.

⁵ *actus est dolor intimus de peccatis*

⁶ *bac ante Baptismum ordinarie docenda videntur, ad maiorem Dei gloriam.*

perfectas” catechist centers of the Society of Jesus in Asia at the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁷ As a result, de Rhodes’ *Catechismus* has been translated into Cambodian, Thai, French, and English.⁸ Studies and investigations on de Rhodes’ *Catechismus* from the perspectives of language, inculturation, catechetical method, and theological analysis have been done.⁹ None has been extensively studied from the perspective of Ignatian spirituality.

Being a more complete catechist of its time, and as illustrated in the outline, de Rhodes’ *Catechismus*, which presents a more complete resemblance of the *Spiritual Exercises* (see Appendix 2), provides a great source for the investigation on how the “Ignatian God-centered multiculture paradigm,” which had been the original inspiration of the Society of Jesus (as demonstrated in the chapter 4 of this investigation), had been developed and adapted into the cultural context of Vietnam a century later.

2.4 Ignatian God-centered multiculture paradigm: a study of the Catechismus from the perspective of Ignatian spirituality

2.4.1 Đạo Đức Chúa Trời: the Vietnamese way of the Lord of Heaven

After having been deeply immersed in the Vietnamese cultures, the *Catechismus* consistently insisted that the “way” of the Lord of Heaven was not that of the foreigner, but found in the heart of Vietnamese. Earlier, having recognized how the Cochinchinese had been mistaken in that converting to Christianity meant ceasing

⁷ C. RODELES, *La Compañía de Jesús catequista*, 397 – 8.

⁸ C. ĐỒ, *Tân mạn lịch sử Giáo hội Công giáo Việt nam*, 149 footnote 184.

⁹ H. CHAPPOULIE, *Aux origines d’une Église* II, 145 – 261; X. NGUYỄN, “Le Catéchisme en langue vietnamienne romanisée du P. Alexandre de Rhodes,” doctoral dissertation at the Pontificia Università Gregoriana in 1956; T. P. PLACIDE, “Méthodes de catéchèse et de conversion du père Alexandre de Rhodes,” doctoral dissertation at the Institut Catholique de Paris in 1963; T. NGUYỄN, “Le Catéchisme du père Alexandre de Rhodes et l’âme vietnamienne,” doctoral dissertation at the Pontificia Università Urbaniana in 1970; and the most recent, P. PHAN, *Mission and Catechesis*. I have read and used both H. Chappoulie’s French version and P. Phan’s English version as consultative source for this investigation. I have not seen the other dissertations.

being Cochinchinese and becoming Portuguese,¹⁰ on the first day, the *Catechismus* relied on reason, which was highly praised and valued by Vietnamese cultures,¹¹ to argue for the case of Vietnamese way of the Lord of Heaven.¹² The *Catechismus* explicitly uttered that “*vì bằng nước An nam có đạo nào phải lẽ, đi tìm về bởi nước khác xa làm chi mà khó lòng.*”¹³ In other words, the true and reasonable “way” existed right in the heart and mind of the Vietnamese. There was no need for the pain in going long distance to find it.

After having identified “reason” as the common ground between Vietnamese culture and Christianity, de Rhodes established the foundation for his argument by neither destroying nor taking out even what he considered “erreurs des sects Tunquinoises”¹⁴ at least for the first four days. That was exceptional considered for de Rhodes, who lived under the cultural and religious assumption of *Extra Ecclesiam nulla salus*, who himself while in China earlier “souvent fait le compte que tous les ans, du moins cinq millions descendent aux Enfers” because of not having been baptized.¹⁵ Valignano’s *il modo soave* that had guided Ricci earlier in China¹⁶ was applied in de Rhodes’ catechetical method in Vietnam. Instead of rushing people into

¹⁰ C. BORRI, “An Account of Cochinchina,” 139.

¹¹ *Catechismus*, 11; *Voyages*, 96. For the Vietnamese, philosophical wisdom and ethical teaching are often kept in their idioms or wisdom saying (P. PHAN, *Mission and Catechesis*, 139). Thus, the *Catechismus* used various Vietnamese idioms illustrated that the way of the Lord of Heaven also had its root in the Vietnamese culture.

¹² To denote *God*, de Rhodes used the combination of Vietnamese words, *Đức Chúa blời* (*Catechismus*, 308). According to De Rhodes’ *Dictionarium*, “Đức” meant “titulo de grande honra” in Portuguese and “titulus summi honoris” in Latin (240); “Chúa” meant “Senhor” or “Dominus” also “que gouerna o Reyna: Gubernator totius Regni quem regem vocamus” (117); *blời* “ceo” or “caelum” (45). Thus, the expression *Đức Chúa blời* meant “O Senhor do Ceo” in Portuguese, “Dominus caeli” in Latin (240); *Đức Chúa blời đất* “Senhor do ceo e da terra” or Dominus caeli & terrae” (117).

¹³ “Quod si apud Annamitas datur lex rationi congrua, non est pus ut illam alibi è terries felices remotissimis maximo labore quaerant” (*Catechismus*, 11); The French version read, “Que si, chez les Annamites, est établie une loi conforme à la raison, point n’est besoin qu’à grand peïn ils aillent la chercher ailleurs, dans les terres très lointaines” (H. CHAPPOULIE, *Aux origines d’une église*, II, 150)

¹⁴ *Tunquin*, 175.

¹⁵ *Voyages*, 47.

¹⁶ A. ROSS, *A Vision Betrayed*, 206. For Valignano’s *modo soave* (spirit of gentleness), see J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano’s Mission Principles. Part I*, 70 – 4, 83 – 9; *part II*, 199, 208, 315.

baptism, de Rhodes's catechetical method persuasively aimed at people's mind. Once the argument was proved to be valid, the foundation built. The Christian faith, which was demonstrated to be reasonable, would eventually make way into the audiences' hearts. We learned about de Rhodes' master design of the *Catechismus* from his own explanation.

Encore que plusieurs de ceux qui ont annoncé la doctrine de l'Euangile aux autres Royaumes des Infideles, allent esté d'aduis qu'il falloit premierement détruire les erreurs du paganisme, & desabuser les esprits fais de fausses opinions, auant que d'establi, & d'enseigner les points, & les principes de la Religion Chrestienne; suiuant l'ordre que Dieu donna à vn Prophete, luy disant; Je t'ay mis pour détruire, & arracher; pour édifier & planter: Et pour le tres-auguste mystere de la sainte Trinité, de ne l'exposer aux Catechumenes qu'au temps qu'ils se trouueroient disposez à receuoir le Baptesme; pour n'embrouïller d'abord leur esprit des doutes qui leur pourroient nâistre sur ce tres-haut, & ineffable mystere. *I'estimay neantmoins par l'experience que i'en pris deuoir tenir entre deux vne methode d'instruction pour les peuples de ce Royaume. C'est à fçauoir de ne combattre point les erreurs des sectes Tunquinoises, auant que d'auoir posé quelques principes connoissables par le seule Lumiere de la Nature; comme de la Creation du monde, de la fin pour laquelle le souuerain principe de l'estre créé, a fait & ordonné la creature raisonnable, & des obligations qu'elle a de le reconnoistre, & de le feruit: tant pour ietter dans leur esprit quelque fondement affeuré, sur lequel le reste de leur creance se puisse aucunement appuyer.*¹⁷

Once the foundation of "reason" was established, truth will be found. According to the *Catechismus*, such a truth was to be found in Christianity. Again, we read de Rhodes' writing from his experience.

Il m'a donc mieux reüssi, autant que ie l'ay pô remarquer, *de leur imprimer quelques sentiments de pieté, & d'amour naturel enuers le Createur, & le premier principe de leur estre.* Puis par le recit de l'histoire du deluge general, & de la confusion des Langues, *leur donner quelque apprehension du Dieu qu'ils doiuent craindre & adorer; de là descendre à la refutation de l'Idolatrie, laquelle mesme le Diable n'a pas introduite dans le monde qu'apres le deluge.*¹⁸

¹⁷ *Tunquin*, 175 – 6. Italics are mine.

¹⁸ *IBID.* Italics are mine.

Thus, similar to the aim of the *Spiritual Exercises*, that is, “vencer a sí mismo y ordenar su vida sin determinarse por afección alguna que desordenada sea [*Ej* 21],¹⁹ de Rhodes’ *Catechismus* convinced and engaged his audiences in a process of moving from inordinate attachment towards the God-centered multicultures.²⁰ However, by presenting his arguments and conviction through wisdom and reason, both of which were highly praised by Vietnamese people and embraced in the Vietnamese cultures,²¹ de Rhodes was successfully adapting Christianity into becoming *đạo Đức Chúa Trời* in Vietnam.²²

2.4.2 *Đạo Đức Chúa Trời: the God-centered multiculture religion*

Starting from the person and applying reason that was found in Vietnamese cultures, De Rhodes centered his audiences’ attention on the Lord of Heaven. We listen to de Rhodes’ explicit admission of this movement in his *Catechismus*.

La methode que ie tenois estoit de leur proposer l’immortalité de l’âme, & l’autre vie, de là ie passois à prouuer la diuinité, puis la prouidence, ainsi *de degré en degré* nous venions aux mysteres les plus difficiles. L’experience nous a fait voir que cette maniere d’instruire les Payens est fort vtile, ie l’ay expliquée au long dans mon Catechisme, que ie diuise en huit iournée, où ie tache de proposer toutes les veritez principales sur lesquelles il faut instruire les Idolatres.²³

In fact, for the first two days of the *Catechismus*, de Rhodes repeatedly and insistently brought his audiences to the attention of the Lord of Heaven’s central role in creation and human life. Thus, one had to seek and to find the Lord of Heaven in all things, to worship him for the eternal happiness.

¹⁹ Please refer to section “God-centered multicultural vision: an Ignatian paradigm” found in chapter 4 of this investigation, especially p. 53 – 5.

²⁰ According to the *Catechismus*, sin originated from Lucifer’s rebellious against the heavenly order (65).

²¹ Vietnamese idioms such as “Khi sinh ra chẳng có đem một đồng mà lại; khi chết cũng chẳng có cầm một đồng mà đi” *quando nati sumus, ne serentiam quidem in buno mundum itulimus, cum moriemur ne ubolum quidem deferre poterimus* (*Catechismus*, 7); “sống thì gởi, chết thì về” *hanc praesentem vitam esse tanquam hospitium peregrinantium, mortem vero esse reditum ad patriam seu habitationem propriam* (*Catechismus*, 8).

²² the “way” of the Lord of Heaven.

²³ *Voyages*, 96. Italics are mine.

a. “Buscar en todas las cosas a Dios nuestro Señor” [Co 288]

Having brought his audiences under the light of reason, the *Catechismus* introduced its audiences to a rigorous search for the *Đức Chúa blời đất*, “Dominus caeli & terrae,”²⁴ the Lord of all things of heaven and earth. At the cosmos level, finding themselves standing in the midst of heaven and earth, of life and death, and of every creatures, de Rhodes argued, it was proper and reasonable to ask, “ai sinh ra trời che ta, ai sinh ra đất chở ta, ai sinh ra muôn vật mà nuôi ta.”²⁵ At the national level, follow the proper social and political structures and custom, de Rhodes reasoned, one had to inquire who was the country’s king or lord so to pay proper veneration and honor. So was with the search for the true creator of heaven and earth, and all creation.

Những kẻ ở trong nước thì phải hỏi cho biết, ai làm vua Chúa, mà kính đậy. Huống lọ người ở thế này thì phải tìm cho biết được, ai làm Chúa thật, đã sinh nên trời đất, muôn vật, mà thờ đậy.²⁶

Finally, at the family and household level, if one knew how to observe good manners and appropriate etiquette by asking for who was the house owner, then it was even more appropriate and reasonable to ask for who was the owner of heaven, so to worship and pay proper respect. The *Catechismus* contended:

Vậy thì trời là nhà, đất là nền. Hễ là nhà nào thì có kẻ làm nên mà mới nên, cũng có chủ nhà mà chớ. Vì vậy thì có trời, cũng có thật Chúa trời, làm nên trời mà chớ.²⁷

²⁴ To denote *God*, de Rhodes used the combination of Vietnamese words, *Đức Chúa blời* (*Catechismus*, 308). According to De Rhodes’ *Dictionarium*, “Đức” meant “titulo de grande honra” in Portuguese and “titulus summi honoris” in Latin (240); “Chúa” meant “Senhor” or “Dominus” also “que gouerna o Reyna: Gubernator totius Regni quem regem vocamus” (117); *blời* “ceo” or “caelum” (45). Thus, the expression *Đức Chúa blời* meant “O Senhor do Ceo” in Portuguese, “Dominus caeli” in Latin (240); *Đức Chúa blời đất* “Senhor do ceo e da terra” or Dominus caeli & terrae” (117).

²⁵ “hanc qui desiderat prius inquirere debet, quisnam fit caeli, quo nos cooperit, supremus conditor; quis terrea, quae nos fustinet, auētor, quis rerum omnium, quibus sustentamos, creador. Interroga ut fcias & colas, haec est via meriti” (*Catechismus* 8).

²⁶ “Quicumque est intra regnum debet inquirere quisnam fit Rex, ut illum veneretur. Quanto magis qui sunt in hoc mundo tenentur inquirere, quisnam fit verus coeli & terrae rerumque omnium creator & Dominus, ut illum colam. (*Catechismus*, 9).

²⁷ “ergo coelum ipsius domus pauimentum: omnis autem domus necessario debet habere factorem, aut dominum. ergo & coeli necessario datur Dominus & conditor” (*Catechismus*, 12).

Thus, at all the levels of the human universe, following the proper ritual and social conduct,²⁸ people must search for the creator to worship, so to achieve eternal harmony and happiness. Thus, the *Catechismus* taught, “Vì chúng ta phải hỏi cho biết, ai sinh ra mọi sự mà thờ đấng cho nên, vậy thì ta mới được lên thiên đàng, vui vẻ vô cùng.”²⁹ And again, “chẳng nên thờ trời, chẳng khấn lạy trời, lạy đức Chúa Trời, thờ đức Chúa trời thì mới phải... mà từ này về sau nói làm vậy: ‘Tôi lạy đức Chúa trời, là Chúa cả trên hết mọi sự.’”³⁰

The Lord of Heaven could be found not only because of being the creator and the owner of heaven and earth, but also, because of the presence of the Lord of Heaven permeated creation. Following a similar dynamic relationship between human beings and the divine found in the *Contemplación para alcanzar amor* [Ej 230 – 237], the *Catechismus* taught that the Lord of Heaven not only created the heaven and the earth, but also remained immanently and intimately within the heaven and the earth. We read from the teaching of the *Catechismus*:

Mà đức Chúa trời chẳng lọ là giữ liên mọi sự, khi hãy còn, lại giúp sức cho mỗi một sự khi làm việc gì việc gì, và trong mình, và bề ngoài. Mà đức Chúa trời chẳng giúp cho, dù mà một lá cây chẳng có rụng xuống được một mình, khi đức Chúa trời chẳng làm với, mà rụng xuống... Vì vậy Chúa cả này có làm nên và giữ mọi sự: khi mặt trời làm sáng, thì đức Chúa trời làm cùng; khi lửa làm nóng, thì cũng làm nóng với; khi gió rỗng làm mát, thì làm mát với; khi nước làm cho đất hóa ra, thì cũng làm hóa ra với: khi đất sinh nên của gì, thì cũng sinh nên với.³¹

²⁸ As mentioned above, one of the pillars of Confucian values is *lễ*, the right conduct or behavior which emphasizes on the importance and significance of rituals and ceremonies, thus a Ministry of Rites is established as important part of the governmental structure and imperial court (Y. XINZHONG, *An Introduction to Confucianism*, 26 - 29).

²⁹ “Rerum enim omnium Conditorum necessario debemus inquirere ut illum colamus, sic enim poterimus ad beatitudinem caelestem pervenire” (*Catechismus*, 9).

³⁰ Ergo nullo modo conuenit coelo reuerentiam aut adorationem exhibere, sed Domino coeli... addenda igitur est & deinceps dicendum: Adoro supremum coeli Dominum (*Catechismus*, 15 – 6).

³¹ “Solùm ad conseruationem omnium rerum perpetuo influit Deus, sed etiam ad singulas omnium omnino rerum actiones, & operationes fue *immanentes* fue *transentes*, ita necessario *concurrit*, ut ne solium quidem ab arbore decidere posit sine diuino concursu... Atque ita supremus hic Dominus rerum omnium Conditor, & Conseruator Deus, *cum* sole illuminante illuminat; *cum* igne calefaciente calefacit, *cum* aere refrigerante refrigerat; *cum* aqua foecundante terram foecundat, *cum* terra

The four repeating phrases which highlighted the Lord of Heaven “vói” [*cum* in Latin] each of the basic elements in traditional Vietnamese cultures, namely, “lửa, gió, nước, đất” (*igne, aere, aqua, et terra*), emphasized not only the Lord’s imminent and intimate presence in creation, but also the Lord’s continuing labor with creation.

Looking from the perspective of creatures, according to the *Catechismus*, since the Lord of Heaven remained the root cause of all creatures, all creatures thus became the visible footsteps through which human beings could recognize the divine. Furthermore, the *Catechismus* taught that out of the goodness of the Lord of Heaven, human beings not only recognized the divine presence but also participated in the divine beauty through their own existence. We read from the *Catechismus*:

Thật là bởi tính vô cùng và phép vô cùng đức Chúa trời vậy, mà mọi sự là như dấu chân làm cho ta suy hình đức Chúa trời vậy. Mà lại lòng lành đức Chúa trời thông mình ra loài có tính ngoan biết lẽ, cho loài có ấy chẳng lọ là thật có, mà lại thông hằng vui vẻ cùng đức Chúa trời vậy.³²

Therefore, all cultures could serve as visible footsteps of the Lord of Heaven. All cultures could participate in the divine beauty. Addressing the Vietnamese’s misunderstanding of becoming Christian meant becoming Portuguese,³³ the *Catechismus* directly responded: “Chớ có nói: đạo này là đạo Pha-lang. Vì chúng đạo thánh đức Chúa trời là sang, và trước, và lớn hơn mặt trời.”³⁴ Then, the *Catechismus* went on to provide a beautiful image to describe the way of the Lord of Heaven was a God-centered multicultures religion. We read in the *Catechismus*.

Nói thí dụ, mặt trời soi đến nước nào, thì làm ngày sang nước ấy, dù mà nước khác chưa thấy mặt trời mọc lên, hãy còn chịu tối đêm, song le chẳng có ai gọi mặt trời là mặt trời nước ấy, dù mà đã chịu sang mặt trời soi nó trước. Vì

producente aliquid simul producit, & sic cum aliis rebus omnibus ita continuo operatur” (*Catechismus*, 40 – 1). Italics are mine.

³² “sed praeterea voluit Diuina Bonitas se communicare creaturis rationabilibus, quae non solum existentiam haberent, sed etiam Beatitudinis Diuine participes fierent” (*Catechismus*, 44).

³³ C. BORRI, “An Account of Cochin-China,” 139.

³⁴ “Neque vero dicadis hanc esse Lusitanorum legem; lex enim Sancta Dei est lux, ipso sole maior & antiquior” (*Catechismus*, 25).

chung mặt trời là chung cả và thế giới, mà đã có trước hơn nước ấy soi cho. Đạo thánh đức Chúa trời cũng vậy: dù mà có nước nào đã chịu đạo trước, cũng chẳng nên gọi là đạo nước nọ nước kia, thật tên là đạo thánh đức Chúa trời, là Chúa trên hết mọi sự, thật là đạo thánh, và trước, và trọng hơn no mọi nước thiên hạ.³⁵

Echoing the *Exercises*' contemplation of “*todos los bienes y dones descien den de arriba, ... como del sol descien den los rayos, de la fuente las aguas,*” [237], the *Catechismus* taught that the way of the Lord of Heaven brought eternal light and happiness to all cultures. It was the Lord of Heaven, who like the sun, remained the source that gave life to all nations. All cultures, whether they were “at night” or in the “daylight,” shared and enjoyed the same source of life and blessings from the Lord of Heaven. The true name of this religion, as stated above in the *Catechismus*, was *the holy way of the Lord of Heaven, who existed above and before all cultures and whose existence remained more important than all cultures.*

b. “Conformarse con la voluntad divina” [De 80.127.155.189]

Since the Lord of Heaven remained not only the Creator of heaven and earth but also the imminent and intimate life-source permeating heaven and earth, human beings must worship and conform their heart and their life to the Lord of Heaven. The *Catechismus* based its argument on the three attributes of the Lord of Heaven, namely, the Lord's omniscience, omnipresence, and everlasting life. First of all, since the Lord of Heaven knew everything from the inside to the outside, one must worship the Lord not in body alone but more importantly from the heart. In fact, the *Catechismus* insisted, “*vậy vì có lạy và thờ trong lòng trước, sau thì mới lấy xác mà*

³⁵ *sicuti vero sol regnum aliquod illuminans facit in illo regno diem, quamuis alia regna quibus nodum sol ortus est adhuc noctis caligine premantur, tamen sol non propierea dicitur esse illius regni cui prius ortus est, quia sol est uniuersalis totius mundi & regno etiam quem illuminat longe anterior: Sic etiam sancta lex Dei, quamuis aliquibus regnis prius innotuerit, non tamen debet dici lex illorum regnorum, sed lex Sancta Dei Supremi Domini rerum omnium, quae longe nobilior & prior est omnibus mundi regnis (Catechismus, 25 – 6).*

lạy bề ngoài, thật làm vậ đức Chúa trời mới yêu.”³⁶ Once the heart was won over, the body followed. Secondly, since the Lord of Heaven remained present everywhere, thus, observed all the human interaction and activities, one ought not to do anything against the Lord’s will.³⁷ Finally, because the Lord of Heaven has always existed without end or beginning, one ought to live within the Lord so to share the everlasting life with the Lord. The *Catechismus* taught:

Vì đức Chúa trời là sống lâu vô cùng, mà chẳng có trước cùng chẳng có sau, thì hằng sống vậ, ta phải suy lẽ làm vậ: ta sống, thật là bởi đức Chúa trời, là cội rễ đầu mọi sự sống. Vì vậ khi ta muốn cho sống lâu thì ta cậy một đức Chúa trời mà chớ.³⁸

Thus, worshipping the Lord of Heaven meant placing one’s trust in the words of the Lord and conforming one’s intelligence to that of the divine,³⁹ and ultimately, out of one’s true love for the Lord of Heaven and one’s act of following the commandment of the Lord of Heaven,⁴⁰ who remained the sun that gave light to all.

2.4.3 One Lord, Three Thrones: The Holy Trinity

Like the order found in the Second Week of the *Spiritual Exercises*, the *Catechismus* had its audiences contemplating on the divine mystery starting with the *Sanctissima Trinitas* in its fifth day. Unlike other catechist instructors of his time, de Rhodes did not want to wait until the baptism was getting close but intentionally

³⁶ “Atque ex hae adoratione & cultu interno, debet procedere adoratio externa corporis, ut fit illi supreme Maistati grata” (*Catechismus*, 51).

³⁷ Infinite illius immensitati & presentiae suprema debetur reuerentia, ut scilicet ubique praesentem recordemur, reueremur, & timeamus videntem, nec in eius venerabilis Maiestatis praesentia audeamus, quod in praesentia supreme cuiusdam Principis, vel etia coram uniuerso mundo non auderemus (*Catechismus*, 51).

³⁸ Ex Aeterna eius vita & duratione infinita, absque principio & fine, colligere debemus, ut sicuti hanc vitam ab illo fonte totius vit baurimus, sic a nullo alio vita buius prorogationem speremus, quam ab illo qui est sans vitae (*Catechismus*, 51 - 2).

³⁹ Illam itaq summa sapientia venerabimur a fiore diderimus verbis eius, & intellectum omnem nostra subiecerimus infinite ipsius sapientiae & cognitioni infinitum etiam Diuine (*Catechismus*, 53).

⁴⁰ Et quoniam verus amor non in praclaris verbis, sed in operibus eximijs positus est, & ut ipsamet superma Bonitas suis nobis cloquijs significare dignata est, in mandatorum ipsius perfecta custodia consistit vera eius dilectio (*Catechismus*, 56).

presented the mystery of the Holy Trinity to his audiences at the beginning of the process. We learned from his words.

Toutefois il ne me semble pas qu'il faille attendre le temps proche du Baptesme, pour proposer aux Catechumenes la creance de la Trinité des diuines Personnes: mais plutôt commencer para la declaration de ce mystere, d'où il est plus aisé de descendre à l'Incarnation du Fils de Dieu, qui est la second Personne; puis après à ce qu'il a souffert pour sauuer le monde perdu par le peché, à la Resurrection, & aux autres mysteres de nostre Religion; qui est la suite, & la methode qui a esté obseruée para les Apostres au Symbole de la Foy qu'ils nous ont laissé.⁴¹

Furthermore, according to his experience of teaching catechism, de Rhodes reported that “durant tant d'année que i'ay employées à l'instruction des Payens, ie n'en ay iamais trouué aucun qui se soit rebutté de nostre Foy, sur la proposition du secret incomprenable du mystere de la Trinité.”⁴² Most importantly, by placing the teaching of the *Sanctissima Trinitade*⁴³ right in the middle of the *Catechismus*, de Rhodes educated his catechumens how the *Sanctissima Trinitade* played an essential and central role in their life.⁴⁴

To the Western eyes, the *Catechismus*' teaching on the *Sanctissima Trinitade* did not provide any “novel insights” into the mystery of the Holy Trinity per se, but remained something along the line of Augustinian-Thomist traditional teaching.⁴⁵

⁴¹ *Tunquin*, 176 – 7.

⁴² *Tunquin*, 177.

⁴³ In the *Catechismus*, de Rhodes continued to use various foreign terms referring to some theological categories such as *Ecclesia Catholica* (135), *Spirito Sancto* (137), *gratia* (140, 143). For the Holy Trinity, he applied the terms the latin term, *Sanctissima Trinitas* (133), the Portuguese, *Sanctissima Trinitade* (136, 139, 142) and the combination of Vietnamese and Portuguese, *rất thánh Trinitade* (142), where “rất thánh” means “sanctissima” (A. RHODES, *Dictionnarium annamiticum, lusitanum et latinum*, 747). Regarding the mystery of the Holy Trinity, the *Catechismus* taught that “Vi vậy đức Chúa trời là ba ngôi, thật ngôi khác nhau, song le ba ngôi này chẳng phải ba Chúa trời, thật là một đức Chúa trời mà chớ. Sự này dầu khôi sức hay biết ta, song le ta phải tin thật vậy, vì đức Chúa trời đã truyền sự mình cho ta làm vậy. [tres igitur sunt Divine Persona realiter distinctae, sed hae personae non sunt tres Dij, sed unus verus Deus; quod essi captum intellectus nostri superet, id tamen firmiter credere debemus” (309). According to P. PHAN, de Rhodes seemed to “confuse the reality of the Trinity (to which we adhere with faith) with a particular explanation of the internal relations among the divine persons (a theological interpretation that may or many not command our total agreement” (P. PHAN, *Mission and Catechesis*, 176 footnote 70).

⁴⁴ P. PHAN, *Mission and Catechesis*, 178.

⁴⁵ 175.

However, de Rhodes’ translation of the *Sanctissima Trinitate* into Vietnamese brought one of the foundational mysteries of the Christian faith closer to the heart of Vietnamese cultures. For the two key words of the mystery of the Holy Trinity, namely, “nature” and “person” de Rhodes used the Sino-Vietnamese words “tính” and “ngôi,” respectively. “Tính” literally meant “will;” whereas, “ngôi” meant “throne,” which often used in “ngôi vua” [the throne of the king] or “ngôi chúa” [the throne of the lord]. Thus, de Rhodes’ translation of the *Sanctissima Trinitate* literally meant the Lord of Heaven with “một tính” [one nature] “ba ngôi” [on the three thrones], or *Chúa Ba Ngôi*.⁴⁶

Like in previous sections, this section examines how de Rhodes’ understanding and teaching of the divine life of *Sanctissima Trinitate* (*Chúa Ba Ngôi*) embodied the Ignatian God-centered multiculture paradigm, which were discussed at length in chapter four of this investigation, manifested through the three divine characters, namely, “Triune God in communion,” “Self-giving God,” and “God on mission.”

a. “Triune God in communion”

The mystery of the *Sanctissima Trinitate* presented in the *Catechismus* while essentially followed the Augustinian-Thomistic thought⁴⁷ focused on the loving communion among the Three Divine Persons. We read from the *Catechismus*.

Lại đức Cha thì yêu Con hăng hăng đời đời vậy, mà đức Con cũng yêu đức Cha như vậy. Sự đức Cha cùng đức Con yêu nhau vô cùng làm vậy, gọi là đức *Spirito Sancto*, thật là đức Chúa trời, mà ra bởi đức Cha cùng bởi đức Con, thì thông ra trót tính đức Chúa trời cho đức Chúa *Spirito Sancto*. Vì vậy đức Chúa *Spirito Sancto* cũng là một đức Chúa trời cùng đức Cha và cùng đức Con, cũng một tính thiêng liêng mà hăng có vậy đời đời cùng đức Cha và cùng

⁴⁶ For de Rhodes, *ba ngôi* meant “tres pessoas” or “tres personae” (A. RHODES, *Dictionarium*, 15); P. PHAN, *Mission and Catechesis*, 176.

⁴⁷ P. PHAN, *Mission and Catechesis*, 175.

đức Con. *Ấy là Sanctissima Trinitate, là đức Cha và đức Con và đức Spirito Sancto cũng một đức Chúa trời, là một tính mà thật thì có ba ngôi.*⁴⁸

Such an explanation of the divine communion, “the Father is true divine, so is the Son, and so is the Holy Spirit; all Three Persons remaining in One Lord” was reinforced many times throughout the fifth day of the *Catechismus*.⁴⁹ The divine communion of the *Sanctissima Trinitate* was especially in the divine election of Virgin Mary to be the true Mother of the Lord of Heaven. We read the archangel Gabriel’s communicating the divine message to Mary retold in the *Catechismus*.

Đức Chúa trời đã chọn Người mà giúp việc cứu loài người ta. Vì chưng khi đức Chúa trời, là đức Cha, yêu thế chừng ấy, cho đến định phó một đức Con mình làm việc cứu thế, mà cho nên sự ấy, thì đức Con Chúa trời lấy tính người làm một ngôi cùng. *Mà Sanctissima Trinitate có chọn rất thánh đồng thân cho nên Mẹ thật đức Chúa trời. Vì chưng một Con đức Chúa trời, thật là đức Chúa trời, lấy thịt mình bởi thịt người mà chớ.*⁵⁰

Thus, similar to what was stated in the contemplation of the Incarnation of the Spiritual Exercises [*Ej* 102], the *Catechismus* taught that the election of Mary to be the Mother of the Lord of Heaven in the mystery of Incarnation was made not by One particular Divine Person alone, but by the *Sanctissima Trinitate* in communion for the redemption of human sin.

⁴⁸ Rufus Pater amore aeterno prosequitur Filium, & ita Filius Patrem, & hic Amor aeterno, mutumsque Patris & Filij, dicitur Spiritus Sanctus, & est verus Deus à Patre Filioque precedens, quia totam essentiam Diuinam Spiritus Sanctus accipit à Patre & Filio, estque *unus verus Deus*, simul cum Patre & Filio, consubstantialis & coaeternus Patri & Filio: hae st Sanctissima Trinitas Pater & Filius & Spiritus Sanctus, *unus verus Deus in essentia, & vere Trinus in personis* (*Catechismus*, 139). Italics are mine.

⁴⁹ *Catechismus*, 136.137.139.

⁵⁰ Ad redemptionis humanae Mysterium peragendum: cum enim Deus Pater sic dilexerit mundum, ut Filium suum Vnigenitum dare decreuerit, ad redemptionem mundi, ad quod Diuinum, opus perficiendum, Filius Dei humanam sit assumpturus naturam in una persona. *Ipsa Beatissima Virgo electa est a Sanctissima Trinitate, ut sit vera Deo genitrix*, upote ex cuius carne carnem esset assumpturus Vnigenitus Dei Filius verus Deus (*Catechismus*, 149). Italics are mine.

b. “The self-giving Lord of Heaven”

De Rhodes himself lamented about how difficult it was to explain the mystery of the Incarnation to the Vietnamese precisely for the reason of this self-giving divine character. We read from de Rhodes’ observation.

i’ay toujours reconnu qu’ils ont bien plus de peine à croire celuy de l’Incarnation: Et la raison en est, parce qu’ils ne treuvent pas étrange que Dieu, dont ils connoissent par vn raisonnement natural, la nature inconceuable & éluee au dessus de nos connoissances, soit assi Moniz explicable par nos discours en ses proprietéz, aux personnes que nous proposons à leur creance. Mais la grande peine que nous auons, est à leur persuader que celuy qui est vn pur esprit, qui est eternal, & immortel, & qui regne dans le Ciel couronné de gloire, se soit reuestu de chair, ayt pris naissance dans le temps, ayt esté sujer à la mort, & exposé à toutes sortes d’opprobres, & de miseres.⁵¹

Consequently, de Rhodes asked the catechist instructors to keep in mind three things when teaching the passion of the Lord to the Vietnamese.

La premierer de leleuer beaucoup les prodiges qui arriueré en la mort de IESVS – CHRIST; ... comme les tombeaux s’ouurent, les roches se sendirent, la terre trembla, & toutes les creatures témoignèrent la douleur qu’elles auoient de la mort de leur Createur. D’où il faut conclurre, que s’il est mort, ce n’a esté que de sa volonté, & para la permission du pouuoir qu’il en a donné à ses meurtriers, pour operer le rachapt, & le salut du genre humain. En second lieu, après auoir expliqué le grand amour, & les admirables vertus qu’il a témoignées en patissant, & mourant; il est à propos de leur exposer pour la premiere fois l’image du Crucifix pour estre adorée, avec cierges allumez, & autres semblables ceremonies de deuotion. Tiercement il ne leur faut iamais expliquer la Passion, & a mort du Sauueur, que l’on n’adjoute aussi-tost le recit de sa glorieuse Resurrection, comme il ressuscita de sa propre vertu le troisième iour.⁵²

On a quick glance, de Rhodes’ instruction may seem like a gloss over the difficult contemplation of Jesus’ suffering and death by swiftly bringing the catechumen’s attention to the Lord’s resurrection. However, a more careful read of de Rhodes’ instruction under the light of the *Spiritual Exercises* will help us to appreciate how de Rhodes taught his catechist instructors to teach one of the most important mysteries in

⁵¹ *Tunquin*, 177.

⁵² 177 – 8.

Christianity and one of the only two mysteries which the *Catechismus* intended to teach.⁵³

According to the *Spiritual Exercises*, the third preamble of the First Contemplation on the Incarnation insisted the ejercitants on “demandar lo que quiero; será aquí demandar *conocimiento interno* del Señor, que *por mí* se ha hecho hombre, para que más le ame y le siga” [104].⁵⁴ Recalling the section entitled “cultural adaption of the *Spiritual Exercises*” found in chapter four of this investigation, Ignatian contemplation aims to neither intellectually explain nor comprehend the Holy Trinity. In other words, the “conocimiento interno del Señor” cannot be taught, only be graced through contemplation. Thus, what Ignatian contemplation offers consists of a context in which interaction between God’s grace and the ejercitant’s personal history take place.

Accordingly, what de Rhodes instructed then served as a composition of place where the contemplation of the Incarnation was made. Thus, de Rhodes’ instruction in fact became the “the third preamble” [*Ej* 104] adapting and accommodating the cultural context of the Vietnamese, specifically, placing oneself in the midst of cosmic changes during the passion of the true Lord of Heaven, being in front of the image of the Crucifix with candles, and contemplating the whole history of the Incarnation, from Jesus’s birth to his death *and* his resurrection. *All por mí*. And by God’s grace alone, the “conocimiento interno” of the mystery of the self-giving Lord of Heaven would be given. In other words, de Rhodes’ audiences did not intellectually learn the self-giving mystery of the Lord of Heaven. By *hearing*, *seeing*, and *watching* - all essential verbs for Ignatian contemplation [*Ej* 106 – 8] – not only the cosmic world but in the silence of one’s own heart, de Rhodes hoped that

⁵³ *Catechismus*, 133.

⁵⁴ Italics are mine.

his audiences would be graced with the “conocimiento interno” of the self-emptying mystery of the Lord of Heaven, so to embrace it in their heart.

The *Catechismus* taught the trinitarian self-emptying character in its sixth day when the discussion on human sins and their redemption took place. According to the *Catechismus*, due the sin of our first ancestor, human beings had fallen to the sinful state characterized by human inclination to sin; human blindness or ignorance of the true “way” of life everlasting; and human’s condemnation to death.⁵⁵ Thus, the self-emptying act of the Lord Jesus, which manifested through his lived experience of humility and obedience, served as the source of healing and redemption for the human race.

To talk about the mystery of Incarnation, while the *Catechismus* offered a very brief theological explanation,⁵⁶ it went at length focusing more on the lived experience of humility and obedience of the human Jesus during his thirty-three years on earth. We read from the *Catechismus*:

Chúa Iesu dùng nhân đức mình làm gương cho ta, mà chữa tội ta vậy, là ba mươi ba năm sống ở thế này, ăn ở cùng người ta, thì cho ta xem sự lạ trong việc *khiêm nhường* và trong việc *chịu lụy*: chẳng lọ là *chịu lụy* đức Chúa trời, là đức Cha mình, có phó lọn mình theo rất thánh ý đức Cha, khi rất thánh đức Mẹ đem đến đức Chúa Iesu mà khi đến đền thánh, mà lại có *chịu lụy* rất thánh Chúa Bà Maria, là đức Mẹ đồng thân, và có ông thánh Ioseph, là bạn đức Mẹ vậy, mà đức Chúa Iesu cũng *chịu lụy* người cho đến ba mươi tuổi... Lại trong cửa trong nhà, cũng làm việc như tôi tá vậy.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ *Catechismus*, 170.

⁵⁶ Theologically, the *Catechismus* explained the Incarnation in these words: “cur Diuina Maiestas Filij Dei humanam naturam assumere, & sibi tam acto *hypostaticae unionis vinculo copulare dignata sit*, ut vere Deus inuisibilis, & immortalis, factus sit homo visibilis & mortalis” (170). The phrase which the *Catechismus* used to describe the “*hypostaticae unionis vinculo copulare dignata sit*” was “mà lấy tính người buộc chặt chừng ấy, cho đến làm một ngôi cùng,” which literally meant “to take the human nature tightly bound with that of the divine, so much so, to make it into one throne.” Italics are mine.

⁵⁷ “Pro pensionam itaque ad malum qua veluti trabebamur ad vitia, per Sanctissima vita suae virtutes, & exempla superare voluit, triginta tribus annis quibus inter homines vixit, & cum hominibus conuersatus est, miram nobis insinuans humilitatem, & obedientiam: “non solum erga Deum Patrem, cuius Sanctissima volutati se totum obtulit, cum a Sanctissima Genitrice sua est praesentatus in templo: sed etiam eidem Mastri suae Beatissima Virgin Maria, & Spouso eius, Sanctissimo Ioseph, fuit subditus, usque ad trigesimum aetatis suae annum ita ut per spatium trinsa annorum voluerit esse subditus illis... irno in rebus domesticis ipsis inseruisse” (*Catechismus* 171 – 2).

For such a short paragraph, “khiêm nhường” and “chịu lụy” [humility and obedient] were used five times. Thus, the audiences certainly felt their significance. Phrases such as “*chẳng lợ là chịu lụy đức Chúa trời, là đức Cha mình, có phó lợn mình theo rất thánh ý đức Cha*” [obedient to the Father, fully entrusted himself to the holy will of the Father] and “*lại trong cửa trong nhà, cũng làm việc như tôi tá vậy*” [also labor like a slave in the house] certainly communicated the self-emptying act of the Second Divine Person of the *Sanctissima Trinitate*, that was, the Second Divine Person emptying Himself to take on the will of the Father, then to empty the His Divinity and the divine dwelling place (Heaven) to take on that of a slave laboring in a human home.

c. “God on mission”

According to the *Catechismus*, in the mystery of the *Sanctissima Trinitate*, the Lord of Heaven was passed down from the Lord of Heaven to the saints and from the saints to the people so that people not only believed, but also through the Lord’s grace to be redeemed of their sins and to become friend with the Lord of Heaven. In other words, the *Catechismus*’ teaching of the *Sanctissima Trinitate* communicated its audiences a clear mission, that was, the Lord of Heaven’s extension of friendship to human beings for the sake of their own redemption. Precisely for that reason, mission always followed the teaching of the *Sanctissima Trinitate* in the *Catechismus*. For the fifth day, such a mission explicitly entailed baptism.

Điều thứ nhất này thật là bởi đức Chúa trời nói ra cùng người thánh, mà lại truyền người thánh truyền cho ta tin, mà vậy ta được gratia là nghĩa cùng đức Chúa trời ở thế này. Vì vậy hễ là kẻ đã khôn mà đến chịu phép rửa tội, ví bằng chẳng tin thật điều này như lời đức Chúa trời chẳng hay sai, chịu tha tội thì chẳng được.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Hoc primum Mysterium vere Deus ipse Sanctis revelavit, & per sanctos suos nobis credendum proposuit, ut ipsius gratiam possimus in hac vita consequi, ita ut adulti accedentes ad Baptismum nisi

For the sixth day, the mission followed the teaching of the self-emptying act of the Second Divine Person in the Sanctissima Trinitate, which consisted of imitating the Lord Jesus in his humility and obedience to avoid sin and to serve others. Again, the mission was clearly stated in the *Catechismus*:

Vì chúng đức Chúa Iesu ra đời chẳng phải cho kẻ khác làm việc cho mình, song chọn mình làm việc cho kẻ khác... Ta cũng nên bắt chước đức Chúa Iesu, chớ chê chớ tránh việc khiêm nhường; mà lại ta làm hết sức, lấy đức Chúa Iesu làm gương, vậy cũng khỏi ở dung phong lưu, là cội mọi tội lỗi.⁵⁹

To be the disciple of the Lord Jesus, according the *Catechismus*, meant to be given the miraculous power to heal others,⁶⁰ and to be given the grace of the Lord Jesus' resurrection to preach the repentance of sins to all nations.⁶¹ Not only instructing the mission by words, de Rhodes used his and other Jesuits' mission as concrete examples of what it meant to be Jesus' disciples.

Chúng tôi cũng là đầy tớ đức Chúa Iesu rốt hết, mà đã đến nước An nam này, giảng đạo lành, khuyên hết người ta tin lấy lời đức Chúa Iesu cho được chịu tha tội.⁶²

The three divine characteristics of the *Sanctissima Trinitate*, namely, divine communion, self-giving, and mission, was taught not only by the words de Rhodes' *Catechismus* but also by the living witness of de Rhodes' life. The profound divine communion which de Rhodes shared with the Christian community could only communicated and received through the depth of silence and tears, the silence and

credant ilud firmiter, tanquam infallibile, atq a Deo reuelatum, peccatorum remissionem consequi no possint (*Catechismus*, 140).

⁵⁹ “non enim venerat ministrari sed ministrare... Sic & nos Dominum Iesum imitari debemus, non abhorrentes, aut subterfugientes humilitatis opera, sed potius amplectentes illa, ut melius imitemur Dominum Iesum, & ut vitemus otium, quod omnis mali & peccati origo est” (*Catechismus*, 175 – 6).

⁶⁰ “ut Supremus Rex, qui non solum per se ipse potestatem exercet in suos subditos; sed potestatem etiam communicat magistratibus suis (*Catechismus*, 188 – 9).

⁶¹ “pradicari in nomine eius poenitentiam, remissionemque peccatoru in omnes gentes” (*Catechismus*, 248).

⁶² “Nos quoq minimi serui Iesu Christi buo aduenimus in regnum Annam, Euangelium praedicantes, & Fidem in Dominum nostrum suadentes omnibus, ut remissionem peccatorum suorum valeant percipere” (*Catechismus*, 256).

tears of love. We revisited de Rhodes' description of how he and the Christians in Tonkin were separated yet remained in communion through prayers. Most importantly, through all of these experiences, de Rhodes felt the divine love and mercy for him.

Enfin quan nous commençâmes a faire voile, les larmes se renouellerent de part & d'autre, nous nous fuiûmes des deux tant que nous peûmes, & nos cœurs ne se sont iamais separez, car à lire le vray, tout le mien est dans le Tunquin, & ils témoignent qu'ils me font la grace de se souvenir de moy, par plusieurs lettres qu'ils m'escruient, & par les prieres qu'ils font tous les tours de Feste publiquement en l'Eglise, & les tours ouuriers, matin & soir dans les maisons particulieres, où ils recitent vn Pater, où vn Ave, pour ce miserable pecheur. C'est vn des plus grands suites que i'ay d'esperer que Dieu me sera misericorde.⁶³

While de Rhodes' farewell experience spoke volumes about the depth and the quality of the community which he had cultivated and shared, his experience in the prison epitomized the inspiring self-emptying life of discipleship.

Ce feruent Chrestien nommé Barthelemy, duquel i'ay parlé cy-dessus, nous vint au deuant, & me somma incontinent de la promesse que ie luy auois fait, que ie le receurois en ma compagnie, si sa femme luy refusoit de se convertir, qu'il auoit fait tous ses efforts pour vaincre son obstination, & qu'il n'auoit rien, peu obtenir, que puisqu'il auoit accomply ce que ie luy auois commandé, il estoit iuste, que ie fisse ce que ieu luy auois promis.

“Comment entendez vous cela? (luy disie) ne voyez vous pas mon cher amy que ie suis prisonier, ce seroit maintenant le temps de sortir de ma compagnie, non pas d'y entrer!” “Que dites vous mon Pere (reprend ce braue Chrestien) *c'est pour cette raison là, que ie desire plus que iamas d'y entrer; c'est parce que vous allez à la prison, & au Martyre, que ie vous veux suiure.*”⁶⁴

Precisely, it was de Rhodes' self-emptying act of suffering for the faith that gave the best testimony for the *Sanctissima Trinitade*.

⁶³ *Voyages*, 112.

⁶⁴ 254 – 5.

3. THE *CATECHISMUS* UNDER THE LIGHT OF THE 34th & 35th GENERAL CONGREGATIONS

3.1 Inculturation and dialogue

Reflecting on our experience during GC 34, we discerned that the service of faith in Jesus Christ and the promotion of the justice of the Kingdom preached by him can best be achieved in the contemporary world if inculturation and dialogue become essential elements of our way of proceeding in mission (GC 35, D. 3, n. 3; GC 34, D. 2, nn. 14 – 21).

As stated in the above decree of GC 34 and 35, “inculturation,” “dialogue,” and “justice” are all parts of Jesuit understanding of mission and culture today. Accordingly, inculturation involves “dialogue with [one’s] own cultural world witness to the creative and prophetic Spirit, and thus enable the Gospel to enrich the various cultures.”⁶⁵ Dialogue engages “equal partners in spiritual conversation opening both to the core of their identity” and letting “God be present in our midst.”⁶⁶ Justice enables *all* to be “ready for the transformation promised in Christ. ‘All are called to a common destiny, the fullness of life in God.’”⁶⁷

All three of these aspects – “inculturation, dialogue, and justice,” – were found in de Rhodes’ life and his work in the Jesuit mission in Vietnam at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Prior to his arrival to Vietnam, being multicultural both in his background and in his formation, de Rhodes was sensitive to the native cultures. Inculturation, dialogue, and justice became his priority. While sojourning in Goa, de Rhodes observed how poorly the newly converts were badly treated and their cultures looked down. Against these unjust practices, de Rhodes expressed distress and anger.⁶⁸ His stand on these issues was definite. “Pour moi,” de Rhodes wrote,

i’ay resisté vigoureusement à ceux qui vouloient obliger les nouveaux Chrétiens à couper leurs grands cheveux, que tous les hommes portes ussi longs que les femmes, & à moins que cela, ils ne fçauroient aller libremente

⁶⁵ GC 34, D. 4, n. 13 (*Jesuit Life & Mission Today*, 540).

⁶⁶ GC 34, D. 4, n. 17 (*Jesuit Life & Mission Today*, 541).

⁶⁷ GC 34, D. 4, n. 18 (*Jesuit Life & Mission Today*, 542).

⁶⁸ *Voyages*, 21.

par le pais, ny auoir accez dans les compagines. Je leur disois que *l'Euangile les obligeoirà retrancher les erreurs de leur esprit, mais non pas les grands cheueux de leur teste.*⁶⁹

Consequently, upon arrival to the Jesuit mission in Vietnam, de Rhodes taking the task of learning the language to heart even thought at time he had lost “l’esperance de la pouuoir iamais aprendre.”⁷⁰

De Rhodes dialogued and learned from “vn petit garçon du païs,” with whom he befriended.⁷¹ Evidently, de Rhodes’ use of Vietnamese popular idioms, wisdom sayings,⁷² image and comparision taken from the Vietnamese social and political context,⁷³ demonstrated a high degree of familiarity and well knowledge of the Vietnamese cultures. However, his mastering the Vietnamese language and cultures served as a mean “pour nos mystere aux Païens.” Like his Jesuit predecessors in Japan and China, through dialogue with the natives, de Rhodes found reason as the common ground for the Christian faith and the native people where he could began the introducing the seed of the Gospel.

De Rhodes’ method of evangelization was not to destroy the native cultures, even that which he found erroneous. What he strove to do was go deeper into the root of the natives culture and “leur imprimer quelques sentiments de pieté, & d’amour naturel enuers le Createur, & le premier principe de leur estre.”⁷⁴ Consequently, conversion would take place from the inside of cultures, the hearts of the natives.

Ever mindful of the misunderstanding of becoming Christian meant becoming Portuguese, de Rhodes was clearly and adamantly insisting on the audiences of his *Catechismus*: “Chớ có nói: đạo này là đạo Pha-lang” [Do not say: this “way” is the

⁶⁹ *Voyages*, 21. Italics are mine.

⁷⁰ 72.

⁷¹ 73.

⁷² *Catechismus*, 7.8.

⁷³ 22 - 23

⁷⁴ *Tunquin*, 176.

Portugese way]. De Rhodes went on to explain the relationship between the universality of Christianity to the particularity of individual culture in perhaps the most beautiful metaphor of the *Catechismus*.

Nói thí dụ, mặt trời soi đến nước nào, thì làm ngày sang nước ấy, dù mà nước khác chưa thấy mặt trời mọc lên, hãy còn chịu tối đêm, song le chẳng có ai gọi mặt trời là mặt trời nước ấy, dù mà đã chịu sáng mặt trời soi nó trước. Vì chung mặt trời là chung cả thế giới, mà đã có trước hơn nước ấy soi cho. Đạo thánh đức Chúa trời thì cũng vậy.⁷⁵

In other words, as the sun rose above all nations while providing light to all their cultures yet not exclusively belonging to any one of these cultures since the sun existed before and above cultures. Furthermore, all cultures though remain unique, yet equal in receiving and enjoying the warmth and the light of the sun.

Furthermore, as illustrated earlier, de Rhodes' method of inculturation had served as an “antesignano” of the directives of the Congregation of the Propaganda of the Faith that instructed the vicar apostolics to Cochinchina and Tonkin in 1659⁷⁶ in maintaining a just, respectful, and equal dialogue with other cultures. We read from the instruction:

Illorum actiones etiam persequentium nolite carpere nec severitatem arguite, nec quidquam in eis repraehendite, sed patienter et in silentio tempus consolationis a Domino praestolemini; factiones ullas in eorum regionibus sive Hispanorum, sive Gallorum, sive Turcarum, sive Persarum similiumve nolite ullo pacto seminare, imo vero omnes hujusmodi contentiones, quantum in vobis est, radicibus tollite. Quod si quis vestrorum missionariorum haec monitus non tamen a similibus abstinerit, nulla interposita mora in Europam dimittite, se sua imprudentia negotia religionis tanti momenti in periculum adducat.

Nullum studium ponite, nullaque ratione suadete illis populis ut ritus suos consuetudines et mores mutant modo ne sint apertissime religioni bonisque moribus contraria. Quid enim absurdius quam Galliam, Hispaniam, Italiam aut ullam Europae partem in Synas invehere? Non haec sed fidem

⁷⁵ lex enim Sancta Dei est lux, ipso sole maior & antiquior: sicuti vero sol regnum aliquod illuminans facit in illo regno diem, quamuis alia regna quibus nondum sol ortus est adhuc noctis caligine premantur, tamen sol non propierea dicitur esse illius regni cui prius ortus est, quia sol est Universalis totius mundi & regno etiam Quam illuminat longe anterior: sic etiam Sancta lex Dei (*Catechismus*, 25).

⁷⁶ F. GONZÁLEZ FERNÁNDEZ, “Alessandro de Rhodes e la genesi dell’istruzione di P.F. ai vicari apostolici dell’oriente del 1659,” 21.

importate quae nullius gentis ritus aut consuetudines, quae modo prava non sint, aut respuit aut laedit, imo vero sarta tecta esse vult. Et quoniam ea est omnium poene hominum natura ut sua, et maxime ipsas suas nationes coeteris et existimatione et amore praeferant, nihil odii et alienationis causa potentior existit quam patriarum consuetudinum immutatio, earum maxime quibus homines ab omni partum memoria assuevere, praesertim si abrogatarum loco tuae nationis mores substituas et inferas.⁷⁷

Decree on “Mission and Culture” of GC 34 resoundingly echoes such a guideline and instruction for mission and cultures.

The Christian message is to be open to all cultures, bound to no single culture and made accessible to every human person through a process of inculturation, by which the Gospel introduces something new into the culture and the culture brings something new to the richness of the Gospel (D. 4, n. 2).⁷⁸

Furthermore, de Rhodes’ conviction in “inculturation, dialogue, and justice” manifested not only in words but also in deeds. In 1652, he petitioned to Pope Innocent X to send “un évêque soit mis à la tête de l’Église annamite.”⁷⁹ There we read:

Primum quod jurisdictioni regum videretur officere; nullo tamen modo officit, non enim petitur episcopus proprius sed tantum episcopus habens titulum in partibus, qui interim illuc a Sanctitate Vestra mittatur et praesenti extremae christianorum necessitati prospiciat. Secundum quod objiciebatur erat gentis inconstantia, quasi non sint apti ad sacerdotium; sed quae major constantia requiri potest quam pro fide Christi amittere omnia potius quam fidem deserere? imo et vitam ipsam cum sanguine pro fidei confessione et propagatione profunderet? Ut ego sum testis oculatus, et jam septem in ea regione, absque ullius externi exemplo, id constantissime perfecere.⁸⁰

Though de Rhodes’ dream of having a bishop in Vietnam did not take place until a year after his death, his desire of establishing the native hierarchy was evidently clear. Moreover, in petitioning to have “episcopus habens titulum in partibus” in Cochinchina and Tonkin, de Rhodes anticipated these regions to be put under the

⁷⁷ “Instructio vicariorum apostolicorum ad regna sinarum Tonchin et Cocinchinae proficiscentium 1659,” *Aux origines d’une Église*, ed. par H. CHAPPOULIE, 392 – 402, 399 – 400.

⁷⁸ *Jesuit Life & Mission Today*, 536.

⁷⁹ Alexandre de Rhodes’ letter to Pope Innocent X from Rome dated May 1652 (Arch. Prop. SRCG vol. 193 f. 485), H. CHAPPOULIE, *Aux origines d’une Église*, 390 – 392 (DOC. 1).

⁸⁰ 391.

direct authority of the Holy See, thus free from the Portuguese patronage system.⁸¹ As a result, these regions could receive missionaries of diverse nationalities and more freely to train local clergy thus establish their native hierarchy. Thus, the life and teaching of Alexandre de Rhodes truly embody and exemplify what GC 34 and 35 taught and insisted upon. In fact, being the first publication in the Vietnamese modern script, the de Rhodes' *Catechismus* exemplifies the decree by its own existence.

3.2 Collaboration with the laity in mission

As men sent by the Vicar of Christ, we are led more and more to offer our gifts and to share with others the Good News of the Kingdom... Recognizing this, GC 34 approved the decree "Cooperation with the Laity in Mission," which both affirmed and encouraged apostolic collaboration, calling on Jesuits to cooperate with others in their projects and in ours (GC 35, D. 6, n. 2; GC 34, D. 13, n. 7).

As demonstrated above, early in their mission, de Rhodes and his Jesuit companions had recognized the shortage of Jesuit not only in number but also in capable Jesuit who could speak the language facing the increasing needs of instructing the catechumens and the newly converts. Consequently, de Rhodes and his Jesuit companions trained and relied heavily on the help of the native catechists.

We read from de Rhodes' report:

Comme ie vis que i'estois seul Prestre qui pouuois prescher, parce que le Pere que i'accompagnois ne fçauoit pas la langue, ie m'ausay de prendre en ma compagnie quelques Chrestiens qui ne fussent pas mariez, & qui fussent pleins de zele & de pieté pour m'ayder en la Conversion des Ames.⁸²

More than seeking their help, de Rhodes, after having had to leave his flock frequently either by the royal order of expulsion⁸³ or the order of his Jesuit superior,

⁸¹ C. ĐỒ, *Dòng Tên trong xã hội Đại Việt 1615 – 1773*, 206.

⁸² *Voyages*, 102.

⁸³ Left Cochinchina in 1626 by order of Jesuit superior to start the new Jesuit mission in Tonkin (*Voyages*, 79 – 86). During his stay in Tonkin, twice expelled 1628 and 1630 respectively and exiled once in 1629. The second expulsion in 1630 resulted in de Rhodes' leaving Tonkin for good (*Voyages*, 104 - 112). Returned to Cochinchina in 1640 (*Voyages*, 116 - 120), twice expelled, 1640 and 1645 respectively (*Voyages*, 143 – 9). The second expulsion, first was a sentence to death, but then reduced to definitive expulsion from Cochinchina (*Voyages*, 256 – 8).

de Rhodes learned that it was the natives catechists who “à dire le vray ont tout faict apres Dieu, dans les grands progresz, qu’a eus cette Eglise.”⁸⁴

De Rhodes and his Jesuit companions in Vietnam did not come up with the idea of native catechists. However, they instituted it as an official body and perfected it.⁸⁵ Early, Jesuits in Japan had housed and trained number of *dojuku* to serve as lay catechists and translators.⁸⁶ In fact, few Japanese *dojuku* accompanied the second group of Jesuits who were sent to Vietnam in 1618. Different Japanese *dojuku*, *thầy giảng* (catechist instructor in Vietnamese) took vows of life-long service for the sake of the Gospel, chastity and obedience. We learned from de Rhodes’ report from Tonkin in 1630.

Les premiers que ie choisie furent, François, André, Ignace, & Anthoine, qui firent publiquement pendant la Messe vn iurement de s’employer *toute leur vie au seruice de l’Eglise, de ne se marier point, & d’obeir aux Peres qui viendroient prescher l’Euangile*; tous les Chrestiens qui virent cette Belle ceremonie, en furent ravis, & eurent depuis vn grand respect pour les seruiteurs de Dieu, qui veritablement se sont acquittez si dignement de ce Ministère, que nous leur deuons vne bonne partie de tout ce qui s’est faict en ce Royaume. Maintenant ils sont plus de cent en ce Seminaire.⁸⁷

Similarly in Cochinchina in 1643,

Je suiuis leur aduis, & auant que partir ie iugeay à propos de lier mes dis Catechistes avec le mesme iurement que m’auoient faict ceux de Tunquin quand ie les quittay. Nous choisimes la feste de nostre glorieux Patriarche Sainet Ignace pour fair cette ceremonie, où les dix seruiteurs de Dieu parurent publiquement en l’Eglise, laquelle estoit pleine de Chrestiens; ils se prosternerent deuant l’Autel avec des flambeaux blancs en la main, puis firent leur *iuremēt de seruir tout leur vie l’Eglise, sans se marier iamais, & d’obeir aux Peres de la compagnie* qui viendroient prescher en leur pasi ou à ceux qu’ils deputeroient en leur place.⁸⁸

As envisioned, the institution of the vowed catechists in the Jesuit mission in Vietnam proved to be a great success in term of inculturation by “organizándola según las

⁸⁴ *Voyages*, 103.

⁸⁵ J. LÓPEZ – GAY, “Métodos misionales,” *DHCJ*, III, 2700 – 2703, 2701.

⁸⁶ J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano’s Mission Principles. Part I*, 340.

⁸⁷ *Voyages*, 102.

⁸⁸ 160 – 1.

costumbres sociales del reino de Annam,”⁸⁹ thus its effectiveness in instructing the Vietnamese in the Christian faith. The success of the Vietnamese catechists along with their enthusiasm and zeal was partly accounted for the growth of the Vietnamese Church. The martyrdom of Andrew, a young catechist,⁹⁰ not only gave witness to his personal faith, but also demonstrated how deeply had the Christian faith penetrated into the Vietnamese cultures through Jesuit collaboration with these natives catechist.

3.3 Many Sparks, One Fire; Many Stories, One History

The Society of Jesus has carried a flame for nearly five hundred years through innumerable social and cultural circumstances that have challenged it intensely to keep that flame alive and burning. Things are no different today. In a world that overwhelms people with multiplicity of sensations, ideas, and images, the Society seeks to keep the fire of its original inspiration alive in a way that offers warmth and light to our contemporaries (GC 35, D. 2, n.1).

As demonstrated in this chapter, de Rhodes’ *Catechismus* belonged to a long and rich tradition of the Compañía de Jesús as a “Society of Catechists.” Since the birth of the Society of Jesus, instruction of the Christian doctrines had always been one of its principle missions. Inspired by such a mission, de Rhodes had carried “the flame” of catechism into the Jesuit mission in Vietnam. De Rhodes’ *Catechismus* remained one of the numerous catechisms found in the Society of Jesus. However, they all shared one thing in common, namely, the conviction of how the Trinitarian life was living, thus to be found in the native cultures however foreign and complex they seemed.

Similar to the works of his Jesuit predecessors in Asia, the composition of de Rhodes’ *Catechismus* and its teaching lived out that conviction first through dialogue and learning from the native cultures. From learning the language which sounded like

⁸⁹ De Rhodes applied the title of “thày,” which was the title of authority and respect familiar to Confucianist and Buddhist hierarchy socially and religiously, to the catechists. By doing so, he raised them to position of respect and power in the Christian community. And with respect and power came responsibility (J. LÓPEZ – GAY, “Métodos misionales,” 2701).

⁹⁰ 201 - 205

“gasouïller des oyseaux”⁹¹ and to some other Jesuits to be “hopeless and useless”⁹² and dialogues with curious kings and lords regarding the Western clocks and how it worked, these Jesuits were able to locate seeds of the Gospel that had been sown providentially. In the case of de Rhodes and his Jesuits companions in Asia, that seed was found in the natives’ goodness and their search for fulfilment whether it was found in Buddhism (in the case of Xavier and Valignano) or Confucianism (in the case of Ruggieri, Ricci, and de Rhodes). Then, applying reason which was highly valued and praised by both cultures as an acceptable common ground, these Jesuits entered into the native hearts and their cultures. For de Rhodes, it was there where he was able to “leur imprimer quelques sentiments de pieté, & d’amour naturel enuers le Createur, & le premier principe de leur estre.”⁹³

Never hasten to either judge or destroy, the lives and works of these Jesuits though found in different cultural form and expression told the same story, that was, the existence of the benevolent Lord of Heaven, who created the universe, who loved human beings and wanted all of them to be saved.⁹⁴

CONCLUSION

In the remarks of Fr. Nicolás, the 30th and current Superior General of the Society of Jesus, for “Networking Jesuit Higher Education: Shaping the Future for a Humane, Just, Sustainable Globe” in Mexcio City, April 23rd 2010, we heard:

The training of the early Jesuits, for example, included the study of pagan authors of antiquity, the creative arts, science and mathematics, as well as a rigorous theological course of study. One only need consider the life and

⁹¹ *Voyages*, 72.

⁹² R. PO-CHIA HSIA, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City*, 58. The attitude of some of the Jesuits towards Ruggieri’s learning Chinese in Macao. Ricci described Ruggieri’s years of living and learning Chinese in Macau as a kind of martyrdom at the hands of these Jesuits (G. DUNNE, *Generations of Giants*, 19).

⁹³ *Tunquin*, 176.

⁹⁴ Book I of Valignano’s *Catechismus Christianae* (J. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano’s Mission Principles. Part II*, 71 -4), section five of Ruggieri’s *Record of the Lord of Heaven* (M. RICCI, *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven*, 12 – 3), chapter VIII of Ricci’s *The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven*, 445 – 9).

achievements of Matteo Ricci, whose 400th death anniversary we celebrate this year, to see how this training that harmoniously integrated faith and reason, Gospel and culture, bore such creative fruit.

Many people respond, “Please, don’t compare me to Matteo Ricci. He was a genius.” I take the point. But at the same time, the formation he received gave him the tools to develop his genius. So the question is: The formation that we give today – does it offer such tools?⁹⁵

A re-reading of the life and the work of Alexandre de Rhodes, especially his *Catechismus* has yielded a resounding “yes.” The multicultural upbringing, the multicultural Jesuit formation, the multicultural mission all had helped de Rhodes to develop his genius. Not only had he been creative in being able to harmoniously integrate faith and reason, Gospel and culture, and bore creative fruit in the cultural context of Vietnam at the beginning of the seventeenth century, but also he was faithful to the Christian tradition.

Even at the time when he had found it difficult to communicate with his audiences about the complete self-emptying mystery of Second Divine Person of the Holy Trinity, de Rhodes did not shy away from it. Instead, being faithful to the *Spiritual Exercises* and the teaching of the Church, he creatively structured the composition of place for his audiences to do their own contemplation on one of the most important mysteries of the Christian faith. In doing so, de Rhodes remained creatively faithful in the Jesuit mission engaging the Vietnamese into the Ignatian God-centered multiculture paradigm into the Vietnamese cultures.

⁹⁵ A. NICOLÁS, “Depth, Universality, and Learned Ministry: Challenges to Jesuit Higher Education Today,” Mexico City April 23, 2010, 10 (internal document of the Missouri Province of the Society).

CONCLUSION

We can now say explicitly that our mission of the service of faith and the promotion of justice must be broadened to include, as integral dimensions, proclamation of the Gospel, dialogue, and the evangelization of culture.

---- GC 34, D. 2, n. 20

In a world that overwhelms people with a multiplicity of sensations, ideas, and images, the Society seeks to keep the fire of its original inspiration alive in a way that offers warmth and light to our contemporaries. It does this by telling a story that has stood the test of time, despite the imperfections of its members and even of the whole body, because of the continued goodness of God, who has never allowed the fire to die. Our attempt here is to present it anew as a living narrative that, when brought into contact with the life-stories of people today, can give them meaning and provide focus in a fragmented world.

---- GC 35, D. 2, n. 1

As a response to the call of the Second Vatican Council to return to the original inspiration of Society, this investigation has been a journey of returning the cultural and spiritual heritage from the perspective of a Vietnamese American Jesuit priest. This returning journey was constructed as neither a nostalgic trip into the past nor a judgmental exercises on its shortcomings. On the contrary, this returning journey has taken step by step carefully and critically re-examining the historical development of cultures and Christianity, the original inspiration of the Society, thus its spirituality and charism, and how such a spirituality and charism had inculturated in the Jesuit mission in Asia beginning with the Indies and ending with Vietnam. The investigation is aimed to learn not only how the Jesuit spirituality and charism were originated, developed, and formed during the Society's formative period, but also from the lesson of the past, how to adapt it in the ongoing process of evangelization today. In all, the focused question of the investigation remains, namely, how has the Jesuit spirituality inspired a person and his/her community to live out the Christian

faith genuinely and authentically given the pluralistic context which he/she belongs then and now?

The quest for solution began with knowledge of sociologists and anthropologists in exploring the very fabric and network into which the Christian faith takes place and finds its home, that is, human cultures. Like the many small circles on the surface of a pond constantly reach out and emerge into continually expanding and encompassing large concentric circles moving towards the shore, human cultures entail a dynamic interaction between its particularities (cultures) and its universality (culture). Like those circles in the pond, all are becoming and encompassing the whole pond. All are moving towards the shore. Such a dynamic interaction is maintained where the particularities enrich the universality and the universality provides direction and vision for the particularities. Furthermore, being a process of becoming, cultures are not static but always moving or constantly changing. Thus, cultures can only be understood and appreciated when *both* its intrinsic pluralistic *and* particularity are realized, when *both* its being, something human beings learn and inherit, *and* its becoming, something they create and form are captured. Therefore, while cultures are constantly moving, they serve as the ground for which human beings are rooted in and from which they speak. To put it poignantly, “never go home again, the truth is we can never leave home” either.¹

Into this dynamic interaction and tension of cultures, Christianity, due to its intrinsic incarnational character, continually striven to penetrate and to insert itself into cultures so to find its home in them. Like cultures, Christianity has always embodied plurality in her self-understanding, her becoming, and her practices. Like cultures, one of Christianity’s greatest challenges has also remained the unity in the

¹ *Conversations with Maya Angelou*, edited by J. M. ELLIOT, University Press of Mississippi, Jackson 1989, 199.

midst of the plurality. However, Christianity encounters the host cultures not only as another particular culture that adds to the totality of its host cultures, but also as the culture that enters and animates all other cultures in that totality. Thus, the encounter between faith and cultures proved to be genuine and mutually beneficial when *both* particularity (plurality) and universality (unity) were respected culturally and religiously speaking *and* their tension kept and maintained in harmony. In other words, successful encounter between Christianity and cultures occurs when Christianity was able to adapt herself to the local cultures and consequently empowered and inspired cultures towards its fulfillment. And in return, cultures enriched the Church with its diverse medium in which the Christian faith communicated and expressed itself. In one word, Christianity is fully *inculturated*.

In contrast, failure to inculturate Christianity remains as foreign culture, at best, functioning as irrelevant and insignificant bystander that isolates itself from the host cultures, at worst, serving as violent and destructive forces that impose and dominate its host. For the latter, religious hegemony or monopoly is established and eventually brought cultures and Christianity to their own ruin such as illustrated in the history of Christendom and its crusades. During these moments, Christianity no longer served as cultures' source of empowerment and inspiration but functioned as dominating and enslaving force that colonized cultures. Ironically, by doing so, Christianity destroyed the very home which it had striven to evangelize, thus abandoned its incarnational character and failed to realize its mission in the process. Conversely, cultural domination over religion led cultures towards its own annihilation where cultures lost its meaning, vision and purpose. In either case, encounter between cultures and Christianity proved to be disastrous where neither is able to fulfill its purpose and its destiny.

Though at times forgotten and ignored, an examination of the historical development of Christian mission show from its conception and throughout her history, Christianity has embodied and embraced inculturation. From its birth, in the fullness of time, God's own Son "was born of a woman, born under the law" (Gal 4:4). According to Scriptures, Jesus and Paul practiced cultural adaptation. Even when Christendom became dominant socially, politically and culturally, though quiet and humble in number and manner, practices of cultural adaption were maintained, inculturation attempted. In other words, inculturation has always been and remained essential part of Scriptures and tradition in Christianity.

The end of the fifteenth century marked a new stage of Western history and of the Church. The "discovery," or better wording, the uncovering of lands and territories prior unknown to the West renewed encounters between Christianity and non-Christian cultures. Cultures especially those of Japan and China, which were considered either equal or superior than that of the West, demanded and called for a renewal in Church's vision and her way of evangelization.

The birth of the Society of Jesus in the middle of the sixteenth century and its mission-oriented character timely played a major role in renewing and reforming Church's understanding of cultures. Consequently, Jesuit mission policy and practices offered the Church a new or re-new paradigm of evangelization and inculturation. The Jesuit vision and paradigm for cultural interpretation and practices is grounded in the cultural and religious plurality and their tension in the life of Ignatius and his first companions. In fact, Jesuit spirituality was found and formed by a group of pilgrims who had crossed the cultural and religious diversity and adversity of their time. More importantly, by the divine grace bestowed on Ignatius, the Jesuit vision was inspired and affirmed by the divine Trinitarian light. It was this vision and

paradigm for cultural interpretation, which were instilled in the *Autobiografía*, the *Ejercicios espirituales*, the *Diario espiritual*, the *Formula of the Institute* and the *Constitutions* that shaped the universality of the Society and its global mission. More importantly, the Jesuit vision and paradigm were put to practice and trialed in various cultural contexts and settings of both the “Old” and the “New” World. Furthermore, Jesuit governance and its global missionary network efficiently facilitated communication and information sharing among diverse cultural contexts, further affirmed its vision and paradigm, thus bettered its practices.

Drawing from Ignatian sources and practices, the Jesuit paradigm for cultural interpretation is understood as a dynamic circular movement moving back and forth from the human world and that of the divine. From the perspective of the human world, God remains the center around which all are seeking so to be transformed. From the perspective of the divine, human beings and their salvation remains the main divine occupation, for which incarnation takes place. Thus, for Jesuit spirituality, human and divine are intimately related, where the divine continually and wholly self-communicates to human beings and waits for the human response.

Initial steps of response take place by being first aware of who/where the person is in the totality of his/her own cultures with all of their diversity and adversity. From this starting place, the person then looks for God in all layers of cultural diversity and complexity. Therefore, the person is to “meditate,” that is, to focus on his/her own doing of “hallar” and “buscar” God, and of “conformarse” to God’s will in “todas las cosas” of his/her cultures. However, it is utterly important to note that finding God in all cultures is possible because God, who has first incarnated into and permeated all cultures. Thus, the person is learning to entrust his/her will to that of God, so to be led by the divine. Even though the initiative seems to be

stemmed from the person's desire, such a desire is itself a gift from the divine. In other words, the process begins with a seed of divine inspiration in the person then leads him/her back to the ultimate source of inspiration, that is, God. Hence, God remains the author and the driving force of the process.

Cultural adaptation and accommodation, for Jesuits then, is a process to follow and to imitate the divine. Since God has adapted God-self into the human cultures in the mystery of the Incarnation, human beings must also adapt. Looking from another perspective, the Christian faith has to inculturate because God, its author, has first inculturated. Therefore, practices of cultural adaptation derive *not* from a personal whim but divine interest. Graced by the divine light, Ignatius was given the vision of the Holy Trinity in the Trinitarian perfect communion and self-giving nature that has resulted in the incarnation of the Second Person into human cultures, so to save them. Therefore, it is through Christ, the divine life continues to flow out penetrating and permeating human cultures. In other words, the Divine Word has continually inculturated.

Beneficial from the grace given to Ignatius, one too could encounter the divine life through Ignatian contemplation. However, Ignatian contemplation engages the individual not only into observing but also into imitating what they observe. In fact, he/she is meant to imitate what he/she contemplates. Thus, as the Divine has incarnated into human cultures so to bring them to fulfillment, human beings are to follow and to imitate the divine initiative and strategy. Human beings and their cultures achieve their meaning and fulfillment only when they remain the mirror image and action of the Divine and the divine cultures. As the plurality in the Holy Trinity is maintained in perfect harmony and communion, human cultures in all of

their plurality achieve their union once they are centered and remained in communion through God, with God, and in God.

Practices of cultural adaptation and accommodation in the Jesuit missions in the Indies remained concrete realization and manifestation of God-centered multi-cultures. In other words, Jesuits strove to imitate what they had contemplated in the cultures and action of the Holy Trinity and to put them in practice in the cultures of their mission. In doing so, Jesuits communicated this God-centered multicultural paradigm to the newly uncovered cultures not only by words, but also by their own deeds. Since God had presented in these new and foreign cultures, Jesuits were able to meet, to encounter, and to adopt them as their own. Xavier took off his Western clothes and put on the Japanese robes in Yamaguchi; Valignano adopted Japanese lifestyles for all Jesuits living in Japan; Ruggieri spent years in Macau learning Chinese; Ricci identified himself and wrote as a Confucian literati; de Rhodes dedicated his life to build the native Vietnamese Church. All found God in their respective cultures and strove to inculturate the Christian faith in them.

In all, though varied from one cultural context to the other, one thing remained constant. These Jesuits were convinced of and committed to the God-centered multicultural paradigm in which they had first been formed. Their practices were not only the actualization of that paradigm but also serve as means communication inspiring others to encounter the overwhelming love of the Divine who continues to engage and encounter all form of human cultures. As a result, no matter what form of cultures these Jesuits were convinced that the Divine presence and grace could be found. By practicing in cultural adaptation and accommodation, Jesuits testified to what they believed and taught, that was, all human cultures are saturated with divine love and presence. Thus, cultural adaptation, important and necessary though they

were, served as means for Jesuit to live and to communicate a new vision, a new paradigm to vision heaven and earth, to contemplate its Creator and the Divine love for creation, so to respond to such love. Furthermore, in living and communicating this paradigm to others – native and non-native, Christian and non-Christian, intellectuals and peasants – Jesuits enabled and inspired them to be owners, collaborators and stewards of the vision that continually interpreted and gave meaning to their cultures and their cultural identity.

The re-reading of the life and the *Catechismus* of Alexandre de Rhodes in the Jesuit mission in Vietnam at the beginning of the seventeenth century not only affirmed the mission of the Society in living and teaching such a paradigm but also gave evidence for the paradigm's vibrant energy and existence. Compared to that of Xavier, Valignano, Ruggieri, and Ricci, the *Catechismus* of Alexandre de Rhodes offered a more comprehensive content and structure of the *Spiritual Exercises* and thus a more complete description of the Jesuit paradigm. While such recognition is important and necessary, the *Catechismus* remained a result of a century of Jesuits' untiring labors in East Asia. Thus, creative and brilliant though de Rhodes and his *Catechismus* were, his achievement has to be taken and understood in the context of what de Rhodes' Jesuit predecessors had accomplished.

In fact, historical evidence and analysis presented in Part III of this investigation showed that de Rhodes' work remained but a culmination of what Ignatius and his first companions had envisioned in Rome, Xavier heralded in India, Valignano set in Japan, Ruggieri and Ricci experimented and practiced in China. In short, de Rhodes' work resulted not from his personal creativity alone but more profoundly rooted in the Jesuit *way of proceeding* in which he was trained and formed and Jesuit practices that had preceded him.

The *Catechismus* served as a valuable document culturally and ecclesiastically. Culturally, the *Catechismus* remained the first publication in Vietnam's modern script. Thus, it provided a vital source for Vietnam's linguistic studies. In addition, the various Vietnamese popular wisdom sayings, which de Rhodes used to argue his points in the *Catechismus*, offered important data for Vietnam's cultural studies at the middle of the seventeenth century. Ecclesiastically, the *Catechismus* presented a concrete evidence of Jesuit effort to inculcate the Christian faith in Vietnam, a measure of success for the encounter between cultures and Christianity where both were mutually enriched. To name a few, Vietnamese gained a new script. Vietnamese religious values enhanced with Christian values. Christianity expanded her vocabularies in articulating and communicating the divine mystery and her self-understanding. For these achievements, de Rhodes' work deserved highest praises and admiration.

Having recognized de Rhodes' genius and dedication as an individual work, it is equally important to place de Rhodes' *Catechismus* in the larger context of Jesuit spirituality and the Society's missionary practices that preceded him in Asia, so to appropriately evaluate and acknowledge the overall structure that formed such an individual accomplishment.

De Rhodes' dedication to learn the native language and being well versed in it while being worthy of our praise and admiration had already been part of the Jesuit formation and instruction in which he was trained. In fact, learning local language was praised by Ignatius and instructed by the *Constitutions*. From Xavier to Ricci, Jesuits in Asia had learned the essential role of knowing the native language in teaching the Christian doctrine to the native. Having learned from Xavier's mistake in Japan, Valignano sent Ruggieri and Ricci to Macau to master Chinese in preparing

themselves for the Jesuit mission in China. And before having Ricci to compose a catechism in Chinese (improving on the one by Ruggieri), Valignano had Ricci first translate Confucian classical text.

Under the same instruction, de Rhodes had to learn Japanese in Macau in preparing for his mission assignment in Japan. Only due to divine providence, he was sent to Vietnam. Thus, learning and knowing Vietnamese served not as an exception but as a *norm* for de Rhodes and other Jesuits in Vietnam. Surely, it did neither reduce the actual learning nor lessen the individual effort. However, the norm was developed and installed so to serve as helpful framework and guidelines for Jesuits to follow especially when they were to engage in new and foreign cultures. Similarly, de Rhodes' recognition of Vietnamese as people of reason and his use of reasons to win them over had its root in the same method which Valignano, Ruggieri, and Ricci used to compose their own catechisms.² In addition, de Rhodes' application of Vietnamese popular wisdom sayings testify to the Jesuit conviction of finding goodness in cultures and using it as the starting point.

The overall structure and theme of de Rhodes' *Catechismus* while presented a more comprehensive arrangement of the *Spiritual Exercises* and thus a more complete description of the Jesuit paradigm they remained a presentation of the *Spiritual Exercises* and the God-centered multicultural paradigm. Through Jesuit formation, de Rhodes was given the Jesuit mold. Upon entering the new cultures whether in India or Macau or Vietnam, De Rhodes had begun to utilize that mold to execute according to the cultural context in which he found himself. In other words, the Jesuit formation which de Rhodes had received gave him the tools to develop his genius. Thus, while de Rhodes' genius is worthy of our praises and admiration, better attention and

² N. STANDAERT referred to it as the "rational-scholastic approach" ("Responses & Reflections," *Christianity and Cultures*, 62).

recognition ought to be given to the Jesuit paradigm, the Jesuit mold in which de Rhodes' genius was formed and developed.

Professor Jaroslav Pelikan, an internationally distinguished church historian once made a critical distinction between *tradition* and *traditionalism*. *Tradition*, according to Pelikan, was defined as the "living faith of the dead;" whereas, *traditionalism* "the dead faith of the living."³ The re-reading of de Rhodes' *Catechismus* has served as an investigation and an encounter of the tradition of the Society of Jesus, the living vision and paradigm lived and handed down by generation of Jesuits who preceded de Rhodes. Subsequently, de Rhodes' life and work added to that living spirituality continually handing down to generations that followed. Thus, we are not meant to strive to be de Rhodes. We are not and cannot. We are meant, like de Rhodes, to live the living Jesuit vision and paradigm that has been passed down to us.

³ J. PELIKAN, *The Vindication of Tradition*, Yale University Press, New Haven 1984, 65.

EPILOGUE

The investigation of de Rhodes' life and his *Catechismus* in the context of the Jesuit spirituality and its mission in the Indies has certainly been an awakening experience to that living vision and paradigm. As stated in the introduction, the reason why I came to Spain to study Ignatian Spirituality was awakened by the desire and necessity of deepening myself in the spiritual heritage, which I have been formed and embraced. My interest and thus the topic of my investigation were awakened by individual and communal motivation. Both the cultural plurality and complexity of who I am as a Vietnamese American immigrant Jesuit priest and the community of believers whom I serve and am apart continually demanded and called me growing in the Christian faith and genuinely live it out in the context of multiculturalism.

The investigation began with a series of cultural and political tension and conflict in the Catholic communities in Hanoi, in Brussels, and in my own heart. I was looking and hoping for specific answers, concrete solution to the problem, and someone to imitate and follow. Now, writing the conclusion, I have realized that more than answers or solutions, the investigation has awakened in me the consciousness and the knowledge of the Jesuit God-centered multicultural paradigm through which I could interpret and provide meaning for not only the recent but also all the cultural conflicts to come. Such a paradigm does not offer easy answers or quick solution but provides a structure, a foundation for the ongoing process of meditation and contemplation, of discernment and decision. Such a paradigm was instilled in me in the Jesuit formation and remained in the home of my heart. Thus, in encountering the Jesuit God-centered multicultural paradigm, I have returned home, awakened.