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**“ENTRAR CON LA LORO PER USCIR POI CON LA NOSTRA”:  
CLAUDIO ACQUAVIVA AND JESUIT MISSIONARY STRATAGY IN XVI CENTURY**

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This paper investigates the influence of Rome on the practices and Jesuit missionary strategy in the early modern period. It discusses in particular select letters by the Superior General Claudio Acquaviva, to demonstrate how Roman governance controlled the development of the new missionary policy in Asia in order to preserve the one “Jesuit way”. While Jesuit headquarter in Rome acknowledged the necessity of adjustments to the local circumstances, it preserved the right to set the limits of accommodation “not to become the antithesis to our order”. Acquaviva over and again stressed the priority of main virtues of the Society: patience, humility, poverty, mercy, as well as sacrifice and thought that the Indian province is an integral part of homogeneous Jesuit space. This case study thus helps address the broader question of how geographic distance impacted on the practices and missionary concepts of the Society. It debates widespread opinion that Rome couldn't play a significant role in far-away regions due to infrastructural difficulties and unusual cultural challenges

*Keywords:* Acquaviva; supreme general; Jesuits; missionary strategy; 16<sup>th</sup> century; policy of cultural accommodation.

Данная статья исследует влияние римской курии иезуитов на миссионерскую стратегию ордена в Раннее Новое время. В частности, проводится анализ нескольких документов, связанных с именем генерала Общества Иисуса Клаудио Аквавива, дабы продемонстрировать как руководство ордена контролировало развитие новой миссионерской концепции иезуитов, пытаясь сохранить единый «дух ордена». Хотя римская штабквартира Общества признавала необходимость приспособления к местным условиям евангелизируемых территорий, она сохраняла за собой право устанавливать границы аккомодации, «дабы не стать антитезой нашему закону». Тем самым данная статья затрагивает более широкую проблему, а именно, как географические расстояния влияли на разработку миссионерской концепции Общества. Исследование дискутирует с широко распространенным мнением о том, что генералы ордена не могли играть большой роли в делах заокеанских миссий из-за их удаленности, сложности сообщения и трудности восприятия культурных особенностей новооткрытых земель.

*Ключевые слова:* Аквавива; генерал ордена; иезуиты; миссионерская стратегия; шестнадцатый век; политика культурной аккомодации.

Generalate of Claudio Acquaviva (1581–1615) had a pretty unique nature in Jesuit history, both in terms of its length – thirty-five years – and the breadth of the issues that it was forced to confront. The end of the sixteenth century was a period in which the Society expanded on a global level, far beyond the order's European boundaries. This rapid growth and logistic difficulties necessitated procedures for delegation and creating a network system that allowed regional centers to acquire broad autonomy. On the other hand, there was still a strong administrative and religious connection between the order's members and the superior general. This paper investigates the influence of superior general Claudio Acquaviva on the development of Jesuit missionary strategy in XVI century. It discusses, in particular select documents related to the Jesuit Indian Province, to demonstrate how Roman governance controlled the development of the new missionary concept (policy of cultural accommodation) to preserve the one “Jesuit way”. The paper also debates widespread opinion that the Jesuit curia in Rome couldn't play a significant role in far-away regions due to infrastructural difficulties and unusual cultural challenges.

The European crowns summoned the Society of Jesus to evangelize their “new subjects” in Asia, who often resided far beyond the political and economic influence of the European colonial system. In response, the Jesuits developed a highly efficient missionary strategy (the policy of cultural accommodation), which was supposed to smooth the process of social integration of the missionaries into the indigenous culture of the non-Christian societies with the aim of further Christianization [2]. Acquaviva's predecessor, superior general Everard Mercurian (1573–1580), appointed Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606) in 1573 as a Visitor of East India to arrange the new missionary strategy in Asian missions. Valignano combined the viewpoint of the Jesuit Roman curia [10] with the field experience of the missionaries. He outlined major postulates of the new evangelistic conception until 1575:

- 1) obligatory study of the indigenous languages;
- 2) establishment of the native clergy;
- 3) total withdrawal from forcible conversions;
- 4) tolerance toward local social and cultural norms.

These points were approved by the First Congregation of the Jesuit Indian province in 1575 [5] and then were ratified by superior general Mercurian in 1577 [9]. While visiting the Jesuit mission in Japan in 1579–1582, Valignano finally formulated the Jesuit strategy of evangelization. He added a new requirement: the need for missionaries to accommodate themselves to the social and cultural norms of the local societies. This idea was confirmed by the Missionary Consultation in Bungo (October, 1580) [11, p. 7–90]. In 1581, the Visitor wrote a guideline for the Japanese mission *Il Ceremoniale per i missionari del Giappone* [12; 1], where he made explicit the solution how to make Jesuit preaching fruitful: the *accommodatio* in Christianity. This book regulated missionaries' social life in accordance with a Japanese punctilious and detailed ceremonial.

We should keep in mind that in Early Modern Japan, all forms of politeness were graded according to rank, and to the representatives of the various social grades, their proper ceremonial had to be paid. To know how one was to converse socially with a person, what signs of honor had to be paid him or her, one had, first of all, to be sure of one's social standing. Hence, Valignano first classified the various groups of the missionary staff for insertion in the Japanese social world. As a basis model, he chose Zen Buddhist monks, particularly of the Gozan temple system, the most respectful school in Japan at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Thus, Valignano secured for the Jesuit missionaries outstandingly high social rank, included definite privileges that do not always coincide with Christian virtues. A comprehensive account of the Consultation in Bungo, Valignano's *risolutioni* (January 6, 1582) [13], and tractates [1; 14] were sent to the superior general from Goa by the Visitor with the Japanese Embassy in 1583.

According to the letter from Claudio Acquaviva (December 24, 1585), he received documents at the end of 1585. “*Although, - he wrote, - (I was very busy with the presence of our Japanese gentlemen, that bring me various occupations, more than one could believe) I left to the Sant'Andrea [al Quirinale] for a few days and diligently read both tractates, making notes what I should do, or asking Fr. [Diogo de] Mesquita (1553–1614) for information or explanations [necessary] to make a decision...*” [3, p. 316].

At the beginning of the document, the supreme general let Valignano know that he is satisfied with his orders and confirms them, despite the objections from some Assistants [3, p. 317]. However, Acquaviva made explicit concerns about some points of the new strategy. “*What gives us the great anxiety and needs a careful consideration and remedy, - wrote general in his letter - are the [decisions]... in The Acta of the First Consultation in Bungo in chapters 17, 18, and 19*” [3, p. 317]. Chapter 17, dedicated to adaptations in food, was accepted by the general without strong objections. Chapter 19, related to Japanese clothing customs, particularly the decision to wear silk, was understood by the Acquaviva as a necessity and was allowed, but with several skeptical remarks about Visitor's excessive caution. The primary concern was made about chapter 18, which focused on adopting the Buddhist monks' ceremonial. Acquaviva wrote: “*I feel greater difficulties and fear a threat in everything, what Your Reverence says in regards the way of treating ourselves with honor and reputation of Bonzi so as not to become an antithesis to ourselves and our law...*” [3, p. 317–318].

The issue that the habits of the Buddhist clergy could potentially be viewed as harmful was particularly important, especially at a time when the superior general, who was highly sensitive to the question of the Society's unity, of its corpus – one and the same all over the world – was preparing to face the nationalistic and centripetal thrusts that were present within his own order at previously unseen levels [4, p. 133]. Acquaviva anticipated that while Jesuits “*want to accommodate ourselves to the customs and concepts of Bonzi, the Society in Japan could finally get another face, and it would also need to write other Regulae...*” [3, p. 318].

The supreme general insisted that no one should neglect the main Christian virtues. He wrote: “*Your Reverence knows very well that these virtues of humility, mortification, patience, etc. are acquired, increased and preserved with the frequency of [spiritual] exercises, that our Constitution is based on, and the experience getting in different places shows how important they are*” [3, p.318-319]. Not unreasonably supreme general cited the First Epistle to the Corinthians (3:7): “*So neither the one who plants nor the one who waters is anything, but only God, who makes things grow*”. We should recall, St. Augustine’s (354-430) commentary on this passage, that he connected it with missionary work of apostles and specified, that “*even if the apostles could not plant and irrigate anything when God did not give an increase, then how much truer is this about me and you and any person of our time who considers himself a teacher*”. Thus, from Acquaviva’s point of view: adjusting to local circumstances should go without departing from the one “Jesuit way”. Despite the ambivalent feeling toward the policy of cultural accommodation, Acquaviva reconfirmed the ratification of the new missionary strategy at the end of the letter, underlining, however, some limitations. The reasons for such tolerance towards the new evangelistic concept were:

1) the policy of cultural accommodation corresponded with the Society’s theological and anthropological ideas: the capacity to adapt to diversity, to accommodate to the culture that the missionary addresses to make Gospel more accessible to the hearer [8, p. 5];

2) Acquaviva’s endeavor to consolidate the Jesuit institute by unifying all types of activity: the order’s Constitutions were brought to their complete form in 1581 and 1594, teaching in the colleges based on the *Ratio Studiorum* (1599) expanded throughout the world;

3) the pressure of the Portuguese and, since 1580, Spanish crowns, which were interested in expanding trade in the Far East;

4) the visual demonstration of the missionaries’ success to the European public (the Japanese embassy (1582–1590)).

The general’s letter was written on December 24, 1585, and was received by Alessandro Valignano almost a year after in September 1586. Despite the geographical distance and unique infrastructural difficulties, frequently mentioned as a reason for the limited role of Jesuit curia in Asian mission affairs [4; 6; 7], we could see a strong effect of the Acquaviva’s point of view on the further development of missionary strategy in the Jesuit Indian Province. Comparative analyses of *Ceremoniale* (1581) and the *Summary of the rules for the Provincial of India* (1588) [15], both written by Alessandro Valignano, showed the significant differences between guidelines.

*Ceremoniale*’s Chapter 1, passage five clearly stated that Jesuit fathers and irmaos have to accommodate the habits of Zen Buddhist monks [1, c. 252]. Valignano obliged Jesuit fathers to be accompanied by at least four people (irmao, dojuku, and two boys) when they are outside their residents, he also forbade holding their umbrella themselves, and if traveling, they should go on horseback. However, Chapter 6 of the Rules for the Provincial of India gave different guideline: “*Our Father [General] confirmed and approved, what was determined in the resolutions 17, 18, and 19 of the [Bungo] Consultations in Japan, specifically, that our fathers accommodate the way of things in Japan, as well as the way of eating, so in the erection of the houses, as well as how their people keep cleanliness, and dignity, but avoiding all other superfluities. And also, that [Jesuit fathers] accommodate themselves to Japanese customs and ceremonies in the conversation and political treatment, warning everyone that, as far as it is concerned receiving honoring and behaving in a commanding manner, [traveling] with entourage and pomp, in no way do anything like that, because we do not follow Bonzi’s*

*habits and do not adapt to them. And so, [Father General] ordered the same Visitor who, having returned to Japan and thinking that it [the new missionary strategy] has some downsides, made it in good order, that it be carried out with humility and religious simplicity, to achieve the necessary authority over the Japanese with the virtue, prudence, modesty, and religious seriousness, avoiding any indecent passion, and with keeping their [Japanese] way of proceeding and courtesies in the political dealings, without pomp and entourage, as well as any ambitiousness, as declared by extract n. 225” [15, p.889].*

As we see, all disturbing points discussed in Acquaviva’s letter was not only taken into consideration by Valignano but implemented right away. Moreover, the revised policy of cultural accommodation, ratified by Claudio Acquaviva, turned into the unified evangelistic strategy of the Society of Jesus and expanded throughout the world at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. We hear the echo of the new missionary strategy not only in Jesuit achievements in Asia but also in Paraguay, Mexico, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Kingdom of Naples, and many other places around the world. Tactics and methods were different, but the strategy was always the same: to accommodate themselves to the local lifestyle and ideas, and, therefore, to have a greater chance of involving in a new social system and more successfully converting the local population.

Thus, despite the geographical distance, infrastructural impediments, and cultural differences, the Jesuit curia in Rome played a significant role in the life of the missions, particularly in shaping the policy of cultural accommodation. Centralization of power in Rome, of course, did not mean total micro-management from headquarters; however, major questions as a missionary strategy could not be used without supreme general involvement. By ratification of the new evangelistic concept, Claudio Acquaviva fulfilled the project, proposed at the time of Ignatius Loyola (1491–1556), the development of a single missionary strategy.

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## **ДУХОВНАЯ И ПОЛИТИЧЕСКАЯ ДЕЯТЕЛЬНОСТЬ АРХИЕПИСКОПА КИПРСКОГО МАКАРИЯ**

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В статье описан жизненный путь Архиепископа Новой Юстинианы и Всего Кипра, первого Президента Республики Кипр, выдающегося политического деятеля и церковного иерарха Макариоса III. Архиепископ Макариос был выдающимся церковным и государственным деятелем, человеком огромных духовных и интеллектуальных дарований. Вся его жизнь была подчинена интересам Кипрской Церкви и кипрского народа, делу освобождения Кипра от британского колониального управления. Особая роль принадлежит Макариосу в развитии межправославных и экуменических связей. Его жизненный путь как духовного лица и политика – это миротворческое служение, забота о людях и постоянное стремление к урегулированию политической жизни Кипра. Редкое сочетание в личности Архиепископа Макариоса деятельного политика и архипастыря навсегда вписало его имя в историю Кипра.

*Ключевые слова:* Архиепископ Кипрский Макарий; православие; Предстоятель Кипрской Церкви; президент Кипра; духовная и политическая деятельность; национальная независимость.

The article describes the life path of Archbishop of New Justiniana and All Cyprus, the first President of the Republic of Cyprus, an outstanding political figure and church hierarch Makarios III. Archbishop Makarios was an outstanding ecclesiastical and statesman, a man of great spiritual and intellectual gifts. His whole life was subordinated to the interests of the Church of Cyprus and the Cypriot people, to the cause of the liberation of Cyprus from British colonial rule. A special role belongs to Makarios in the development of inter-Orthodox and ecumenical relations. His life path as a clergyman and a