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《天主教研究學報》

The Doors that Propaganda Fide has Opened since 1622

〈教廷傳信部自 1622 年以來打開的大門〉

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Editor's Words

Luis Antonio Cardinal Tagle, the Pro-prefect of the Dicastery for Evangelization, in his keynote address of the Webinar: "International Symposium: The Doors that Propaganda Fide has Opened since 1622," (August 24-26, 2022) pointed out that "at the center of evangelization or the announcement of the Good News is the person of Jesus Christ."

Pope Francis in his Apostolic Constitution *Preadicate Evangelium* (Preach the Gospel) on the reform of the Roman Curia regards this mandate Jesus entrusted to his disciples as "the primary service that the Church can render to every individual and to all humanity in the modern world."

Cardinal Tagle in his address raised the question: Does the Church as Jesus's body still lives by the dynamic presence of Jesus and his Gospel in the modern world? The Church has to be evangelized constantly by Jesus in order to remain beautiful and attractive to people: hence, the imperative of constant pastoral conversion.

The Propaganda Fide born 400 years ago in its effort to eradicate the negative effects of the *patronato* system – the twinning between colonial powers and the presence of missionaries – still functioned within the mindset of evangelized and non-evangelized countries or mission territories. Today these geographical boundaries and spaces have become fluid due to the movement of peoples and ideas through migration, social communication and cultural exchange.

The Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide, later renamed the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples, has been transformed into one Dicastery, with a section for Fundamental Questions regarding Evangelization in the World, and another for the First Evangelization and New Particular Churches within the territories of its competence. Every baptized person is an evangelizer in need of constant evangelization. This has to be lived in a spirit of communion. Every Church is called to mission. She gives and receives at the same time. Every Church has to be embodied in Christ whatever her political, social or cultural context may be.

Cardinal Tagle reminded us that Vatican II already noticed social communication as an opportunity for evangelization. Social media is not just a means of communication, but has become a world in itself, an eco-system. As a world it needs to be evangelized in order to preserve true communication and authentic community.

Social media and artificial intelligence (AI) are silently redefining or reshaping the human person. The Cardinal asked himself: What is a human person?

Cardinal Tagle invited us to learn from Jesus as an Asian in addressing the present and future challenges and opportunities of evangelization.

Following peer review, eleven papers presented at the three-day long Webinar have been included for publication in this issue of our *Journal for Catholic Studies*.

Three papers review missionary work in Asia, in particular the unique missionary experience from the Korean Catholic Church by a Korean missionary Fr. Michael Hak-Hyeon Kim, titled "From Mission to Mission." Indonesian Vincentian Fr. Francis X. Eko Armada Riyanto narrates the history of "Propaganda Fide and the Catholic Mission in Indonesia" and Professor Claudia von Collani portrays "Beginning with Obstacles: The First Attempts of the Propaganda Fide to Establish Relations with China." The presence in China of missionaries from different religious orders and Propaganda Fide resulted in several conflicts, eventually the Chinese Rites Controversy, which the papal Legation of Bishop Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon (became cardinal in 1707) failed to resolve.

Five papers focus on social media: communication in the modern world. Professor Francis L. F. Lee in his paper "The Challenges of Communication in the Era of Social Media: Perspectives from Media Studies" evaluates the echo chamber thesis and the fake news problem. Underlying both issues is the concern of people's capability of communicating across differences, and by implication capability of addressing and resolving conflicts. Professor Anthony S. K. Lam reflects on the role of the Catholic Church in the age of digital social media and Dr. Calida Chu looks at the evangelization of the Christian Church in the twenty-first century from a digital theological perspective. Two well-experienced priests in Catholic social communication, Fr. John Mi Shen in his paper "The Church and Communication" elaborates on the Catholic theology of Trinitarian communication, communion and community. Fr. Mi was asked whether it is possible to communicate Christian faith from mind to mind like in Buddhism, without language or means of communication. In his response, Fr. Mi emphasized the identification of the three elements (sender, message and receiver) in the Catholic communication model and the Catholic tradition of meditation and contemplation. Fr. Bernardo Cervellera, PIME, approaches his subject "Propaganda Fide and Mission as Communication" from a Western historical point of view.

Finally, three papers relate to East meets West in cultural exchange. Professor Xue Yu in his paper "Recreating Mindfulness Meditation in America" shows how different Asian Buddhist traditions over the years took root in America. Some of them re-contextualized in their encounter with Western sciences and developed mindfulness meditation in American middle-class and academic circles. Professor Gianni Criveller, PIME, in his contribution "A Century of Incoherent Missionary Policy. Propaganda Fide and China: From the Accommodation Imperative (1659's Instruction) to the Condemnation of the Chinese Rites (1742)" analyzes Propaganda Fide's cultural limitation and incoherent missionary policy which had a lasting impact on the interaction between China and Europe. Professor Thierry Meynard, SJ, in his paper "Promoting the Indigenization of Catholicism in Republican China: the Role of Propaganda Fide in Canton" highlights the important role of Archbishop Celso Costantini, the first Apostolic Delegate in China, and his mentor Vicar Apostolic Anthony Fourquet, MEP, later on Archbishop of Canton.

Fr. Patrick Taveirne, CICM

主編的話

在 2022 年 8 月 24 至 26 日舉行的「教廷傳信部自 1622 年以來打開的大門」國際學術研討會中，福音傳播部副部長塔格萊樞機（Luis Antonio Tagle）在主題演講中指出：「福音傳播或宣布喜訊的中心是耶穌基督本人。」

教宗方濟各在其關於羅馬教廷改革的宗座憲章《你們去宣講福音》（Preadicate Evangelium）中，將耶穌託付給門徒的這一使命視為「教會在現代世界中可以為每個人和全人類提供的主要服務。」

塔格萊樞機在演講中提出了一個問題：作為耶穌身體的教會，是否仍然依靠耶穌和祂的福音在現代世界充滿活力的臨在而繼續著？教會必須不斷地接受耶穌傳播的福音，才能繼續對人們顯出其美麗和吸引力。因此，不斷的牧靈皈依至關重要。

傳信部四百年前的誕生，旨在消除保教權的負面影響，即殖民列強和傳教士的出現兩者之間的關聯，這影響仍然在已信和未信福音的國家或傳教區的思維模式中產生作用。如今，由於移民、社會傳播和文化交流帶動了人口的移動和思想的改變，「派遣國」和「傳教區」這些地理邊界和空間已經變得流動。

傳信部，後來更名為萬民福音傳播部，現已改革為福音傳播部，其中一個部門負責向世界福傳的基本問題，另一個部門負責在其管轄地區內的初傳和新地方會。每個受洗者都是需要不斷被福音轉化的福音傳播者。他們必須在共融的精神之中生活。每個教會都被召叫去傳教，她同時給予和接受。每個教會都必須體現在基督內，不論其政治、社會或文化背景為何。

塔格萊樞機提醒我們，梵二會議已經注意到社會傳播是傳福音的機會。社交媒體不只是一種溝通手段，它本身已經成為了一個世界、一個生態系統。作為一個世界，我們需要向它傳福音，以保持真正的溝通和團體的真實性。社交媒體和人工智能（AI）正在悄悄地重新定義或重塑人類。樞機問自己：人是甚麼？

塔格萊樞機邀請我們向身為亞洲人的耶穌學習，以應對今天和未來在福傳上的挑戰和機會。

經過同儕評審，這次為期三天的線上研討會有十一篇論文收在本期的《天主教研究學刊》。

三篇論文回顧了在亞洲的傳教歷史，特別是韓籍傳教士金學玄神父（Fr. Michael Hak-Hyeon Kim, KMS）題為〈從使命到傳教：韓國天主教會的傳教經驗〉，講論韓國天主教會的獨特傳教經驗。印尼遣使會方濟各・阿瑪達神父（Fr. Francis X. Eko Armada Riyanto, CM）論述〈傳信部與天主教在印尼的傳教〉的歷史，柯蘭霓教授（Claudia von Collani）描繪了一段〈磕磕絆絆的開始──傳信部與中國建立關係的初期嘗試〉的歷史。來自不同修會團體的在華傳教士與傳信部產生一些衝突，最終引發了中國禮儀之爭，而多羅主教（Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon，1707 年成為樞機）領導的宗座使團未能解決這一問題。

有五篇論文是關注社交媒體：現代世界的傳播。李立峯教授在其論文〈社交媒體時代傳播的挑戰：媒體研究的視角〉中評估了迴聲室效應和假新聞的問題。這兩個問題的背後都是對人們跨越差異的溝通能力，以及解決衝突的能力的關注。林瑞琪教授反思天主教會在數碼社交媒體時代的角色，而朱珩甄博士則從數碼神學的觀點審視二十一世紀基督教會的福傳。還有兩位在天主教社會傳播方面經驗豐富的神父：米申神父在他的論文〈傳播與教會〉中詳細闡述了天主教神學中三位一體的通傳、共融和團體。米神父被問到是否有可能像佛教一樣，在心靈之間傳達基督徒信仰，而無需語言或溝通方式。在他的回應中，米神父強調了天主教傳播模式中三個要素（發送者、訊息和接收者）的同一性，以及天主教的默想和默觀的傳統。宗座外方傳教會的貝納德神父（Fr. Bernardo Cervellera）從西方歷史的角度探討了他的主題〈傳信部及作為傳播的使命〉。

最後，三篇論文涉及東西方在文化交流中的相遇。學愚教授在其論文〈重構美國的靜觀默想〉展示了多年來亞洲不同的佛教傳統如何在美國扎根。它們中有些在與西方科學相遇後重新融入情境，並在美國中產階級和學術界發展成靜觀默想。宗座外方傳教會柯毅霖教授（Fr. Gianni Criveller）在

他論文〈一個世紀不連貫的傳教政策。傳信部與中國：從遷就命令（1659 年指示）到對中國禮儀的譴責（1742 年）〉分析了傳信部的文化局限性和不連貫的傳教政策，這對中歐之間的互動產生了持久的影響。耶穌會梅謙立教授（Fr. Thierry Meynard）在其論文〈在民國初期天主教推動本地化：傳信部在廣州的作用〉中，強調了首任駐華宗座代表剛恆毅總主教（Celso Costantini）及其屬於巴黎外方傳教會的導師、後來擔任廣州總主教的宗座代牧魏暢茂（Anthony Fourquet）的重要作用。

譚永亮神父

Propaganda Fide in History and Missionary Work in Asia

From Mission to Mission: Missionary Experience from the Korean Catholic Church

Michael Hak-Hyeon Kim, KMS

[Abstract] In the history of Christianity in East Asia, Korea was far from the activities of Western missionaries. Although East Asia had been a missionary field for the West, Korea was not directly related to Western missionaries before the founding of the Korean Church by lay people in 1784. With this historical event we can affirm that the Catholic Church in Korea was established, not by Western missionaries, but by the spontaneous efforts of the Korean people. However, in order to promote the propagation and deepening of their faith, the Korean church members saw a need for a missionary and tried to invite a priest. The Korean believers constantly appealed to the Holy See to send missionaries and wanted to have their own diocese. As a result, Propaganda Fide established the Joseon Apostolic Vicariate in 1831 and asked the Paris Foreign Missions Society (MEP) to accept the charge of supplying priests to Korea. Afterwards, the MEP missionary priests in Korea focused on evangelization, enduring several persecutions until the Hierarchy in Korea was formally established by Pope John XXIII in 1962. While it was Korean lay persons who began the faithful community without the cultivation of foreign missioners, subsequent foreign missions to Korea from other Churches helped the Korean Church grow, and the Korean Church recently has changed from a mission-receiving Church to a mission-sending Church. In 2020, the Korean Catholic Church has 1,137 missionaries working in 80 countries beyond their own language and culture. In this article, following a brief history of foreign missions to Korea, I will focus on Propaganda Fide and the MEP missionary priests sent by Propaganda Fide. It then explores the Korean Missionary Society (KMS) as a pioneer group of the Korean Catholic mission. Finally, I conclude with some reflections on how the foreign mission vitalized and renewed the Korean Church.

Introduction

On the Southwest tip of Korea is the nation's largest island, Jeju, which has been designated as a World Heritage Site, with the Jeju Volcanic Island and Lava Tubes. On this beautiful island, there is a street with a very unique name, the "Road McGlinchey," named after Fr. Patrick James McGlinchey (1928-2018), a priest from the Missionary Society of St. Columban, who has been on the island since 1953. This designation commemorates the work that he has done to help the poor on Jeju. When Fr. McGlinchey arrived on the island, its political and economic situation was unstable and the people on Jeju were suffering greatly from poverty. So, he opened a large dairy and stud farm, trying to encourage people to overcome their poverty by working at the farm, as well as with efforts for missionary activities for evangelization. This missionary life of Fr. McGlinchey is one part of the history of the Korean Catholic Church, as well as the larger Korean society. Likewise, foreign missionaries who have lived in Korea are intertwined with the faith and life of Korean Catholics. But, in the larger history of Christianity in East Asia, Korea was far from the activities of Western missionaries. Although East Asia had been a missionary field for the West, Korea was not directly related to Western missionaries before the founding of the Korean Church by lay people in 1784.

With this historical event, we can affirm that the Catholic Church in Korea was established, not by Western missionaries, but by the spontaneous efforts of the Korean people themselves. However, to promote the propagation and deepening of their faith, members of the Korean Church saw a need for missionary help and tried to invite a priest. The Korean believers wanted to have their own diocese and, as such, appealed to the Holy See to send missionary priests. As a result, the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (Propaganda Fide) established an Apostolic Vicariate in Korea in 1831 and asked the Paris Foreign Missions Society (MEP) to accept the charge of supplying priests to Korea. Afterwards, MEP missionary priests in Korea focused on evangelization, enduring several persecutions until the hierarchy in Korea was formally established by Pope John XXIII in 1962. Moreover, Propaganda Fide assisted the Catholic Church in Korea with beginning her overseas mission in the 1970s by supporting Bishop Jae-seon Choi in founding the Korean Missionary Society (KMS).

While it was lay persons who began the faithful community in Korea without foreign missioners, subsequent foreign missions to Korea from other Churches helped the Korean Church grow. Then recently, the Korean Church changed from a mission-receiving Church to a mission-sending Church. As of 2020, the Korean Catholic Church had 1,137 missionaries working in 80 countries, beyond language and culture. In this article, following a brief history of foreign missions to Korea, I will focus on Propaganda

Fide and the MEP missionary priests it sent. I will then explore KMS as a pioneer group of the Korean Catholic mission and the growth of this mission. This research contributes to a wider understanding of the mission both to Korea, as well as the mission from Korea.

The Birth of the Korean Catholic Church

Christian history in East Asia notes that Korea was far from the activities of Western missionaries. Instead, the Korean Catholic Church was started by the efforts of native Korean lay persons. The Christian faith was introduced to the Korean peninsula in the 18th century, at which time, in nearby China, there were religious texts written in the Chinese language, which were then transmitted to some Korean literati through cultural relations between Korea and China.[1] In this way, some Korean scholars gleaned the essence of this new religion by reading and studying these books, and then attempting to practice it among themselves. After more than a century in which Catholic teaching was studied in Korea, a series of seminars took place at Jueosa (주어사), a Buddhist temple in Gwangju, in the Gyeongi province. The meetings at the temple were the roots of the first Catholic community in Korea. Byeok Yi, who initiated the meetings, heard that Seung-hun Yi was due to accompany his father to Beijing in late 1783 and so asked him to find information on Christian teaching, visit churches, and get baptism. Seung-hun Yi went to Beijing, and after being instructed, he was baptized by the French Jesuit priest Jean Joseph de Grammont in early 1784. Seung-hun Yi then returned to Korea, bringing with him books, crucifixes, images, and other religious items that he had been given.[2]

After he came back to Korea, Seung-hun Yi baptized Byeok Yi, and this baptism has long been considered as the starting point of the Catholic Church in Korea. Following the baptism of Byeok Yi, Seung-hun Yi baptized Il-sin Kwon, who was a descendant of a leading scholarly family at the time and who had studied Catholicism through Western books, which had been translated into Chinese. These first three Korean Catholics – Seung-hun Yi, Byeok Yi and Il-sin Kwon – are called the Founding Fathers of the Catholic Church in Korea. Seung-hun Yi was selected as the chief of the Church and his lay organization decided to bestow upon him the authority to supervise the celebration

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[1] Sebastian C. H. Kim and Kirsteen Kim, *A History of Korean Christianity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 17.

[2] Antton Egiguren Iraola, *True Confucians, Bold Christians: Korean Missionary Experience* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007), 227-230; Antton Egiguren Iraola, a Spanish priest of the Order of Friars Minor. He worked as a missionary for 20 years in Korea and Thailand. In 2005, he was awarded a Ph.D. in theology at the Catholic University of Leuven.

of Masses and confirmations. He granted similar authority to ten of his colleagues, giving them the title of Priest. Seung-hun Yi and the ten others began to act as priests, administering sacraments, teaching, and performing other clerical roles. Under this pseudo ecclesiastical hierarchy, they sought active communication and relationships with each other, and formed a group to carry out missionary work. The Christian community developed rapidly, thanks to their ardent dedication to the mission under lay leadership, which was initiated with good intention by lay leaders who had learned about sacraments and liturgy through the books they studied, to meet the needs of the rapidly developing community.[3]

However, a group led by Hang-geom Yu questioned this pseudo ecclesiastical hierarchy, since church law allowed only priests ordained by a bishop to perform sacraments.[4] Yu's group eventually consulted Bishop Alexander de Gouvea of Beijing regarding an authoritative interpretation of these practices. In 1789, one of the believers, Yu-il Yun, was dispatched to Beijing to meet with the bishop. Yun returned to Korea with the first pastoral letter to the community. In it, Bishop Gouvea issued no reprimand, since it was understood that the Koreans were doing what they thought was right but told them to prepare for a properly ordained priest to be sent from Beijing. Despite this promise of a missionary, an immediate dispatch was difficult because of the serious shortage of missionaries at the time. But Bishop Gouvea supported the propagation of Catholicism in Korea and, thus, actively promoted such a dispatch, eventually assigning Fr. Juan dos Remedios in 1790. In February 1791, Fr. dos Remedios arrived at the border of Korea but was unable to enter the country because of the Shin-hae persecution, the first persecution in Korea, which had just begun at that time.[5]

But after the Shin-hae persecution, the number of believers again increased. In response to the Korean Church's continued requests for a priest, Bishop Gouvea then dispatched a Chinese priest, Fr. Wen-mo Zhou (b. 1752 in Su-Tcheou, Jiang-nan Province, China). On Bishop Gouvea's orders, Fr. Zhou left Beijing in February 1794 and met the secret envoy from the Korean Church on an appointed date, at a designated border village. He entered Korea disguised as a native Korean on December 24, 1794 and became the first missionary priest to enter Korea.[6] Fr. Zhou arrived in Seoul and

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[3]   Jai-Keun Choi, *The Origin of the Roman Catholic Church in Korea: An Examination of Popular and Governmental Responses to Catholic Missions in the Late Joseon Dynasty* (Cheltenham: The Hermit Kingdom Press, 2006)*,* 37-38.
[4]   Choi, *The Origin of the Roman Catholic Church in Korea*, 39.
[5]   Choi, *The Origin of the Roman Catholic Church in Korea*, 42.
[6]   Choi, *The Origin of the Roman Catholic Church in Korea*, 43.

stayed at the house of In-gil Choi. There, he studied the Korean language and celebrated his first Mass with the Korean Catholics on Easter Sunday, April 5, 1795. Fr. Zhou performed the holy offices very secretly, but very fervently. He traveled around administering the sacraments and organized the Myeongdohoe, a gathering of the laity studying doctrine and scripture. He also carried out other activities, even writing catechism. Within six years of missionary dedication, the number of Catholics in Korea grew from four thousand to ten thousand.[7]

However, everything changed with the Shin-yu persecution of 1801 which, when it broke out, had countless Catholics arrested. The persecutors interrogated and tortured Catholics to make them confess the whereabouts of Fr. Zhou. Since Korean Catholics were being killed because of him, the priest decided to return to China. However, he changed his mind. Instead, he resolved to surrender himself saying, "I have to share the destiny of my flock and to mitigate their persecution and martyrdom."[8] He died by beheading on May 31, 1801, with the final words: "I die for the Catholic Church."[9] After Fr. Zhou's death, there were no other missionaries to Korea for many years.

The Growth of the Korean Catholic Church and Foreign Missions

The Korean believers enduring the persecutions began to campaign for another priest to celebrate the sacraments for them. In 1811, they wrote a letter to Pope Pius VII. But there was no progress, so they sent another letter to Rome in 1825. In this letter, they stated that a priest must be sent to oversee their exigent situation. This letter was delivered to Pope Leo XII in 1827 who, as a result, decided to establish an independent ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the territory of Korea.[10] The one who showed the greatest enthusiasm toward the mission in Korea was Cardinal Bartolomeo Capellari of Propaganda Fide. Serendipitously, in the midst of promoting a missionary dispatch to Korea, Pope Leo XII passed away and Cardinal Capellari was elected to the Holy See and acceded as Gregory XVI in 1831.[11] Finally Propaganda Fide wrote to MEP to ask whether they could accept the charge of supplying priests to Korea for the immediate

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[7]   Catholic Bishops' Conference of Korea (CBCK), 복자 윤지충 바오로와 동료 123 위 (*Blessed Paul Yun Ji-Chung and 123 Companions*) (Seoul: CBCK, 2014), 84-85.

[8]   Catholic Bishops' Conference of Korea (CBCK), 복자 윤지충 바오로와 동료 123 위(*Blessed Paul Yun Ji-Chung and 123 Companions*), 85-86.

[9]   Research Foundation of Korean Church History (RFKCH), *Inside the Catholic Church of Korea* (Seoul: RFKCH, 2010), 33.

[10] Choi, *The Origin of the Roman Catholic Church in Korea*, 152-153.

[11] Choi, *The Origin of the Roman Catholic Church in Korea*, 154.

future. Bishop Barthelemy Bruguière, a French missionary, who was pursuing missionary work in Thailand, was the first to make the attempt. He knew of the laity's request for a priest and volunteered to become a missionary to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Korea, though he was well aware of the persecution of the Church there.[12] With these events, Pope Gregory XVI erected the Vicariate Apostolic of Korea on September 9, 1831, and appointed Bishop Bruguière as the first Apostolic Vicar of Korea.

Bishop Bruguière arrived in China in July 1832 and made several unsuccessful attempts to enter Korea. Sadly, before he could reach Korea, he became sick and died on October 20, 1835. In August 1836, the Pope appointed his assistant, Fr. Laurent Imbert to take his place. However, it was Fr. Pierre-Phillibert Maubant, MEP who finally crossed the border on January 12, 1836 and became the first Western missionary to enter Korea, followed by Fr. Jacques Honore Chastan, MEP who arrived in 1836, and Bishop Laurent Marie Joseph Imbert, MEP who came in 1837.[13] With these events, the number of Church members steadily increased; the presence of the French missionaries helped revitalize the Korean Catholic Church.

Subsequently, the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America (Maryknoll) sent missionary priests to Korea beginning in 1923, and the Missionary Society of St. Columban (Columban) sent missionary priests to Korea starting in 1933. These foreign missionary agencies were characterized as a society of apostolic life: they were secular priests, who usually worked to stabilize dioceses, erect local parishes, and take care of some sacraments. In addition to missionary priests from societies of apostolic life, by 1950, there were also two men's and five women's religious communities who were invited to help with pastoral work in Korea: Order of St. Benedict (1909) and Order of Friars Minor (1937); Congregation of the Sisters of St. Paul de Chartres (1888), Maryknoll Sisters of St. Dominic (1924), Missionary Benedictines Sisters (1925), Olivetan Benedictine Sisters (1931), and Discalced Carmelite Nuns (1939).[14]

During the World War II years from 1941 to 1945 as well as the Korean War years from 1950 to 1953, all the various Catholic foreign missionary groups greatly suffered, and many were killed or repatriated to their home countries. By 1945, due to the expulsion of many non-Korean missionaries, there were 132 Korean priests in Korea but only 103 foreign priests: 38 French, 54 German, 10 Irish, and one Japanese. There were

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[12]   RFKCH, *Inside the Catholic Church of Korea*, 52.
[13]   Choi, *The Origin of the Roman Catholic Church in Korea*, 155.
[14]   Institute of Korean Church History (IKCH), 한국천주교회사 5 (*Korean Catholic History 5*) (Seoul: Institute of Korean Church History, 2014), 181-261.

56 monks, 13 of whom were Korean, and the remaining 43 German; there were 382 religious sisters, 332 of whom were Korean, 13 French, and 37 German.[15] By 1949, the number of foreign priests in Korea had dropped sharply, down to 58 from 103 in 1945, while the number of Korean priests had risen from 132 to 144. The same sort of change occurred among the sisters, the number of Koreans had risen from 332 to 385, while the number of non-Koreans had dropped from 50 to only 16.[16]

In the aftermath of the Korean War, there was an increased need for clerics and religious workers in South Korea, since many of the Christians who had lived in the northern part of the peninsula had moved south to escape communist persecution. Furthermore, the Catholic Church in South Korea had to recover from the war, which had destroyed not only a great number of churches but also many flourishing ministries and outreach programs, especially Church leadership. By the end of the war, 40 out of the 144 Korean priests had been arrested, killed, or were missing. Similarly, among the 153 foreign missionaries and religious, 28 had died in prison, 17 had been killed, and 12 were missing.[17]

In the 1950s, the nature of the Catholic clerical community began to change as various missionary groups came to Korea.[18] For example, the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) was the first Catholic missionary community in Korea devoted primarily to higher education, having been invited by the Korean Catholic Church for this specific purpose. In 1955, the U.S. Wisconsin Province of the Jesuits was appointed to carry out the establishment of a college in Korea. To this endeavor, the German Jesuit Theodore Geppert and several others arrived and opened Sogang University in Seoul in 1960. Then on October 7, 1962, by decree of the Propaganda Fide, the Jesuits established the Daegon Major Seminary in Gwangju, with Fr. Andrew Bachhuber appointed as its first rector.[19] At the same time, the Korean Catholic Church received another resource for its development, with the arrival of the Society of St. Paul (Apostolate of the Press), which published and distributed written material promoting Catholic beliefs and values. Then, in 1954, the Society of St. Francis de Sales (Salesians) of the Japanese Province agreed to erect a school for the education of Korean youth, led by Fr. Archimedes Martelli.

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[15]   Chang-mun Kim and Jae-sun Chung, *Catholic Korea: Yesterday and Today* (Seoul: Catholic Korea Publishing Co., 1964), 325.

[16]   Kim and Chung, *Catholic Korea: Yesterday and Today*, 340.

[17]   RFKCH, *Inside the Catholic Church of Korea*, 116; Kim and Kim, *A History of Korean Christianity*, 138.

[18]   Don Baker, "The Transformation of the Catholic Church in Korea: A Missionary Church to An Indigenous Church," *Journal of Korean Religions* 4, no. 1 (2013): 26.

[19]   Kim and Chung, *Catholic Korea: Yesterday and Today*, 728.

Despite the difficulty in finding funds to build the school and the scarcity of materials necessary for structure, the first Salesian School in Korea opened on March 19, 1956. Building additional schools in Korea, the Salesians also slowly developed a Korean vocation.[20]

In addition to new missionary groups focused on education and the propagation of faith through printed word, there were also groups dedicated to medical missionary work. One example is the Hospitaller Order of St. John (St. John of God Brothers), a group of religious men who are not priests but live a communal religious life. At the invitation of Bishop Harold W. Henry, the Prefect Apostolic of Gwangju, five brothers from the Irish province came to serve in Gwangju in November 1958. They opened a clinic in January 1960 and treated over 5,000 patients during its first year of operation. In the early 1970s, these brothers also began to run a psychiatric facility in Gwangju.[21]

On March 10, 1962, Pope John XXIII established the local hierarchy of the Church in Korea, some 178 years after its founding. In addition to the establishment of a local, autonomous hierarchy, the elevation of the Archbishop of Seoul, Sou-hwan Kim, to the post of cardinal in 1969 was a signal of the "Koreanization" of the Catholic Church in Korea.[22] The historian Kwang Cho[23] saw this as a "symbolic event that the leadership in the Korean Catholic Church was transferred to Koreans." [24] Soon, there were considerable changes in the number of Korean priests, monks, and religious sisters, so

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[20] Kim and Chung, *Catholic Korea: Yesterday and Today*, 725-727.

[21] Kim and Chung, *Catholic Korea: Yesterday and Today*, 741-742.

[22] Baker, "The Transformation of the Catholic Church in Korea: A Missionary Church to An Indigenous Church," 27-28.

[23] Kwang Cho is Professor Emeritus in the department of History at Korea University. He earned his doctoral degree at Korea University in 1979 and has contributed to constructing the historical foundations for research in Korean thought, including that of Korean Catholicism.

[24] Kwang Cho, 한국 근현대 천주교사 연구 (*The Study on Modern Korean Catholic Christiainty*) (Seoul: Kyung-in Publishing, 2010), 360.

that the Korean Catholic Church showed a high rate of increase in vocations.[25] Even though many more Catholic missionary orders were operating in Korea in the second half of the twentieth century, the overall ratio of Korean priests, monks, and sisters to non-Koreans widened in favor of the Koreans. In the 1970s the number of foreign priests in Korea began to shrink dramatically, while the number of Korean priests grew at an even faster rate than the foreign shrinkage. In 1977, there were 749 Korean priests compared to only 279 non-Koreans, 153 brothers compared to 50 non-Koreans, and 2,700 Korean sisters compared to 178 non-Koreans.[26] By 1983, a mere seven years later, the number of Korean priests had risen to 1,056 (vs. 220 foreign), the number of Korean brothers had risen to 261 (vs. 41 foreign), and the number of Korean sisters had risen to 3,514 (vs. 153 foreign).[27] In 1998, there were 20 Korean bishops and two foreign, 2,606 Korean priests and 193 foreign, 933 Korean brothers and 212 foreign, and 8,095 Korean sisters and 195 foreign.[28]

[25] Cho, 한국 근현대 천주교사 연구 (*The Study on Modern Korean Catholic Church*), 360-361:

Year	Total Priests	Korean Priests	Foreign Priests
1794	1	0	1
1839	3	0	3
1845	3	1	2
1859	9	1	8
1895	28	0	28
1910	62	15	47
1919	67	23	44
1944	241	134	107
1953	250	159	91
1960	448	243	205
1970	894	527	367
1980	1161	912	249
1990	1584	1383	201
1998	2800	2606	194

[26] Center for Research on Church and Society in Korea (CRCSK), 한국종교연감 1993 (*Year Book of Korean Religions for 1993*) (Seoul: Hallimwon, 1993), 182.

[27] CRCSK, 한국종교연감 1993 (*Year Book of Korean Religions for 1993*), 197.

[28] Mun-su Park, "제 2 차 바티칸 공의회와 한국천주교회 (The Second Vatican Council and the Korean Catholic Church)," in 민족사와 교회사 (*History of the Nation and History of the Church*), ed. Suk-woo Choi (Seoul: RFKCH, 2000), 686.

The Birth of the Korean Catholic Mission

Though the Korean Catholic Church has received many missionaries from other countries over the years, the Korean Catholic Church has also recently begun to send Korean missionaries to other countries; it is changing from being a receiving church to being a sharing church. The beginnings of the Korean Catholic missionary movement go back to the year 1975. At that time, with the approval of the Catholic Bishops' Conference of Korea (CBCK), Bishop Jae-seon Choi founded the Korean Missionary Society (KMS) to participate in world mission by sending Korean missionary priests to other countries. KMS became the first foreign missionary society in the Korean Catholic Church and began training seminarians to be ordained to the priesthood. To understand the origin of this missionary movement, Bishop Choi's motivations for founding the KMS are presented here.

Bishop Jae-seon Choi, ordained a priest on May 26, 1957, is the sixth bishop of the Korean Catholic Church and the first bishop of Busan Diocese. As a decisive Church leader who laid the foundations of the Diocese of Busan, Bishop Choi resigned on September 19, 1973 at the age of 61. After his resignation, he moved to Germany and remained there for 18 months, during which time Cardinal Agnelo Rossi, Prefect of the Propaganda Fide, suggested that some office at the national level be given to Bishop Choi.[29] After receiving a letter from the Propaganda Fide regarding Bishop Choi, Cardinal Kim, President of the CBCK, assigned both the Episcopal Commission for Mission and the National Office of the Pontifical Missionary Union under the Pontifical Mission Societies to Bishop Choi on April 16, 1974.[30]

With this assignment, Bishop Choi began to concentrate on the problem of the rapid decrease of vocations and the lack of priests in the universal Church. He sought possible ways to encourage priestly vocations, recalling the 200-year history of the Korean Catholic Church, during which foreign missionaries from other countries had provided great material support and sacrifices, so that the Korean Catholic Church benefitted from newly built parishes, social programs, etc. Most of all, Bishop Choi believed the Korean Catholic Church had developed numerous vocations through the efforts of missionary priests. As such, he concluded that Korean missionary priests could help the universal Church and recompense the assistance the Korean Church had received from foreign churches. He had the conviction that promoting missionary vocations would be a great

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[29]   KMS Archive, 창설자회고록 (*Reminiscences of the Founder*), 19.
[30]   KMS Archive, 교황청 (*The Holy See*), "Letter from Archbishop Luigi Dossena, Apostolic Pro-Nuncio to Cardinal Sou-hwan Kim on February 5, 1973," 1.

contribution to the evangelization of peoples. He thought that the preparation of a group of Korean missionaries for overseas mission was significant – it would not only commemorate the upcoming 200th anniversary of the establishment of the Korean Catholic Church but was also a way in which the Korean Catholic Church could participate in world evangelization, as a task of the Church.[31]

The basic purpose of founding KMS was world evangelization. Bishop Choi articulated that: "the significance of founding the KMS is participating in world evangelization, which is the most important work of the Church."[32] He recognized the importance of the role of missionaries – especially missionary priests – for world evangelization and began to train them for foreign mission. He stressed the importance of the KMS to his seminarians: "World evangelization is the command of the Lord, the essence of the Catholic Church, and the missionary work that Jesus entrusted and again entrusts each day to his Church."[33] Bishop Choi understood the Church's missionary character and the responsibility of particular Churches to preach the Gospel to the whole world. He believed that the training of missionary priests was a duty of the Korean Catholic Church and that the establishment of KMS was God's plan to meet the demand of the times.[34] Bishop Choi recognized that the universal Church lacked priests and anticipated that the problem would worsen; the Church cannot exist without the clergy.

He believed that a foreign missionary society should be established under the CBCK as one of the events to commemorate the Korean Catholic Church's 200th anniversary. For this endeavor, Bishop Choi persuaded the bishops in the CBCK to acknowledge the importance of foreign mission, participate in founding KMS, and assist with his founding work.[35] Bishop Choi sent letters, dated May 30, 1974, to each bishop to express his desire to establish a foreign missionary society under the responsibility of

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[31]   KMS Archive, 창설자회고록 (*Reminiscences of the Founder*), 20.

[32]   The Korean Missionary Society (KMS) archived official documents from 1973 to 1988 by year and classified them into eight by subjects: 교황청 (*The Holy See*), 주교회의 (*Catholic Bishops' Conference of Korea*), 수도회 (*Religious Orders*), 신문기사 (*Media Report*), 성소 (*Vocation*), 후원 (*Benefactor*), 파견 (*Dispatch*) and 규약 (*Constitution*). Furthermore, the KMS archived some records related to Bishop Jae-seon Choi: 창설자자료 (*Founder Documents*) and 창설자회고록 (*Reminiscences of the Founder*): KMS Archive, 창설자회고록 (*Reminiscences of the Founder*), 20.

[33]   KMS Archive, 창설자자료 (*Founder Documents*), "한국외방선교회 신학생들에게 (Letter from Bishop Jae-seon Choi to the KMS seminarians on March 11, 1989)," 76.

[34]   KMS Archive, 창설자자료 (*Founder Documents*), "알림: 형제자매께 아룁니다 (Letter from Bishop Jae-seon Choi to All Korean Catholics on May 1, 1977)," 10.

[35]   KMS Archive, 창설자회고록 (*Reminiscences of the Founder*), 21-22.

the CBCK.[36] He then collected the opinions of all the bishops on the establishment of a priest group for foreign mission in Korea, of which 11 of 18 bishops agreed and entrusted the work to him.[37]

Meanwhile, he contacted the Propaganda Fide to explain the imminent need for a foreign missionary society in Korea, in light of the following situations: (1) the sharp decrease in priest vocations in the Church in Europe, which had sent many missionary priests; (2) increasing vocations in the Korean Catholic Church, from which a foreign missionary society could be established; and (3) the support of some Bishops within the Korean Catholic Church, who agreed to the establishment of a foreign missionary society. Reporting that he was preparing for the foundation of KMS under the CBCK, he requested the help of the Propaganda Fide.[38]

Members of the Propaganda Fide – Cardinal Agnelo Rossi (Prefect 1970-1984), and Archbishop Duraisamy Simon Lourdsamy (Secretary 1973-1985) – expressed their thanks for Bishop Choi's letter, with admiration for his missionary zeal. However, the Propaganda Fide deemed it extremely necessary that this project of founding a new missionary society be studied with the utmost care regarding all possible implications, including: (1) the specific nature and proper distinctive character of the proposed congregation; (2) the campaign of publicity given to Korean Catholics by the media or magazines and the reaction and cooperation of the clergy and laity; (3) the union with the CBCK, which must be always be kept informed of all the initiatives taken; and (4) the circumspection building upon a solid foundation for the future missionary activity.[39] This meant that the Propaganda Fide did not oppose the plan for the founding, and promised Bishop Choi with effective and appropriate help.

Encouraged by the agreement of some Korean bishops and the Propaganda Fide, Bishop Choi began his founding work of KMS with the help of three regional superiors of the Maryknoll, the Columban, and the MEP. But the establishment of KMS was

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[36] KMS Archive, 주교회의 (*Catholic Bishops' Conference of Korea*), "모든 주교님들에게 (Letter from Bishop Jae-seon Choi to All Bishops on May 30, 1974)," 6.

[37] KMS Archive, 교황청 (*The Holy See*), "Letter from Bishop Jae-seon Choi to Archbishop Duraisamy Simon Lourdusamy on August 15, 1974," 2-4.

[38] KMS Archive, 교황청 (*The Holy See*), "Letter from Bishop Jae-seon Choi to Archbishop Duraisamy Simon Lourdusamy on August 15, 1974," 2-4.

[39] KMS Archive, 교황청 (*The Holy See*), "Letter from Cardinal Agnelo Rossi, Prefect of the Congregation of the Evangelization of Peoples and Archbishop Duraisamy Simon Lourdsamy, Secretary of the Congregation of the Evangelization of Peoples to Bishop Jae-seon Choi on October 10, 1974," 5-6; KMS Archive, 교황청 (*The Holy See*), "Letter from Luigi Dossena Apostolic Pro-Nuncio to Bishop Jae-seon Choi on October 16, 1974," 7-8.

controversial. According to his report to Propaganda Fide in 1974, although many bishops evaluated the establishment of KMS positively, some were worried about the problems of missionary vocations and financial aid. But Bishop Choi argued that the promotion of missionary vocations for KMS would increase vocations in the Korean Catholic Church, and the Church was standing, not on a material base, but on the spiritual base. He reminded others that many religious orders and missionary institutes were growing, not by money but by grace.[40] Bishop Choi firmly believed that the faith of the Korean people and rich vocations had the potential to change the Korean Catholic Church, from being in debt to the universal Church to being able to help the universal Church.

Finally, at the spring meeting of the CBCK's General Assembly on February 24-28, 1975, the bishops approved the establishment of KMS and Bishop Choi was elected as its moderator, with the approval of 16 of the 18 attendants.[41] KMS was now officially the first foreign mission society of the Korean Catholic Church. Bishop Choi worked faithfully in teaching and taking care of the KMS seminarians who would form the first foreign mission priests of the Korean Catholic Church. He recruited seminarians, opened a formation house, and collected funds for formation.

By the Korean Catholic Church's 200th anniversary of accepting faith in Korea, KMS was ready to send its first missionary priest for overseas mission. On October 11, 1981, *Catholic Times*[42] reported,

> The Korean Catholic Church also sends missionaries to other countries. For the first time in 200 years of the Korean Church history, four priests are being sent to Papua New Guinea. The Korean Missionary Society, which was established to proclaim the Good News to the nations, sends its first priest ordained in the 8 years since

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[40] KMS Archive, 교황청 (*The Holy See*), "Letter from Bishop Jae-seon Choi to the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples on November 4, 1974," 9-10.

[41] KMS Archive, 주교회의 (*Catholic Bishops' Conference of Korea*), "1975 년 춘계 주교회의 회의록 (The Record of the Spring General Assembly of CBCK in 1975)," 48-52.

[42] 가톨릭신문 (*Catholic Times*) is Korea's oldest Catholic weekly newspaper. The *Catholic Times* was founded by the Daegu Archdiocese of Korea in 1927. It is a historical source for studying the Korean Catholic Church.

its foundation, along with three diocesan priests, so that this dispatch will become a watershed event.[43]

The article evaluated the dispatch as an important moment when the Korean Catholic Church changed from a receiving church to a giving church,[44] and requested that it should support mission overseas of KMS, at national level.[45] On October 18, 1981, *Catholic Times* noted that some of the faithful were worried that it was too early for the Korean Catholic Church to participate in mission abroad because it still needed many priests for pastoral care in Korea, but observed that sending priests to other countries would be a true sharing and charity that the Church could show.[46]

The Growth of the Korean Catholic Mission

The Korean bishops resolved to establish a foreign mission society to celebrate the 200th anniversary of the transmission of Catholicism in Korea. It catalyzed foreign mission for the Korean Catholic Church and encouraged bishops, priests, religious, and laypersons to share their gifts from God with other Churches. The Propaganda Fide

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[43] "우리도 외국에 선교사를 파견한다. 한국교회 2 백년 역사상 최초로 4 명의 사제가 선교를 위해 파푸아 뉴기니로 파견된다. '너희는 가서 온세상에 그리스도의 복음을 전파하라'는 복음 말씀을 실천하기 위해 설립된 한국외방선교회는 설립 8 년만에 배출된 첫 사제를 포함 모두 4 명의 사제를 타국에 파견함으로써 이땅 이교회에 새로운 이정표를 설정하는 한편 결코 지워지지 않을 한획의 굵은 선을 그었다." See 가톨릭신문 (*Catholic Times*), vol. 1275, sec. 1, October 11, 1981.

[44] "타국의 선교를 위해 첫선교사를 파견하는 이 사실은 2 백년역사를 바탕으로 성장해온 한국교회가 받는 교회에서 주는 교회로의 탈바꿈을 위한 전기를 마련한 중대한 사건으로 평가되고 있다." See 가톨릭신문 (*Catholic Times*), vol. 1275, sec. 1, October 11, 1981.

[45] "이번 선교사파견을 계기로 그동안 소극적으로 전개되어온 외방선교회의 후원사업은 현재의 차원에서 탈피, 거교구적으로 과감하고 적극적인 대책과 아울러 전교회적인 후원이 뒤따라야 할 것은 분명한 사실이다." See 가톨릭신문 (*Catholic Times*), vol. 1275, sec. 1, October 11, 1981.

[46] "국내에는 사제도 부족한데 하면서 시기상조임을 이야기할 수도 있겠으나 교회의 참모습을 나눔에서 발견할 수 있다면, 부족할 때 도움을 베푸는 것이 진정한 나눔이라고 생각한다. 한국에서 선교활동을 하고 있는 외방선교단체도 본국의 사제가 남아돌아 시작된 것도 아니요, 와 있는 것도 아님을 우리는 체험으로 알고있지 않은가" See 가톨릭신문 (*Catholic Times*), vol. 1276, sec. 4, October 18, 1981.

praised the great efforts of Bishop Choi, stating that the establishment of KMS would make the Korean Catholic Church mature and strong.[47]

In trying to establish KMS, Bishop Choi acknowledged that the Korean Catholic Church was likely not mature enough to send missionaries to other countries. Yet he also believed that the Korean Church needed to share, after having been filled. He asserted that "the Korean Catholic Church should change from the church receiving help to a church giving help."[48] Pope John Paul II stated that missionary activities would make the church strong, faithful, and refreshed:

> I wish to invite the Church to renew her missionary commitment. The present document has as its goal an interior renewal of faith and Christian life. For missionary activity renews the Church, revitalizes faith and Christian identity, and offers fresh enthusiasm and new incentive. Faith is strengthened when it is given to others! It is in commitment to the Church's universal mission that the new evangelization of Christian peoples will find inspiration and support (*Redemptoris Missio*, no. 2).

Bishop Choi's foresight has manifested now for some decades. Many dioceses in Korea and religious orders now send missionaries to other countries, with the understanding that the national Church is being transformed from receiving to giving, and from owing to sharing. The number of Korean missionaries increased from four in 1981 to 116 in 1989. *Catholic Times* reported that 25 mission institutes sent 116 missionaries to 31 countries: 78 religious sisters from 13 religious women's congregations, 18 religious brothers from five religious men's congregations, and 20 priests.[49] Ten years later, in 1999, the number of Korea missionaries was up to 356: 289 religious sisters, 14 religious brothers, and 51 priests.[50] The number of Korean missionaries continues to increase. In 2020, the Korean Catholic Church had 1,137 missionaries working in 80 countries, beyond language and culture. According to the Statistics of the Catholic Church in Korea 2020, Korean missionaries consist of 245 priests (121 diocesan priests and 124 religious priests), 57 religious brothers, and 835 religious sisters. They work in 80 countries: 571 missionaries in 22 countries of Asia, 273 missionaries in 19 countries of North America and South America, 133 missionaries

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[47] KMS Archive, 교황청 (*The Holy See*), "Letter from Luigi Dossena Apostolic Pro-Nuncio to Bishop Jae-seon Choi on October 16, 1974," 13.
[48] KMS Constitution in 1975, 2.
[49] 가톨릭신문 (*Catholic Times*), vol. 1652, sec. 1, April 23, 1989.
[50] *Statistics of the Catholic Church in Korea 1999.*

in 15 countries of Europe, 118 missionaries in 19 countries of Africa, and 42 missionaries in five countries of Oceania. In total, about 50% of all Korean missionaries are in Asia.

The Korean Catholic Church has already recognized foreign mission as one of its pastoral works: defining mission as proclamation of the Gospel to all nations which includes both inviting converts to Christianity and evangelizing cultures and values.[51] The *Pastoral Directory of the Church in Korea*, which was published by the CBCK in 1995, observes that world mission is an important activity of the Church: "The Korean Church should be a 'sharing church' by sending Korean missioners devoted to world mission, in order that the Korean Church takes some charge of world evangelization" (no. 204).[52] In addition, the Directory suggests some strategies to activate foreign mission in Korea: (1) all parts of the Korean Catholic Church should cooperate in bringing up men/women missionary societies, by promoting missionary vocations and by supporting financial aid to train foreign missionaries; (2) in addition to mission societies, dioceses and religious congregations should also participate in world mission by training and sending missionaries; (3) in order to help foreign missionary work, it is necessary to organize supporters' association at the national level (no. 205); and (4) all pastors should encourage their parishioners to meaningfully celebrate a day for missions, that is, World Mission Sunday in order to foster missionary cooperation (no. 208).

While the missionary zeal and practices of the Korean Catholic Church are rapidly spreading, the Korean Catholic Church endeavors to improve their work of evangelization, by sharing missionary information and vision. The first example of missionary cooperation is the founding of a committee for overseas mission. The CBCK gave the Committee of the Missions Abroad and Pastoral Care of the Overseas (CMAPCO) special authority and charge to manage all missionary agencies from the Korean Church. In 2009, to foster the cooperation of foreign missions between mission agencies, CMAPCO created the Subcommittee for Overseas Mission, which supports three regional associations founded by Korean missionaries in particular: AMICAL

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[51] "선교는 교회가 온 세계에 복음을 선포하는 것이다. 선교는 비신자들의 개종뿐 아니라, 그 지역의 문화와 가치관을 복음화하는 일까지도 포함한다." See Catholic Bishops' Conference of Korea (CBCK), 한국천주교 사목 지침서 (*Pastoral Directory of the Church in Korea*) (Seoul: CBCK, 2012), 77.

[52] "한국교회는 세계 선교에 헌신하는 선교사들을 파견하고 '나누는 교회'가 됨으로써 전 세계 복음화의 한몫을 담당하여야 한다." See CBCK, 한국천주교 사목 지침서 (*Pastoral Directory of the Church in Korea*), 79.

(Asociación de Misioneros Católicos Coreanos de América Latina),[53] KAM (Korean African Missionaries),[54] and Pajonghoe (播種會).[55]

As the second example in increased cooperation within Korean missionaries and promoting the missionary zeal in Korean Catholics, the Korean Catholic Church began in 2010 to celebrate an annual "Day of Korean Mission Abroad." Fr. Yong-jae Kim, former Superior General of KMS, explains that this event highlights the consideration that foreign mission is not a commitment for a specific person or institute, but for all Korean Catholics.[56] Through this event, priest, religious and laity, who are interested in foreign mission, can share their experiences and cooperate in world mission.

Conclusion

World mission is helping the Korean Catholic Church become not only a local church but also a missionary church. In its beginning, the Korean Church accepted faith spontaneously, but experienced serious persecutions and needed missionaries to evangelize Korea. Despite great difficulty, the Korean Catholics invited missionary priests to build up the Church and collaborated with missionaries sent by the Propaganda Fide. Foreign missionary outreach to Korea laid the groundwork for the international mission of the Korean Catholic Church.

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[53] AMICAL (Asociación de Misioneros Católicos Coreanos de América Latina) is an annual conference of Korean Catholic missionaries in Latin America. Since 1999 the AMICAL has been held for encouraging cooperation between missionaries, the training program for missionaries, and spiritual retreat. See Sang-duk Seo, "아미칼 16 차 정기모임 (The 16th Annual Meeting of AMICAL)," 가톨릭신문 (*Catholic Times*), vol. 2904, July 20, 2014, accessed January 5, 2016,
http://www.catholictimes.org/article/article_view.php?aid=262124

[54] KAM (Korean African Missionaries) is an annual meeting for Korean Catholic missionaries in Africa. Since 2012 some Korean missionaries have come together to share their mission experience and promote cooperation between Korean Catholic missionaries. See Sung-hwa Kang, "아프리카 한인선교사들 한데뭉쳐 (Meeting of Korean Missionaries in Africa)," 평화신문 (*Peace Times*), vol. 1186, October 14, 2012, accessed January 5, 2016,
http://www.pbc.co.kr/CMS/newspaper/view_body.php?cid=428113&path=201210

[55] *Pajong-hoe* (播種會) is an annual meeting established in 2005 for Korean Catholic missionaries working in China. Its name '*Pajong*' literally means "seeding" in Chinese and '*hoe*' literally means "an association" in Chinese.

[56] Yong-jae Kim, "해외선교, 한국교회의 사명이자 희망이다 (Foreign Mission, Commitment and Hope for the Korean Church)," 경향잡지 (*Kyong-hyang Magazine*), November 2013, 123.

World mission is a task for all Churches, not just Western ones. Bishop Choi, who experienced the importance of missionaries, founded KMS as the first native mission institute to specialize in overseas mission, thus encouraging the Korean Church to participate in world evangelization. The Propaganda Fide assisted the Catholic Church in Korea with beginning her overseas mission by supporting Bshop Choi's efforts for the local Korean Catholic Church to become conscious of the shift, from being a "receiving Church" to becoming a "giving or sharing Church," so as to contribute to the growth of world Christianity.

However, my own concern for further research regards lay missionaries. The laity played a very large role in establishing the local church in Korea, so that the Korean Catholic Church proudly claims to be a lay-inspired Church. But the portion of the laity in the international mission of the Korean Church is small. Even though the Korean Church is currently training lay missionaries, they usually work for mission at home, not abroad. Of the total of 1,137 Korean Catholic overseas missionaries in the Statistics of the Catholic Church in Korea 2020, there are no lay missioners. Thus, we need to find a way to promote Korean Catholic lay participation within international mission, to cherish the tradition of Korean laity, which the Korean Catholic Church has enjoyed since its inception.

【摘要】在東亞基督宗教史上，韓國遠離西方傳教士的活動。雖然東亞曾是西方的傳教地，但在 1784 年平信徒建立韓國教會之前，韓國與西方傳教士並無直接關係。透過這一歷史事件，我們可以肯定韓國天主教會的建立，是朝鮮人民自發的努力而非西方傳教士的功勞。然而，為了促進信仰的傳播和深化，韓國教會成員看到了對傳教士的需要，並試圖邀請神父前來。韓國信徒不斷呼籲教廷派遣傳教士，希望擁有自己的教區。因此，傳信部於 1831 年建立了朝鮮宗座代牧區，並要求巴黎外方傳教會接受向朝鮮派遣神父的責任。此後，巴黎外方傳教會在韓國的傳教神父以傳教為重點，經歷了多次迫害，直到 1962 年教宗若望二十三世正式建立韓國聖統制。雖說韓國教會是平信徒在沒有外籍傳教士的協助下建立，其他教會在後來到韓國的外籍傳教團幫助了它的成長，而韓國教會最近已從傳教接收教會轉變為一個派遣教會。2020 年，韓國天主教會有一千一百三十七位傳教士，在八十個不是自己的語言和文化的國家開展工作。在這篇文章中，我在扼要介紹在韓國的外籍傳教團後，會將重點放在傳信部及其派出的巴黎外方傳教會神父，然後探討「韓國外方傳教會」作為韓國天主教傳教先驅團體的情況。最後，我會對海外傳教如何振興和更新韓國教會的反思作總結。

The Catholic Mission in Indonesia and Propaganda Fide - A Historical Overview

Armada Riyanto, CM

[Abstract] The history of Catholic Missions in Indonesia and its relationship with Propaganda Fide has a dynamic periodization of the context of struggle from Portuguese and Dutch colonialism to the present: from the establishment of Catholic communities by Portuguese missionaries to the persecution of the Dutch VOC (*Vereenigde Östindische Compagnie*) for two centuries, from the "primitive conflict" between the First Apostolic Vicar of Batavia and the Governor General of the Dutch colonial government (1845) to the appeal of the Bishops for the abolition of the repressive regulations to the Catholic evangelization in Indonesia (1924), from the "fruitful" period of mission in the twenties and thirties to the enormous devastation caused by the Japanese invasion that resulted in the internment of all of the Dutch missionaries which caused a real crisis in mission, and from Indonesia as a land of mission to the Indonesian Catholic Church sending missionaries all over the world at present. In this historical overview, one of the crowning phenomena of the significant contribution of the mission is the establishment of higher education institutions for clergy and laypeople formations in catechesis officially and equally recognized and accredited as other similar state or private institutions in the country. These institutions help Indonesian Catholics integrate themselves fully and historically into the cultural and socio-politics of Indonesia.

Introduction

Has anyone ever imagined that in the mission history of the Catholic Church in Indonesia or the East Indies (*Nederlandsch Oost-Indië*) in 1605-1807, there was absolutely no missionary priest? The Portuguese missionaries came to Indonesia at the beginning of the 16th century. Saint Francis Xavier's boat reached Maluku's islands in 1546/7. He baptized hundreds of the indigenous in Ternate and Tidore. But how was it possible for Indonesia to be without missionaries for 200 years? Since the arrival of the Dutch VOC (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*) or the Royal Dutch trade association founded in 1602, all Catholic (Portuguese) priests were killed or expelled from Indonesia; Catholics were registered as Protestant Christians; the existing Catholic churches were sealed or converted into Protestant churches; Catholic communities in the islands of Maluku and surrounding areas were disbanded. The Catholic community in Ambon was even converted to Protestant Christianity.

Was the fire of the Catholic faith dead? Even though the mission history was "dark" for 200 years, the Catholic faith of the Indonesians was not extinguished at all in one or two places. Among them, in Larantuka, Flores, or the Solor Islands, the Catholic communities persisted in the faith they received from the Portuguese missionaries. Missionary work is not the endeavor of human beings but God himself. Secretly some Catholic communities in Flores performed prayers and worship and thus carried out defiance and resistance to the political policies of the Dutch VOC. In the historical account, more than 30 seminary students were aspiring Catholic priests in Lohayon, Portuguese Fort, East Solor. But they were killed by Muslims orchestrated by the Dutch VOC.[1] Can we imagine how strong the Catholic communities in Flores remained persistent and perseverant in their Catholic faith even without the Eucharistic ministry for 200 years? It has to be called the miracle of the Holy Spirit.[2]

The Dutch VOC was not only an association of traders who represented the power of the Dutch Empire in Asia; it also carried out "religious wars," as happened in Europe (Protestants against Catholics and vice versa). During its existence in Indonesia, the Dutch VOC suppressed the Catholic community for 200 years (1605-1799). At the end of the 17th century, the VOC went bankrupt due to corruption and disbanded. The Kingdom of the Netherlands appointed a Governor General to represent its political

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[1]   E. D. Lewis and Oscar Pareira Mandalangi, *Hikayat Kerajaan Sikka*, 2007.
[2]   There is an unwritten story passed down to this day that they were visited by a Protestant minister. The Catholics asked him to pray the Rosary so that they could welcome him as a trustworthy missionary. However, when the minister could not pray the Rosary, they rejected the Protestant minister and remained faithful to the Catholic faith.

power. The first Governor-General, Herman Willem Daendels, began reopening the Catholic Church's doors. Two Catholic priests who arrived from the Netherlands were also sent by the Dutch Kingdom in 1807. The purpose of the first Catholic missionaries at that time was to perform a kind of Chaplaincy for the Dutch Royal troops who served in Indonesia.

The Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide, founded in 1622, played a crucial role in the mission of Indonesia since the beginning of 1807 when Indonesia (then called *Nederlandsch-Indië*) for the first time became the Apostolic Prefecture. In 1841, the Apostolic Prefecture of Batavia, Indonesia, was erected to the Apostolic Vicariate of Batavia. The Portuguese Padroado supported the arrival of Portuguese and Spanish missionaries in Indonesia before 1605. For the next 200 years (1605-1807), Indonesia was under the rule of the Dutch VOC, which repressed completely the activities of the Catholic Church. Not a single Catholic missionary worked in Indonesia. After the Dutch VOC was disbanded, religious freedom began to be revitalized. Since that moment, Propaganda Fide has been essential in the Catholic mission in Indonesia, particularly when Prefect Cardinal Willem van Rossum, C.Ss.R (1923), invited some more religious orders for missions in the East Indies. Propaganda Fide's support has been realized in several aspects to developing the Catholic Church, including financial assistance for the education of the lay people and the ongoing formation of the clergy, which has had a significant impact on the foundation of the major seminaries in Indonesia. These seminaries then produce missionaries and indigenous priests. It is estimated that thousands of Indonesian missionaries are preaching the Gospel worldwide today.

The Portuguese and Dutch Missions

The Catholic missionary work (by the Dutch missionaries) that came in the early 19th century (in 1807) differed from the Portuguese missionaries in the 1500 eras of Francis Xavier. What was the difference? The difference was, first of all, in the personnel. Before 1600, it was clear that the Catholic missionaries were either Portuguese or Spanish. After 1800, Catholic missionaries came from the Netherlands (the Protestant Kingdom) and other countries.

Since 1509, the year the Portuguese ships arrived, missionaries had begun to proclaim the Gospel in these regions. In 1515, the Portuguese fortification of the *Nossa Senhora Annunciada* in Ambon was established. This means missionaries came to Indonesia in the context of the *Padroado*, which was similar and became a "continuation"

of Goa and Malacca.[3] The Portuguese Padroado mission was terminated when the Dutch VOC armada defeated Portuguese fortifications starting in 1605 in Ambon and surrounding areas. Persecution and suppression of the Catholic mission started, along with the "cooperation" of the VOC with the existing Muslim local kingdoms. The Catholic mission was "replaced" by the Protestant Zending. Many Catholic churches were burnt down or converted to Protestant. The existing Catholics were registered as Protestants. Catholic priests from Portugal and Spain were no longer allowed to enter Indonesia. On the other hand, the Protestant missionaries from the Netherlands took advantage of the situation and were facilitated by the VOC.[4] The political situation which was "harmful" to the Catholic mission, would continue even after the VOC being disbanded in 1798.

Political changes in the Kingdom of the Netherlands and Europe flowed significantly into the East Indies (Indonesia). In the Netherlands, on May 16, 1795, *the Republic of the Unitary Seven Provinces*, which was established in 1588, was dissolved due to the 1795 "Batavia Revolution," and the Dutch kingdom was changed to "the Batavian Republic" (1795-1806). In 1806-1810, the Netherlands became "the Napoleonic Kingdom of Holland" due to the victory of France. In the time of King Louis-Napoleon (1806-1810), the political power in the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) was under the authority of the colonial minister (the 1806 Constitution). Indonesia was no longer under a trading association, as the Dutch VOC in the past, but was under the authority of the Governor-General, who acted on behalf of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Meanwhile, the Reformed Calvinist Church lost its privileged position through a decree dated August 5, 1796. This situation led to the declaration of "religious freedom" in the territory that was a colony of the Netherlands through instructions given by the Governor-General, especially in the Netherlands Indies, through royal promulgation dated February 9, 1807, articles 22 and 23. Thus, the provisions in force at the "Union of Utrecht" since January 20, 1579, which affirmed one religion (Calvinism) and led to the suppression of Catholicism, ended. The freedom of religion (for the Catholics) that prevailed in the Netherlands also flowed in the Dutch East Indies,

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[3] Tara Alberts, "Catholic Communities and Their Festivities under the Portuguese Padroado in Early Modern Southeast Asia," in L. Jarnagin ed., *Portuguese and Luso-Asian Legacies in Southeast Asia, 1511-2011, Volume 2: Culture and Identity in the Luso-Asian World: Tenacities & Plasticities*. Vol. II, (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2019), 21-43.

[4] B. J. J. Visser, *Onder Portugees-Spaanse Vlag. De Katholieke Missie van Indonesië 1511-1601*. (Amsterdam: R.K. Boek-Centrale, 1925); Gerard van Winsen, *Rooms-Katholieke Missie in Indonesië* (Amsterdam-Brussels: Grote Winkler Prins, 1970, and Gerard van Winsen, "Motifs de l'Assistance Missionaire Hollandaise á l'Indonésie (1800-1920)." *Neue Zeitschrift Für Missions-Wissenschaft*. (1974): 52-61.

Indonesia, as a colony.[5] The first Governor-General appointed on January 28, 1807, for the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) was Herman Willem Daendels, who arrived in Indonesia on January 1, 1808 after an arduous sea voyage. During Daendels' time, the doors of the Catholic Church, closed for 200 years, were reopened. The Catholic communities were revived again.

Meanwhile, through a decree of *Lodewijk-Nederlandsche*, on March 4, 1807, two diocesan priests, J. Nelissen and L. Prinsen, were able to sail for the first time to Indonesia as missionaries.[6] However, because of this decree, the government viewed the Catholic priests as "functionaries of the colonial government," for which they received the same salaries and benefits as Protestant clergy. They were called "colonial government functionaries" by the government because they came with a Royal decree meant to serve the Catholic Dutch people, especially soldiers serving in Indonesia. The other side was that the Governor-General could replace or transfer the missionaries according to the interests of the colonial government. Because of this "uncomfortable situation," the Catholic mission was called a religion of *quasi serva, in vinculis gubernii constricta* (a slave in the circle of government boundaries). This situation would get a new perspective after the conflict between Bishop Jacobus Grooff and J.J. Rochussen (1845). After the conflict, which would later be referred to as the "Grooff Affair," the relationship between the Catholic Church (Catholic mission) and the Dutch colonial government would have a new perspective.[7] On May 8, 1807, the Apostolic Prefecture of Batavia was formed, with the first Apostolic Prefect J. Nelissen. For the first time, the Indonesian mission area was separated from the Apostolic Prefecture of the Indian Ocean Islands. On April 3, 1841, the Apostolic Prefect of Batavia became the Apostolic Vicariate of Batavia with Bishop Grooff as the first Apostolic Vicar. He arrived in Indonesia in 1845.

Both the Portuguese and Dutch Catholic missionaries came on merchant ships. The Portuguese missionaries in Indonesia had no "ties" with the trading authorities (colonialism). Whereas the Dutch missionaries who came to the East Indies (Indonesia)

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5   Gerard van Winsen, *Rooms-Katholieke Missie in Indonesië;* and Gerard van Winsen, "Motifs de l'Assistance Missionaire Hollandaise á l'Indonésie (1800-1920)," 52-61.

6   A. H. L. Hensen, "Het Onstaan van de Rooms-Katholieke Missie in Nederlands-Indïe." *De Katholiek*, No. 133 (1908): 274-95; MPM. Muskens, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia (History of the Catholic Church of Indonesia) Jilid 3b* (Jakarta: Dokumen Penerangan Kantor Wali Gereja Indonesia, 1974); and Gerard van Winsen, *Rooms-Katholieke Missie in Indonesië.*

7   J. J. Kleintjes, "Mgr. Grooff, Apostolisch Vicaris van Batavia," *Bijdragen Bisdom Haarlem*, No. 47 (1931): 399; and Gerard van Winsen, "Motifs de l'Assistance Missionaire Hollandaise á l'Indonésie (1800-1920)," 52-61.

after 1800 were "bound by" the colonial rules. This means that the Dutch missionaries were subjected to the colonial political authorities in terms of proclaiming the Gospel with all restrictions which were ratified in the interests of the colonial government.

Why had the Catholic missionaries from the Netherlands been subject to the colonial civil authorities? The reason was that the Dutch government supported the activities of missionaries. When their duties were completed, all the expenses were the responsibility of the colonial government. Consequently, the missionary boundary was, in reality, limited and restricted. The priests sent were mostly diocesans until one day Bishop Vrancken, after the "Grooff Affair" requested the Jesuit Provincial to take up mission in the Dutch East Indies. They arrived in Surabaya in 1859. A new form of missionary activities started.

Catholic Mission after the "Bishop J. Grooff's Affair"

One of the critical events that helped change the strategy of the Catholic mission is what happened in 1845, namely the affair of conflict between Bishop Jacobus Grooff and J.J. Rochussen. Generally speaking, only a few contemporary historians pay attention to this event. It is so essential that, according to Karel Steenbrink, thousands of pages had been written to explain the causes and consequences of the subsequent missionary work in the Dutch East Indies from various perspectives.[8]

Bishop Grooff was the first Apostolic Vicar of Batavia (1842-1846). J.J. Rochussen was the Governor General who represented the political power of the Dutch government in Indonesia (1845-1851). The conflict between the two was directly related to the historical event of the Indonesian mission because one was the leader of the Church, and the other was the leader of political power. This affected the "unique" realm of the relationship between the Church and the state (in the Dutch East Indies). Of course, the aftermath of the conflict would be directly related to the matter of how the relationship between Church and state was defined, regulated, and implemented; or how the work of the Catholic missions would be carried out in compliance with the state laws of the colonial government.

How did the conflict occur? Bishop Grooff was appointed as the first Vicar Apostolic in Batavia. Propaganda Fide issued the decree on September 20, 1842, then confirmed by the Kingdom of the Netherlands decree dated December 16, 1842. Bishop

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[8]   Karel Steenbrink, *Orang-Orang Katolik Di Indonesia 1808-1942 Jilid 1: Suatu Pemulihan Bersahaja 1808-1903*. (Maumere: Penerbit Ledalero, 2006), 36-37.

Grooff served in Suriname or the West Indies when appointed as Apostolic Vicar. Grooff was born in 1800, ordained a priest at age 25, and was appointed Apostolic Prefect of Suriname at a young age (27 years). He was known to be an assertive, kind, and intelligent person. In Suriname, he was once the only existing Catholic priest. At the end of his assignment, he worked in a leper community. Because of his duties, he did not immediately leave Suriname to go to the Dutch East Indies. He returned to the Netherlands and was ordained as the Apostolic Vicar on February 26, 1844, and only left for the Dutch East Indies at the end of 1844 and arrived in Batavia on April 1, 1845.

Bishop Grooff was also known as a person who had firmness in the orthodoxy of the teachings of the Catholic Church.[9] As soon as he arrived in Batavia, he was with four priests who would become co-workers in the mission. He immediately saw the "irregularities" that occurred to the priests in the Vicariate, including Hubertus Jacobus Cartenstat, Arnoldus Grube, and Joannes Antonius van Dijk. Fr. Cartenstat was the representative of the Apostolic Prefect Mgr. Scholten (on duty in Batavia), Grube on duty in Semarang, and Fr. van Dijk (from Surabaya, but there was also Adrianus Thijssen, who got a lot of complaints from his colleagues and the Catholics in Surabaya). All of them were then suspended by Bishop Grooff on September 10, 1845. Suspension means freezing the power of the priesthood from the effectiveness of its pastoral work in an ecclesiastical territory (Batavia). Thus, the priests could not perform priestly functions in the Dutch East Indies. Fr. Thijssen from Surabaya immediately returned to the Netherlands in 1845.[10]

Suspension is usually imposed for various reasons that are considered serious. At that time, one of the severe reasons was the allegations against priests who were in touch with the Freemasons, whether in association or involvement in serious matters such as rituals or being suspected of being sympathizers. Freemasons are a "confraternity" (brotherhood) originating from the Middle Ages and who uphold their ethical concepts and have "naturalistic deistic" beliefs. The members of the Freemasons were the elite group of society that was opposed to the Catholic Church. The Catholic Church itself, based on *In Eminenti Apostolatus* (1738) of Pope Clement XII, viewed Freemasons with their teachings as contrary to the Catholic faith. Pope Leo XIII in *Ab Apostolici* (1890)

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9   J. J. Kleintjes, "Mgr. Grooff, Apostolisch Vicaris van Batavia," 399; and Karel Steenbrink, *Orang-Orang Katolik Di Indonesia 1808-1942 Jilid 1: Suatu Pemulihan Bersahaja 1808-1903*.

10 Karel Steenbrink, *Orang-Orang Katolik Di Indonesia 1808-1942 Jilid 1: Suatu Pemulihan Bersahaja 1808-1903*; and G. Vriens SJ, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia Vol. 2: Wilayah Tunggal Prefektur-Vikariat Abad Ke 19 - Awal Abad Ke 20*. Vol. 2. (Ende Flores: Percetakan Arnoldus, 1972).

and the teachings of the Vatican Council I emphasized that Catholics who were members of Freemasons would automatically be excommunicated.

On the same year of the suspension, a new Governor-General, J.J. Rochussen arrived in Batavia. He heard of the "suspension" of the Catholic priests (Surabaya, Semarang, and Batavia) and immediately adopted a policy that only priests who had obtained permission from the colonial authorities could carry out their duties in the Dutch East Indies. In other words, the Church leader (Bishop Grooff) could not suspend his priests who had *Radicaal* letters by the colonial authority. Because all Catholic priests working in the mission area of the Dutch East Indies were under the authority of the Dutch kingdom and their lives were guaranteed by the government. Thus, the Governor General was against the suspension. There was inevitably a direct conflict between the leader of the Catholic Church and the leader of the colonial government.[11]

On January 19, 1846 Bishop Grooff was summoned by the Governor-General to negotiate the suspension cancellation. According to Rochussen, a Protestant, only the Government could fire or transfer Catholic priests because the priests were sent to the Dutch East Indies by the Government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands at the expense of the state. The Apostolic Vicar could not fire his priests who had obtained permission from the colonial government to provide pastoral services. Meanwhile, Bishop Grooff firmly and clearly stated his position. The domain of the Vicariate area (ecclesiastical area) was his authority. It was his duty to discipline his priests and the territory of this kingdom could not be interfered with by any power, including political power. Bishop Grooff did not want to cancel his suspension and thus was disobedient to the will of the political leader.

Rochussen was adamant in his view that he had complete authority in his area. The Governor General was very angry. Soon after, Bishop Grooff was ordered to leave the Dutch East Indies within 14 days along with the four young priests who had come with him.[12] The reason was that the four priests had not yet obtained permission from the Kingdom of the Netherlands. In fact, the permit had been given and signed on December 12, 1845. Most Catholics did not see the return of Bishop Grooff to the Netherlands as a "defeat" of the Church from the state. The bishop was greeted as a hero who defended the independence and authority of the Catholic Church against political authority (the colonial government). But some clergy viewed Bishop Grooff as unwise because he

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[11]   Armada Riyanto, *Sejarah Misi Surabaya Jilid I 1810-1961: 100 Tahun CM Indonesia*. Vol. I. (Jakarta: Penerbit Obor, 2023), 61-104.

[12]   Karel Steenbrink, *Orang-Orang Katolik Di Indonesia 1808-1942 Jilid 1: Suatu Pemulihan Bersahaja 1808-1903*, 39.

could not negotiate the matter properly. This "Groofff's Affair" will always be considered a crucial event related to Indonesia's relationship between the Church and the state.

In 1847, the entire island of Java (or the whole of the Dutch East Indies) was without a missionary priest. Because Bishop Grooff had dismissed the existing priests and all had returned to the Netherlands, the Governor-General did not approve the young priests who had just arrived to work. The conflict resulted in a "missionary vacuum" throughout Indonesia for two years or more. The Santa Maria Church, the first Catholic Church in Surabaya, was also sealed by the government. No one or any power could resolve this situation in the Dutch East Indies. The Catholic communities in Indonesia could no longer attend the Eucharist.

The Vatican heard the news of the conflict between Bishop Jacobus Grooff and the Governor General. Of course, the most disadvantaged result in that conflict was the work of the Catholic mission. Through the ambassador, Mgr. Ferreiri, the Vatican agreed with the Government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands regarding the work of the Catholic mission in Indonesia. The agreement included, among other things, that if the clergy worked in the Dutch East Indies, they would be provided with a special permit; the Governor-General would be notified regarding the place where the priests would be assigned by the ecclesiastical leader to avoid conflicting missions with Protestant Zending; the Governor-General would not interfere in matters of ecclesiastical authority; the ecclesiastical leader had the full right to suspend his priests without the intervention of the colonial leaders; the administration of ecclesiastical finances was in the hands of Church leaders who had to be reported to the Church council, to the government finance department in the Dutch East Indies for annual inspections. In addition, religious leaders were allowed to send as many missionaries as needed at their own expense; Church leaders had the right to visit their ecclesiastical territory at the expense of the state while still observing security procedures which were the responsibility of the Governor-General; and if the visit was carried out at one's own expense, this had to be communicated, and so on.[13]

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[13] Karel Steenbrink, *Orang-Orang Katolik Di Indonesia 1808-1942 Jilid 1: Suatu Pemulihan Bersahaja 1808-1903*, 39-40; Arn J. H. van der Velden. *De Roomsch-Katholieke Missie in Nederlandsch Oost-Indië 1808-1908.* (Nijmegen: Malmberg, 1908), 126-127; G. Vriens SJ, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia Vol. 2;* Gerard van Winsen, *Rooms-Katholieke Missie in Indonesië;* and Gerard van Winsen, "Motifs de l'Assistance Missionaire Hollandaise á l'Indonésie (1800-1920)."

The agreement would later culminate in the so-called provisions of Article 123 of 1854, where on the one hand, there was independence in proclaiming the Gospel; but still, areas in which missionaries could and could not evangelize were within the restriction of the colonial government, on the other hand. The colonial government no longer interfered in the internal affairs of the Church's authority; *the Dutch Constitution of 1848* mentioned this regulation,[14] but the missionaries still had no freedom to go anywhere. In fact, on many occasions, the missionaries were prohibited from going to Northern or Western Sumatra or Sunda or Madura or Bali, or Papua and from baptizing the natives. In other words, spiritual care was carried out only for the Dutch or European families scattered in the cities. The reason was to avoid conflict with the indigenous people, which would be very detrimental to the interests of the colonial government. Not only that, in principle, the Catholic missions should not be carried out in Protestant Zending mission areas, so that there would not be a possibility of conflict between churches.

The Catholic missions after the Affair of Bishop Jacobus Grooff produced new baptisms, which were modest or very small. However, the Catholic priests often clashed with the colonial authorities because the colonial policies were detrimental to missionary work. In short, in this context, the Catholic Church was even more subject to "restrictions," which made the missionaries not free to proclaim the Gospel. They were only allowed to go places the colonial government had determined. They were even forbidden to baptize the indigenous people. Not surprisingly, the increase in the number of people baptized was very slow. In Surabaya itself, after nearly a hundred years of missionary presence (1810-1900), there were only ten Javanese Catholics. In 1923, when the Congregation of the Mission (CM) fathers came to continue the missionary work of the Jesuits, a report from the Vatican indicated that there were only 40 Catholics of the Javanese people.[15]

In Central Java, the Catholic mission got a different enthusiasm from the missionary creativity of Fr. van Lith SJ, who founded the Muntilan (1904) and Mendut

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[14]   The Dutch Constitution of 1848: Before 1848, any regulations on missions in the Dutch East Indies depended on the Queen of the Netherlands giving instructions, and the Governor-General followed the Queen's instructions. However, due to the 1848 Constitution, supervision and restrictions related to the spread of religion in the mission lands had to be established by law and approved by parliament. In the 1848 Constitution, the government's oversight of the Catholic mission was repressive, controlling or punishing in case of violations (Vriens SJ 1972:44).
[15]   Armada Riyanto, *80 Tahun Romo-Romo CM Di Indonesia [The 80th Anniversary of the CM Fathers in Indonesia]* (Surabaya: Provinsi CM Indonesia, 2003).

Schools (1906). In 1904, Fr. van Lith baptized 158 Javanese in Sendang Sono, Kalibawang. [16] The Catholic mission then was realized in its form, which was increasingly influential to the lives of the indigenous people with educational work. Fr. van Lith's educational work became the emblem of the missionary work of the Catholic Church. Later, "Catholic education" would contribute to the journey of the entire Indonesian nation to the period of its independence until now. The "integration" of Catholic spirituality into the journey of the independence movement would be built mainly by the work of the Catholic educational mission. The mission of Catholic education in Indonesia is not meant to proselytize but to build a human character who is virtuous and loves his nation. In fact, the leaders of the Indonesian nation from the movement until the next came from Catholic education. Catholic education was to pursue quality and fight the illiteracy that dominated the nation then. It also educates children about a deep love for the Indonesian motherland.

The Mission After 1924

The year 1924 was said to be, for the first time, the Apostolic Vicars of Indonesia (which at that time consisted of Jakarta, Kalimantan, Nusa Tenggara, and Maluku-Irian) and the Apostolic Prefects met to discuss the state of the Church. The meeting took place in Batavia (Jakarta) because there was recognition from the colonial government that they were the legitimate leaders of the Catholic community or the formation of the *Nadere Regeling* in The Hague (1913), where the minister of colony affairs was located. On May 15-16, 1924, the first session of the Indonesian Bishops' Conference was held at the Jakarta Cathedral rectory. This session was chaired by Bishop A. van Velsen, SJ., Vicar of Jakarta. The Mission Leaders in Indonesia were also present, including Fr. Theophilus de Backere CM as the mission leader in the Surabaya area. Among the many themes discussed, the Ordinaries agreed to suggest abolishing Article 123 of the *Regerings Reglement* (1853/4), which prevented missionaries' freedom to go anywhere they wanted to preach the Gospel. This point would be emphasized again in the 1925 Council, which was presided over by the Apostolic Delegate.[17]

This step was a remarkable advance in missionary work. This period and in the future would be a period of the growth of the number of Catholics in Indonesia. Karel

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[16] G. Vriens SJ, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia Vol. 2*, 15.

[17] MPM. Muskens, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia (History of the Catholic Church of Indonesia) Jilid 3b* (Jakarta: Dokumen Penerangan Kantor Wali Gereja Indonesia, 1974): 1431-1442.

Steenbrink called this period a "fruitful period," where new baptisms abounded in the work of Catholic missions in Indonesia.[18] In the Apostolic Prefectures throughout Indonesia, the establishment of seminaries for the education of indigenous clergy was also encouraged. In addition, the missionaries were very active in establishing schools in villages and cities in the following years. But, in the context of the mission of the period after 1924 until the Japanese occupation, the missionaries complained about a lack of money. Aid from the Netherlands or Europe naturally decreased drastically following the Malaise era, the world's great economic crisis in the early 1930s.

One of the crucial breakthroughs is also in the field of mass media. The Vicars and Apostolic Prefects agreed to establish and strengthen the Catholic press. There were monthly journals to be established at the prefectural levels, or profound thoughts were being made on starting a Catholic publication in Dutch and the local language. Later in Surabaya, during the Establishment of the Apostolic Prefecture in 1928, a publication called *Katholieke Gids* was established, where Catholic writers conducted many discussions and debates against anti-Church opinions.[19] Not only that, it was also agreed that Catholic missionaries should learn the local language and culture. Here comes the initial awareness of how missionary work must include efforts to "root" faith in the local culture. In the Surabaya Prefecture, the mission leader, Mgr. Theophilus de Backere CM, strongly encouraged his missionaries to learn the Javanese language. At the same time, the Lazarist missionaries also sought pastoral care for people who spoke Mandarin and Dutch.[20] Not only learning the Javanese, the CM missionaries in Surabaya Prefecture also established schools in many villages. The history of establishing village schools showed how missionaries worked with the local communities. Village leaders or local religious leaders assisted some of them in establishing and running these community schools. The missionaries not only approached the Javanese "culture" but also familiarized themselves with it, studied it, and in the future, they also carried out a sort of "inculturation" in the proclamation of the Catholic faith. Later, in this context, Fr. Jan Wolters CM founded the church building of Pohsarang, which has become a pilgrimage

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[18] Karel Steenbrink, *Orang-Orang Katolik Di Indonesia 1808-1942: Pertumbuhan Yang Spektakuler Dari Minoritas Yang Percaya Diri 1903-1942. Jilid 2. (Transl. from Catholics in Indonesia 1808-1942: A Documentary History Volume 2, the Spectacular Growth of a Self-Confident Minority 1903-1942)* (Maumere: Penerbit Ledalero, 2006).

[19] Jan Haest, "De Missie van Soerabaia." *De Katholieke Gids. Weekblad Voor de Prefectuur Soerabaia*, (June 1934): 157-403.

[20] Armada Riyanto, *80 Tahun Romo-Romo CM Di Indonesia*; and Armada Riyanto, *Sejarah Misi Surabaya Jilid I 1810-1961: 100 Tahun CM Indonesia*. Vol. I. (Jakarta: Penerbit Obor, 2023), 228-241.

site not only for Catholics but also for people from other religions. In these times, the context of the Catholic mission was increasingly seen as a process of "inculturation." The Catholic missions were becoming more "Javanese" and no longer "European." In this era, the Catholic mission was in the harvest season. The "harvest" time in the context period after 1924/1925 would have been halted for several years during the Japanese occupation (1942-1945). At the time of the arrival of the Japanese, the mission situation in Indonesia experienced severe "damages." In fact, many dioceses experienced it for a long time afterward.

The Catholic mission in the Japanese occupation period has been written in various books and publications.[21] During World War II, the Catholic mission in Indonesia did not die because the indigenous priests, with the help of reliable lay figures, enthusiastically lit the fire of the Catholic faith. Because the number of missionaries was so small, since all the missionaries were detained in the concentration camps, there were tremendous difficulties in the small areas or stations. In the Vicariate of Surabaya, mission lands that had been purchased and built for chapels or churches were damaged, destroyed, or then "taken" by mass groups. It was until a few years later, they could only be restored. Or in many cases, in the Catholic stations, many mission lands and churches were abandoned and ended up being used by residents or as public schools, while the chapels were demolished.

This period is short – in the context of the mission in the Vicariate of Surabaya (because Surabaya became one of the epicenters of World War II) – but the damage suffered by the Catholic mission was enormous. The missionaries themselves were almost all physically exhausted and deteriorating. Catholic missions in the post-World War II period had a "restorative" character. Not all station areas that had received the Gospel before the war could be restored.[22]

There is also something to remember: the Catholic Church is becoming "more Indonesian," as the European or Dutch Catholics are decreasing in number because they are going back to the Netherlands or emigrating to Europe or other places due to the

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[21] Jan Bank, *Katolik Di Masa Revolusi Indonesia (Transl. from Katholieken En de Indonesische Revolutie / The Catholics in Time of Revolution of Indonesia)* (Jakarta: Grasindo bekerja sama dengan KITLV, 1999).

[22] Armada Riyanto, et al., "Memoria Passionis of the Vincentian Missionaries during the Japanese Invasion: A Glimpse of the 100 Years of the Lazarists' Mission in Indonesia." *Bogoslovni Vestnik* 83. Vol. 1 (2023):103-24. doi: 10.34291/BV2023/01/Riyanto.

political tension at the lower levels. Statistically, the number of Indonesian Catholics is increasing in line with the decline of the Dutch/European population.

The missionaries' service in other languages, such as Dutch, Mandarin and Javanese, is fading along with the development of the Indonesian language. Until the 1960s, the Apostolic Vicar of Surabaya, Bishop J. Klooster CM, still wrote the Pastoral Letter in two languages (Indonesian and Dutch). Even though services to Catholics according to their language were no longer available, Church leaders strongly urge Catholics to explore Indonesian culture. This is where the context of the lay people's "intellectual apostolate" and "political apostolate" find their fruitful period.[23]

The Catholic Mission After *Quod Christus*

1961 was the year when the Catholic Church in Indonesia became the "Indonesian Church definitively." This means that thanks to the Bull of the *Quod Christus Adorandus* from Pope John XXIII, ecclesiastical areas in Indonesia were erected to become dioceses. This is the so-called moment of "hierarchical establishment" of the Catholic Church in Indonesia. What are the consequences of the *Quod Christus*?

The bishop has all the authority to organize and manage his territory more autonomously. The relationship between the diocese and the religious congregations or congregations that have worked or established their diocese has to be addressed. Another consequence is the growing diocese with the participation of the laity. After the year of the Establishment of the Hierarchy in Indonesia, the Catholic Church made improvements in the renewal of the Second Vatican Council. The church is newer and more and more self-renewing in line with the spirit of the Second Vatican Council.

Seminary establishments.[24] Thanks to the creativity of the Dutch missionaries, the Indonesian Catholic Church is highly involved and committed to the education of indigenous clergy. Clerical education may have been encouraged since the Encyclical *Maximum Illud*, but more widely since World War II. In the end, after the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), more and more educational centers for prospective priests were established in Indonesia. Today, there are 12 educational institutions (major seminaries)

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[23] Armada Riyanto, *Sejarah Misi Surabaya Jilid II 1962-2022: 100 Tahun CM Indonesia* (Jakarta: Penerbit Obor, 2023).

[24] Armada Riyanto, "Sejarah STFT Widya Sasana 1971-2021 (Sketsa Peristiwa & Tradisi Talenta)." in A. Sad Budianto ed., *Buku Kenangan Dies Natalis 50 Sekolah Tinggi Filsafat Teologi Widya Sasana*, (Malang: Widya Sasana Publication, 2021), 34-123.

for priest candidates. Besides, there are over 20 higher educations in pastoral disciplines and catechesis for lay people. Some are as follows: 1. Theological Department of Sanata Dharma University, Yogyakarta, which was started by the Archdiocese of Semarang, Society of Jesus (S.J.), and Missionary of the Sacred Family (M.S.F.). 2. Philosophical Department of the Catholic University of Parahyangan, Bandung, initiated by the diocese and the Order of the Holy Cross (O.S.C.). 3. Philosophical Department of the Catholic University of St. Thomas, Pematang Siantar, Medan, where the Dioceses of Sumatra and Franciscan Capuchins send their students. 4. Philosophical Department of the Catholic University of Widya Mandala, Surabaya. 5. Philosophical Department of the Catholic University of Widya Mandira, Kupang. 6. Institute of Philosophy and Creative Technology, Ledalero, Flores, which was started by the Divine Word Society (S.V.D). 7. School of Philosophy Theology, Fajar Timur, West Papua. 8. School of Philosophy and Major Seminary, Pineleng, Manado, initiated by the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (M.S.C.) and the Diocese of Manado. 9. School of Philosophy Theology, Widya Sasana, Malang, which was initially the fruit of the collaboration of the Vincentians and Carmelites (O.Carm) in 1971. 10. School of Philosophy Theology, Drijarkara, Jakarta, which the Jesuits, the Archdiocese of Jakarta, and Franciscans started. 11. Major Seminary of Pastor Bonus, Pontianak, which the Bishops of Kalimantan created. 12. School of Catholic Religion, Bandol, West Kalimantan, initiated by the Congregation of Sancti Eliae (CSE).

Missionaries often craved that their missionary work would bear much fruit by establishing seminaries. The Indonesian Church is probably still relatively "young" from an age point of view. However, currently in Indonesia, "many" seminaries not only deal with the field of theology but also higher education for the pastoral field and catechesis for the layman. Now Widya Sasana School of Philosophy Theology can present a doctoral theology study program accredited by the Indonesian National Accreditation Board.

Concluding Remarks

A chronological history provides a straightforward journey of how the Catholic Church has passed through the ages. There are moments that significantly "drive" and "guide" the development of historical context and moments of events that are not significantly in the same context. The Indonesian Catholic Church belongs to the category of a young Church. As in many places in Asia, the Catholic faith came with colonialism. However, the Catholic mission was not part of colonialism. When

colonialism was removed, the Catholic Church continued to grow and flourish on Indonesian soil. The Catholic Church survived because it did not utilize the colonial system to spread its faith to the Indonesian people. Instead, the Dutch East Indies colonial government persecuted Catholics in many places.

The Catholic laypeople have played a crucial role in the life of the Church, not only as "helpers" of missionaries but also as "evangelizers" through their duties as teachers, businessmen, and so on. The Indonesian Catholics are aware of integrating themselves into the Indonesian nation's and local people's cultures, as mentioned by Petrus Maria Muskens, a Church historian who later became the Bishop of Breda: "I spent two months in India, Pakistan, Thailand, and Bangladesh. I visited the Catholic centers there. It seemed surprising to me what I saw in Indonesia. The Catholics are so fully recognized, accepted, integrated, and even influential that they have no lack of self-esteem as Indonesian Catholics."[25]

History is not just about chronological events. The history of the Indonesian Catholic Church has a "frame," which means not only that of the period but also a kind of "spirit" that guides the integration of the Catholic Church into the Indonesian context as a whole from time to time. The Catholics recognize themselves as an integral part of the whole nation, and Indonesia is a nation that has been navigating the sea of its identity. The significant contribution of the Catholics is to embrace a new "spirit," namely the "spirit" of the pilgrimage of a nation that is pursuing its cultural identity. The Catholic Church (Catholics) and other fellows from different backgrounds of belief do not seek to fight for their own identity but the identity of being Indonesian. The higher institutions of priestly formation of the major seminaries and catechesis across the country are also some of the Catholics' full integration into the Indonesian culture and socio-politics.

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[25] MPM. Muskens, Introduction, *Sejarah Gereja Katolik Indonesia [History of the Catholic Church of Indonesia] Vol. 1* (Jakarta: Kantor Wali Gereja Indonesia, 1974).

【摘要】印尼天主教傳教團的歷史及其與傳信部的關係，為從葡萄牙和荷蘭殖民主義到現在的掙扎之間，畫下了一個動態的分段：從葡萄牙傳教士建立天主教團體到荷蘭東印度公司兩世紀以來的迫害；從巴達維亞第一位宗座代牧和荷蘭殖民政府總督之間的「原始衝突」（1845 年）到主教們呼籲廢除對印尼天主教傳教的壓制性規定（1924）；從二三十年代「卓有成效」的傳教時期，到日本入侵造成的巨大破壞，導致所有荷蘭傳教士被拘留，造成真正的傳教危機；從印尼作為傳教地區到印尼天主教會向世界各地派遣傳教士。在這段歷史回顧中，傳教團重大貢獻的最重要現象之一，是為神職人員和平信徒建立了高等教育機構來培育教義。這些機構與國內其他類似的國立或私立機構一樣，得到正式和同等的認可和承認，幫助印尼天主教徒在歷史上充分地融入印尼的文化和社會政治。

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Beginning with Obstacles:
The First Attempts of the Propaganda Fide to Establish Relations with China

Claudia von Collani

[Abstract] During the early Qing dynasty, the situation in the China mission became more and more complex. At the beginning of early modern times, Italian Jesuits like Michele Ruggieri (1543–1607) and Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) under the Portuguese Padroado succeeded in opening the China mission by the method of accommodation and in this way got into contact with Chinese scholars. The *Societas Jesu* and Portugal kept China closed off to other orders. Only after 1630 could Spanish Mendicants coming via the Philippines start their missions in Southern China. The foundation of Propaganda Fide in 1622 was done with the intention to free mission from national interests by creating the office of Vicars Apostolic in the Far East. The first Vicar Apostolic who could enter China, however, was François Pallu, MEP (1626–1684) in 1684. He started a new era of the China mission which became quite prospective with the Edict of Tolerance issued by the Kangxi Emperor (1662–1722) in 1692. More and more missionaries followed: Jesuits from Portugal, Italy and the Holy Empire of German Nation sent by the Portuguese Padroado, Spanish Mendicants from the Philippines, French Jesuits sent by Louis XIV, Italian Franciscans, Lazarists and members of the "Missions Étrangères de Paris" sent by Propaganda Fide. The good conditions and intentions to bring salvation to the Chinese people, however, did not bring success but caused new problems because of different national interests, theological backgrounds and ecclesiastical politics. In 1693 the Vicar Apostolic of Fujian, Charles Maigrot MEP (1652–1730) started anew the Rites Controversy which led to the disastrous papal legation of Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon (1668–1710) to the imperial court from 1705–1706.

In my paper I want to describe the first attempts of Apostolic Legate Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon (1668–1710) to establish in Peking permanent diplomatic relations between China and the Holy See through the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (Propaganda Fide). One reason why these attempts failed was the close connection with the question of the Chinese Rites and Terms whereas another reason was Tournon's personality.

Prehistory: the question of the first Vicars Apostolic

In early modern times, China was the utopia and dream of missionaries of all religious orders who wanted to convert its emperor, hoping that then his people would follow and afterwards all other tributary nations. Especially missionaries of three powers wanted to go to China for its conversion: Portugal, Spain and the Propaganda Fide. The Society of Jesus, known as the Jesuits, was the first to start mission in China with Michele Ruggieri (1543–1607) and Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), followed by other Jesuits from different nations. Since 1630, Spanish mendicants (Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians) from the Philippines came to China, and in 1688, French Jesuits sent by Louis XIV arrived there. In principle, the region of the Far East belonged to the sphere of influence of Portuga with its Padroado, meaning that only the Portuguese crown could send missionaries and had to sustain them, as well as build cathedrals, cloisters, monasteries, and convents, and to pay bishops. The Portuguese missionaries, however, were joined by missionaries from other orders, but they had to swear an oath to the Portuguese crown.[1]

As it is well-known, the main purpose for founding the Propaganda Fide in 1622 was to strengthen the missions and to organize the missionary activities centered in and sustained by Rome independently from national interests and influence. An indigenous clergy with an indigenous hierarchy would be educated in and for the mission countries to create a local church instead of only a mission.[2] In East Asia and Southern East Asia, this procedure attacked directly the two Iberian powers of Spain and Portugal. In the course of the 17th century, however, it became clear that Portugal could no longer meet its obligations for the mission because it lacked personal and financial means. There were not enough Portuguese-run dioceses, they were too vast, and there was a considerable

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[1]   Nicolas Standaert (ed.), *Handbook of Christianity in China. Volume One: 635-1800.* (Handbook of Oriental Studies, section 4: China 15/1. Handbuch der Orientalistik, Abt. 4: China 15) (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2001), 286.

[2]   Standaert, *Handbook*, 289f.

lack of priests, which could not be met by Portugal even by sending missionaries of other nations. The Jesuits worked closely together with the Portuguese crown, but even by sending Jesuits from other nations it was impossible to have enough missionaries.[3] Therefore, from the perspective of the papacy, the necessity of an indigenous clergy and an indigenous hierarchy became urgent, and they could continue the mission even in times of persecutions.[4]

The Propaganda Fide started founding Apostolic Vicariates, quasi-bishoprics in the Far East. Beginning in 1576, Macau was the only diocese for the whole of China and was dependent on the archdiocese Goa.[5] The transmission to an indigenous hierarchy should be solved by the erection of Apostolic Vicariates, which should be occupied by titulary bishops without jurisdiction, directly dependent to the Holy See.[6] To get sufficient candidates for the Far East a missionary congregation was founded by the initiative of the Jesuit Alexandre de Rhodes (1591–1660) in France in 1660, *the Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris* (the Paris Foreign Mission Society, MEP). The secular priests of the MEP worked for a certain time in East Asia and Southern East Asia to promote the education of an indigenous clergy with hierarchy.[7]

With the papal brief, *Super Cathedram* of September 9, 1659, Alexander VII subdivided East Asia into three vast Apostolic Vicariates, independent from Macau: Nanking (China), Tonkin (today Northern Vietnam), and Cochinchina (Southern Vietnam). These Vicariates had also the administration of provinces in China. The three Vicariates were headed by members of the MEP: by François Pallu (1625–1684, titular bishop of Heliopolis and Vicar Apostolic of Tonkin); Pierre Lambert de la Motte (1624–1679, titular bishop of Beryte and Vicar Apostolic of Cochinchina); and Ignazio Cotolendi (1630–1662, titular bishop of Metellopolis, Vicar Apostolic of Nanjing).[8]

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3   At first the Society of Jesus had the exclusive right to spread the Gospel under the Padroado. Standaert, *Handbook*, 296.

4   Adelhelm Jann, *Die katholischen Missionen in Indien, China und Japan: ihre Organisation und das portugiesische Patronat vom 15. bis ins 18. Jahrhundert* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1915), 210-213.

5   Jann, *Missionen*, 170-173.

6   Jann, *Missionen*, 214, 254. For more information about the Propaganda Fide see the articles in the volumes edited by Josef Metzler, *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide memoria rerum* I/1-III (Freiburg: Herder, 1971-1973), 38-196.

7   *BM* V, Nr. 1674. Donald Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe III: A Century of Advance. 1: Trade, Missions, Literature* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1993), 231f.

8   Josef Metzler, *Die Synoden in Indochina 1625–1934* (Paderborn, München: Schöningh, 1984), 11f.

The Siamese capital Ayutthaya, an important center of commerce, became the first station of the MEP in the East under its ruler, Phrai Narai (Narai the Great, 1656–1688), who favored foreigners and the Christian religion.[9] The MEP held a synod there and issued a document, the *Monita ad Missionarios* (1664), and founded a seminary for the education of future priests for East Asia.[10] These new jurisdictional appointments by Propaganda Fide came very suddenly and therefore caused conflicts with the Iberian nations.[11]

Missionaries of the Propaganda Fide Going to China

The only one of the first Vicars Apostolic, François Pallu, reached the province of Fujian together with Charles Maigrot MEP (1652–1730) in 1684. Three Italian Reformed Franciscans sent by the Propaganda Fide arrived in the same year, among them Bernardino della Chiesa (1644–1721, titular bishop of Argolis).[12] A short time before he died, Pallu named Maigrot as his successor as administrator and Vicar Apostolic of four Chinese provinces, while della Chiesa was made Vicar Apostolic of five provinces.[13] The coming of Pallu, however, changed the attitude of the members of the MEP in China towards the Chinese Rites. Pallu had arrived in China with a negative attitude concerning the Jesuits and their methods of missionizing. During his travels he had met the Dominican Domingo Fernandez Navarrete (1610–1689) in 1671, and both became friends.[14] Fernandez Navarrete, an adversary of the Jesuits and of their attitude towards

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[9]   Metzler, *Synoden*, 14f.
[10] Metzler. *Synoden*, 25. The booklet *Instructiones ad munera Apostolica ritè obeunda Perutiles Missionibus Chinæ, Tunchini, Cochinchinæ, atq[ue] Siami accommodatæ, a Missionarijs S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, Juthiæ Regia Siami congregatis Anno Domini 1665, concinnatæ…* (Romæ 1669) describes the method which should be used or not used by missionaries sent by the Propaganda Fide. It promoted a kind of accommodation, which, however, should not go as far as the accommodation of the Jesuits.
[11] Jann, *Missionen*, 174-176.
[12] Anastasius van den Wyngaert, Georges Mensaert, introduction, *Sincia Franciscana V: Relationes et epistolas Illmi D. Fr. Bernardini Della Chiesa O.F.M.*, ed. Anastasius van den Wyngaert, Georges Mensaert (Roma: Collegium S. Antonii, 1954), XXXIV-XXXVII. Della Chiesa started from Europe in 1680 and arrived in 1684 together with Giovanni Nicolai da Leonissa (1656–1737) and Basilio Brollo da Gemona (1648–1704).
[13] van den Wyngaert, Mensaert, introduction, *Sincia Franciscana* V, XLI.
[14] François Pallu, "Lettre, aux procureurs des Vicaires Apostoliques, Madagascar, 4 août 1671," in *Lettres de Monseigneur Pallu écrites de 1654 à 1684* (Paris: Indes savantes, 2008), 156; J.S. Cummins, *A Question of Rites. Friar Domingo Navarrete and the Jesuits in China* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1993), 175f.

Chinese Rites and Terms wanted to fight the decision of the Holy Office that had favored Martino Martini's SJ (1614–1661) representation of the Rites in 1656.[15] Even before he arrived in China, Pallu became convinced that the China mission was in a miserable condition and he was the one to solve the problems there.[16] Therefore, he started the initiative that the Vicars Apostolic should govern all missionaries in China. He obtained the Brief, *Cum haec Sancta Sedes* (October10, 1678) from the Pope that mandated an oath of obedience from all religious orders to the Vicars Apostolic to confirm the rights of the Vicars. All missionaries would have to work under this rule, under punishment of excommunication.[17] We can imagine that problems soon started with the Portuguese and Spanish crowns and the religious orders.[18]

Whereas the Jesuits obeyed, the Spanish mendicants were forbidden by their oath to the Spanish crown to do so. When they refused, Pallu suspended them from their missionary activity.[19] After Pallu's death, his successor as administrator, Maigrot, demanded the oath even from his colleagues, the Vicars Apostolic della Chiesa and Gregorio López OP (1617‒1691, Luo Wenzao 羅文藻).[20] Both refused, and finally della Chiesa, the only consecrated bishop then in China, dispensed all missionaries from the oath, despite Maigrot's opposition.[21] After an official complaint by the canonist Alvaro de Benavente OSA (1647–1709, later Vicar Apostolic of Jiangxi) sent by the Spanish mendicants and della Chiesa to Rome, Innocent XI abolished the obligation for all religious men on November 23, 1688, but they had to accept apostolic visitations.[22]

The relations between Rome, the Vicars Apostolic, and the missionaries were complicated because of the vast distance to Rome and because of the special rights of

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[15] J.S. Cummins, ed., *The Travels and Controversies of Friar Domingo Navarrete 1618-1686,* II (Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1962), 425-430; Metzler, *Synoden*, 31.

[16] François Pallu, "Lettre, à M. de Nesmond, Fort-Dauphin, 4 août 1671", in: *Lettres,* 739; cf. Cummins, *Travels*, 426.

[17] Jann, *Missionen*, 247-250.

[18] Jann, *Missionen*, 246.

[19] Van den Wyngaert, Mensaert, introduction, *Sincia Franciscana* V, XXXVI.

[20] Gregorio López was Vicar Apostolic of Nanking since 1674 and titular bishop of Basilinopolis, he was consecrated by Della Chiesa in 1685. Van den Wyngaert, Mensaert, introduction, *Sincia Franciscana* V, XLIII.

[21] Anastase Van den Wyngaert, "Mgr Fr. Pallu et Mgr Bernardin della Chiesa. Le serment de fidelité aux Vicaires Apostoliques 1680-1688", *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 31 (1938) 17-47; Van den Wyngaert, Mensaert, introduction, *Sincia Franciscana* V, XXXVIII.

[22] Guy Tachard SJ (1651–1712) succeeded to do the same for the Jesuits. Van den Wyngaert, Mensaert, introduction, *Sincia Franciscana* V, XXXIX, 266. – Benavente was titular bishop of Ascalon, he was consecrated by della Chiesa in 1700.

the different orders. After Pallu's death in 1684, Maigrot was confirmed as Vicar Apostolic for Fujian by the Propaganda Fide in 1687, while della Chiesa still administered four provinces. Pedro II of Portugal (1683–1706), however, succeeded in receiving new concessions from Alexander VIII in 1690, so that Portugal obtained rights to two more dioceses, Peking and Nanking. In 1696, Portugal extended the boundaries of its new dioceses so that they included the whole of China. Propaganda Fide, however, continued with its efforts to establish Apostolic Vicariates. To conciliate Propaganda Fide, Portugal proposed that Gregorio López and della Chiesa should become bishops of its newly created bishoprics. It took, however, several years until they received the briefs for their nomination. In the meantime, López died, whereas della Chiesa received his nomination as bishop of Peking only in 1700. Innocent XII then ordered these dioceses to include two provinces each; the other nine provinces became Vicariates; and Maigrot was named Vicar Apostolic of Fujian and titular bishop of Conon.[23]

His unpleasant experiences with Portugal made della Chiesa suspicious. He proposed that Propaganda Fide send an Apostolic Delegate to China and install a superior for all missionaries there.[24] In his letter to Propaganda Fide, della Chiesa complained that the Portuguese impeded the coming of new missionaries to China,[25] and in a letter to Innocent XII, dated October 12, 1696, della Chiesa asked again for a delegate from Rome with the complete necessary authority and independent from Portugal.[26] In the meantime, the situation had changed for Portugal and the Jesuits because Louis XIV of France had sent five French Jesuits to China. They arrived in China in 1688, but from the beginning of their time in China, they met the opposition of the Portuguese Jesuits.[27]

Earlier, in 1685, Canton (Guangzhou) was opened as port for foreign trade, and then in 1692, the Kangxi Emperor 康熙 (1662 – 1722) issued his Edict of Toleration in favor of Christianity.[28] During his fourth Southern tour of 1703, however, the Kangxi

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[23] Della Chiesa as the only acting bishop in China consecrated Maigrot on 14 March 1700. *Sincia Franciscana* V, 411.

[24] Van den Wyngaert, Mensaert, introduction, *Sincia Franciscana* V, LII; Bernardino della Chiesa, "Epistola ad Cardinales S.C., Nanking, 19 Decembris 1695", *Sincia Franciscana* V, 336: "De necessitate in Sinis delegate S. Sedis ad dirimendas contentiones inevitabiles inter episcopos lusitanos et missionaries non lusitanos".

[25] Della Chiesa, "Epistola ad Cardinales S.C., Nanking, 10 Octobris 1696". *Sincia Franciscana* V, 347f.

[26] Della Chiesa, "Epistola ad Innocentium Papam XII, Nanking, 12 Octobris 1696". *Sincia Franciscana* V, 350f.

[27] Standaert, *Handbook*, 313-318.

[28] Standaert, *Handbook*, 297; Jürgen Osterhammel, *China und die Weltgesellschaft. Vom 18. Jahrhundert bis in unsere Zeit* (München: Beck, 1989), 111-112.

Emperor found many new missionaries from different nations wandering at will who were buying houses and opening churches. Despite the fact that Kangxi was convinced of the good character of most missionaries, he remained on his guard. When he met many groups of missionaries whom he had not expected and whom he did not know, he became angry because he feared political activities.[29] He instructed the Jesuits at court that he wanted to have control over all missionaries under a common superior. This superior, however, should have his permission. Without the permit of this superior, no new missionary should open new churches and houses. Further, missionaries of different nations should live in one house. This general superior also should make an exact catalogue with the names of all missionaries. Fr. Claudio Filippo Grimaldi SJ (1638–1712), the Director of the Bureau for Astronomy, the oldest Jesuit at court and visitor of his order, asked for delay because in the case of the Jesuits, their superior had to be nominated by the Jesuits' general superior in Rome. Nonetheless, Grimaldo promised to deliver a catalogue with the names of the Jesuits.[30]

The Apostolic Delegation of Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon to China

The new start of the Chinese Rites Controversy

After 1680, the situation in the China mission appeared promising. Many new missionaries had arrived in China. Besides the Jesuits sent by the Portuguese Padroado,[31] after 1630, Spanish mendicants (Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians) came via the Philippines. French Jesuits,[32] secular priests and members of the Paris Foreign Mission Society sent by the Propaganda Fide arrived in China.[33] Emperor Kangxi had issued his

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[29] See *Atti Imperiali autentici di varj Trattati, passata nella Regia Corte di Pekino tra l'Imperatore della Cina, e M. Patriarca Antiocheno al presente Sig. Cardinale di Tournon. Negli anni 1705., e 1706*, s.l., s.a., document III, 5. Della Chiesa, „Epistola ad Cardinales S.C., Lintsing, 4 Octobris 1704," *Sincia Franciscana* V, 477. – Jonathan D. Spence, *Ts'ao Yin and the K'ang-hsi Emperor. Bondservant and Master* (New Haven, London: Yale Univ. Press, 1966), 131f, 134f, 137: there was no institution to deal with them. Kangxi's 4th Southern Tour was in 1702–1703 with the heir apparent, with the future Yongzheng emperor and the 13th son.

[30] Della Chiesa, "Epistola ad Cardinales S.C., Lintsing, 4 Octobris 1704." *Sincia Franciscana* V, 477f; cf. Jonathan D. Spence, *Emperor of China. Self-Portrait of K'ang-his* (New York: Vintage Books, 1975), 81.

[31] They belonged to the Chinese Vice-Province.

[32] The French Jesuits became independent from the Vice-Province with their own superior since 1700, only under the rule of the common Jesuit visitor.

[33] Standaert, *Handbook*, 286-300.

Edict of Toleration and had a number of Jesuits in his service at court.[34] But China soon became the place of a new outbreak of the Rites Controversy with the Mandate of Charles Maigrot of 1693. In that document, he forbade all Chinese names for God (*Tian* 天, *Shangdi* 上帝, *Taiji* 太極) besides Tianzhu 天主 and the participation of Chinese Christians in the Rites for the Ancestors and Confucius. When brought to the Holy Office, his Mandate was approved with its prohibitions on November 20, 1704. This decision was to be first published in China by a special papal *legatus a latere*, Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon (1668–1710).[35]

In the meantime, the Jesuits collected material from Chinese and Manchus to defend their position. They believed that the Rites had a purely political and non-religious meaning, and they refuted Maigrot's Mandate regarding the names for God. The most important expert was the Kangxi Emperor himself, to whom the Court Jesuits submitted a petition on November 30, 1700. They asked him for his expertise concerning the names for God and the Rites. In their interpretation, the souls of the dead ancestors did not reside in the ancestral tablets, but these tablets only constituted a symbol of the ancestors who should be thanked. The petition reads:

"Regarding the sacrifices accustomed to be offered to Heaven by the ancient kings and emperors, they are those which the philosophers of China call *Jiao she* [郊社]; that is sacrifices dedicated to Heaven and Earth, in which they say *Shangdi* himself, or the Supreme Lord, is cultivated, and for this same reason, the tablet before which these sacrifices are offered, bears this inscription: Shangdi, that is, the Supreme Lord. From this it is clear that these sacrifices are not offered to the visible and material sky but specifically to the Author and Lord of Heaven, Earth and all things, whom, since they out of great fear and respect do not dare to call him by his own name, they are accustomed to invoke under the names of Supreme Heaven, Beneficent Heaven and Universal Heaven. In the same way, when they speak reverently about the Emperor himself, out of respect in reference to the Emperor they use terms like: beneath the steps of the Throne, or the Greatest Hall of the Palace. These terms differ in themselves but in fact in regard to what is being named are plainly one and the same."[36]

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[34] Kilian Stumpf SJ, *The Acta Pekinensia or Historical Records of the Maillard de Tournon Legation. Volume I December 1705–August 1706*, by Kilian Stumpf S.J., edited by Paul Rule and Claudia von Collani (Monumenta Historica S.I. Nova Series 9) IHSI-MRI (Rome-Macau: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2015), LXVI-LXVIII.

[35] Standaert, *Handbook*, 683.

[36] Rule, von Collani, introduction to the *Acta Pekinensia* 1, LXXXII.

After the Emperor had read this petition, he answered: "All that is contained in this document is well expressed, and in complete agreement with the Great Teaching. It is the common law of the whole world to offer appropriate respect to Heaven, Lords, Parents, Masters and Ancestors. What is contained in this document is very truthful and there is absolutely nothing that requires amendment."[37]

An authenticated copy was sent to Clement XI in Rome with a covering letter. The *Declaratio*, however, was refused by adversaries of the Rites. For them it was falsified by the Jesuits, it was only issued by the Emperor to please the Jesuits, a pagan/atheist prince was no expert in theological things.[38] Only three weeks after the arrival of the document, Tournon was nominated as legate.[39] In the course of Tournon's stay in Peking the question of this *Declaratio* played an important role.

Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon (or Carlo Tommaso) was born into a noble family in the dukedom of Savoy on December 21, 1668. He had obtained a degree in *utroque iure* in Nice and started a career in Rome. Rather suddenly he was asked if he wanted to go to China as a papal legate. He accepted at the end of September 1701 and was elected titular patriarch of Antioch on December 5, 1701 and consecrated December 21, 1701. By the apostolic brief of July 4, 1702, he was appointed apostolic visitor with faculties of *legate a latere* to China and the kingdoms of the East Indies. He started his journey to the Far East with his entourage on February 9, 1703. He landed in Pondicherry and in Coromandel in November 1703, and arrived in Macau on April 2, 1705 after a stay in the Philippines.[40]

The story of this legation was told by the court Jesuit, Kilian Stumpf (1655–1720) in his masterpiece, the *Acta Pekinensia*.[41] The Tournon legation was not only a significant event for the European missionaries in Chinas, but also for the Chinese

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[37] Rule, von Collani, introduction to the *Acta Pekinensia* 1, LXXXIII.

[38] Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia*, 141.

[39] Rule, von Collani, introduction to the *Acta Pekinensia* 1, LXXXIV.

[40] Eugenio Menegon, "A clash of court cultures: papal envoys in early eighteenth century Beijing", in *Europe – China Intercultural Encounters (16th–18th Centuries, Lisbon 2012*, ed. Luís Filipe Barreto (Lisboa: Centro cientifico e cultural de Macau, 2012), 151-155, for his entourage see 157-159; Jann, *Missionen*, 397; Rule, von Collani, introduction to the *Acta Pekinensia*, LI-LIV.

[41] The complete title of the manuscript is: "Acta Pekinensia seu Ephemerides Historiales eorum, quæ Pekini acciderunt à 4.â Decembris Anni 1705 1.â adventûs Ill.mi et Exc.mi Dñi. D. Caroli Thomæ Maillard de Tournon Patriarchæ Antiocheni Visitatoris Apostolici, cum potestate Legati de latere &c." A copy of a great part is in: APF: Inform. liber 162 and 166. See the two volumes with an English translation of the first part of the "Acta Pekinensia" see Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1; cf. Standaert, *Handbook*, 680-688.

themselves. For the first time since the beginning of the China mission by Matteo Ricci, a Papal legate visited China and for the first time acknowledged the young Church. Therefore, the Chinese and the Europeans had high expectations which Tournon could not fulfil. In contrast, his visit accelerated the ruin of the mission. Besides the publication of the prohibitions he carried from Rome, Tournon was to investigate the missionaries' opinions concerning the Chinese Rites and Terms. Rome expected him to try to open an office for Propaganda Fide / Pope in Peking as a kind of papal Nunciature, as well as collect and unite all missionaries together under a common superior.[42] This delegation, however, began under a cloud and was not well prepared. The first problem was that Tournon was too young, too self-confident, only used to the Roman Curia and not to real life, hoping for a future church career, and was already ill when he left Europe.[43] Last but not least: he had no idea about the situation at the Imperial court and about the role of the Chinese emperor.

Eugenio Menegon compared the two quite different systems of court culture in China and Europe. In his opinion, the greatest problem for Tournon was that Tournon had no information about the life at the Imperial court, because none of the Jesuits there had been asked and given their advice before Tournon's start. Propaganda Fide only knew some missionaries who came from the provinces, such as Giovan Francesco Nicolai da Leonessa OFM (1656–1737).[44] The Court Jesuits in Peking, on the other hand, were experts but they were regarded with suspicion by Tournon and his entourage. The results of these different conditions were disastrous for Christianity. The greatest problem, however, was the fact that there were two different ways to deal with other peoples and other religions in China and Europe.[45]

At the least, after his arrival in Southern China Tournon should have asked for advice from the court of Peking. There was even a compatriot of his at an important place at court, namely Claudio Filippo Grimaldi (1638–1712), Jesuit visitor and director of the Imperial Bureau of Astronomy, *Qintian jian*.[46] But Tournon mistrusted the Jesuits.

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[42] Claudia von Collani, "Claudio Filippo Grimaldi S.J. zur Ankunft des päpstlichen Legaten Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon in China", *Monumenta Serica* 42 (1994) 329f.

[43] Rule, von Collani, introduction to the *Acta Pekinensia* 1, LIIIf.

[44] Menegon, "Court cultures", 148. – Giovan Francesco had been in China and been elected Vicar Apostolic of Huguang (1696 until his death). He was in China from 1684–1696, afterwards in Rome where he worked against the Chinese Rites.

[45] Cf. Menegon, "Court cultures", 141.

[46] See Rule, von Collani, introduction to the *Acta Pekinensia*, XXXVf. Grimaldi had asked the Emperor several times to invite Tournon to the court. – Both were born into Savoyard nobility and Grimaldi had been guest in Tournon's family when he stayed in Europe 1688–1692 as

Supported by Clement XI, he demonstrated official Roman power with arrogance and displayed choleric behavior during his stay in China, and he condemned many missionaries, priests and books for various reasons.[47]

Tournon arrived in China in the beginning of April 1705.[48] At first, he decided to go to Peking hiding his business, but then changed his opinion and he wanted the Jesuits at Court to organize an invitation from the Emperor (May 8, 1705). The Jesuit functionaries at Court (the visitor Claudio Filippo Grimaldi, the Vice-Provincial Tomás Pereira 1645–1708, Antoine Thomas 1644–1709, and Jean-François Gerbillon 1654–1707 as French Superior) therefore made the following petition to the Emperor:

"The chief vassal of the Supreme Pontiff, Superior General of all the Missionaries in China, named Duoluo [多羅], accompanied by a doctor and a surgeon, and bringing goods originating in his homeland, is coming to respectfully offer them [i.e. gifts] to Your Majesty. Now his arrival in Canton has been announced by Min Mingwo [閩明我 = Fr. Claudio Filippo Grimaldi]."[49] At first, Kangxi refused such a visit: *Bu lai ba* 不來吧 "he should not come."[50] Only after a petition made by Grimaldi on his knees, Kangxi finally decided to invite the legate to the Imperial Court on July 22, 1705.[51]

Rituals and Ceremonies

This legation caused problems because diplomatic practices with other nations common in Europe and also in the Papal States were unknown in China. The Chinese considered themselves to be unique in the world and to have universal importance. The Chinese Emperor as the son of Heaven was also responsible to bring the cosmic order to other nations. Because no other nation was at the same level as China, it could only be dealt with as bearer of tribute. This claim was demonstrated in the whole of East Asia by the rituals and ceremonies of tribute bearing. The legations from special nations bringing tribute stood under the responsibility of the Libu 禮部, the Ministry of Rites. The

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imperial legate, von Collani, "Grimaldi", 333.

[47] Claudia von Collani, "Kangxi's Mandate of Heaven and Papal Authority", in *Europe meets China. China meets Europe. The Beginnings of European-Chinese Scientific Exchange in the 17th Century*, edited by Shu-Jyuan Deiwiks, Bernhard Führer, Therese Geulen (Collectanea Serica) (Sankt Augustin: Steyler Verlag, 2014) 185.

[48] Rule, von Collani, introduction to the *Acta Pekinensia*, LIII.

[49] Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 12f.

[50] Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 146.

[51] von Collani, "Kangxi's Mandate", 186; Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 15f.

audiences were organized according to exact rules which were taken from Ming dynasty by the Manchus. The official accrediting letters and the gifts of the legations were given to the Libu which surrendered them to the Emperor. The date for the official audience was fixed. This audience was done in presence of the Court in a fixed ritual by reverencing the Emperor with nine kowtows 叩頭. The Emperor then showed his paternal favor for the legates and their rulers by giving gifts.[52]

Tournon, however, received special treatment from the Emperor: "Let Duoluo, a man who follows spiritual life [xiudaode 修道地], come dressed in the clothing of this country of ours, since he comes to conduct the business of his religion and has not been sent here to bring tribute from the Kings of the Western Sea (大西洋)."[53]

Tournon started his voyage on September 9, and finally arrived in Peking on December 4, 1705, and stayed there until August 28, 1706.[54] The ceremonies of Tournon's reception followed the official guest ritual of the Qing dynasty, but with some modifications for a religious dignitary and because Tournon was ill.[55] He was given two audiences on December 31, 1705, and on June 29, 1706, and a fare-well audience (June 30, 1706) by the Kangxi Emperor with greatest honors and a modified guest ritual, because he was not a political ambassador but a religious legate.[56] The intermediates between the Kangxi Emperor and Tournon were the court Manchu mandarins of the Imperial Household: Heshiheng 赫世亨 (also Hesken or Henkama), Zhao Chang 趙昌 and Zhang Changzhu 張常住, in Manchu Charki.[57]

As demonstration of his power as an official *legatus a latere* of the Catholic Church, he neglected the Jesuits' expertise about Court ritual. Tournon demanded the Jesuits display their signs of submission with a genuflexion and kissing his ring. In vain the Jesuits tried to explain to him that this would be to his disadvantage. But they did as he demanded and showed their submission by bending their knees and kissing Tournon's ring as symbol of devotion and acknowledgment of the spiritual power (December 30,

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[52] R. Machetzi, „Tributsystem", in Wolfgang Franke, *China Handbuch* (Düsseldorf: Bertelsmann Universitätsverlag, 1974), cols. 1419-1424; s.a. John E. Wills, Jr., *Embassies and Illusions. Dutch and Portuguese Envoys to K'ang-hsi, 1666-1687* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Pr., 1984), 25-37.

[53] Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 16.

[54] von Collani, „Grimaldi", 345-347.

[55] Wills, *Embassies*, 25-37.

[56] Antonio Sisto Rosso, *Apostolico Legations to China of the Eighteenth Century* (South Pasadena: Perkin, 1948), 159f; von Collani, "Kangxi's Mandate", 187.

[57] Rule, von Collani, introduction to the *Acta Pekinensia*, LXVI-LXXV.

1705). [58] The Court Jesuit and procurator, Kilian Stumpf (1655–1720), instructed Tournon about the meaning of this genuflexion in China. Tournon as the spiritual Master of the Jesuits should be given the reverence he was due, but the Emperor would consider such a rite of submission as an act of jurisdiction exercised in his empire by a foreign Master. But Tournon desired that the Emperor be informed that he was a Master whom this honor was due in Europe, but that the Chinese did not need to render it to him. Tournon had not realized, as Stumpf tells us, that such acts seemed to introduce to the Chinese a jurisdiction from abroad and was therefore suspect to the Emperor, who did not like to see somebody else as Master in his Empire. [59]

The Question of the Superior

At the first glance, it appeared that the Kangxi Emperor and Propaganda Fide agreed in their wish for a superior, but after a closer look one notices their different expectations. On December 25, Kangxi wanted to learn about the business of Tournon's coming to China, for it seemed to be unreasonable to undertake such a long and dangerous journey just out of gratitude. Guo Shilong 郭世隆, the Viceroy of Liangguang from 1702-1707, had written to Fr Pereira in Peking that he had been told by the Patriarch that he was going to *shangliang* 商量, to hold discussions about negotiations with the Emperor. [60] When asked, Tournon answered that he came to thank His Majesty for the benefits granted to Christianity and to the missionaries. The Mandarins Henkama and Zhang (Charki) liked that answer, but Tournon added: "As for the business matters entrusted to me by His Holiness, it is not fitting that they should be made public. I shall make them known to the person whom His Majesty may wish to delegate for it." [61] Because Tournon did not want to reveal these matters, he would write them down for the Emperor. He discussed the subject only with the Mandarins using the interpreter of his legation, Ludovico Appiani CM (1663–1732), to translate. [62]

In the written report about the purpose of his coming, Tournon mentioned the Apostolic Visitation was his chief concern. He wrote that he wanted to investigate if the

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[58]   Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 77.
[59]   Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 78f.
[60]   Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 55. See *Atti Imperiali autentici di varj Trattati, passata nella Regia Corte di Pekino tra l'Imperatore della Cina, e M. Patriarca Antiocheno al presente Sig. Cardinale di Tournon. Negli anni 1705., e 1706*, s.l., s.a., document XIV, 40.
[61]   Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 56.
[62]   Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 59.

missionaries were involved in public affairs or trade. For Kangxi this question was already partly solved because he himself vouched for the Jesuits in Peking, so they needed no further visitation. Would his testimony be accepted everywhere? It was, said Tournon.[63] Tournon himself and the Mandarins had the impression that his business was almost completed, namely, to appoint a Superior General. Tournon was so pleased that he wanted to report that fact to the Holy Father. But the Kangxi Emperor was not convinced about Tournon's reasons of coming. When he saw the first draft of the translation of Tournon's report from the Italian language, he said: *Zhege shi wande* (這個是頑的) "This is trifling. Duoluo (the Patriarch) has other matters of greater importance." He was convinced that Tournon did not make such a long and dangerous voyage for such an unimportant matter.[64]

In his letter about the reasons of his coming Tournon thanked the Emperor in the name of the Pope and again raised the question of a superior. He wanted to establish a "person of prudence, integrity, and learning, who would also be Superior for all the Europeans, in order to satisfy the desire of His Beatitude, the service of Your Majesty, and the perfect regulation of this mission." [65] This person should keep the "correspondence" (corrispondenza) with Europe, meaning to keep permanent relations.[66] Evidently, Tournon had something in mind like modern formal diplomatic relations between the Holy See and China. But in China such relations were unknown. There existed, as already mentioned, only the system of tribute bearing nations coming to China, but this did not apply to the Holy See. Nonetheless, at the end of the year 1707, Tournon was convinced that the Kangxi Emperor wanted diplomatic relations with European countries and with the Holy See. On December 27, 1707, Tournon wrote to the Cardinal Secretary of State, Fabrizio Paolucci (1651–1726): "I can attest as a matter of certain knowledge that His Majesty, desirous of glory, would like nothing better than that all the princes of Europe would send their ministers."[67]

On December 28, 1705, three days before the first audience, the Kangxi Emperor before granting anything to Tournon, sent the Mandarin Henkama to question Tournon: "1. Would the Lord Patriarch be able to appoint such a Superior on his own authority or would he need to write to the Sovereign Pontiff? 2. Was it not possible for the office to be entrusted to one of the Peking missionaries? 3. Besides those personal gifts required

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[63]   Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 60.
[64]   Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 63.
[65]   Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 64f.
[66]   See *Atti imperiali autentici*, document X, 27 and document XV, 43.
[67]   Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 64, footnote 134.

in such a Superior, would it not be better that he should be a man well versed in the language and customs of the Empire and possessing at least a ten-year knowledge of the ways of the Court? This would seem extremely necessary." If, for example, Henkama would go to Europe and treat European customs simply as he pleased and wished to rule others, this would be meaningless. In China it was the same. A European man recently come from Europe and ignorant of the customs, of the language, the literature and affairs, could not be put in charge of others and would not be acknowledged. Such a man could never decide anything sensibly and so likewise should not be in charge of others.[68]

This gave Tournon the impression that the Emperor had changed his former decision favoring a superior. Henkama denied that there had been any concession, but only a possibility. This led Tournon to reproach His Majesty to have listened to other people, namely to the Jesuits, a dangerous assumption. Fr. Tomás Pereira tried to warn Tournon and his auditor Sabino Mariani (1665–1721) that the Emperor would not tolerate even a shadow of fault in him. Tournon's interpreter, Appiani, however, translated what Tournon had said, namely that it was as if the Emperor, persuaded by other people, had changed his opinion. That made the Mandarins furious: "Is our Great Lord to be judged by you as so feeble-minded that he listens to whisperers and only after wavering makes the decisions they would want? In managing public and private negotiations he allows himself to be led by reason only, not by any human authority. You are guilty of an absolutely intolerable insult to our Great Monarch."[69] But Tournon defended himself that he had good reasons for what he had said and started to threaten the Jesuits that they were to blame and should be recalled from China. Fr. Pereira was the main target of his suspicions, and he considered him to be the grey eminence behind the Emperor who had influenced him against Tournon.[70] The Mandarins, however, continued to be angry: "How dare they speak so about our Great Lord who has been so helpful to them and everybody else? He came to a decision without due thought? He rashly changed what he had decided? He is unjust and stupid, lending his ear and even his heart to flatterers?"[71] From the Pope's side, Tournon was free to appoint anyone he wished as superior.[72] At this time, the Emperor did not receive the court Jesuits so that nobody could assume that he was influenced by them.[73] Gerbillon and Pereira were sent

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[68] Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 65f.
[69] Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 69; cf. Bernardino Della Chiesa, "Epistola ad Emos Cardinales S.C., Lintsing, 12 Novembris 1707", in *Sincia Franciscana* V, 520.
[70] Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 69.
[71] Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 70.
[72] Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 73.
[73] Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 72.

to Tournon, and he should not write to the Pope without having thought about it diligently. He should be cautious; he had wicked men whose advice he was following.[74]

Two years after these events, della Chiesa informed the Cardinals of the Propaganda Fide about these events and that the Emperor wanted to have as superior one of his "old" Europeans who knew the customs of China and of the court, because a newly arrived person would cause problems. This made Tournon think that Kangxi had changed his mind by giving ear to anybody and being influenced by others, an assumption that caused the anger of the Mandarins who considered this as an attack on their master.[75]

The Audiences

The First Audience (December 31, 1705)

Because Tournon was not only a religious delegate, but also ill,[76] the Emperor conceded to him a special treatment before and during the first audience. He was permitted to be carried in his chair to the gate of the garden where the audience would take place, and then carried inside.[77] The place was an Imperial orchard garden in the southwestern part of the palace in a pavilion called *Jin Shan* 金山, the Golden Mountain.[78] Inside the hall, the ritual of the meeting started with the official, obligatory Imperial question about the Supreme Pontiff's health. Following the European rules of diplomacy Tournon answered correctly with many polite sentences praising the Emperor.[79]

Kangxi added: "You are quite right in saying that I have been clement to the Europeans: clemency befits a Prince, but only if combined with justice. Clemency should be innate in him, but justice is always before him, urging him to carry out his duty. Until now I have favoured the Europeans, because they have behaved well, and not one of them has done anything deserving punishment. But if they start acting against our laws they will experience the rigour of our penal laws, and I shall not spare them."[80]

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[74] Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 73f.
[75] Della Chiesa, "Epistola ad Cardinales S.C., 12 Novembris 1707", in *Sincia Franciscana* V, 520-534, especially 521, see also *Atti imperiali*, document VIII, 14-17.
[76] Tournon was evidently already ill when he started from Rome. He spoke himself about a „lunga malatia", *Atti imperiali*, document XXXXIV, 139.
[77] Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 83f.
[78] Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 80-90.
[79] Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 83-86.
[80] Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 85.

After Tournon had been offered some food, the Emperor came back to the purpose of the legation to China and admonished him to explain freely the true reason of his coming to China. Quite probably the Emperor wanted to know how his *Declaratio* of 1700 had been received in Rome. But Tournon answered in an evasive way with polite sentences that he wanted to express the gratitude of the Pope, and to start communications between His Holiness and His Majesty because all European rulers had such relations. In Tournon's mind this agent for the future communication should have the confidence of the Pope and an exact knowledge of the European courts, especially of the Roman Curia, and that this kind of commerce was highly valued by European kings.[81]

Kangxi admonished Tournon: "The Chinese have no matters in common with Europe: I only tolerate you because of your religion: you should have no concerns beyond your souls and your doctrine. Even if you have come here from different empires, you all have nevertheless the same religion, and therefore each European staying here is capable of writing and receiving letters from the Pope as you have been talking about."[82]

Concerning "a man of confidence," Kangxi said:

"Nor do we have any such distinction in China in choosing people. Some are nearer to my throne, others midway, others at a great distance: would anyone, whosoever he be, to whom I entrust some business, be wanting in his due fidelity? Who among you will dare to deceive the Pontiff? Your Religion forbids you to tell lies: whoever lies offends God."

The Patriarch was evasive: "The religious residing here (he speaks about the Jesuits) are indeed good men, but they are totally ignorant of the Papal Court. The legates of princes regularly converge in Rome, together with those who are deeply involved in so many affairs. Here, too, these are to be preferred to others."

As if agreeing the Emperor said:

"If the Sovereign Pontiff should send a man of approved morals and intellectual gifts, not inferior to the Europeans here, who does not interfere in others' affairs, and does not want to dominate others, I shall treat him with the same kindness as the others. In giving such a man authority over all others there rightly occur a number of serious

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81 Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 88.
82 Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 88f. The chancellor of the Tournon legation, Andrea Candela, also mentioned this quotation: "Allora replicò l'Imperatore che la Cina non ha niente che fare con la Europa, ne gli importa niente che in essa vengono Europei, perchè non gli sturbino ne s'intromettano nelle loro Legi, &c" Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 89, footnote 164.

difficulties. You see here Europeans who have been resident for 40 years and if they are not yet fully knowledgeable about the affairs of the Empire, how will a person recently transplanted from Europe make a better superior? I shall not be able to act with such a person as I do with these. An interpreter will be needed, and that can be a cause of suspicion and distrust. And such a person will inevitably make many mistakes; if he has been constituted head, he will have to accept responsibility for the faults of all and be punished according to our custom."[83]

Kangxi's question if Tournon had any commission from the side of the Supreme Pontiff was still denied, but he insisted on his idea of an upright man from Europe as superior.[84] When Tournon tried to continue and propose somebody of his entourage who could learn the language, Kangxi cut him off and said, *Zhege ba* 這個罷, "It's enough", and he told him: "Since the days of Li Madou Xitai 利瑪竇 (Matteo Ricci) to the present, we have Europeans at this Court and we have never had any reason to blame them. I want this my testimony to be made known in Europe."[85]

Tournon asked also for the future protection of the missionaries, which Kangxi conceded but with an addition: he would only protect those people who did not act against the Chinese laws: "For I must be impartial, this my position [as Emperor] demands, and Heaven will not leave me unpunished if I am unfair to people."[86]

This was the end of the audience. The Eunuch informed Tournon about the last imperial words "*Novi te,*" "I have got to know you." The exit from the orchard was even more splendid than the entrance.[87]

The crown prince Yinreng 胤礽 (1674-1725) supplied one of the Jesuits (Dominique Parrenin 1665–1741) and his 13th brother, Yinxiang 胤祥 (1686–1730), with further information about the attitude of his father:

"Has he anything to fear from your good old Min Mingwo 閔明我 (Father Grimaldi) or from others, so that another superior should be placed over him and over the others? A superior such as Duoluo 多羅 (the Lord Patriarch) is asking for would be a source of great harm to your religion. For if indeed a private European thereafter committed some offence, according to our custom, blame would be laid

[83] Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 89.
[84] Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 90.
[85] Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 89-90.
[86] Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 90.
[87] Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 91.

on the superior, and from the superior would spread to his inferiors, and so you would all pay whatever penalty any individual deserved. What if the superior himself were to commit some fault? If there is no common superior, faults are the responsibility of individuals and the guilt of one person does not prejudice another. Should it occur that one European should commit a murder we should condemn the murderer to death and the whole business would be settled and no punishment would extend to other Europeans. But if it were the case that there was one Superior over all, he would have to stand trial, and at the same time others would be considered guilty of the same offence.[88] So it is for the good of your Religion alone that the Emperor does not wish to concede this to Duoluo (the Lord Patriarch)."[89]

In February 1706, it became clear that Tournon wanted the Emperor's permission to purchase a residence in the Palace quarter of Peking.[90] The Chinese were well informed about the controversies among the different missionaries in China. Kilian Stumpf explained the situation to Tournon and mentioned Kangxi's Southern tour of 1703. After his return he warned the Jesuits and especially Grimaldi that he had seen great differences in the *modus agendi* of the missionaries which could have consequences. These Europeans were wandering around *luanluan de, maomao de* 亂亂的貿貿的 (in a seditious and disorderly fashion), meaning contrary to Chinese customs, and with danger of being held in slight esteem. Therefore, the Emperor wanted the number of many smaller churches to be reduced to a few larger ones. The missionaries of different Orders and nations should be located at the same place, no new churches were to be established, unless permission had been requested and personally granted by himself. Also, the bishop of Peking was informed about all these matters. As a consequence, the Jesuit visitor, Fr. Claudio Filippo Grimaldi, was forced to promise solemnly that he would guarantee for everybody who was accused and pay the penalty if anyone was found guilty.[91]

Tournon still believed that the Kangxi Emperor desired to have a superior in the way he proposed. Stumpf instructed him that Kangxi wanted a superior chosen and

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[88]   The Chinese legal doctrine of collective responsibility held all members of a family or household, especially the head, responsible for the actions of all members. See R.J. Smith, *China's cultural heritage: the Qing dynasty, 1644-1912* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), 274-5.

[89]   Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 92f.

[90]   Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 139.

[91]   Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 145.

known to him and tested over many years. But Tournon still was convinced that he could be the future superior: "With one word brought by me from the Supreme Pontiff, I would have rendered myself better known than would another by services lasting many years. This seems the case from the fact, that on hearing of my arrival, the Emperor admitted me immediately into his court." Stumpf told him that this proved nothing: "As regards your relationship with the Emperor, Your Excellency came as a private person. Your claim to be the superior of all the missioners and an Apostolic Visitor is an internal church matter and does not concern the Emperor."[92]

Tournon, however, was convinced that the Jesuits could influence the Emperor and had spoken against his plans of having superior and of buying a house in Peking: "You alone have the ear of the Emperor; therefore he heard it from you." Which Stumpf denied. The Emperor also was disappointed that the Europeans he met in the South had no ideas about arts, mathematics and science, whereas the Jesuits told him that these men were well-instructed in the European way (perhaps in philosophy and theology).[93]

The End of Tournon's Stay in Peking

In June 1706, the Emperor sent Tournon the message that he was going to the North, to Tartary, whereas Tournon should start his travel to the South, i.e. he should finish his stay at the court. But Tournon, who wanted to see Kangxi in a second audience, replied that this was too early, because he had not yet completed his business. The Emperor kindly allowed him to stay longer in Peking.[94]

Henkama as messenger of the Emperor asked Tournon to entrust to him the secret matter he had.[95] But Tournon refused because he had to submit something concerning the Imperial family. This could mean the relatives of the Emperor, or the Inner Household, or the Jesuits, or could concern the oldest son of the Emperor. Kangxi was quite astonished and wanted to hear the Patriarch's words several times from different sides until he believed. Henkama reported to the Emperor that Duoluo had business to be communicated to the Emperor, that it was not the business of the Pontiff, nor the business

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[92] Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 145f.
[93] Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 147.
[94] Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 364f.
[95] Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 366.

of Duoluo, but that it concerned the affairs of the Emperor.[96] Then the Emperor issued a rescript:

> "When Duoluo arrived at the court, I, the Emperor, immediately sent men to find out the reason for his visit and according to his own words, this was the answer brought back to me: Duoluo has come here, having been sent by the Supreme Pontiff, because he had heard that the Emperor had cherished the Europeans with the greatest goodwill, and for many years they have been the recipients of the greatest possible benefits. Therefore, he was sent to this court to render thanks; and he had absolutely no other business to transact. I, the Emperor moved by a sense of duty, because Duoluo had come from another kingdom, one that was far away, summoned him to a place called Jin Shan to see me and at once I questioned him many times whether he had at that time any business to negotiate with me. Duoluo replied that there was absolutely nothing else. In addition, I, the Emperor, said to Duoluo: 'Very many of you Europeans have come to this court; do you have any matters that need to be considered?' […] When you were first in my royal presence, you told me that you had nothing to discuss; but now you are saying that you do have something that must be referred to me. These statements are not consistent. […]
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> Since you have come from Europe, travelling all those thousands of leagues, through so many dangers, dangers which you could not foresee, I doubt that you have no business to transact; and without doubt you do have. And therefore, when I, the Emperor, saw you in the place named Jin Shan I questioned you over and over again on this. Besides, although Europeans have been coming here for over two hundred years, I have never entrusted them with any affairs of great moment; but only with mathematics, music, art and other things of that sort.[97] Moreover, Europeans who are staying in China have no special involvement with the nobility.[98] As well as that, Hesken, whose own special office is the superintendent of works, and in that capacity is acquainted with the Europeans, cannot himself transact other business, but can only deliver messages back and forth, and nothing more.

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[96]   Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 369.

[97]   Cf. *Atti imperiali*, document XV, 43.

[98]   It seems that Kangxi suspected that Tournon wished to complain about his own 'family', or sons and servants. Tournon may have been thinking of those who personally served the pope, see Willibald M. Plöchl, *Geschichte des Kirchenrechts* (Wien: Herold, 1953-1969) vol. 3, 175 ff.

[…] But if there should be anything in your communications which is not in complete accord with Chinese customs, they will not put up with it; and not only you and your associates who have come here with you, but also those who long since arrived in China, will be permitted to remain only with the greatest difficulty. It is necessary for you to give very careful consideration as to what is advisable or not advisable. Then all will be well.

If you do have any instructions from the Supreme Pontiff, instructions that are based on sound foundations, there is nothing to worry about; but if you wish to speak about anything that concerns the government of the Empire, that is hardly a matter that concerns a man of religion."[99]

Tournon had to give a written response in Italian language to the Imperial rescript, which was translated into Chinese:

"The exemplary manner in which you govern your people and the comparable concern with which you have so long looked upon the Europeans in your kingdom and also the goodness displayed in your great and praiseworthy love of peace, has provided them with a salutary lesson in charity and helped to calm down some of their private quarrels. But I fear that unless Your Majesty is informed of the real cause of these, fresh occasions will arise to trouble your loving heart, especially on the arrival of those persons requested by Your Majesty for your service; who might give little satisfaction to Your Majesty and even less to my Lord the Pope. His Holiness wishes that Your Majesty be served to your full satisfaction and that the Europeans give an example of the charity that is the basic principle of our holy religion. It is the very risk of being involved in quarrels that restrains wise and prudent people from entering the occasion of them.

That is why I am moved to declare humbly to Your Majesty that these troubles can be traced to the fact that the Portuguese do not wish anyone to come here without passing through Portugal and submitting to the laws of the kingdom. This is the cause of the dissatisfaction with the French Fathers in spite of the fact that they are brothers in the same Order. This is why many more are opposed to others associated with a different group. If they come from all nations and from all institutes, the reputation of Your Majesty for goodness would ensure that all would

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[99] Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 369-371. The rescript of Kangxi was translated into Latin by Ludovico Appiani CM, Jean-François Gerbillon SJ and Dominique Parrenin SJ. The original was written by Gerbillon in the Changchun Yuan, it was approved by the present, June 21, 1706.

strive in rivalry to multiply the number of those labouring in your service. Your Majesty would certainly have men more able and in greater numbers in any profession you could desire. That is why I look earnestly for instructions. His Beatitude's intention is to co-operate to the satisfaction of Your Majesty; and as the common father of all, he looks with the same paternal affection on all the Christian nations of Europe, desiring above all to ensure the pleasure of Your Majesty. When I learn what I should do, I shall enjoy the special benefit of being able to render dutiful obedience."[100]

This so-called "response" by Tournon was in reality an accusation and kept under this title *Habsxarà Bidghe* in the palace archives.[101] The eldest Prince said after having read it: "Vaboarou! This man deserves to die! Is someone going to deny that Bai Jin 白 晋 (Fr. Bouvet) is really our ambassador? ⋯ Your man Duoluo is a *hun zhang* 混賬."[102] In this way Tournon wanted to play the French Jesuits off against the Portuguese Jesuits, which he had also attempted earlier with Jean-François Gerbillon, the French superior, trying to win him against the Portuguese Jesuits.[103]

A bit later, the Kangxi Emperor instructed Frs. Pereira and Gerbillon: "Last year, did I not write to you predicting these very things which are now happening? I saw absolutely clearly that that fellow (the Lord Patriarch) would lend his ears to most worthless men and would upset everything. After he has gone so far astray in his opposition to me, will not the Pope condemn him to death when he returns to Rome?"[104] The Emperor responded to Tournon:

"When you speak of the source of all the discord, you say that the Portuguese do not permit men to come here unless they pass through their own kingdom of Portugal, and submit themselves to its laws. We do not know what these laws are; and the basis of your claims is not clear.… Generally speaking, I, the Emperor, do not raise any questions about the various groups from all the European kingdoms; but it will be very hard to permit those to remain who do not wholeheartedly accept the principles of the Empire of the Chinese. However, if it is permitted to those who act without prejudice to the *Great Principle*[105] of the Empire to foster virtue

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[100] Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 376f. See Tournon's "Memoriale" also in *Atti imperiali*, document XVI, 45-50.

[101] Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 377.

[102] Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 378. *Hoen cham*, a blackguard.

[103] Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 53f.

[104] Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 381.

[105] *Magna Ratio* may be a translation of *Da Dao* 大道, the Great Way, or of *Da Li* 大理, the Great

in their own way, this is done deliberately according to a policy that has been adopted of extending goodwill to subjects who have come from afar."[106]

After the Kangxi Emperor had understood that the main reason for Tournon's coming had been to confirm Charles Maigrot's Mandate with its prohibitions, he demanded a so-called *piao* 票 from all missionaries who wanted to spread the Gospel in China.[107] That *piao* not only asked the missionary to have followed Matteo Ricci's method of accommodation and to do so also in future but also gave an opportunity to the Emperor and the first borne Prince to get an overview over the number of the Westerners in China.[108]

The Imperial Decree May 27, 1707 stated: "If Europeans persevere in following the teaching of Li Ma Dou, they will still be able, under my protection, to preach the Law; if however they follow the rule of Yan Dang 顏璫 (Maigrot), I will regard these my subjects of the Middle Kingdom as rebels, and I declare that I will absolutely prohibit the practice of their Law."[109]

Résumée

With the coming of the papal legate Tournon to China, the Church in China was for the first time in early modern times officially recognized by the Holy See in Rome. The Kangxi Emperor, the missionaries of different orders and congregations, and the Chinese Christians had therefore high expectations that a wise man from Rome would come to solve all problems and controversies.[110] The opposite, however, became true because the problem of the Chinese Rites Controversy and the choice of an unable representative. Therefore, the question of a general superior of all missionaries in China became another field of conflicting expectations and misunderstandings.

Bernardino della Chiesa, as bishop of Peking, had been informed by the Jesuits about the imperial plans to have a general superior. When Tournon arrived in China, della Chiesa thought that it would be best if Tournon would obtain this office of the general

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Principle. The latter is perhaps more probable since it has legal implications as in the modern name for the Supreme Court, *Da Li Yuan* 大理院.

[106] Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 384.
[107] Text of the *piao* Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 2, 273, cf. Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 2, 540; s.a. Spence, *Emperor of China*, XVIIIf.
[108] Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 2, 540.
[109] Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 2, 699.
[110] Von Collani, „Grimaldi", 329f.

superior of all missionaries in China. But della Chiesa was concerned that the emperor would prefer the Portuguese Jesuit, Tomás Pereira, as superior, and he was a strong defender of the Portuguese Padroado.[111] In fact, Tournon planned to have a general superior for all missionaries in China to open an easy way for all missionaries from the Propaganda Fide to come to China. Maybe Tournon himself wanted to be the permanent diplomatic agent between Rome and Peking, perhaps he had somebody of his entourage in mind, such as his chancellor Andrea Candela (ca. 1660–?), his auditor Sabino Mariani or his interpreter Ludovico Appiani.[112] In his eyes, many things in the China mission urgently needed an improvement: wrong oaths were sent to the Holy See; usurious treaties; the lack of respect by the missionaries for the Vicars Apostolic and bishops; and so on. But primarily he wanted to publish the decree of 1704 confirming Maigrot's Mandate. At this moment, della Chiesa, who knew the weak points of the China mission, tried to advise Tournon, but the legate was also suspicious about della Chiesa and chose instead to rely on his power as papal delegate.[113]

The Kangxi Emperor, on the other hand, knew Jesuits since his youth and trusted them. They served him as teachers, artists, and scientists at his court since his youth. With some of them he even kept a kind of friendship. Therefore, it is not astonishing that the Emperor trusted them more than newcomers to China. Tournon, however, comparably young and inexperienced, suspicious because of his illness, led by stupid, "unworthy" men of his entourage,[114] committed one fault after the other. He did not explain the most important reason of his coming, namely, to confirm Charles Maigrot's Mandate of 1693, and he did not present his credential letters properly. It was clear that the Emperor would not tolerate such an assertion that Confucianism and Christianity are not compatible. He could not permit that Charles Maigrot with his adherents found a kind of small state within China. Concerning the relations between the Holy See and China, the Emperor's Declaration about the meaning of the rites and terms of 1700 was sent to Rome but never answered. Several times Kangxi directly or indirectly asked about it, but the answers were always evasive.[115] Also, Kangxi's legations to Rome of 1706 and 1707 were never answered. As answer to the *Hong piao* 紅票, the "Red Manifesto" of 1716, which was distributed in many copies to Europeans, Antonio Provana was sent back to China but died during the voyage. The Kangxi Emperor must have felt rebuffed by the Pope, or, as he formulated it, Maigrot exercised his influence in Rome. Also quite

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[111] Van den Wyngaert, and Mensaert, introduction *Sincia Franciscana* V, LII-LIII, 471.
[112] Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 161.
[113] Van den Wyngaert, and Mensaert, introduction, *Sincia Franciscana* V, LIV.
[114] Stumpf, *Acta Pekinensia* 1, 371.
[115] *Atti imperiali*, document I, 4 of December 1705.

important was that he wanted to have the control over the inhabitants of China. Kangxi did not permit any threat to the imperial authority.[116]

Therefore, when Tournon left Peking, the promising first contacts and attempts to establish permanent diplomatic relations between China and the Holy See/Propaganda Fide failed because of the Rites Controversy. China was afraid of a foreign spiritual domination, Rome feared to give up its definition of essential truths of the Christian faith.[117] Later, the attempt of the papal legate, Carlo Ambrogio Mezzabarba (ca. 1685–1741), who confirmed the Apostolic Constitution of 1715 forbidding the Rites and terms, also failed.[118] Only missionaries sent by Propaganda Fide working in imperial service at the court or living hidden in the country side remained in China.[119]

【摘要】清初，中國傳教團的情況變得日益複雜。近代初期，在葡萄牙保教權之下，羅明堅（1543-1607）、利瑪竇（1552-1610）等意大利耶穌會士，以適應的方式成功地開設了中國傳教團，從而與中國學者有了接觸。耶穌會和葡萄牙使中國與其他修會隔絕。直到 1630 年以後，西班牙托缽僧侶才可以經由菲律賓來到華南地區開始傳教。1622 年，傳信部成立的目的是透過在遠東設立宗座代牧區辦公室，將傳教工作從國家利益中解放出來。然而，第一位能夠進入中國的宗座代牧是 1684 年巴黎外方傳教會士陸方濟（François Pallu，1626-1684 年）。他，隨著康熙皇帝（1662-1692）於 1692 年頒佈的《容教令》，陸方濟在中國的傳教開啟了一個新時代。越來越多的傳教士隨之而來：葡萄牙保教權派出葡萄牙、意大利和德意志民族神聖帝國的耶穌會士，菲律賓的西班牙托缽僧侶，路易十四派出的法國耶穌會士，意大利方濟會士、遣使會士和由傳信部派出的巴黎外方傳教會成員。然而，為中國人民帶來得救的良好條件和初衷，並沒有得到成功，反而因國家利益、神學背景和教會政治的不同，引發了新的問題。1693 年，福建宗座代牧、巴黎外方傳教會士顏璫（Charles Maigrot，1652-1730）再次引發禮儀之爭，導致 1705-1706 年宗座特使多羅（Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon, 1668-1710）出使朝廷的災難。

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[116] Spence, *Ts'ao Yin*, 138.
[117] Sebald Reil, *Kilian Stumpf 1655-1720. Ein Würzburger Jesuit am Kaiserhof zu Peking* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1978), 114; Standaert, *Handbook*, 363.
[118] Standaert, *Handbook*, 353f.
[119] Standaert, *Handbook*. 331-335, 340f, 344-354.

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Christianity and Communication in the Modern World

The Challenges of Communication in the Era of Social Media: Perspectives from Media Studies

Francis L. F. Lee

[Abstract] Communication scholars have spent much research effort on understanding the role of social media in various problematic phenomena in public communication and public opinion formation in the contemporary world, including the trend toward affective polarization and the spread of disinformation. Meanwhile, media organizations and civic associations have engaged in various efforts to counteract problematic online contents and promote more healthy communication on the Internet. Drawing upon the extant literature and the author's own works, this paper presents an overview of the possible negative impact of social media on public communication and the efficacy of counteracting efforts. On the one hand, the digital and social media environment does contain the affordances that facilitate the emergence of various problematic phenomena. These affordances include how digital and social media speed up the flow of information, weaken the gatekeeping role of credible news media, fragment the process of public communication, and facilitate the formation of filter bubbles. The commercial imperatives behind the operation of digital media corporations have aggravated the problems. On the other hand, much research has suggested that not all social media sites have the same consequences, and the influence of social media is context-dependent. The problematic impact of social media use can be alleviated where high levels of institutional trust and a strong social fabric are maintained. The paper then points to the utility as well as limitations of current fact-checking and content moderation practices. Overall, while not underestimating the challenges brought about by digital and social media, the impact of social media is ultimately dependent on user practices.

Introduction

We are living in the age of social media. This is not merely to point out the simple fact that various social media sites or apps – Facebook, Instagram, WhatsApp, Telegram, TikTok, WeChat—have very high levels of penetration; this is also to point to how social media platforms have become fully integrated into people's daily lives and shape the ways people access information, interact with others, and relate to the world at large. To use the news media as an example, in contemporary advanced societies more and more people do not access the news through watching prescheduled TV newscasts or going to specific news sites; they see the news as they are using social media platforms, often incidentally. As some communication scholars describe the phenomenon: it is not that people find the news; it is that news finds people.[1] In other words, social media changes the way people connect with the news media, and social media can have similar impact on various aspects of people's everyday life.

It is easy to point to the various advantages and utilities of social media. They allow us to stay connected with friends and relatives; they are particularly good for the maintenance of "weak ties;" they are a good source of information and materials that interest us; they allow us to express ourselves and be heard whenever we would like to. But not unlike the popularization of internet technologies in the 1990s, the proliferation of social media has brought with it a series of challenges and certain problematic phenomena. Two issues have received an especially substantial amount of research attention in the field of media and communication studies: the echo chamber thesis and the fake news problem. The former refers to the presumed tendency for people to connect overwhelmingly with like-minded others, thus leading to the fragmentation of the social sphere into silos that do not communicate—or do not communicate well—with each other. The latter refers to the perceived proliferation of rumors, misinformation or disinformation in the social media arena, leading to the difficulties in agreement upon facts and thus eroding the basis for meaningful communication. Underlying both issues is the concern of people's capability to communicate across differences, and by implication capability of addressing and resolving conflicts.

As a media scholar, my aim in this paper is to provide a brief overview of existing conceptual and empirical knowledge regarding the two aforementioned challenges, including the factors contributing to the challenges, critical evaluations of how serious the challenges actually are, and efforts to address the challenges (as well as the

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[1]   H. Gil de Zuniga & T. Diehl, "News Finds Me Perception and Democracy: Effects on Political Knowledge, Political Interest, and Voting," *New Media & Society,* 21, no.6 (2019): 1253-1271.

limitations of these efforts). I will then introduce a recent study conducted by myself regarding how social media communication may relate to political polarization in contentious times to illustrate a couple of points about the role of communication in social conflict resolution. I will end the paper with some overall reflections.

Challenge of Social Media I: The Echo Chamber Thesis

The echo chamber thesis as a concern was identified almost two decades ago by media researchers when they started theorizing about the possible consequences of a "high-choice media environment"[2]. The latter notion refers to the proliferation of media outlets and channels over the years in modern societies, and the trend began even before the advance of the internet and social media. The conventional mass media system in many societies is typically marked by the presence of a relatively limited number of broadcasters and newspapers—the former being limited by regulations and airwaves allocation, whereas the latter being limited by the huge costs involved in setting up and running a print newspaper. The growth of cable television in the 1980s has already started to alter the situation. Into the 1990s, with the popularization of the internet, the number of "outlets" or "channels" of information and materials exploded.

When number of outlets explodes, operators of outlets need to shift their strategies from appealing to the mass to appealing to well-defined niches. That is, when one competes with only a few other channels and outlets, it would make sense for one to go after a large audience by offering a more comprehensive package of materials. But when one has to compete with a virtually infinite number of competitors, it would make sense for one to target a very specific niche through the offering of highly specialized contents and/or contents with a clear standpoint. In other words, the internet facilitated the proliferation of niche media.

This leads to heightened levels of selective exposure. It is a very basic idea in communication studies that people tend to pay attention to some media materials rather than the others. People generally prefer what they are interested in and what they agree with. [3] But in the conventional mass media environment, selective exposure is constrained by the number of choices available. The proliferation of niche media means

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[2]   W. L. Bennett & S. Iyengar, "A New Era of Minimal Effects? The Changing Foundations of Political Communication," *Journal of Communication,* 58 (2008): 707-731; and M. Prior, *Post-broadcast Democracy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

[3]   N. Stroud, *Niche News: The Politics of News Choice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

an explosion of choices that can be clearly differentiated from each other in terms of what they offer, making selective exposure an even more prominent phenomenon in contemporary media communication. It also means that people are no longer exposed to more or less the same set of contents and materials.

Against this background, the rise of social media in the second half of the 2000s aggravated the challenge in two important ways. First, social media allows people to build and maintain connections with others. Hence most social media sites are manifestations of what sociologists Lee Rainie and Berry Wellman have called networked individualism.[4] When a person logs into Facebook, Twitter or Instagram, the person will find himself/herself being located at the center of the network s/he created via the site. What one would see in the account is dependent on what other people in one's network share and produce. Meanwhile, just as people are likely to prefer seeing agreeable materials, people are likely to be connected primarily with like-minded others.[5] Hence social media further enhances the possibility of people seeing primarily like-minded materials.

Second, social media platforms are commercial operations aiming at generating profits instead of promoting meaningful public communication. To derive profits, they need to maximize people's social media usage and generate accurate profiling of the users in order to maximize the effectiveness of targeted and personalized advertising. This in turn is closely related to the design and operation of social media platform algorithm. People are typically fed with materials that they have liked, commented on or paid close attention to via the site. That is, people tend to be provided with more of the same types of materials via social media sites.

According to some authors, the overall result of the above factors and dynamics is the formation of a fragmented cyberspace full of echo chambers or filter bubbles. Legal scholar Cass Sunstein described the phenomenon as cyberbalkanization.[6] One problematic consequence of cyberbalkanization is that it has become more difficult to get members of the public to focus on the same set of important issues facing the society.

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[4]   Lee Rainie & Berry Wellman, *Networked: The New Social Operating System*. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2012).

[5]   R. Huckfeldt, P. Johnson, & J. Sprague, *Political Disagreement* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[6]   Cass Sunstein, *#Republic: Divided Democracy in the Age of Social Media* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018).

While conventional mass media are powerful in telling people what to think about, social media tend to tell different people to think about different things.

Another possible consequence of cyberbalkanization that has received even more research attention is social and political polarization. Polarization can refer to a few related yet distinctive phenomena.[7] It can refer to people on two sides of a social or political divide holding more and more extreme opinions, thus becoming more and more distant from each other in terms of their views. It can refer to people on two sides of a social or political divide holding a more and more rigid and coherent set of opinions. The result is that it becomes less likely for people on the two sides to share similar views on specific issues. It can also refer to people on the two sides, regardless of exactly how far their views are from each other, increasingly seeing the other side with disdain instead of respect. These three phenomena can be labelled opinion polarization, ideological polarization, and affective polarization respectively. Theoretically, echo chamber formation can lead to all three forms of polarization: when people keep consuming viewpoints and information favoring one side and lack understanding of the other side, their opinions tend to become reinforced and thus become more extreme. When people become more distant from each other, it also becomes easier for them to develop negative views toward the other side.

From a normative perspective, differences in opinion are a fact of life in a pluralistic society, and it may not necessarily be a problem for people to hold strong and very different views on important matters. Affective polarization, however, is the main concern because it is in one sense just another name for mutual disrespect or even hatred.

The above has recounted the major arguments leading to the "echo chamber hypothesis." However, empirical research has complicated the picture and provided a more nuanced view of the matter. Specifically, some researchers have found that the problem of echo chamber has been exaggerated.[8] That is, the online networks or content diets of many social media users are not as homogeneous as the echo chamber thesis would predict.

There are numerous reasons behind this. First, people are "naturally" connected with people holding different views and values in their social life. People do not choose

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[7]   P. DiMaggio, J. Evans & B. Bryson, "Have American's Social Attitudes Become More Polarized?" *American Journal of Sociology,* 102, no. 3 (1996): 690-755.

[8]   E. Dubois & G. Blank, "The Echo Chamber is Overstated: The Moderating Effect of Political Interest and Diverse Media," *Information, Communication & Society,* 21, no.5 (2018): 729-745.

their parents, children, and relatives, and when people decide where to live, which job to take, and whom to befriend, social and political matters may not be important criteria. Network heterogeneity is a fact of social life.[9] Second, social media typically allow people to get connected with not only close friends but also distant acquaintances or even indirect social connections. It is common for people to be connected with hundreds or even a few thousand "friends" via a social media account, and it can be quite common for people to be connected with "friends" that they do not really personally know. Social media networks are typically constituted by many weak ties, and weak ties are often the sources of novel and alternative information and viewpoints.

Third, the idea that people would prefer materials that they find agreeable is based on the psychological motivation of ego defence. Although the tendency does exist, it does not mean that people are only interested in confirming their existing views all the time. There are also occasions when people are interested in getting their views right instead of getting their views confirmed. Factors such as perceived quality of information and credibility of sources could be powerful factors shaping people's choice of information.[10] While social media algorithm tends to give people what they react to, conscious social media users can make use of this feature of social media strategically to ensure exposure to a diverse range of materials, such as by "liking" pages that provide alternative viewpoints and information, responding to discordant views, and so on.

The last consideration also points to the important role of agency in shaping the impact of social media. While the design and materialistic features of social media carry certain tendencies, it is after all up to the users to decide how to use the platforms, and the effects of social media use would depend on such actual use.

In addition, some researchers have emphasized the importance of conditions and contexts for understanding the impact of social media. Take Hong Kong as an example, has social media played a role in the city's political polarization in the 2010s? In an article written in the middle of the last decade, I emphasized the argument that social media by itself does not lead to polarization.[11] Social media could polarize the public mainly when the social context itself is already polarizing. When the social atmosphere

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[9] R. Huckfeldt, P. Johnson, & J. Sprague, *Political Disagreement* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[10] S. Messing & S.J. Westwood, "Selective Exposure in the Age of Social Media: Endorsements Trump Partisan Source Affiliation When Selecting News Online," *Communication Research,* 41, no.8 (2014): 1042-1063.

[11] F. L. F. Lee, "Impact of Social Media on Political Polarization in Varying Times," *Communication & the Public,* 1, no.1 (2016): 56-71.

is calm and there is a general absence of political animosity, there is little reason to expect people to frequently get into heated discussions on social media, and people may feel much more comfortable talking to others holding different views. But when the social atmosphere becomes very heated and animosity is already on the rise, people's social media usage could also change. People become more likely to "unfriend" others due to differences in opinions; they become more likely to engage in heated debates with others, often involving the use of uncivil language; they become more motivated to defend their existing political views at a time when political views become more central to their self-identity.

Empirically, that article draws upon two population surveys conducted in late 2013 and late 2014 respectively. The latter was conducted during the Umbrella Movement, whereas the former was conducted one year before the Umbrella Movement. The analysis shows that social media use was positively related to attitudinal extremity only in the 2014 survey but not in the 2013 survey. At the same time, in the 2014 survey, in addition to social media use, interpersonal political discussion itself also became positively related to attitudinal extremity. In a context of heated political controversy, many types of communication, and not only communication via social media, can result in political polarization. We will return to this point below in relation to a study about communication and polarization during the Anti-Extradition Law Amendment Bill Movement in 2019 and 2020.

On the whole, while there are various reasons why social media may facilitate the formation of echo chambers, fragment the public, and contribute to opinion polarization, there are also many reasons and actual empirical findings suggesting that social media are not the primary moving force. Problems such as polarization usually have deeper social and political roots. Social media can aggravate the problem when the problem arises, but it should not be regarded as having led to the emergence of the problem in the first place.

Challenge of Social Media II: The Fake News Problem

The term fake news became a buzzword in public discussions around the world since the 2016 US Presidential Elections. But the challenge the internet and social media bring to the problem of truthfulness of information has a much longer history. Scholars have long been aware of how the internet might become a hotbed for rumors.[12] As social

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[12] Cass Sunstein, *On Rumors: How Falsehoods Spread, Why We Believe Them, and What Can*

psychologists have pointed out for many decades, rumors tend to proliferate when a high level of uncertainty combines with a high level of anxiety,[13] and the internet may provide the channels for the quick and widespread diffusion of rumors. What optimists hailed as the information superhighway in the 1990s could also be a rumor superhighway.

Nevertheless, the problem of rumor-mongering on the internet has not caught as much attention, and there are numerous reasons why so-called fake news has become such a huge concern. First, it is not necessarily difficult to dispel rumors if people maintain high levels of trust in the established institutions and the mainstream professional media. When a rumor arises, people may seek clarification from various sources. In this scenario, if the affected institutions (e.g., a commercial corporation or a government agency) can act quickly to provide clarification and accurate information, and the mainstream media help communicate the correction, rumors can be relatively easily dispelled. Therefore, a fundamental problem behind the fake news problem in more recent years is people's declining trust in established institutions and professional media.[14] This could in turn be tied to the emergence of other social and political phenomena in different countries, such as the rise of right-wing populist politics in the US and some European states, or the growth of political discontents in Hong Kong. But in any case, a lack of trust in established institutions makes clarification of misinformation or rumor very difficult.

Second, the rise of social media, as noted in the previous section, aggravated the development toward a high-choice environment where outlets continue to proliferate and competition for audience attention becomes increasingly fierce. Against this background, many societies saw the rise of content farms and individualized online Key Opinion Leaders (KOLs). These entities shared the same goal and need of attracting huge amount of page views and audience reactions in order to generate advertising revenues. Rapid and undifferentiating transmission of sensational claims, juicy rumors, or even outright fake news has become a rather common tactic for these entities to achieve their goal. That is, fake news proliferated because willing transmitters of such materials proliferated.

Third and in addition to the commercially driven entities mentioned in the previous paragraph, there was also the rise of entities that intentionally spread untruthful information and claims for political reasons. Conceptually, we have been seeing a rise of

Be Done. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014.

[13] T. Shibutani, *Improvised News: A Sociological Study of Rumor,* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1956).

[14] S. Waisbord, "Truth is What Happens to News: On Journalism, Fake News, and Post-truth," *Journalism Studies,* 19, no.13 (2018): 1866-1878.

not so much misinformation than disinformation—the former refers to inaccurate information that is produced and transmitted as a result of honest mistakes, whereas the latter refers to inaccurate information intentionally fabricated and transmitted for the purpose of deceiving others.[15] The production and distribution of disinformation is a particularly prominent and problematic phenomenon during major political events, such as elections and large-scale protest campaigns.

Fourth, in relation to the point about lack of trust among the general public, it is also possible that members of the public have become less likely to agree upon facts due to their polarized views on social matters and on people on the other side. The theory of motivated reasoning holds that people may process information with either a directional goal or an accuracy goal. When a directional goal prevails, people aim at arriving at their favored conclusion. When an accuracy goal prevails, people aim at arriving at the right answer.[16] But the degree to which the directional or accuracy goal prevails could vary across contexts. In a highly polarized environment, the need for people to defend their existing views becomes stronger. Hence the directional goal can become dominant in information processing. Whether a piece of information constitutes fake news or not becomes a judgment heavily influenced by people's political stance.[17] It enhances the likelihood for people to accept attitudinally consonant misinformation as true.

Finally, it should also be noted that "fake news" is a label promulgated by various political actors to serve a range of purposes. In the US during the Trump administration, while professional journalists and critiques of the administration might see Trump as a main source of inaccurate claims and information, Trump himself often appropriated the notion of fake news to criticize media organizations. Some critiques argue that authoritarian countries often have an interest in establishing fake news legislation as a means to curtail the freedom of information and expression.[18] In other words, while there is no denial that a significant amount of misinformation and disinformation can be present in the online arena, the precise extent of the problem is contestable, yet various

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[15] E.C. Tandoc, Z. W. Lim & R. Ling, "Defining 'Fake News:' A Typology of Scholarly Definitions," *Digital Journalism,* 6, no.2 (2018): 137-153.

[16] Z. Kunda, "The Case for Motivated Reasoning," *Psychological Bulletin*, 108, no.3 (1990): 480–498.

[17] S. J. Tsang, "Motivated Fake News Perception: The Impact of News Sources and Policy Support on Audiences' Assessment of News Fakeness," *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly,* 98, no.4 (2021): 1059-1077.

[18] R. Neo, "A Cudgel of Repression: Analyzing State Instrumentalisation of the 'Fake News' Label in Southeast Asia," *Journalism.* 23, no.9 (2022): 1919-1938. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884920984060.

political actors might have the incentive to create and maintain the impression of an intractable problem.

Notably, the various reasons discussed above do not include the development of social media per se as a factor. This is consistent with the previous section's discussion of the challenge of echo chamber formation: to the extent that the problem exists, the roots of the problem probably reside in some broader social and political developments rather than merely the emergence of social media. Certainly, given the other causes of the phenomenon, social media can become a further contributing factor to the problem of the circulation of fake news. Social media provide the habitat for the growth of content farms and other promulgators of misinformation in the online arena; they facilitate a flow of information that bypasses the professional media's gatekeeping; and in times of political contention, they facilitate the formation of echo chambers within which attitudinally consonant misinformation can be shared without being appropriately evaluated and challenged.

Empirically, a study conducted during the Anti-Extradition Law Amendment Bill Movement has demonstrated the relationship between media use and belief in misinformation. During the movement, much misinformation and rumor—some disfavoring the government and some disfavoring the protest movement—was circulating in the online arena. Analyzing a survey conducted in September and October of 2019, Lee showed that political stance heavily influenced the degree to which Hong Kong citizens would take a piece of information as true or not.[19] More importantly, further analysis shows that, when demographics, basic political attitudes, and movement participation were statistically controlled, consumption of conventional news media did not relate to the accuracy of one's factual beliefs. Consumption of pro-movement media related positively to the accuracy of pro-movement beliefs, but negatively to the accuracy of pro-government beliefs. The use of messaging apps such as WhatsApp, an important form of social media, related negatively to both the accuracy of pro-movement beliefs and the accuracy of pro-government beliefs. In other words, messaging apps had the unique impact of undermining the accuracy of people's factual beliefs no matter whether the factual beliefs favor the government or the protest movement.

I contend that this finding emerges due to the fact that messaging apps facilitated the formation of small groups for communication among close friends. In times of

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[19] F. L. F. Lee, "Social Movements, Media, and Politics of Information in the Post-truth Era: The Experience of Anti-ELAB Movement in Hong Kong," *Chinese Journal of Communication Research,* 37 (2020): 3-41. [in Chinese]

heightened political contention, these "groups" formed via messaging apps are particularly likely to be the echo chambers that facilitated the spread of misinformation.

Nonetheless, the relationship between social media and the spread of fake news should not be treated as totally unavoidable. Over the past few years, people have become more aware of the problem of fake news and the need for "fact-checking" when seeing questionable information online. There have been calls and actual efforts on enhancing people's digital media literacy. At the individual level, the threat of fake news can certainly be reduced if people acquire a better understanding of the operation of digital media platforms, including their algorithmic code, and act in ways to minimize the flow of misinformation.

Institutionally, the rise of fact-checking agencies around the world has been an important trend that counters the spread of fake news. Professional fact-checkers have also connected with each other through The International Fact-Checking Network (IFCN). The IFCN developed a code of principles including a commitment to non-partisanship and fairness, a commitment to standards and transparency of sources, a commitment to transparency of funding and organization, a commitment to standards of transparency and methodology, and a commitment to an open and honest corrections policy. In Hong Kong, several fact-checking units have been developed in the past few years, including the Annie Lab at the University of Hong Kong, the Factcheck Lab organized by a group of journalists and civil society actors, the HKBU Factcheck at the Department of Journalism of Hong Kong Baptist University, the Facebook page Kauyim Media, and so on. Their work has contributed to the maintenance of the quality of information circulating in the public arena.

Admittedly, fact-checkers are not the panacea to the challenge of fake news. The fact-checking movement has its own limitations. First, fact-checking agencies may not always have the resources needed to combat all misinformation out there. Second, many questionable claims and materials circulating in the public arena may not be "checkable" facts. A lot of rumors, for instance, carry highly speculative and ungrounded claims that are nonetheless difficult to prove either right or wrong. Third, as a couple of recent studies about the performance of fact-checkers in Hong Kong illustrated, partisan actors can participate in fact-checking, and part of their performances can be rather questionable.[20] This might hurt the reputation and credibility of the fact-checking

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[20] M. Z. Feng, N. Tsang & F. L. F. Lee, "Fact-checking as Mobilization and Counter-mobilization: The Case of the Anti-Extradition Bill Movement in Hong Kong," *Journalism Studies,* 22, no.10 (2021): 1358-1375.

enterprise in the long run. Fourth, the results of fact-checking may not reach as many people as the original questionable materials do. After all, a main reason for the quick and wide diffusion of fake news is their timely and sensational character, which is something that fact-checking reports typically lack.

This is not to dismiss the value of fact-checking and other institutional efforts to enhance people's media literacy in the combat against fake news. Noting the limitations of such efforts leads us back to the point that the challenge of misinformation has its roots in deeper social and political conditions. While fake news can exacerbate distrust and polarization, it is the presence of distrust and polarization that contribute to the proliferation of fake news in the first place. The challenge for fake news requires more a fundamental solution in addition to promoting more healthy use of social media.

The Social Fabric Matters: A Recent Study

To further our understanding of what needs to be done in order to address the challenges discussed in the two previous sections, I would like to introduce a recent study that examines the impact of ego-network difference on political polarization.[21] Although it is only a single study addressing a specific set of hypotheses, and the study does not even focus squarely on social media per se, the findings are pertinent to the discussion here.

Specifically, the study is concerned with whether ego-network difference, defined as the degree to which an individual finds his or her political views differing from those held by people in his or her own social networks, would shape the influence of social media use and interpersonal political discussions on affective polarization within the context of heightened political contention. The concern is grounded in a long line of research about the possible consequence of social network heterogeneity in political communication. As noted earlier, a degree of social network heterogeneity is a fact of life.[22] People are likely to be aware of the differences that exist in their networks. Even without engaging in political talks frequently, people are likely to become aware of the views of their friends and acquaintances through observations, impersonal communications, or the casual remarks made by others during otherwise merely sociable

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[21] F. L. F. Lee, "Ego-network Difference, Political Communication, and Affective Polarization during Political Contention," *International Journal of Communication,* 16 (2022): 4934-4957.

[22] R. Huckfeldt, P. Johnson, & J. Sprague, *Political Disagreement* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

conversations. When people are located within more heterogeneous networks, they may not engage in political discussions as frequently because of the wish to avoid conflicts, yet they are more likely to encounter views and information that disfavor their own views.

More importantly, the study contends that ego-network difference could alleviate the problem of affective polarization. This is grounded in existing research findings regarding how dehumanization—the refusal to recognize the outgroup as members of humanity—is a cause of hatred and polarization.[23] In addition, conflicts can arise if people perceive others as seeing themselves as less than human. Therefore, what can prevent people from dehumanizing the outgroup and/or misperceiving the outgroup's views toward themselves should help prevent or alleviate the problem of polarization. Meanwhile, the tradition of contact theory in social research sees interactions between members of different groups as capable of helping people realize their common humanity, reduce misunderstanding, and generate and sustain trust. [24] Combining these considerations, one could argue that a high degree of ego-network difference implies constant interactions with members of the political outgroup. The understanding and trust developed through ordinary social interactions should prevent people from developing an extreme view of the outgroup when political conflicts arise.

Moreover, the study explores if ego-network difference could moderate the relationship between political communication and affective polarization. The aforementioned study conducted during the Umbrella Movement found that both social media use and interpersonal discussion related positively to attitude extremity during the height of the occupation campaign.[25] It is because political communication during times of heated controversies tends to be conflict-ridden. The Anti-Extradition Law Amendment Bill Movement study thus posited that social media use and interpersonal political talk could relate positively to affective polarization. Nonetheless, we are not sure if communication within a homogeneous group or communication involving disagreeing others could be more polarizing. On the one hand, communication among like-minded people tends to reinforce existing views and thus possibly existing prejudices, and this might lead to higher levels of polarization. But on the other

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[23] J. L. Martherus et al., "Party animals? Extreme partisan polarization and dehumanization." *Political Behavior,* 43, no.2 (2021): 517-540.

[24] G. W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice* (Boston: Beacon, 1954); and M. E. Wojcieszak & B. R. Warner, "Can Interparty Contact Reduce Affective Polarization? A Systematic Test of Different Forms of Intergroup Contact," *Political Communication,* 37, no.6 (2020): 789-811.

[25] F. L. F. Lee, "Impact of Social Media on Political Polarization in Varying Times," 56-71.

hand, actually arguing with disagreeing others during contentious times might be even more polarizing because of the conflict-ridden character of such communication.

The study analyzed data derived from a telephone survey conducted by the Center of Communication and Public Opinion Survey at the Chinese University of Hong Kong in June 2020, immediately after the news about the upcoming National Security Law came out and when some small-scale protests associated with the Anti-Extradition Law Amendment Bill Movement were still going on. The analysis comes up with the following key findings:

1. Interpersonal political discussion relates negatively to ego-network difference, confirming the idea that people tend to be conflict-avoidant, hence they engage in political talk less frequently with friends and relatives when their friends and relatives hold views different from theirs. Nonetheless, the ego-network difference does not relate significantly to public affairs social media use.

2. Ego-network difference relates positively to cross-cutting exposure, that is, exposure to views opposite to one's own. At the same time, both public affairs social media use and interpersonal discussions relate positively to cross-cutting exposure, and ego-network difference strengthens the latter relationships. That is, political communication contributes to cross-cutting exposure to even larger extents when the social networks of people are heterogeneous.

3. As expected, public affairs social media use and interpersonal political discussion were both positively related to affective polarization, measured by the difference between respondents' ratings of the supporters of the movement and opponents of the movement. At the same time, ego-network difference relates negatively to affective polarization, i.e., people with a more heterogeneous social network were less likely to develop polarizing views about people supporting and opposing the protest movement.

4. Intriguingly, ego-network difference moderates the influence of social media use and political discussion on affective polarization differently. The relationship between public affairs social media use and affective polarization was stronger among people with a more heterogeneous social network, but the relationship between interpersonal political discussion and affective polarization was weaker among people with a more heterogeneous social network.

5.   Combining points 3 and 4, the results show that affective polarization was weakest among people who were tied to disagreeing others and did not engage in political communication during the protest movement.

This overall conclusion has two major implications on our understanding of the role and influence of communication. First, it reminds us that communication is not always the solution to problems. In one sense, this is an intuitive finding. In everyday life, when an argument becomes very heated and/or when emotions are riding high, it is often advisable to try to calm down and suspend the argument for a while. Communication researchers often try to examine how and what kinds of communication, such as deliberative discussions, may contribute to conflict resolution (e.g., Fishkin et al., 2021); the possibility that the suspension of communication at certain key moments may actually help is often ignored.

Second and more importantly, the findings suggest that the impact of political communication during times of heightened political contention could depend on what kinds of relationships were built and maintained during times of "normality." As mentioned earlier, in normal social life, political differences are unlikely to matter substantially in how people relate to others. If people interact with others of diverse backgrounds constantly, they can develop a better appreciation of social, cultural, and political differences. They could develop their ability to trust and/or tolerate others whose views and habits are different from theirs. When respect and trust are developed among individuals, these could become the basis to prevent communication from becoming highly toxic and polarizing even when the social and political atmosphere becomes heated. In other words, a strong social fabric in which group affiliations and identities crisscross each other could become a buffer against toxic polarization. This is why social scientists have recently turned their attention to the problem of social sorting[26] and the politicization of everyday life[27]. The convergence of lines of social, cultural, and political differences through social sorting and the increasing salience of political matters in everyday life could undermine the formation of a strong yet heterogenous social fabric, and it could make affective polarization a particularly intractable problem when social and political conflicts arise.

[26]   L. Mason, "A Cross-cutting Calm: How Social Sorting Drives Affective Polarization," *Public Opinion Quarterly,* 80, no.1 (2016): 351-377.

[27]   A. H. Y. Lee, "How the Politicization of Everyday Activities Affects the Public Sphere: The Effects of Partisan Stereotypes on Cross-cutting Interactions," *Political Communication,* 38, no.5 (2021): 499-518.

Concluding Remarks

This paper has reviewed two major challenges that are often associated with social media. It should be clear by this point that both challenges are seen as rooted in broader social and political conditions of contemporary societies. Social media can be understood as a contributing factor but not the root cause. Notably, this paper has focused on the two major challenges in public communication, but the general lesson of the need to ground the analysis of social media in broader socio-cultural or political perspectives should be valid if we are going to analyze how social media may relate to issues and challenges in the private arena.

Underlying this paper's discussion is the fundamental idea that social media have their affordances, but the affordances do not determine anything. Affordance is the concept used by researchers studying the relationship between technology and society to point to the role of materiality in shaping the impact of technologies. Early studies of technology and society often adopted an impact-imprint perspective.[28] They see specific technologies as having certain inherent characteristics because of their basic material and design features, and such inherent characteristics largely determine the way the technologies would affect society. Other researchers later realized that the relationship between technologies and society is by no means straightforward. They thus turn to the more nuanced concept of affordance.[29] A technology is seen to have certain characteristics so that specific types of actions are allowed or forbidden, or encouraged or discouraged.[30] But affordances by themselves do not determine usage. Whether the affordances are leveraged for specific purposes remains an open question. For instance, internet and social media technologies are particularly suitable for facilitating and sustaining decentralized action coordination, but it does not mean that they are always used for the purposes. It also does not mean that the internet and social media cannot be appropriated for strengthening centralized power (e.g., through facilitating surveillance).

The implication is that we do need to better understand the affordances of digital and social media, and that would allow people to employ social media more skillfully and strategically to advance valued goals. The social media algorithm designed by commercial corporations may tend to encourage the formation of echo chambers, but it is the human user who provides the input—the sites they like, the materials they share or

[28]   C. S. Fischer, *America Calling: A Social History of the Telephone to 1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).
[29]   I. Hutchby, "Technologies, Texts and Affordances," *Sociology,* 35, no.2 (2001): 441-456.
[30]   J. Davis & J. B. Chouinard, "Theorizing Affordances: From Request to Refuse," *Bulletin of Science, Technology and Society,* 36, Issue 4 (2017): 241-248.

hide, the people they follow or unfollow—that ultimately shapes the outcome of algorithm curation by platforms. Whether we locate ourselves in echo chambers and whether we surround ourselves with misinformation remains something we can try to control.

From a longer historical perspective, the implications of social media on society and human relationships could continue to evolve. Whenever a powerful new technology arose, people often responded with both utopian and dystopian visions. [31] On the dystopian side, television was once seen by some commentators as leading to a visual culture in which the younger generation would lose their ability to critical analysis and logical thinking. The internet was once regarded as displacing face-to-face interactions and aggravating the problem of social isolation. Rarely did such dystopian visions become reality. This is because some of the worries are often grounded in unrealistic assumptions, and some of the worries are grounded in ephemeral phenomena that emerge due to the novelty of media technology. The possibilities introduced by powerful new media technology can indeed disrupt social life in various ways and hence bring about various problems, but a well-functioning society should have the ability to adjust and address the problems. As the social shaping process continues, media technologies and society will co-evolve. From this perspective, social media as we understand them have existed only for less than two decades and are still evolving rapidly.

At the end of the paper, it should be appropriate to return to the point of how a strong social fabric could minimize the rise and impact of toxic communication—via social media or otherwise—in times of conflict, as well as the possible relationship between the issues discussed in this article and the situation facing the Catholic community. To reiterate, communication is not the panacea to social problems. Communication can bring about mutual understanding only when certain conditions are present—basic respect among the participants, relative equality, open-mindedness etc., but communication by itself does not create those conditions. Religious communities should have a role to play in helping weave together the social fabric. However, based on the author's own anecdotal observation, the Catholic community itself in Hong Kong might also have suffered from internal polarization in the past few years. The problem, to the extent that it exists, has its roots in the current social and political conditions in Hong Kong, and therefore cannot be easily resolved. The challenge is to find ways to

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[31] D. Fisher & L. M. Wright, "On Utopias and Dystopias: Toward an Understanding of the Discourse Surrounding the Internet." *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication,* 6, no.2 (2001). https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1083-6101.2001.tb00115.x

build and maintain mutual respect and trust so that meaningful communication across differences would remain possible.

【摘要】傳播學者花費了大量的研究精力來理解社交媒體在當代世界公共傳播和輿論形成中的各種問題現象中的作用，包括情感兩極化的趨勢和虛假信息的傳播。同時，媒體組織和民間團體也開展了各種努力，打擊有問題的網絡議題內容，促進網絡健康傳播。本文借鑒現有文獻和作者自己的作品，概述社交媒體對公共傳播可能產生的負面影響，以及應對措施的有效性。 一方面，數碼和社交媒體環境確實包含了促進各種問題現像出現的功能特性。這些功能特性包括數碼和社交媒體如何加速資訊流動、削弱可信任新聞媒體的把關作用、分散公共傳播過程、促進過濾泡沫的形成。數碼媒體公司營運背後的商業需求加劇了問題。 但另一方面，許多研究表明，並非所有社交媒體網站都會產生相同的後果，其影響力取決於內容。如果維持高水準的機構信任和強大的社會結構，則可以減輕社交媒體使用所帶來的問題的影響。然後，本文指出了當前事實查核和內容審核應用的實用性和局限性。總體而言，雖則不能低估數碼和社交媒體帶來的挑戰，但社交媒體的影響最終取決於用戶的應用。

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In the Age of Digital Social Media, What is the Role of the Catholic Church?

Anthony S. K. Lam

[Abstract] Our Lord Jesus Christ commanded his disciples (and thus us subsequently) to spread the news to all the peoples in the world. So we can say that the Christian Church has from the very beginning borne the mission of communicating to everybody. The Church can be seen as one of the earliest institutions established mainly as an institution for communication. In 1622, when Propaganda Fide was established, the Church intended to equip herself to be a more professional body of communication, to meet the needs of the new communication model relating to the new world. In the 21st century when social media becomes popular all over the world, Church members cannot avoid studying the important issues of the impact and the pros and cons of social media in the history of human communications. It is also the main approach of my paper here. Regarding the studies of communication, political and media ideologies are important issues which most mass media scholars will not neglect. Therefore, the studies of social media will reasonably bring us to the discussion of the question: What is the role of social media in the context of political and media ideologies? Regarding media ideology, I would like to cite two important streams of thinking to enhance the discussion. One is the challenge to media ideology posed by Marxist scholars, and the other is the challenge to media ideology by Catholic Social Teaching. When we differentiate between "proclaiming good news" and "disseminating fake news," it is necessary for us to work on the changing concept of the term "Propaganda," which was treasured by the Catholic community at least dating from 1622 and until the new era after World War II. I will elaborate on why the Catholic Church eventually changed the name from "propaganda" to "evangelization of peoples." Through the above discussion, I hope to make certain suggestions in response to the following questions: What is the role of the Catholic Church in the digital age? What can we do to enhance true understanding through mass media? What can we do to enhance true understanding through social media? What can we do to enhance true understanding through human communication?

"Go into all the World and proclaim the good news to the whole creation." (Mark 16:15)

Our Lord Jesus Christ commanded his disciples to spread the Good News of Salvation to all the peoples in the world. So we can say that the Christian Church has from the very beginning borne the mission of communicating to everybody. The Church can be seen as one of the earliest institutions established mainly as an institution for communication.

To go into all the world and proclaim means that the Catholic Church at the very beginning is mandated to be an international communication entity. From this angle, in 1622, when the *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* (SCPF) was established, it can be seen as one of the important steps for the Church to equip herself to be a more professional body of international communication. And this time is to meet the needs of the new communication model relating to the new world.

The Importance of SCPF in the Development of Communication in Human History

Professor Chen Lidan (陳力丹), a prominent scholar of communication studies in China, also pointed out that in the history of human propagation, the majority part is presented as religious propagation, so that even the word "propaganda" in modern Western world came from the Church.[1]

Chen also reminded us that even in Karl Marx and Engels' book *Die deutsche Ideologie,* they also mentioned that "Congregatio de propaganda fides" as the professional propagation organization of the Church.[2]

The Catholic Church uses this term "Propaganda" which is equivalent to the term "evangelization." Hamelink, a prominent scholar on mass communication, reminded us that the original meaning of the term "Propaganda" is,

> In the seventeenth-century Pope Gregory XV in 1622 founded the Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide. The Congregation received among its briefs the call to propagate the Catholic Faith to the New World. In 1627 Pope Urban VII established a special training centre, the Collegium Urbanum de Propaganda Fide

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[1]   Chen Lidan, (陳力丹), *On Spiritual Communication: The Theories of Communication by Marx and Engels* (《精神交往論──馬克思恩格斯的傳播觀》) (Beijing: Kai Ming Publication Press (開明出版社)，1993), 129.

[2]   Chen Lidan, *On Spiritual Communication,* 129.

(傳信大學), where catholic propagandists received their training before spreading their religious ideas across the world.[3]

Unfortunately, however, the importance of the relations between propaganda and communication had been deeply underestimated in the Catholic Church. Sometimes even scholars in communication studies also overlooked the importance of the SCPF. Stanley J. Baran and Dennis K. Davis in their book *Mass Communication Theory: Foundations, Ferment, and Future* in 2003 did mention the SCPF. They wrote,

> "Propaganda was not an American invention. The term originated in the sixteenth century during the Counter-Reformation and was first used by the Society for the Propagation of the Faith – the Jesuits."[4]

Clearly, the authors made a great mistake by mixing the SCPF with the Jesuits (耶穌會).[5] Even Stanley Baran commits such a mistake, we can understand how far the issue of Propaganda Fide was neglected by the lay people in the world.

But not everybody misunderstood the original meaning of "propaganda." Even during the First World War, some US politicians still would like to revitalize the original meaning of the term "propaganda." Hamelink recalled that,

> In April 1917 US President Woodrow Wilson established the Committee on Public Information (CPI) and appointed George Creel, a newspaper man, to be the chair. Creel urged the president to use propaganda in the true sense of the word, meaning the "propagation of faith."[6]

Changes of Meaning on "Propaganda" as New Technology Emerged

Another prominent scholar of mass communication Daya Kishan Thussu linked up international communication with the development of new technologies. He even related it with the new meaning of the term "Propaganda." He wrote:

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[3]   C.J. Hamelink, *Global Communication,* (London, SAGE, 2015), 155.

[4]   Baran Stanley and Dennis K. Davis, *Mass Communication Theory: Foundations, Ferment, and Future* 3rd ed. (Belmont, Calif: Thomson/Wadsworth, 2003), 71.

[5]   Anthony Lam, "Establishment of Propaganda Fide in 1622 and its Impact on Evolving Catholic Missionary Works in the Far East." Paper presented at the Symposium hosted by the Department of History, Fu Jen University, November 2013.

[6]   C.J. Hamelink, *Global Communication,* 155.

The strategic significance of international communication grew with the expansion of the new medium of radio. From the outset, its use for propaganda was an integral part of its development, with its power to influence values, beliefs and attitudes (Taylor, 2003; Welch, 2014; Jowett and O'Donnell, 2015). During the First World War, the power of radio was quickly recognized as vital, both to the management of public opinion at home and for propaganda abroad, directed at allies and enemies alike. As noted by a well-known writer on propaganda: "During the war period it came to be recognized that the mobilization of men and means was not sufficient; there must be mobilization of opinion. Power over opinion, as over life and property, passed into official hands" (Lasswell, 1927:14).[7]

On the other hand, Hamelink stressed that the mission of the CPI, in the minds of Wilson and Creel, was to manage American public opinion towards support for participation in the First World War.[8] In his memoirs, Creel wrote: "In no degree was the Committee an agency of censorship, a machinery of concealment or repression. Its emphasis throughout was on the open and the positive. At no point did it seek or exercise authorities under those war laws that limited the freedom of speech and press. In all things, from first to last, without halt or change, it was a plain publicity proposition, a vast enterprise in salesmanship, the world's greatest adventures in advertising."[9]

But Creel also pointed out that "We did not call it propaganda, for that word, in German hands, had come to be associated with deceit and corruption. Our effort was educational and informative throughout, for we had such confidence in our case as to feel that no other argument was needed than the simple, straightforward presentation of the facts."[10]

"Propaganda" in the 20th Century

Actually, the concept of "propaganda" was not a modern thing. According to Hamelink, the use of propaganda messages in international relations was well known in antiquity. Alexander the Great had what amounted to a public relations unit. "Reports written to

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[7]   D. K. Thussu, *International Communication: Continuity and Changes*, 3rd Ed. (NY: Oxford University Press, 2019), 14.

[8]   C.J. Hamelink, *Global Communication,* 155.

[9]   George Creel, *How We Advertised America: The First Telling of the Amazing Story of the Committee on Public Information that Carried the Gospel of Americanism to Every Corner of the Globe.* New York: Harper, 1920. Quoted by Hamelink, *Global Communication,* 156.

[10]   George Creel, *How We Advertised America,* Quoted by Hamelink, *Global Communication,* 156.

serve his ends were sent to the Macedonian court, multiplied there and disseminated with propagandistic intent."[11] Propaganda has been systematically carried out since the 15th century.[12]

The 18th century in particular provides many illustrations of hostile propaganda. It witnessed the work of one of history's greatest propagandists, Napoleon. "He engaged in a veritable propaganda battle with the rest of Europe, a battle of big words." [13]

Napoleon communicated selectively with foreign countries. The open appeal to the civilian population was something fundamentally new. Thus in 1796, he directed a manifesto to the Tyroleans to give up 'the hopeless cause' of their emperor.[14]

As I mentioned before, for Creel, the term "propaganda" had come to be associated with deceit and corruption. To what extent it is so bad, we can see the elaboration of Thussu. He wrote,

> By the time of the Nazis came to power in Germany in 1933, radio broadcasting had become an extension of international diplomacy. The head of Hitler's Propaganda Ministry, Josef Goebbels, believed in the power of radio broadcasting as a tool of propaganda: "Real broadcasting is true propaganda. Propaganda means fighting on all battlefields of the spirit, generating, multiplying, destroying, exterminating, building and undoing. Our propaganda is determined by what we call German race, blood and nation' (quoted in Hale, 1975:2). In 1935, Nazi Germany turned its attention to disseminating worldwide the racist and anti-Semitic ideology of the Third Reich. The Nazi *Reichsender* Broadcasts were targeted at Germans living abroad, as far afield as South America and Australia. These short-wave transmissions were rebroadcast by Argentina, home to many Germans. Later, the Nazis expanded their international broadcasting to include several languages, including Afrikaans, Arabic and Hindustani and, by 1945, German radio was broadcasting in more than fifty languages.[15]

Joseph Turow, another prominent scholar of mass communication, reminded us that laboratory work started in Germany during the 1880s and continued in the United States, Scotland, Russia, and other countries throughout the next several decades. Between 1935

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11   C.J. Hamelink, *Global Communication,* 155.
12   C.J. Hamelink, *Global Communication,* 155.
13   C.J. Hamelink, *Global Communication,* 155.
14   C.J. Hamelink, *Global Communication,* 155.
15   D. K. Thussu, *International Communication,* 15.

and 1938, the Nazi government in Germany operated the world's first regular television service, sending propaganda broadcasts to specially equipped theaters.[16]

In Fascist Italy, under Benito Mussolini, a Ministry of Print and Propaganda was created to promote Fascist ideals and win public opinion for colonial campaigns such as the invasion of Abyssinia (Ethiopia) in 1935, and support for Francisco Franco's Fascists during the Spanish Civil War (1936-39). Mussolini also distributed radio sets to Arabs, tuned to only one station – *Radio Bari* in southern Italy. This propaganda prompted the British Foreign Office to create monitoring unit of the BBC to listen in to international broadcasts and later to start an Arabic language service to the region.[17]

Thussu gives a fair elaboration to all parties during the WWII. He quoted other scholars that the Second World War saw an explosion in international broadcasting as a propaganda tool on both sides.[18]

The Second World War led to an enormous expansion of radio propaganda and this continued in the years after the war. "As the dynamics of world politics were being played out, international radio broadcasting became a prominent weapon in the arsenal of propaganda."[19] In response to harmful broadcasting, there were attempts to impede the reception of radio signals from abroad. "Jamming" has been practiced by many countries. Governments have tried to manipulate the effective receiving range of radio sets. Usually, most of these attempts have not been very successful.[20]

The Cold War – War of Propaganda from the Opposite Blocs

The defeat of Nazism and militarism of Japan was accompanied by the US-proclaimed victory of democracy and the creation of the United Nations system. Though the 1947 UN General Assembly Resolution 110 (II) condemned "all forms of propaganda which are designed or likely to provoke or encourage any threat to the peace, breach of the

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[16]   J. Turow, *Media Today: Mass Communication in a Converging World* (6th Ed.), (New York: Routledge, 2016), 367.

[17]   Thussu, *International Communication*, 15.

[18]   Thussu, *International Communication*, 15.

[19]   Garth Jowett and Victoria O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion* (London: SAGE Publications, 1986), 86.

[20]   C.J. Hamelink, *Global Communication,* 157.

peace, or act of aggression," both camps indulged in regular propaganda as the battle lines of the Cold War were being drawn.[21]

In the same year (1947), the Soviet Union revived Comintern (Communist International) as Cominform (Communist Information Bureau), to organize a worldwide propaganda campaign orchestrated by the Administration of Agitation and Propaganda (AGITROP) of the Communist Party Central Committee. Communist propaganda, a central component of post-war Soviet diplomacy, was primarily aimed at the Eastern bloc, and increasingly, to what came to be known as the Third World.[22]

By the late 1960s, Moscow Radio was the world's largest single international broadcaster – between 1969 and 1972 it broadcast more program hours than the United States. In addition, it used more languages – eighty-four – than any other international broadcaster, partly because the Soviet Union itself was a multilingual country. Between 1950 and 1973 external broadcasting from the Soviet Union grew from 533 hours to around 1,950 hours per week.[23]

On the other side, US broadcasting propaganda was also everywhere all over the world. According to Thussu, although the VOA had been a part of US diplomacy during the Second World War, with the advent of the Cold War, propaganda became a crucial component of US foreign broadcasting. The key instruments of US international broadcasting – VOA, RL and RFE, and the American Forces Network – were all state-funded. The VOA was the official mouthpiece of the US Government, the largest single element in the US Information Agency (USIA) and ultimately answerable to the US State Department.[24]

In the United States, propaganda was part of what John Martin, a former researcher for the USIA, called "facilitative communication' which he defined as 'activity that is designed to keep lines open and to maintain them against the day when they will be needed for propaganda purposes."[25] This included press releases, seminars, conferences and exhibitions, as well as books, films, educational and cultural exchange programs and scholarships for technical and scientific research.[26]

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21 D. K. Thussu, *International Communication,* 16.
22 D. K. Thussu, *International Communication,* 16.
23 D. K. Thussu, *International Communication,* 17.
24 D. K. Thussu, *International Communication,* 18.
25 D. K. Thussu, *International Communication,* 18.
26 D. K. Thussu, *International Communication,* 18.

During the Vietnam War, US propaganda reached new heights. The joint US Public Office became the delegated authority for all propaganda activities, the chief aims of which were to undermine the support for communists and to keep the support of the South Vietnamese. These messages were conveyed mainly through dropping leaflets and broadcasting from low-flying aircraft.[27]

D. Croteau and W. Hoynes remind us that a quarter century later, the uses of propaganda during World War II prompted more concern about the distribution of information in the media. The United States used the forum of the United Nations to promote a policy that allowed for the international collection, sale, and distribution of information worldwide.[28]

The Need to Protect Good International Communication

Glenn Sparks, a scholar of modern world communication, interpreted Marshall McLuhan's understanding of the history of human communication, saying McLuhan saw the history of the human race in terms of eras of communication.[29] According to Sparks, McLuhan divided the history into three stages: the Tribal Age, the Print Age and the Electronic Age.[30]

Obviously, the Congregation of Propaganda Fide is an outcome of the Print Era. Therefore, at the very beginning, the polyglot-printing office of the SCPF was put into service, to produce the printed material urgently needed by missioners working in remote regions.[31] The press apostolate was acting as an important means for communicating the faith.[32]

SCPF has been very successful in working as a prominent leader in the Print Era. According to Wikipedia, The Bible is the most popular book ever printed in Human

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[27]   D. K. Thussu, *International Communication, 24*.

[28]   D. Croteau and W. Hoynes, *Media / Society: Industries, Images, and Audiences* (6th Ed.) (Washington, DC: CQ Press, AA Division of Sage, 2019), 361.

[29]   G. G. Sparks, *Media Effects Research: A Basic Overview* (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2004), 202.

[30]   G.G. Sparks, *Media Effects Research,* 202-206.

[31]   Henkel, W., 1971, 'The Polyglot Printing-office of the Congregation', in Metzler, J., (ed), *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum, 350 Anni A Servizio Delle Missioni, 1622-1972, Vol. I/1 1622-1700* (Rome: Herder Press, 1971), 335-349.

[32]   Anthony Lam, "Establishment of Propaganda Fide in 1622 and its Impact on Evolving Catholic Missionary Works in the Far East." Paper presented at the Symposium hosted by the Department of History, Fu Jen University, November 2013.

history. SCPF has been playing a very significant role in this aspect. [33] For the Congregation of Propaganda Fide, however, publication work has been always deeply interrelated with inter-personal communication. That is why this congregation pays so much effort to the formation of evangelization and preaching, including the University Urbano. Amid this formation, language training is always an important part. One example is Cardinal Grégoire-Pierre Agagianian, a former prefect of the Congregation. "He was a remarkable linguist, speaking about 12 languages, many of them fluently – his native Russian, Italian, English, French, German, Spanish, Classical Hebrew and Greek, Armenian and Latin."[34]

Early in 1971, Fr. Metzler made a very inspiring evaluation on the work of the SCPF:

> To convert heathens meant the same as saving them from eternal damnation. We find the same thought applied to bringing heretics and schismatics back to the Catholic Church. It was with this argument that the Congregation tried to inspire its missionaries to greater zeal. It was in this that the Congregation saw the need and obligation for Mission. In spite of this confusion of ideas, which was conditioned by times, and in spite of the failure in practice to make the distinction, already acknowledged from the beginning, between the conversion of heathens and the return of non-Catholics to Church Unity, the foundation of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide remains the truly great deed of Gregory XV and it is a turning point in Mission and Church History.[35]

Talking about "bringing heretics and schismatics back to the Catholic Church," it implies that, from the very beginning, the mission of "Propaganda Fide" had been to fight against fake communication. In the 20th Century, its mission included fighting against "political propaganda."

From Propaganda Fide to Congregation of Evangelization to Peoples

The Vatican II Council, which was held from 1962 to 1965, enhanced a series of "modernization". During and after the Council, the Catholic Church decided to give the Propaganda Fide a new name, so that people could identify its clear standing against

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33   Bible: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bible>
34   "Death of Cardinal Agagianian," *Sunday Examiner*, May 28, 1971, 8.
35   J. Metzler, "Foundation of the Congregation 'de Propaganda Fide' by Gregory XV," in J. Metzler, (ed.), *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum, 350 Anni A Servizio Delle Missioni*, 1622-1972, Vol. I 1622-1700, (Rome: Herder Press, 1971), 96.

"propaganda." On October 7, 1965, Council participants examined the proposal regarding the SCPF. On October 12, it came to the time of voting.[36]

> Cardinal Suenens evaluated the pro and con of the Pontifical Urbaniana University and pointed out that most bishops of Asia and Africa were bring-up from it. Such one source selection is not so satisfactory. Some prelates also suggested to change the name as "Propaganda" will arouse a huge bad feeling from people.[37]

On December 7, 1965, Council leaders promulgated the *Decretum De Activitate Missionali Ecclesiae*, which is also known as "Ad Gentes Divinitus," (AG). In it the role of Propaganda Fide has been clearly stated:

> For all missions and for the whole of missionary activity there should be only one competent office, namely that of the "Propagation of the Faith," which should direct and coordinate, throughout the world, both missionary work itself and missionary cooperation. However, the law of the Oriental Churches is to remain untouched. (AG 29)

In "Ad Gentes Divinitus," the Council prelates also encourage the SCPF to become "an instrument of administration and an organ of dynamic direction, which makes use of scientific methods and means suited to the conditions of modern times, always taking into consideration present - day research in matters of theology, of methodology and missionary pastoral procedure." (AG 29)

Similarly, the "Ad Gentes Divinitus" also reminds the SCPF to maintain its mission as a communication organization. It reads,

> In the direction of this office, an active role with a deliberative vote should be had by selected representatives of all those who cooperate in missionary work: …This office should have available a permanent group of expert consultors, of proven knowledge and experience, whose duty it will be, among other things to gather pertinent information about local conditions in various regions, and about the thinking of various groups of men) as well as about the means of evangelization to be used. They will then propose scientifically based conclusions for mission work and cooperation. (AG 29)

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[36] Chan Man Yu (陳文裕), *A Brief History of the Vatican II Council* (梵蒂岡第二屆大公會議簡史) (Taipei: Sapientia Press, 1989), 192.

[37] Chan Man Yu, *A Brief History of the Vatican II Council*, 192.

Facing the reality of confusion meaning of the term "propaganda," the Council members considered changing the name of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide. After the Council, the Congregation of Propaganda Fide was given a new name. In Vatican Document AAS 59 (1967) LXVI ***Nuova definizione della competenza della S. Congregazione*, Article 81 states:**

> *Quac hucusque nuncupata est Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, in posterum appellabitur Sacra Congregatio pro Gentium Evangelizatione seu de Propaganda Fide*. (Caput IX 81)

The new name in Latin is "*Congregatio pro Gentium Evangelizatione*." *Gentium* means peoples, and *Evangelizatione* is simply "evangelization."

Up to the turn of centuries, The SCPF is the biggest communication entity in the world. In a news release in 2006 by a Catholic communication office in the Archdiocese of Bombay, it listed out the following figures.

> At present, this would cover about 64 million square kilometers in the five continents where the Catholic population totals 185 million. In this area there are some 1,100 dioceses and other ecclesiastical units; 2,400 bishops in active service or retired; 85,000 priests; 450,000 religious women; 28,000 religious brothers and 1.65 million catechists. Candidates to the priesthood receive spiritual and academic formation in 280 major and 110 minor seminaries with 65,000 major seminarians and 85,000 minor seminarians. In the mission territories the Catholic Church runs 90,000 educational institutes; 1600 hospitals; 6,000 clinics; 780 leprosaria and 24,000 social and welfare institutions.[38]

What Happened in the 21st Century?

Obviously the new SCPF has been working as an active participant in the world of mass media. But the above citation also reflected that the SCPF did not notice any weight of social media which emerged quickly in the 21st Century. As the power of social media becomes popular all over the world, Church members cannot avoid studying the important issues of the impact and the pros and cons of social media in the history of human communications.

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[38] Website: https://archbom.org/, accessed on May 23, 2006.

Social media is the outcome of the internet. It has brought conveniences in different aspects to our daily life. But it also brings us trouble with confusing information and sometimes even fake news into our worldview.

It is not only the Church leaders who are worrying about the negative impact of social media in the digital age; media scholars have already pointed out the negative outcome regarding over-relying on media social. In 2012, media scholars John Morrish and Paul Bradshaw, when talking about fact-checking, already warned people that "The Internet can be a helpful source of additional information, but it must be used intelligently and critically."[39]

Christian Fuchs, a prominent media scholar from Austria, listed numerous limitations of the prominent social media in his book in 2017. Regarding Facebook, he wrote:

> THE LIMITS OF FACEBOOK: Technology, sports, music, entertainment and brands are very popular on Facebook. Powerful politicians, such as President Obama, dominate the attention given to the political Facebook groups, whereas alternative political figures, such as Michael Moore, Karl Marx, Noam Chomsky and Jeremy Corbyn, have a much lower number of fans.[40]

Thussu also does not restrain his critic to Facebook. He wrote, "Critics have alleged that Facebook has demonstrated political bias in 'trending topics' that were tampered with, privileging liberal views and downgrading conservative news sites. This became a big controversy during the 2016 presidential elections in the United States, where allegations were made about Russian social media interference via what came to be known as 'fake news', by misusing platforms such as Facebook to influence campaigning and election results."[41]

By the way, on Google, even President Obama had to give way to the entertainment industry. Fuchs wrote:

> THE LIMITS OF GOOGLE: The top search keywords used on Google in 2010 show that the 12 most used keywords did not contain political topics. Instead, there was more interest in Whitney Houston, Gangnam Style, Hurricane Sandy, iPad 3, Diablo 3, Kate Middleton, Olympics 2012, Amanda Todd, Michael Clark Duncan, Big Brother Brazil 12. The most searched Google keywords in 2014 were Robin

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[39] John Morrish and Paul Bradshaw, *Magazine Editing: In Print and Online* (3rd Ed.) (London: Routledge Press, 2012), 122.

[40] C. Fuchs, *Social Media: A Critical Introduction* (2nd Ed.) (London: Sage, 2017), 124.

[41] D. K. Thussu, *International Communication,* 233.

Williams, World Cup, Ebola, Malaysia Airlines, ALS Ice Bucket Challenge, Flappy Bird, Conchita Wurst, ISIS, Frozen, Sochi Olympics. Seven of the most searched keywords have to do with entertainment, two with catastrophes (Ebola virus epidemic, crash of Malaysia Airlines flights 370 and 17) and just one with politics (ISIS).[42]

The above elaboration just echoed a quite common comment that media, especially social media, as a platform of gossip, are always working as an outlet for people to escape from the unchangeable political realities. But other scholars also point out more problems of Google. In his book in 2019, Thussu mentioned that

The Google algorithm has generated much controversy and various anti-trust authorities across the world have sought to check its unrestrained power to promote and prioritize the products that its algorithm prefers. In 2017, the European Commission fined Google $2.7 billion, the largest such penalty in the Commission's history, for giving Google's own comparison-shopping service and advantage.[43]

Toby Miller and Marwan Kraidy already pointed out earlier that the European Union's Court of Justice has ruled that Google must give its citizens a "right to be forgotten," to remove themselves from scrutiny through search engines when the information that emerges about them is spurious. So the happy utopia promised by social media and celebrated by media studies 2.0 is running into some serious resistance.[44]

By the way, Fuchs evaluated Twitter as one of the most popular social media platforms. Blogger Andrew Sullivan wrote after the Iranian protests of 2009 that "the revolution will be twittered" which contributed to the myth of Twitter revolutions. But he also queries that can meaningful political debates be based on 140-character short messages? Short text invites simplistic arguments and is an expression of the commodification and speed-up of culture.[45]

I would like to quote other scholars, however, to counterbalance their claims of the branding of the Twitter Revolution. Miller and Kraidy just remind us that while nowhere were celebrations of the emancipatory magic of digital communication more manifest than in predominant media and academic representations of the popular uprisings and

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[42]   C. Fuchs, *Social Media: A Critical Introduction*, 124.
[43]   D. K. Thussu, *International Communication,* 232.
[44]   Toby Miller and Marwan M. Kraidy, *Global Media Studies* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2016), 88.
[45]   C. Fuchs, *Social Media: A Critical Introduction*, 124-5.

civil wars captured by the rubric of "the Arab Spring," debates between otherwise sensible people for a while revolved around whether these were "Facebook revolutions" or "Twitter Revolutions."[46]

Fuchs also reminded us that nine out of the ten most followed Twitter user accounts are entertainment-oriented. Barack Obama is the only exception in the top ten.[47] May I add one more comment learnt from other scholars: And Jesus is not there!!!

Moreover, we should not forget that in social media, media consumers become media products. Miller and Kraidy point out that Twitter and Facebook sell information about users' past and present lives and likes, monitoring their every move.[48]

Regarding the power of social media, Crouteau and Hoynes related it to media power and ideology. They pointed out that in the end, we have growing oligopolistic corporations –Facebook, Google, Amazon, and the like—who mine our data, feed us our news and entertainment, and deeply affect our understanding of the world through the use of algorithms that shape our online experiences. But rather than conjure up images from dystopian science-fiction novels about an oppressive "Big Brother," this condition seems to us perfectly normal, ordinary, and in our best interest. That is the power of ideology.[49]

The Miracle of Wikipedia

It is fair to say that we should not underestimate the positive influence of social media. Just as Miller and Kraidy mention that the touchingly old-fashioned Facebook predictably features "Peace on Facebook" that will "decrease world conflict" through intercultural communication. Twitter modestly announces itself to be "a triumph of humanity."[50]

Surely some social media have even more revolutionary impact as much as communism had done in the past. Fuchs, who is a media scholar fond of Communism in the Western

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[46]   Toby Miller and Marwan M. Kraidy, *Global Media Studies*, 85.
[47]   C. Fuchs, *Social Media: A Critical Introduction*, 125.
[48]   Toby Miller and Marwan M. Kraidy, *Global Media Studies*, 41.
[49]   D. Croteau and W. Hoynes, *Media / Society*, 223-4.
[50]   Toby Miller and Marwan M. Kraidy, *Global Media Studies*, 35.

world, pointed out that people can say that Wikipedians are prototypical contemporary communists.[51]

The work model of Wikipedia is very charming to some liberals. Fuchs reminded us that the work on Wikipedia is co-operative. No one can reclaim the authorship of an article, as it is often the result of dozens of people writing and debating together about what should be written. Most of the articles have between seven and 21 co-authors (Auray et al. 2007, 194). Wikipedians use a decision-making process that is based on debate and consensus. This method is supported and enabled by the wiki web software, which generates webpages that can be edited by anyone and that support discussion between the users.[52]

For Fuchs, Communism is not a distant society. It exists to a certain degree in each society. Communism is a dream that the world has always possessed. In this context, Marx says that "the world already possesses the dream of a thing, of which it has only to possess the consciousness to possess it truly" (Marx/Engels Gesamtausgabe (MEGA), Section 3, Vol. 1, 56).[53]

Of course, the evaluation of Wikipedia is not one-sided. Thussu reminded us that "A study conducted at the Oxford Internet Institute of the University of Oxford showed that Wikipedia, one of the world's most visible and used encyclopedias, is characterized by uneven and clustered geographies: there is simply not a lot of content about much of the world, it noted, Arabic was the most under-represented major world language on Wikipedia, while sub-Saharan Africa is woefully under-represented in all major languages (Graham et al., 2014)."[54]

Regarding such a series of problems of social media mentioned above, it will reasonably bring us to discuss the role of social media in the context of political and media ideologies. Regarding media ideology, I would like to cite two important streams of thinking to enhance the discussion. One is the challenge to media ideology posed by the Marxist scholars, and the other one is the challenge to media ideology by the Catholic Social Teaching, especially those on Social Communications.

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[51] C. Fuchs, *Social Media: A Critical Introduction*, 325.

[52] C. Fuchs, *Social Media: A Critical Introduction,* 326.

[53] C. Fuchs, *Social Media: A Critical Introduction,* 325.

[54] D. K. Thussu, *International Communication,* 251.

A Dialogue with the Marxist Theory on Social Media

According to McQuail, the message of Marxist theory is plain, but questions remain unanswered. "How might the power of the media be countered or resisted? What is the position of forms of media that are not clearly in capitalist ownership or in the power of the state (such as independent newspapers or public broadcasting)? Critics of mass media in the Marxist tradition either rely on the weapon of exposure of propaganda and manipulation (e.g. Herman and Chomsky, 1988; Herman, 2000) or pin their hopes on some form of collective ownership class. The main contemporary heir to Marxist theory is to be found in political economy theory."[55]

Ideology is most powerful when it operates at a taken-for-granted level, that is, when things seem obvious and uncontested. In some ways, the internet and related digital technologies have their own ideology. That is, they tend to encourage a way of being that seems commonsensical and "natural," when, in fact, it is the product of a particular set of social and power relations.[56]

McQuail quoted the classic elaboration by Gouldner in 1976 regarding the relationship between new technology and ideology. It reads as follows:

> Gouldner (1976) interpreted key changes in modern political history in terms of communication technology. He connects the rise of 'ideology', defined as a special form of rational discourse, to printing and the newspaper, on the grounds that (in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) these stimulated a supply of interpretation and ideas (ideology). He then portrays the later media of radio, film and television as having led to a decline of ideology because of the shift from 'conceptual to iconic symbolism', revealing a split between the 'cultural apparatus' (the intelligentsia), which produces ideology, and the 'consciousness industry', which controls the new mass public. This anticipates a continuing 'decline in ideology' as a result of the new computer-based networks of information.[57]

Fairly speaking, Internet inventors and promoters, at the very beginning, may carry goodwill to enhance a fairer and more open global society. But Crouteau and Hoynes remind us of the reality that "Fast-forward a half century, and the fruition of this belief system can be seen in the internet. The focus on individual self-empowerment that began as a countercultural value became fused with Silicon Valley capitalism. It morphed into

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[55] D. McQuail, *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory* (London: Sage, 2010), 96.
[56] D. Croteau and W. Hoynes, *Media / Society*, 222.
[57] D. McQuail, *McQuail's Mass Communication Theory*, 103.

an approach combining libertarianism and neoliberalism—and ideology supporting the deregulation of industry, the defunding and privatization of public services, and the undermining of labor unions that serve as a bulwark against capitalist exploitation."[58]

They also pointed out that the media technologies are replacing the traditional belief. They wrote, "As the legitimacy of governments to seriously address major social problems has been undermined, and as other social institutions have been challenged, technology and the associated information society has been hailed by many as a savior, amounting to a 'techno-redemptive ideology' (Mattelhart 2003: 152). Representing individual freedom and what another critic calls 'technological solutionism' (Morozov 2013), the internet is presented as a neutral 'platform' for communication and self-expression; digital technologies and 'big data' are touted as the source of solutions for everything ranging from personal troubles to global crises."[59]

Communio et Progressio and Its Trans-temporal Vision

How can the Catholic Church respond to such new media ecology in the World? My observation is that what we have done to enhance true understanding through mass media in the past can be and should be very helpful for us to explore the ways we can enhance true understanding through social media. Therefore, in the following pages, I would like to quote a few paragraphs from some inspiring church documents. The first one is the *Communio et Progressio* (C et P) in 1971.

In 1971, the Pontifical Social Communication Commission promulgated the "*Communio et Progressio,*" a concrete policy on Mass Media was established. It is a timely instruction on communication media that the main idea still inspiring until now.

The Instruction is written in a very post-modern way with a strong trans-temporal perspective. Section 21 of the document listed eight questions regarding mass communication work which should not be neglected. Such questions are valid for the Church in this digital communication age.

    1.   How can we ensure that this swift and haphazard and endless stream of news is properly evaluated and understood?

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[58]   D. Croteau and W. Hoynes, *Media / Society*, 222.
[59]   D. Croteau and W. Hoynes, *Media / Society*, 222.

2.   How, in a society that is committed to the rights of dissent, is the distinction between right and wrong, and true and false, to be made?

3.   How in the face of competition to capture a large popular audience are the media to be prevented from appealing to and inflaming the less admirable tendencies in human nature?

4.   How can one avoid the concentration of the power to communicate in too few hands so that any real dialogue is killed?

5.   How can one avoid allowing communications made indirectly and through machinery to weaken direct human contact – especially when these communications take the form of pictures and images?

6.   When the media invite men to escape into fantasy, what can be done to bring them back to present reality?

7.   How can one stop the media from encouraging mental idleness and passivity?

8.   How can one be certain that the incessant appeal to emotion does not sap reason? (C et P, 21).

These eight questions are not only pointing to the communication work of the Roman Catholic Church, they are also pointing to all communication workers in the world. Therefore, *Communio et Progressio* should not be treated as only a Church document but as an important document on the history of human communication. While we were surprised to see the powerful invasion of the Cyber Network into our real world, we should not be more surprised to see that the *Communio et Progressio*, in 1971, already recognized the problem of how to come back from the hyper world to the real world.

A Counterbalance to the Internet Ideology During the Electronic Era?

Even though the *Communio et Progressio* never mentions the term "internet," the document did point out the development with deep insight that fit in the new age of the internet. In article 91 it said,

> The responsibility of civil authorities over the means of social communication now covers the world, for they have to guarantee the development of social communication for the good of all mankind, and this without selection or discrimination. This development can be secured by the use of international agreements including those that touch on the use of space satellites. (C et P, 91).

SCPF should work with all Catholic mass communication organizations and social media platforms in the world to promote evangelization works.

Communio et Progressio suggests we should do something to prevent the deterioration of the situation. We should let the competent people speak. It foresees that "Well known Catholics who go on the air, whether they are clerical or lay, are automatically regarded as spokespersons of the Church." (C et P, 154).

For the same reason, *Communio et Progressio* recommends that "Every bishop, all episcopal conferences or bishops' assemblies and the Holy See itself should each have their own official and permanent spokesperson or press officer to issue the news and give clear explanations of the documents of the Church so that people can grasp precisely what is intended" (C et P, 174). The Hong Kong Catholic Social Communication Office was established in 1973. It was an active response to *Communio et Progressio.*

In 1992, the Pontifical Social Communication Commission promulgated another document, the **"*AETATIS NOVAE*"** on social communications on the twentieth anniversary of *Communio et Progressio*. In *Aetatis Novae*, the commission suggested a few points for reference which deserve our attention.

A pastoral plan for social communications should include the following elements:

a) the statement of a vision, based on extensive consultation, which identifies communications strategies for all Church ministries and responds to contemporary issues and conditions.

b) an inventory or assessment that describes the media environment in the territory under consideration, including audiences, public and commercial media producers and directors, financial and technical resources, delivery systems, ecumenical and educational resources, and Catholic media organizations and communications personnel, including those of religious communities.

c) a proposed structure for Church-related social communications in support of evangelization, catechesis and education, social service, and ecumenical cooperation, and including, as far as possible, public relations, press, radio, television, cinema, cassettes, computer networks, facsimile services, and related forms of telecommunications.

d) media education, with special emphasis on the relationship between media and values.

e) pastoral outreach to, and dialogue with, media professionals, with particular attention to their faith development and spiritual growth.

f) means of obtaining and maintaining financial support adequate to the carrying out of the pastoral plan (AN 24).

SCPF should work with everybody to act as a counterbalance force to the Internet ideology.

Conclusion: To Build Up a Cathopedia for the Universal Church and the World

According to Thussu, internet-based news media have also unleashed challenges about accuracy –both factual and contextual – given the speed and scale of information dissemination in the globalized communication environment. In the rush to be first with the news, mainstream news operators compete with digital news providers as well as non-state actors. Such connectivity has been misused by extremist groups, undermining journalism: *Time* magazine devoted a 2016 cover story to explaining "why we're losing the Internet to the culture of hate."[60]

For Fuchs, however, it is paradoxical that more than 25 years after the end of development has intensified global problems and caused severe poverty and a rise of unequal income distribution. As a result, we have also seen a return of the economy in the form of a worldwide economic crisis and with it a re-actualization of the Marxian critique of capitalism. Although a persistent refrain is "Marx is dead, long live capitalism", Marx has come back again today.[61]

Marx's notion of a communist economy is what Crawford Macpherson (1973) and Carole Pateman (1970) describe as participatory democracy in the economic realm. Participatory democracy involves the intensification of democracy and its extensions into realms beyond politics. It also involves the insight that the capitalist economy is an undemocratic dictatorship of capital that should be democratized. Democracy is, in capitalism, limited to the realm of voting and parliament. Participatory democracy theory asks the questions of why democratic ideals are given up once one enters the realm of the workplace and how one can speak of a democratic society if the economy is excluded

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[60]   D. K. Thussu, *International Communication,* 242.
[61]   C. Fuchs, *Social Media: A Critical Introduction* (2nd Ed.) (London: Sage, 2017), 319.

from the realm of democracy. It wants to go beyond a narrow understanding of the concept of democracy and broaden its meaning and practice.[62]

To fight against the economic monopoly of media power, I would like to suggest the Catholic Church to run a social media platform based on the model of a "communist social media," the Wikipedia. SCPF should seriously consider establishing a similar platform to share with all believers as well as non-believers the true concepts of Catholicism. I would like to suggest a name for it, which can be called "Cathopedia."

To develop the Cathopedia, the Catholic Church can and should learn a lot from Wikipedia. According to Fuchs, the Wikipedia Foundation, which is a public, non-profit charity under US regulations, operates Wikipedia. Its self-defined purpose is to "empower and engage people around the world to collect and develop educational content under a free license or in the public domain, and to disseminate it effectively and globally."[63]

Surely, running a self-supported giant social media is never an easy thing. Paul Hodkinson reminds us that:

> Crucial though it may be as a socio-cultural development, it is worth remembering that much of the content created and published by ordinary internet users will only be engaged with by tiny audiences. In spite of notable exceptions such as the peer-produced Wikipedia and occasional examples of user-generated content that go sufficiently viral to general significant interest, the most influential content still tends to originate with powerful organizations of one kind or another.[64]

But Wikipedia tried hard to play a balance. According to Fuchs, Wikipedia's products are collaboratively authored articles, which are available to the world without payment. Their character is dynamic and open. They are not a one-time product, but a product in flux that invites users to participate in developing the content, and therefore can potentially change according to the number of participants who become involved in its development.[65]

Somebody may query that when there is a Wikipedia functioning well for so many years, why should we need another Cathopedia? My answer is that even the Wikipedia works

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[62] C. Fuchs, *Social Media: A Critical Introduction* (2nd Ed.) (London: Sage, 2017), 321.
[63] C. Fuchs, *Social Media: A Critical Introduction*, 326.
[64] Paul Hodkinson, *Media Culture and Society, An Introduction* (2nd Ed.) (London: Sage, 2017), 190.
[65] C. Fuchs, *Social Media: A Critical Introduction*, 327.

hard to make each accurate and fair, there are always some insignificant but very harmful mistakes. Let me cite a current example to elaborate on this problem.

One of my good friends, Bp. Wu Junwei of Yuncheng (in Shanxi Province, China) just passed away on May 10, 2022.[66] In Wikipedia in the item named after Peter Wu Junwei, it writes "He (Wu Junwei) was ordained a priest by Zhang Xin (Chinese: 張信) on 9 December 1990." In the Wikipedia (Wu Junwei Chinese), however, it reads,

> 1990 年 12 月 9 日，武俊維在 27 歲時於太原聖母無染原罪主教座堂由太原總教區非法主教張信晉鐸。(English translation: On December 9, 1990, Wu Junwei was ordained a priest by the illicit Bishop Zhang Xin of the Taiyuan Archdiocese at the Our Lady of Immaculate Conception in Taiyuan City.)

In this Chinese version, Zhang Xin, unfortunately, was described as an "illicit bishop" which is very unfair to both Archbishop Zhang Xin and Bishop Wu Junwei. As far as we know, Archbishop Zhang Xin had been appointed by the Holy See as early as in 1980s. It needs the Church authority to clarify such above mistakes.

Therefore, regarding Church messages, we need to have the Catholic Church work on her own mechanism to guarantee that true information can be shared, and misunderstandings can be avoided.

The operation model of Wikipedia is very suitable for the Catholic Church. Regarding the editorial structure, Wikipedia provides a good practice model for the Catholic Church. It relies deeply upon volunteers who would like to contribute their efforts freely to maintain the truth.

According to Fuchs, in the period from 1 July 2013 until 30 June 2014, Wikipedia received donations of US$49.6 million. Around 2.5 million supporters contributed donations. Wikipedia's expenses are mainly funded by individual donations made by users. There is no advertising on Wikipedia and Wikipedia does not have a business model. Wikipedia's terms of use and privacy policy therefore do not mention advertising – there is no need for commercial income.[67] Such expenses are completely acceptable to the Catholic Church. It is not difficult for the universal Catholic Church to mobilize millions of donors all over the world. And on average each donor for 20 US dollars is very acceptable to lay Catholics.

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[66] "Bp. Wu. Junwei of Yuncheng Dead at 59," *Sunday Examiner*, May 15, 2022, 3.
[67] C. Fuchs, *Social Media: A Critical Introduction*, 326.

The motto of Wikipedia is: "Imagine a world in which every single person on the planet is given free access to the sum of all human knowledge." This shows that Wikipedia's intrinsic reason for production is different from that of capitalism. Capitalism is based on profit interests, whereas Wikipedia is based on voluntary work and users' desire and pleasure to work on the provision of encyclopedic knowledge as a common good that is available without payment to all.[68] Is it very similar to our zest to share the good news for human being with non-believers during the last two thousand years?

Somebody may ask: why Catholic groups do not organize their social media platform by themselves? Why are the lay Catholics still waiting for the Holy See to run a Cathopedia? My answer is that only the SCPF has such credibility to run this important platform for the Church. Individual Catholics can join them and work with them, but the leading role is still remanded to the Holy See Curia. The Holy See is always in the heart of Catholics.

【摘要】我們的主耶穌基督命令祂的門徒（以及後來的我們）將福音喜訊傳給世上所有民族。因此我們可以說，基督教會從一開始就肩負著向所有人傳播的使命。教會可被視為最早建立的機構之一，主要作為一個傳播機構。傳信部 1622 年成立時，教會打算將自己裝備成一個更專業的傳播機構，以滿足與新世界相關的新傳播模式的需要。在社交媒體風靡全球的二十一世紀，教會成員不能避免地要研究社交媒體在人類傳播史上的影響和優缺點等重要議題。這也是本論文的主要方向。對於傳播學的研究，政治和媒體意識形態是大眾傳播學者不會忽視的重要議題。因此，對社交媒體的研究將合理地引導我們討論這樣一個問題：社交媒體在政治和媒體意識形態背景下扮演什麼角色？關於媒體意識形態，我想引用兩種重要的思潮來加強討論：一是馬克思主義學者對媒介意識形態的挑戰，二是天主教社會訓導對媒介意識形態的挑戰。當我們區分「宣揚好消息」和「傳播假新聞」時，我們有必要致力於改變「宣傳」（propaganda）一詞的概念，至少從 1622 年到二次大戰後的新時代，天主教界一直珍視這個詞。我將詳細闡述為什麼天主教會最終將名稱從「傳信部」改為「萬民福音傳播部」。透過上述討論，我希望針對以下問題提出一定的建議：天主教會在數碼年代的角色是什麼？ 我們可以做些什麼來

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68   C. Fuchs, *Social Media: A Critical Introduction*, 327.

透過大眾媒體增進真正的理解？ 我們可以做些什麼來透過社群媒體增進真正的理解？我們可以做些什麼來透過人與人之間的交流來增進真正的理解？

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Evangelization of the Christian Church in the Twenty-First Century: A Digital Theological Perspective

Calida Chu

[Abstract] The medium of evangelization has been evolving in the last four centuries. From oral, print, to digital media, the transmission of the Gospel progresses along with technologies. Outlining the shift in these last few centuries, this paper highlights the increasing significance of digital media as tools of evangelization and examines the translatability of the Gospel in a different medium. This paper employs the methodology of digital theology, that is, in what ways does digital media alter or transform theology, to examine the linkage between social media and Christianity. More specifically, this paper will evaluate in what ways evangelism is enabled or hindered by digital media in three aspects: (I) materiality; (II) authority; and (III) communications. Mindful of the debates about materiality online, especially those related to the Eucharist, the paper investigates the different responses of Christian congregations on this matter. Drawing studies from digital theologians, this paper also discusses in what ways the authority of the Church shifts due to equal participation from all parties—whether from pastoral leaders and lay persons. Building on this aspect, the paper also takes into consideration different forms of communications among Christians, both within and outside churches, that may shape the dynamics of evangelism. Finally, this paper employs the theology of Stanley Hauerwas, an American Methodist whose theology has been hugely shaped by Catholic ecclesiology, to argue for the importance of Christian witness online and reflect on the concepts of Church and world in the digital sphere.

During the pandemic, we have all relied heavily on digital media to connect with the world. This perhaps resonates with many Hong Kongese, especially in early 2022, when Hong Kong had a massive lockdown due to the fifth wave of COVID-19.[1] We keep refreshing news on digital media, whether one prefers to receive updates on Facebook or YouTube, or even in WhatsApp or Signal groups among family and friends. We are forced to be familiar with digital media because it is the channel through which we get the latest news.

Whatever social networking services (SNSs) you may use, I am sure you have heard of the phrase "If you like our channel, please click 'subscribe' and follow us." In the digital space, we are trained to get more likes and follows on our social media account, as if these numbers determine the truthfulness of the news and the statements we communicate online. However, in what ways do these kinds of learnt behaviors shape evangelization in the 21st century? To what extent does digital media assist Christians in attracting more followers for Jesus Christ?

The medium of evangelization has been evolving over the last four centuries. From oral to print to digital media, the transmission of the Gospel has progressed along with technologies. Outlining the shift in these last few centuries on the 400th anniversary of *Propaganda Fide*,[2] this paper highlights the increasing significance of digital media as tools of evangelization and examines the translatability of the Gospel in a different medium.

Employing the methodology of digital theology, this paper argues God's immanence in digital media through the evangelizing activities of the people of God. More specifically, this paper evaluates the ways in which evangelization is enabled or hindered by digital media in three aspects: (I) materiality; (II) authority; and (III)

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1   Tang Lik-hang 鄧力行, "The Catholic Diocese Instructs Churches to Use Outdoor Areas Nearby to Livestream Masses for Those Who Cannot Enter the Buildings" 天主教區指示聖堂可用附近空曠場地供未能進堂者參與直播彌撒, *Christian Times* 時代論壇, April 20, 2022, https://bit.ly/3bdgdjz; Ko See-man 高思憫, "The Hong Kong Christian Council Replies: Church Open for Anti-Epidemic Activities Are Not Bounded by the 599g Prohibition on Gathering" 協進會獲覆：教會開放作抗疫活動不受限於 599g 限聚令, *Christian Times* 時代論壇, April 1, 2022, https://bit.ly/3yaxgf7; Tang Lik-hang 鄧力行, Wu Chang-sum 胡清心, and Ko See-man 高思憫, "Churches Are Closed: Forty-Five Percent of the Eight Major Denominations Won't Publicise Their Online Worship" 教會被關閉：八大宗派四成半網上崇拜不公開, *Christian Times* 時代論壇, March 25, 2022, https://bit.ly/3n69Bqb.

2   Peter Guilday, "The Sacred Congregation De Propaganda Fide (1622–1922)," *The Catholic Historical Review* 6, 4 (January 1921): 478–94.

communications. Taking these concerns into account, the next section examines the correlation between the concept of evangelization and digital theology, especially regarding how Christian individuals perceive their roles in the digital world. Mindful of the perception of digital media from Vatican documents, the paper then reflects on the Catholic approach to culture and suggests how this can be applied to digital culture. Finally, this paper employs the theology of Stanley Hauerwas, an American Methodist whose theology has been shaped to a large extent by Catholic ecclesiology, to argue for the importance of Christian witness online and to reflect on the concepts of church and world in the digital sphere.

Shifting the Medium

In the contemporary discourse about digital media, one may highlight how inhuman it may be compared to in-person evangelization, making it an inferior medium for spreading the Gospel. Yet this was hardly the first shift in evangelization medium; one could point to the time when missionaries stepped onto the land of Africa and attempted to teach Africans to write their vernacular languages.[3] A shift of medium requires readjustment as well as adaptation to the new medium. According to Marek Adam Rostkowski, Propaganda Fide has been instrumental in training indigenous clergy and structuring a uniform program for missionary work. It is evident that the Hong Kong Catholic Church also intends to develop a program for evangelization online.[4]

In 2021, the Centre for the Study of World Christianity at the University of Edinburgh hosted the Yale-Edinburgh conference on oral, print, and digital culture to tease out the issues of these shifts of medium for evangelization in mission history.[5] Alexander Chow of the University of Edinburgh argues that online worship, in essence, is not that different from the practices of some churches streaming Sunday services to different rooms, since the required equipment is still the same; the major distinctions are

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[3]   Lamin O. Sanneh, *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 2009).

[4]   Marek Adam Rostkowski, "Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples: Four Hundred Years in the Service of the Missionary World," *International Bulletin of Mission Research* 46, 3 (2022): 312.

[5]   Alexander Chow, "Editorial: Oral, Print and Digital Cultures," *Studies in World Christianity* 28, 1 (2022): 2-3.

the physical distancing and how the culture may have to adapt due to the social etiquette created by the practices.[6]

Andrew F. Walls (1928–2021), pioneer of the field of world Christianity, introduces the "pilgrim" principle and argues that Christians are always, in some sense, pilgrims in culture. For him, "all Christians of whatever nationality, are landed by adoption with several millennia of someone else's history, with a whole set of ideas, concepts, and assumptions which do not necessarily square with the rest of their cultural inheritance; and the Church in every land, of whatever race and type of society, has this same adoptive past by which it needs to interpret the fundamentals of the faith."[7] If one agrees with Walls's argument that the Church should be a pilgrim in culture, then the current question here is not whether the Church has to adapt to digital culture but, rather, in what ways the Church assists Christ-followers and those of other faiths to interpret the fundamentals of the faith in the digital culture. For this, the next section ponders some new challenges proposed by scholars in the field of theology and religious studies.

New Medium, New Challenge

A new medium comes with new challenges and opportunities for engagement with the unreached. This section will be dedicated to three concepts in digital theology and will consider how these concepts affect evangelization: (I) materiality, (II) authority, and (III) communication.

(I) Materiality

One of the major concerns about church online is its disembodiment.[8] This then comes to the debate about whether church online is virtual, using the language of media studies. Digital theologians tend to avoid the term "virtual," as it implies that the

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6   Alexander Chow, "What Has Jerusalem to Do with the Internet? World Christianity and Digital Culture," *International Bulletin of Mission Research* 46, 1(2023): 23-31.

7   Andrew F. Walls, "The Gospel as Prisoner and Liberator of Culture," in *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1996), 9.

8   Katherine G. Schmidt, *Virtual Communion: Theology of the Internet and the Catholic Sacramental Imagination* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books/ Fortress Academic, 2020), 15-18; Justine John Dyikuk, "Digital Ecclesiology: Setting the Parameters for a Post–Pandemic Era Church," in *Digital Ecclesiology: A Global Conversation*, ed. Heidi A. Campbell (College Station, TX: Digital Religion Publications, 2020), 35.

interactions between brothers and sisters online are unreal. Because of this, digital scholars also tend to use the term "digital church" rather than "virtual church."

Speaking of Christian liturgy, for Catholics, the major weakness of digital churches is that an online Eucharist misses some crucial elements compared to an in-person one, because the former cannot replace the incarnational reality of the sacraments. The incarnation aspect here refers to Christ's bodily presence in the church as well as in the Eucharist, where Christ's body and blood are believed to be present in the consecrated elements.[9] In the past decade, the Catholic Church has tended to hold a more negative view about online community because, for the Vatican, it cannot substitute for real interpersonal community.[10] This point is widely debated not only among Catholics but also among Protestants. Scottish Episcopal theologians Oliver O'Donovan, Trevor Hart, and David Jasper comment that "God's presence cannot be replicated in the virtuality of the internet," concerning both the Church community and the Eucharist.[11]

Because of the implications of the absence of Christ in online Eucharist, *Kung Kao Po* 公教報, the official newspaper of the Hong Kong Catholic Church, established a guideline for those who participate in spiritual communion 神領聖體 when physical gatherings were not possible during lockdown:

My Jesus, I believe that You are present in the Most Holy Sacrament. I love You above all things, and I desire to receive You into my soul. Since I cannot at this moment receive You sacramentally, come at least spiritually into my heart. I embrace You as if You were already there and unite myself wholly to You. Never permit me to be separated from You. Amen.[12]

In regard to the irreplaceable elements of in-person community, though this will be further discussed towards the end of this essay, such questions may be raised as these: In

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9   Alexander Chow and Jonas Kurlberg, "Two or Three Gathered Online: Asian and European Responses to COVID-19 and the Digital Church," *Studies in World Christianity* 26, 3 (2020): 299-300.

10   Pontifical Council for Social Communications, "The Church and Internet," February 22, 2002, http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/pccs/documents/rc_pc_pccs_doc_20 020228_church-internet_en.html.

11   Oliver O'Donovan, Trevor Hart, and David Jasper, "Learning from the Pandemic," *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church* 21, 2 (2021): 145.

12   Kung Kao Po, "Spiritual Communion under the Wuhan Coronavirus" 武漢肺炎下神領聖體, *Medium*, February 7, 2020, https://bit.ly/3kSJS25; Calida Chu, "Theology of the Pain of God in the Era of COVID-19: The Reflections on Sufferings by Three Hong Kong Churches through Online Services," *Practical Theology* 14, 1 (2021): 25-26.

what ways does an online church community represent the body of Christ and realize the *imago Dei* if physicality is absent in its gathering? And to what extent does this characteristic assist or hinder evangelization? Keeping this in mind, I will turn to another aspect—authority.

(II) Authority

One of the questions that has arisen about the Christian use of digital media is the authority of the interpretation of scripture and hence the role of evangelists in the digital space.[13] In the past, printed materials about biblical hermeneutics tended to be selected by Christian publishers. However, in the digital era, people can express themselves freely online via social media; their followers, in turn, can read biblical interpretations in their social media posts. This is one step more advanced than print culture, in which people gained access to the Bible in their own language, without the need to hear sermons from priests.[14]

Heidi Campbell of Texas A&M University studies the shift of authority among a new class of Christian workers that she calls religious digital creatives (RDCs) who have become influencers within their religious organizations online.[15] Campbell argues that the authority of RDCs is determined by four factors: role, power, relation, and algorithm.[16] First, according to German sociologist Max Weber (1864–1920), the role of RDCs tends to be endorsed by three forms of "pure-legitimate authority"—legal, traditional, and charismatic—which consolidates their authority. Second, the RDCs' authority is shaped by particular social settings which control how power is distributed within the social and cultural rules. Third, authority is also affected by the RDCs' relationship with other internet users. If influencers have good relationships and engagement with their followers, they undoubtedly have higher authority among their followers. Fourth, the authority of these RDCs is controlled by the algorithms within their social media platforms. For example, if these RDCs are good at creating posts that are favored by the algorithm, they may have greater authority due to higher numerical rankings, including more followers, likes, and citations.

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[13]   Dyikuk, "Digital Ecclesiology," 35.
[14]   Steve Hollinghurst, "Finding Jesus Online: Digital Evangelism and the Future of Christian Mission," in *Missio Dei in a Digital Age*, ed. Jonas Kurlberg and Peter M. Phillips (London: SCM Press, 2020), 75-97.
[15]   Heidi A. Campbell, *Digital Creatives and the Rethinking of Religious Authority* (London: Routledge, 2021), 4.
[16]   Campbell, *Digital Creatives*, 22-23.

Campbell's arguments complexify the phenomenon of RDCs becoming authoritative figures online, especially those who do not normally have a ground to elaborate their theological perspective in another medium. The popularization of digital media does, in some ways, assist democratic movements[17] and cause decentralization of power online.[18] But this is not a one-way street—the authority of these RDCs and their probability of challenging the Church are much dependent on their relationship with the Church; for example, the use of social media by Pope Francis, as someone who is granted authority within the Catholic Church, is unlikely to challenge the institution which endorses his role in the Church. Nonetheless, the shift of power is observable in the digital world. A key point which can be taken away is that, although the institutional structure has not shifted as much, at least in the Catholic Church, the role and the authority of RDCs have been much amplified because of the far-reaching possibilities enabled by technology. The work of evangelization itself now does not depend only on the institution and on the authority granted to certain clergies but can be spread through the social networks of the RDCs.

(III) Communication

Communication online is an expression of human relationships.[19] Not bounded by geographical location, it maintains and sustains relationships between friends, colleagues, and loved ones. The use of digital media has undoubtedly shifted our communication style, whether for daily conversation or for evangelization. Before the invention of emojis, perhaps no one communicated with others using icons, except those using

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[17] Cameron Hume and Rosella Payne, "'Digitalising Democracy' with the Archbishop of York," *Faith in Politics Podcast*, season 3, episode 10, July 15, 2020, https://soundcloud.com/user-904487027/july-podcast.

[18] Shatin Baptist Church's own magazine, *CHURCHazine*, invited several evangelical leaders and, indeed, Christian Key Opinion Leaders (KOLs), to discuss the phenomenon of the rise of KOLs and how they have become popular even without the authoritativeness and professionalism other Christian leaders may have. See Wan Man-yi ed., *CHURCHazine*, 31 July 2021, https://bit.ly/3ymioe4.

[19] Note that I prefer to use the term "communication online" over "online communication," as the former implies that digital space is to be used as a medium to facilitate communication in the "offline" world, while the latter suggests that the communication which occurs in the online environment is irrelevant to the offline world. This distinction modifies Christopher Helland's usage of the two terms "religion online" and "online religion." Christopher Helland, "Scholar's Top 5: Christopher Helland on Online Religion and Religion Online", *NNMRDC Blog Series*, May 14, 2012, https://digitalreligion.tamu.edu/blog/mon-05142012-1132/scholar's-top-5-christopher-helland-online-religion-and-religion-online.

Augmentative and alternative communication (AAC) devices. But now, six billion emojis are used in communication every day.[20] This is also observable in the Christian world. For example, the sequences of emojis in figures 1 and 2 are used to represent baptism and the Virgin Mary, respectively (see figures 1 and 2).[21] Even if you have not heard of these sequences of emojis, you are probably familiar with the prayer emojis with which you may respond to someone's prayer request. This is not to declare that texts are no longer important in today's world, but to highlight the phenomenon that language can evolve in different media, and it happens that online users are more comfortable with using emojis in digital media than in printed materials.

Figure 1 Baptism   *Figure 2 Virgin Mary*

As the Pontifical Council for Social Communications argued in *Aetatis Novae,* "communication in and by the Church is essentially communication of the Good News of Jesus Christ."[22] A new medium may cause new challenges, but this does not imply that Christians should detach from social media because of the potential to sin on this new platform.[23] The question Christians should ask is in what ways the church community can play a role in the digital space to assist in spreading the Good News of God, as well as to offer a good testimony in this medium.

American Jesuit priest Walter J. Ong (1912-2003) refers to communication via digital media, as well as telephone, radio, and television, as "secondary orality,"[24] in

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[20] Oriol J. Bosch and Melanie Revilla, "The Use of Emojis by Millennials," *Research and Expertise Centre for Survey Methodology, Working Paper 57* (July 2018).

[21] Christian Emojis Collection, *Emojis.Wiki*, June 1, 2022, https://emojis.wiki/christian/

[22] The Pontifical Council for Social Communications, *Aetatis Novae*, February 22, 1992, https://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/pccs/documents/rc_pc_pccs_doc_22 021992_aetatis_en.html.

[23] For example, Rokas Laurinavičius argues in his article "7 Deadly Sins in the Modern World You're Probably Guilty of" that contemporary Christians would fall into the trap of sins because of social media apps. Rokas Laurinavičius, "7 Deadly Sins in the Modern World You're Probably Guilty of," *Bored Panda*, accessed May 9, 2022, https://bit.ly/3FAC7IL.

[24] Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy* (London: Routledge, 2012), 133-134.

contrast to primary oral cultures, where sayings are recorded in printed materials.[25] For Ong, the major differences are that the media of secondary orality create and renew the form of communication one may have, while also providing a larger platform, resembling Marshall McLuhan's (1911-1980) notion of the global village. Ong's argument contributes to the discussion below about how the church community may consolidate collective identity and assist evangelization.

Evangelization and Digital Theology

The church has played an important role in evangelization in the digital world. Because of this, the term "digital ecclesiology" has become increasingly popular, and Campbell has edited a volume dedicated to this term.[26] It became even more evident during lockdown, when churches around the globe were forced to close their buildings to avoid spreading COVID-19. In this section, I would like to reflect on the roles of churches in evangelization and their interaction with digital theology, and especially on God's activities in the digital space.

In recent years, those talking about *missio Dei* (the mission of God) in the field of missiology tend to highlight God's role in mission. Criticism may be raised that this concept seems to undermine the Church's role of participating in God's mission in the world.[27] While I am not suggesting that God has no part in mission activities, it is undeniable that the Church has propelled evangelization in the digital space as a visible organization online.

Indeed, as a digital theologian, I affirm God's immanence in the world, which includes the digital space. In my own working definition, digital theology is the process of faith seeking understanding to comprehend the nature of God, or of God's interaction with the digital space, or of the digital space's exploration of the mystery of faith. This employs Anselm's perception that theology is a process of "faith seeking

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[25] Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 16-30.
[26] Heidi A. Campbell, "An Introduction to Digital Ecclesiology: What Does a Conversation on Digital Ecclesiology Look Like?" In *Digital Ecclesiology: A Global Conversation*, ed. Heidi A. Campbell (College Station, TX: Digital Religion Publications, 2020), 3-6.
[27] Jonas Kurlberg, "Introduction: *Missio Dei* in a Digital Age," *in Missio Dei in a Digital Age,* ed. Jonas Kurlberg and Peter M. Phillips (London: SCM Press, 2020), 12.

understanding."[28] Therefore, my approach here is to analyze the ways in which the church assists with and illustrates God's activities in the digital space.

To take part in the evangelization of God's Word and God's activities in the digital space, Catholic ethicist Kate Ott comments, "As Christians, we ask these two questions in relationship to who God calls us to be and what God calls us to do. The formation of self and our relationships in a digital world then relates directly to Christian concerns about virtue and how we can be most responsive to God in relationship with us."[29]

Here Ott speaks mainly to American audiences, who are comfortable with expressing themselves and highlighting how they may be different as individuals online. Perhaps the audience of the Propaganda Fide conference organized by the Centre for Catholic Studies, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, as well as the readers of the *Hong Kong Journal for Catholic Studies*, are not as expressive as Ott's targeted audience on social media apps. But Ott's perspective assists one in rethinking what God calls us to be and to do online to show God's relationship with us.[30]

In her monograph *Christian Ethics for a Digital Society*, Ott introduces the concept of "networked selves" to illustrate how we are all connected beings online, whether this is with our loved ones or with God. This argument can overcome the limitation of the mindset that testimony is merely about individual expression. As relational beings, we are all connected with others, and thus our posts, comments, and likes affect how others and God see us.

Expanding the notion of relationality, Douglas Estes reminds us that the need and desire to connect to other people is God-given.[31] Because of God's Trinitarian nature, human beings, as *imago Dei*, are relational. British sociologist of religions Tim Hutchings pushes further in this direction, arguing that "all forms of community (including online community) can be seen as an outworking of a divinely given impulse to connect."[32] Following this logic, digital media, although it can be alienating for some

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[28] Daniel L. Migliore, *Faith Seeking Understanding: An Introduction to Christian Theology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2004), 2.

[29] Kate Ott, *Christian Ethics for a Digital Society* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2019), 62.

[30] Ott, *Christian Ethics for a Digital Society*, 62.

[31] Douglas Estes, *SimChurch: Being the Church in the Virtual World* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 2009), 58–59; Eric Stoddart, *Theological Perspectives on a Surveillance Society: Watching and Being Watched* (London: Routledge, 2016), 54-59.

[32] Tim Hutchings, *Creating Church Online: Ritual, Community and New Media* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 34.

who do not use it on a daily basis, can be perceived as a shift of medium to convey God's message, in contrast to the attitude that digital media can have no share in God's ministry. This also refutes the argument that God may not be at work in the digital space. If one considers that God is omnipresent in creation, including non-human beings, then one will not be surprised by God's immanence and God's care in the digital space.[33]

Constructing what they have termed "networked theology," Campbell and Stephen Garner suggest that "seeing the kingdom of God as a network provides a framework for how we interact with God, others, and the world around us."[34] For Campbell and Garner, mission and evangelism are operating in a networked relationship environment, where people reorient themselves to God and identify Christ as the center of their life. In a world where people are eager to display their lives online, Campbell and Garner's comments assist us in rethinking both our being and doing online and how these may reorient people of other faiths to Christ.

Evangelization in the Digital Space

Furthering the conversation about evangelization and digital theology, this section concentrates on how the Catholic Church perceives the interaction between digital media and the Church and on the ways in which evangelization has evolved due to the shift of medium from print materials to the digital space. As the Pontifical Council for Social Communications suggested in "The Church and Internet" in 2002, one of the major roles of the Church in relation to the media is "to encourage their right development and right use for the sake of human development, justice, and peace—for the upbuilding of society at the local, national, and community levels in light of the common good and in a spirit of solidarity."[35] Although the above sections have raised concerns about embodiment and its implications on Christian liturgy, the Catholic Church also sees a positive light in terms of the development of new media, which positive light is also evident in *Church in the Digital*, a guideline published in 2022 by the Vatican to offer tools for the Church in the digital space after the COVID-19 pandemic. Notably, Pope Francis highlights in the preface that "the web will not make us feel alone if we are really able to 'network,'

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[33] This argument is proposed also by British practical theologian Eric Stoddart. See Stoddart, *Theological Perspectives on a Surveillance Society*, 52-61.

[34] Heidi A. Campbell and Stephen Garner, *Networked Theology: Negotiating Faith in Digital Culture* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2016), 13.

[35] The Pontifical Council for Social Communications, "*The Church and Internet,*" February 22, 2002.

and if the virtual space does not replace but helps the web of our flesh-and-blood social relationships."[36] The dichotomy between physical community and online community seems to be deemphasized, at least in the preface.[37]

Returning to the dialogue in the previous sections about the shift of medium, one of the burning issues is perhaps how evangelization is adapted or transformed in the digital culture. In light of this, *Evangelii Nuntiandi*, though it was published in 1975, before the widespread use of the internet, provides some valuable insights for dealing with digital culture:

> What matters is to evangelize man's culture and cultures…in the wide and rich sense which these terms have in *Gaudium et Spes*, always taking the person as one's starting-point and always coming back to the relationships of people among themselves and with God.

> 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.[38]

While the context which *Evangelii Nuntiandi* suggests is usually the missionary field, where missionaries need to evangelize in a culture other than their own, the implication here is rather similar, in that the Church is still required to be sensitive to the digital culture—not only about the change of language online, but also about how Christians can evangelize in a creative way, taking advantage of the new medium. This

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[36] Benedict Mayaki SJ. "'Pope: 'Church in the Digital' Offers Tools for a Church also Present Online," *Vatican News*, June 20, 2022, https://www.vaticannews.va/en/pope/news/2022-06/pope-france-church-in-the-digital-book-fabio-bolzetta.html

[37] The affirmation of building community in the online space is strengthened even more in Vatican's 2023 pastoral advice on social media. Dicastery for Communication, *Towards Full Presence: A Pastoral Reflection on Engagement with Social Media*, May 28, 2023, https://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/dpc/documents/20230528_dpc-verso-piena-presenza_en.html

[38] Pope Paul VI, *Evangelii Nuntiandi* (On Evangelization in the Modern World), December 8, 1975, https://www.usccb.org/evangelization/apostolic.shtml;
Pope Paul VI, *Gaudium et Spes*, December 7 1965,
https://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19651207_gaudium-et-spes_en.html

also raises questions about the capacity for attention of the audience of the Gospel. In the current generation of evangelists, most are digital immigrants. In other words, they were not born into a world where digital media has penetrated all parts of life. However, the next generation—that of the digital natives—has been raised in an environment in which digital media is a necessity for life. The way of life in the 21st century requires us to rethink and renew the way we evangelize in the digital space.

As *Evangelii Nuntiandi* continues,

> the person who has been evangelized goes on to evangelize others. Here lies the test of truth, the touchstone of evangelization: It is unthinkable that a person should accept the Word and give himself to the kingdom without becoming a person who bears witness to it and proclaims it in his turn. …Evangelization, as we have said, is a complex process made up of varied elements: the renewal of humanity, witness, explicit proclamation, inner adherence, entry into the community, acceptance of signs, apostolic initiative.[39]

Rather than merely seeing evangelization as a task, or as only about doing, *Evangelii Nuntiandi* reminds us that evangelization is about the being of Christians— "the grace and vocation proper to the Church, her deepest identity."[40]

Bearing witness is not only about saying the Word, though it is important, but it is also about living out the Word of Christ and affirming one's identity as children of God and as Christian communities. Being the light of the digital world means that the online presence of collective individuals also demonstrates a type of holiness that edifies others, whether in private posts or on a public forum.[41] For this we now turn to the communal witness of the church online.

Church Communities in the Digital Space

One of the advantages of employing Stanley Hauerwas's ecclesiology is his highlight of Christian witness in the church community. Raised as an American Methodist, Hauerwas spent a significant number of years teaching at the University of

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[39]   Pope Paul VI, *Evangelii Nuntiandi.*
[40]   Pope Paul VI, *Evangelii Nuntiandi.*
[41]   Pope Paul VI, "*Lumen Gentium,*" November 21, 1964, https://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19641121_lumen-gentium_en.html.

Notre Dame, a private Catholic university in Indiana, United States.[42] His ecclesiology has been shaped by Catholicism and can be helpful on discussing the conversations about Christian community in the digital space.

When talking about online witness, Christians, especially evangelicals, tend to think about individual behaviour online—for example, how one may reply to hostile comments on one's social media account and whether one should post testimonies online.[43] Online witness, though, is not merely constructed by one individual; instead, it is shaped by all believers in the church community. As Pope Francis stated on Instagram, "the #MostHolyTrinity teaches us that a person can never be without the other. We are not islands, we are in the world to live in God's image: open, in need of others and in need of helping others."[44] People of other faiths may not judge an individual who puts offensive comments online, but they may be concerned with online Christian groups who do or do not do certain things.

Indeed, when Hauerwas published his monograph *A Community of Character* in 1981, social media apps did not exist. In fact, even desktop computers were not widely used in the 1980s. However, his perspective on alternative community can still be relevant in the 2020s, when the social media world is full of adversity—false accusations, fake news, etc. Digital media may have evolved from print materials, but the division in the world is still evident, online and offline. His proposal is a reminder of how Christian communities can be faithful witnesses in light of these phenomena online. For him,

> the ability of the church to interpret and provide alternatives to the narrow loyalties of the world results from the story—a particular story, to be sure—that teaches us the significance of lives different from our own, within and without our community. Indeed we only learn what that story entails as it is lived and lives through the lives of others. If we are to trust in the truthfulness of the stories of God, we must also trust that the other's life, as threatening as it may first appear, is necessary for our own.[45]

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[42] Stanley Hauerwas, *Hannah's Child: A Theologian's Memoir* (London: SCM Press, 2010).

[43] For dialogue specifically for healthy communications online, see Calida Chu, "Effective Communication on Social Media: A Christian Response to Toxic Conversations Online," *Faith and Thought* 73 (October 2022): 2-19.

[44] Pope Francis, *Instagram*, June 12, 2022, https://www.instagram.com/p/CetQXkbs49g/?igshid=YmMyMTA2M2Y=

[45] For dialogue specifically for healthy communications online, see Calida Chu, "Effective Communication on Social Media," 2-19.

It is the stories of God in the scripture that encourage Jesus' followers to create their own stories imitating Christ. In some ways, this echoes Campbell and Garner's comments in terms of how evangelization developed by Christian individuals, in both online and offline networks, should point to Christ, the ultimate example of his followers.

Likewise, in the digital world, it is one's narratives that invite non-Christians to be curious about Christian belief. Although Hauerwas's prose was published almost 40 years ago, people's urge to narrate their daily experiences has not lessened. Scrolling through social media apps like Facebook and Instagram one can see how people are longing to express their opinions and to record their highlights with the Stories function.[46] Not only can one find testimonies online from a wide range of believers, but one may also see how Christians form an alternative community in the digital world.

The Youth Boiling Point (YBP) 沸點, a new media platform established in 2016 by the Hong Kong Diocesan Audio-Visual Centre 香港教區視聽中心 and the Hong Kong Diocesan Youth Commission 香港教區青年牧民委員會, can be an example to illustrate how Hong Kong Catholics can create digital communities and can hold each other accountable. On its Facebook page, the Youth Boiling Point shares its vision "to share faith, creativity, formation and evangelization."[47] Not only has the YBP posted music and videos to allow young Hong Kong Catholics to share their testimony, but it has also created WhatsApp and Signal stickers with Christian themes, such as those related to Easter (Figure 3) and the examinations of the Hong Kong Diploma of Secondary Education (HKDSE; Figure 4), to show how digital media can be connected to the daily lives and struggles of young people. With a more political perspective, the Yellow Umbrella Christian Base Community 黃傘街頭基督徒基層團體 (literally translated as 'Yellow Umbrella Grassroots Christian Organization on the Street') is also instrumental in creating pro-democratic Catholic voices on social media, although its Facebook group stopped operating in May 2022.[48] Indeed, social media platforms can be used to announce news through official channels as a substitute for printed newspapers. One such platform is the Catholic Way 公教頻道,[49] which provides updates about online

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[46] Pope Francis, *Instagram*, June 12, 2022,
https://www.instagram.com/p/CetQXkbs49g/?igshid=YmMyMTA2M2Y=

[47] The Youth Boiling Point, *Facebook*, accessed June 1, 2022,
https://www.facebook.com/YouthBoilingPoint/

[48] The Yellow Umbrella Grassroots Christian Community 黃傘街頭基督徒基層團體, "The Yellow Umbrella Jesus's Organization Seems to Be under Scrutiny" 黃傘耶穌團體似乎要遭受審查, *Facebook*, May 28, 2022, https://bit.ly/3O5Rigb

[49] Catholic Way, accessed June 1, 2022, http://www.catholicway.hk/

Masses and news of the Hong Kong Catholic Church, but one may also notice how laypersons can witness to the Gospel creatively online.

Figure 3 - Stickers for Easter

Figure 4 - Stickers for the Examinations of Hong Kong Diploma of Secondary Education

Another point worth highlighting and applying to digital space is Hauerwas's position of letting the Church be the Church and the world be the world. Instead of being too ambitious about transforming the whole world, one of the more viable ways of evangelization is to testify to God's Word in one's own online communities. The Church, as a servant community, can be a faithful manifestation of the peaceable kingdom in the world.[50] Similar to in-person evangelization, with its limitations of geographical location, online evangelization has its weakness, in that one may not reach as large an audience as intended because of what Carl T. Bergstrom and Joseph B. Bak-Coleman call "information gerrymandering."[51] We live in a world where the information presented to us is selected by algorithms that are preset by social media companies. Our engagement with SNSs intensifies this gerrymandering, which may further narrow down our

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[50] Stanley Hauerwas, *The Peaceable Kingdom: A Primer in Christian Ethics* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1983), 99.

[51] Carl T. Bergstrom and Joseph B. Bak-Coleman, "Information Gerrymandering in Social Networks Skews Collective Decision-Making," *Nature,* September 4, 2019, https://www.nature.com/articles/d41586-019-02562-z.

worldview. Although someone may choose to look at contrasting views if he or she is willing to spend time listening to alternative opinions, this should not be assumed to be the norm. If one chooses to follow non-Christian social media accounts, it is understandable that one would not have seen Christian testimonies online because of the algorithms—this does not undermine the plentiful testimonies available online. Understanding the constraint of the digital world also helps one to accept that one need not carry the burden to transform the whole digital world.[52] Instead, evangelization can start from small things, such as sharing Bible quotes, posting fact-checked news, and joining online groups for a good cause. These are all testimonies online. Sometimes simply being there already testifies to God.

Although I highlight the communality of Christian groups online, I am hesitant to define such online groups as "a social institution," using John P. Ferré's (b. 1956) typology of media as a conduit, a mode of knowing, and a social institution.[53] This is because it implies that these groups are closed—not welcoming members who are exploring the Christian faith. The advantage of evangelization online is its fluidity, which allows seekers to be in and out of certain groups without the fear of entering a church building as newcomers. Moreover, defining online Christian communities beyond social institutions overcomes the misunderstanding that evangelization online is another type of colonization that may exploit others simply because they do not belong to particular social institutions. Christians should handle this with caution to prevent recolonization, whether intended or not.[54]

Conclusion: Come, Follow Me

As another pioneer of world Christianity Lamin Sanneh (1942–2019) states,

> standard theological models of Christianity have presented [Bible translation] as a closed-circuit organism whose main pathways of communication have been laid in cognitive, normative channels. Faced with this imposing, immobile system, the

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[52] Tim Shorey, "Christian, You Don't Have to Change the World," *The Gospel Coalition*, May 10, 2021, https://www.thegospelcoalition.org/article/dont-have-change-world/.

[53] John P. Ferré, "The Media of Popular Piety," in *Mediating Religion: Conversation in Media, Religion, and Culture*, ed. Jolyon Mitchell and Sophia Marriage (London: T&T Clark, 2003), 83-92.

[54] Calida Chu, "Decolonisation/Recolonisation?: Digital Theology in the Post-COVID-19 World," GoNeDigital Conference, Online, Global Network for Digital Theology, July 14-16, 2021; Kwok Pui-lan, *Postcolonial Politics and Theology: Unraveling Empire for a Global World* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2022), 19-38.

task of the theologian was seen as codifying the religion, mapping the contours of its form and the lineaments of its function, predicting and prescribing for changes in behavior, preventing foreign matter from entering it, repairing deviations and aberrations, fixing the qualities that alone define—and do not define—the religion, and generalizing about how God works in the world.[55]

Likewise, stressing a particular medium for evangelization equally minimizes God's work in the world, whether it is digital or not. Highlighting one type of medium as the most effective for evangelization seems to me a denial of God's creative work and encounter with human beings due to God's omnipotent and omnipresent nature. God can and will reveal Godself in whatever medium God pleases.

Note that I have been writing about online evangelization for most of this paper, but I should stress that relationship is not formed solely online. Evangelization requires both online and offline communications to nurture relationships with those we want to reach. Online and offline testimony are both important.[56] As Methodist digital theologian Pete Phillips suggests, the church has to be hybrid—it has to nurture both online and offline communities in the future. For him, "God's mission is confined neither to online nor offline church—indeed that distinction is increasingly redundant. Though the mission of the Church is part of the mission of God, God's mission is not limited to our mission."[57] Let this be a reminder when we encourage our online followers to come to Christ, the first influencer of the Christian faith.

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[55] Sanneh, *Translating the Message*, 249.
[56] Hollinghurst, "Finding Jesus Online," 84.
[57] Peter M. Phillips, *Hybrid Church: Blending Online and Offline Community* (Cambridge: Grove Books, 2020), 6.

【摘要】在過去四個世紀裡，福傳的媒介一直在不斷發展。從口述、印刷到數碼媒體，福音的傳播隨著科技的發展而進步。本文概述過去幾個世紀的轉變，強調了數碼媒體作為福傳工具，其日益重要的意義，並探討福音在不同媒介中的可翻譯性。本文採用數碼神學的方法論，即數碼媒體以何種方式改變或轉化神學，來檢視社交媒體與基督宗教之間的連繫。更具體地說，本文將從三個方面評估數碼媒體如何促進或阻礙福音傳播：（一）物質性；（二）權威；（III）傳播。考慮到網絡上關於實質性方面的爭論，特別是與聖體聖事有關的爭論，本文調查了基督徒團體對此問題的不同反應。本文也借鑑數碼神學家的研究成果，討論教會權威如何因各方（無論是牧靈領袖還是平信徒）的平等參與而轉變，並在此基礎上探究基督徒之間在教會內外不同形式的溝通，這可能會影響福音傳播的動力。最後，本文採用了美國衛理公會教徒史丹利・侯活士（Stanley Hauerwas）的神學，他的神學深受天主教教會學影響，來論證基督徒網上見證的重要性，並反思數碼領域中教會和世界的概念。

Propaganda Fide and Mission as Communication

Bernardo Cervellera, PIME

[Abstract] Propaganda Fide, the Vatican congregation established in 1622 to support the missions of the Catholic Church in many parts of the world, has always played an important role in communication and in the mass media. Born to support the freedom of missions from the interference and influences of the great Western powers, it has always had to find special ways of communication, free and alive. At the same time, needing a relationship to help and support the missionaries, it had to find communication tools between the peripheries in the various Asian, African, and Latin American countries and the center of Catholicity. But the Catholic Church and the papacy have not always had good relations with communication. Before the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), although the popes had sympathy for the media (newspapers, radio, television), they often warned against the immoral use of such media, launching censures and prohibitions on their products, motivated by their attempts to defend ethics and orthodoxy. This has often created an image of the Church as an enemy of the modern world and of communication. The Second Vatican Council was promulgated to renew the encounter between the Church and the contemporary world and find new ways of speaking to the world, understanding the world, and making herself understood by it. One of the very first documents approved by the Council was a document on social communications (*Inter Mirifica*, 1963). With Pope John Paul II, the Church entered as an actor in the world of communication and mass media, considered not only as an instrument for spreading the Gospel and the word of God, but as the environment, the "Areopagus" to dialogue in a pluralistic world. We owe above all to the Polish pope use as protagonist of television in travel, in illness, even in his death. With Pope Benedict XVI and Pope Francis, internet and Twitter have become the Holy See's normal communication tools among others. The need for communication between Propaganda Fide and the missions around the world has pushed missionary institutes and congregations to make use of the mass media, helping the world to understand the political, social and religious situations of mission countries and soliciting mutual help and fraternity to face natural disasters, hunger, wars, persecutions. Some examples (AsiaNews, Eglises d'Asie, Ucanews, and others).

The Congregation of Propaganda Fide as a structural element of the Vatican congregations was and is a sign of modernity in the life of the Church and a vindication of the religious character of the Church's mission. Propaganda Fide was founded on January 6, 1622 by Pope Gregory XV. Two factors contributed to its birth:

1) In the 16th and 17th centuries, there was a great spiritual renaissance among Catholics, the result of the Protestant wound, which drove Catholics to oppose Protestantism, and a desire to revitalize the faith and spread it throughout the world;

2) Until then, the non-European missions had been placed under the protection of two political powers, Spain and Portugal. The "padroado" (that was the name given to this type of protection) had to ensure the means for travel, sustenance, and the building of missionary stations, churches, and colleges. Many times, this happened admirably. But in the long run, the two powers increasingly used missionaries and evangelization as a means to increase their own wealth and trade. The king of Spain or the king of Portugal were considered almost as divine representatives, with the power to choose bishops and missionaries, and decide strategies, catechisms, education, etc. In this way, evangelization was very often subservient, if not captive, to the economic and political interests of the political powers, while papal instructions were not followed.

From this point of view, the birth of Propaganda Fide represents a new chapter in the defense of the Christian communities' religious freedom, which also includes their spiritual dependence on the pontiff and limiting or eliminating the incursions of political power into the spiritual sphere.

From this situation, Propaganda Fide spawned a series of Apostolic Vicars (bishops in mission areas) and missionaries who did not have to swear obedience to the "padroado," but who were independent of it, being instead directly dependent on the Holy See. Their life was not very easy, as they often had to protect themselves or hide from the Spaniards and Portuguese, but it was a turning point "from the colonial mission to the purely ecclesiastical mission."[1]

The most important aspect of this novel approach[2] was the focus on fostering the development of a local clergy, attention and care towards local culture, not exporting

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[1] Erwin Iserloh, Josef Glazik and Hubert Jedin, "Reformation Katholische Reform und Gegenreformation," vol VI in Hubert Jedin edited, "*Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte.*" Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1967. Quoted from the Italian edition, vol. VI, Milano: Jaca Book, 1972: 745-segg.

[2] See the Instruction for Apostolic Vicars of 1659.

European religious models to mission countries and, for China the permission to use the Chinese language in the liturgy.[3]

The colonial powers, on the other hand, were opposed to the growth of locally-born priests and demanded that the new mission Church be in some way a branch of the Church in Spain or Portugal.

From the beginning, Propaganda Fide needed communication. Since it had to uphold the freedom of the missions from influence and interference by from the great Western powers, it had to find free and special ways of communication that could be kept alive at all time: it had to maintain a relationship of help and support with the missions by putting in place tools of communication between the peripheries in the various Asian, African, and Latin American countries and the center of Catholicism in Rome.

There were two basic tools for communication: firstly, the Apostolic Vicars had to send Propaganda Fide a detailed report on the state of their mission at least once a year. The second were the nuncios—at least those not attached to the crowns of Spain and Portugal—who acted as intermediaries between the missionaries and the papal Curia and the pope himself.

Propaganda Fide's emphasis on attention to local cultures pushed the missionaries to be even more profound connoisseurs of the language and customs of the populations in which they were embedded. As a result, they acted as cultural mediators, bringing together Eastern and Western cultures.

We cannot forget that after the great epic of Matteo Ricci, the Jesuits remained at the Chinese emperor's court as astronomers, and also as official translators, employed especially in the emperors' dealings with foreign delegations until the end of the 19th century.

At the same time, a large book production on China, brought to the West, provoked new ways of thinking, and reflecting on society and power.

Among the authors of these books was the Jesuit Nicholas Trigault (1577-1628), who translated Matteo Ricci's travel diaries into Latin, as well as many European scientific works into Chinese.

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[3]   AAVV. "Die Kirche im Zeitalter des Absolutismus und der Aufklarung," Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1970. Vol. VII. In Hubert Jedin, cit. Italian edition, vol VII. Milano: Jaca Book. 1972: 365.

Another instrument of cultural mediation was the so-called "Edifying and Curious Letters..." written by Jesuit missionaries or the Missions Etrangères de Paris, which influenced even the rationalist and Enlightenment world of the time.

It must also be said that these missions in the East—and especially in China—provoked an international debate. It is impressive to read that missionaries not only in China, but also in the Philippines, Mexico, and German, French and Spanish bishops, etc., intervened in alternating phases on the "question of the Chinese rites."[4]

Even more interesting are the *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, starting in 1824. From France, this publication spread throughout Europe, to the point of being translated into 19 different languages. According to historians, such as Robert Streit, OMI (1875-1930), this journal, which published reports by missionary bishops or representatives appointed by them, is "one of the most important sources of missionary history of our time."

1700s and 1800s: The Difficult Centuries

The Catholic Church and the papacy have not always had a good relationship with mass communication. The relationship between mass media and the papacy soured in the 18th century, first of all with the growth of the power of nation-states in Europe. These wanted to limit the cultural space occupied by Church schools and universities, and also to intervene more and more in the life of Christian communities, seeking to manage episcopal elections, the distribution of parishes, and the revision of Church property, and even to influence elections to the papacy.

The other very important development that created an even greater division between the Church and modernity was the 1789 French Revolution. Although its ideals of equality and participation in public affairs were at first shared by many French priests and bishops, it gradually took on a clearly anti-Christian and persecutory character. Thus its ideals of freedom of the press and expression of opinion were associated with the elimination of the "non-revolutionary" clergy, a replacement of the worship of God by the worship of the Goddess Reason, and the establishment of a national Church that dispensed with the relationship with the pope. If one adds to this the period of the Terror (1793-1794), with its series of repressions and executions against all those who were considered enemies or suspected enemies, one understands the difficulty the popes had

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4   V. Hubert Jedin, edited, cit., vol. VII: 360-segg.

in seeing in the proclamation of freedoms as something good for society. Such freedoms were seen rather as a tool for anarchy and violence.

Under Napoleon Bonaparte things changed little. There were fewer executions, to be sure, but state control over the Church had become total. There was even an oath to the emperor to which all priests and bishops were subject and which was required before they could exercise their ministry. Although a Concordat between the empire and the Holy See was signed in 1801, it was betrayed by the emperor himself, who demanded the pope's total submission to his policy, using the Church against the other European powers and demanding a large number of French cardinals. Pius VII, who as a sign of détente had even gone as far to crown Bonaparte emperor in France, refused Bonaparte's demands. In 1809, French troops occupied the Papal States and arrested the pope, who was taken first to France, then to Savona, then again to France, still a prisoner of the emperor. Only with the fall of Napoleon in 1814 did the pope return to Rome.

A further important element that kept the papacy away from modernity was the so-called "Roman Question," i.e. the Papal States.

With the so-called "Donation of Sutri" in 728 the popes received as a gift territories that they had to manage in the Middle Ages, in the face of disaster, abandonment and the absence of other authorities. Subsequently, these territories—of which the pope was the sovereign to all intents and purposes—were seen as a guarantee of the pontiff's freedom, against all those who wished to influence and constrain his spiritual choices.

But the ideals of Italian national unity led to increasingly frail papal political power, until the seizure of Rome in 1870 and the unification of Italy. Pius IX, the pope of the time, who at the beginning of his pontificate, had been sympathetic to the liberal world, condemned this loss of political power (with the concomitant risk of loss of freedom), attributing it to the spirit of the French Revolution. The "Syllabus" (a list of ideas the Church opposed, published in 1864) condemned philosophies that reduced the value of Christian revelation, along with nationalism, communism, atheism, and liberalism.

The King of Italy, inspired by an anti-religious liberalism, did not only stop at the expropriation of ecclesiastical property, but went so far as to suppress religious orders, subjugating the Church more and more to the State.

In this period, with the pope constrained and immersed in Italian and European problems, there was little sensitivity to the problems and life of the missions. A sign of this is that the First Vatican Council (1868-1870), despite the presence of dozen bishops

from the missions of India, China and other nations, other than dealing with European questions, referred only to issues relating to the Eastern Churches of the Middle East.

The Apostolic Letter *Maximum Illud*

With Leo XIII, successor to Pius IX, there was a resumption of the papacy's relationship with the modern liberal world, with industrial society, and with the world of the working class.

With Benedict XV (pope from 1914 to 1922, there was a real overcoming of Eurocentrism, as Church teaching affirmed the religious quality of the Catholic Church and its universal characteristics, being interested in the fate of humanity at all latitudes. *Maximum Illud* (1919) relaunched the Church's missionary work, supporting inculturation, the study of languages and cultures, and the growth of local clergy, warning missionaries against improper ties with Western powers.

Benedict XV also redefined Christian proclamation to be the missionary task of every baptized person and every priest and bishop, and not merely the work of a few specialists. This led to a dizzying increase in missionary assignments and an increase in mission publications and studies, with magazines, books, language dictionaries, and translations. Propaganda Fide supported all this work, relieved of responsibility for the Eastern Churches, for which the pope had founded a specific Congregation (1917).

The anti-Europeanism of *Maximum Illud* was born out of the sadness that arose in the First World War, in which European and "Christian" powers fighting each other, but also from the great experience of the Church in mission. From the end of Napoleon's empire and then increasingly throughout the 19th century, various missionary institutes (including PIME) came into being. At the same time, many traditional congregations took world mission to heart, and spread beyond Europe. In the second half of the 19th century, missions began in Oceania and Central Africa, and those in China, Vietnam and Japan expanded. The experiences of the missionaries and their scientific, naturalistic, cultural, geographical, ethnological, and archaeological discoveries were reported to the Churches of origin through annals and magazines, creating an important and valuable flow of communication.

However, it would be necessary to wait until the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), to find a reflection on the value of communications media and an appreciation for them in the life of the Church.

Inter Mirifica and Communio et Progressio

Before the Council, the rejection of modernity had not led the Church to a total break with the world of communications media. On the contrary, it had created many newspapers, often strongly apologetic, which defended the pope, of Roman question, or Christian marriage. This constituted the so-called "good press." There was also the "bad" press: liberal, anti-Catholic, anarchist, and Communist, which the faithful were enjoined not to read and which the state should stop or abolish. In addition, there was the "agnostic press," also to be condemned because its only interest was the increase of circulation, sales and earnings, without espousing any thesis or opinion, so as not to displease any reader.

A new approach would be opened by Pope John XXIII who on January 25, 1959 announced an ecumenical council. This pope, very interested in extra-European missions—and who had worked in Propaganda Fide (from 1920 to 1924)—was convinced that the time had come to reconcile the Catholic Church with the modern world, and no longer prison to schemes and mentalities that the society of the time no longer understood. The Church therefore had to understand the world and find language, organizations, and methods to speak to the world in an understandable way, not simply by condemning errors, but by showing "the validity of the doctrine" of the Church.

The decree Inter Mirifica ("Among wonderful things") is the first official document of the Catholic Church entirely dedicated to mass media.[5] It is very short, and among the first documents promulgated by the Council (December 4, 1963). The successor of John XXIII (who died on June 3, 1963), Paul VI, (elected June 21, 1963), gave to the Council an even more ecumenical boost and a stronger commitment to dialogue with the world. Inter Mirifica speaks of the media as "wonderful technical inventions" which influence individuals, multitudes of people, and the whole of society (IM, 1). The text, however, tends above all to claim their use for the Catholic Church and for the laity, and warns against the misuse that can be made of them, without dwelling on the essential value of these tools for the contemporary society and on the rights and duties of information.

To complete and correct all this, the pastoral instruction Communio et progressio of 1971,[6] was published by the Pontifical Commission for Social Communications as a

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[5]   In truth, earlier there has been the encyclical Vigilanti cura, by Pius XI, dedicated to cinema (1936) and in 1957 the Miranda Prorsus by Pius XII, on audiovisual media. On the general value of the mass media, historians also recall a very positive speech by Pius XII at the III International Congress of the Catholic Press in Rome (1950).

[6]   Please see:

kind of "manual" of the conciliar decree. It explores the function of the mass media in modern society and affirms the right to information and freedom of choice, which together with the freedom of communication have become elements in the common good and human rights as defended by the Church. Instead of censorship and prohibitions, pastoral instruction emphasizes education and the need for a pedagogy in the use of means. The autonomy of journalistic work is also recognized, together with the right of Catholic communities and individuals, to take part in this field. It also suggests that information must be aimed at the common good, human dignity, and objectivity. According to some historians, this instruction finally marks the abandonment of the "defensive principle" of the Church against the world and the end of the division between the "good" and "bad" press."[7]

It is worth noting that the Catholic world, both before and after the Second Vatican Council, sustained a considerable number of weekly magazines, diocesan and non-diocesan papers, daily newspapers, and press agencies, not only as "apologetic" media, but also as sources of information. In the period between the two wars, under the threats of fascism, Nazism and communism, the defense of the freedom of press, considered as essential for human rights, took on more and more weight. In Europe, during the time of Fascism and Nazism, many Church papers had to close or reduce themselves to strictly religious contents but flourished again at the end of the Second World War. Similarly, publications which had closed in Eastern Europe due to Soviet policy, resumed life after the 1989 fall of Eastern Bloc communism.

It is worth mentioning that in 1927, in connection with Propaganda Fide, the International Fides Service was founded, broadcasting news from the Asian, African and Latin American missionary world in various languages.

In the field of radio broadcasting, Vatican Radio came into being in 1931, broadcasting worldwide on medium, short and ultra-short waves in about 30 languages.

In 1968, Radio Veritas Asia was established in the Philippines with German aid to the Philippine Church, producing broadcasts in the different languages of the Far East.

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https://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/pccs/documents/rc_pc_pccs_doc_23 051971_communio_en.html

[7] M. Schmolke, quoted in AAVV. "Die Weltkirche im 20 Jarhundert," Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder. Vol X/1. In Jedin Hubert edited, cit. Quoted from the Italian edition. "La Chiesa nel Ventesimo secolo. 1914-1975," vol. X/1, Milano, Jaca Book, 1980: 373.

John Paul II

Inter Mirifica decree proposed of a World Day of Social Communications which was then established in 1967 by Paul VI, with the hope of making Christians more attentive and responsible in this sector of society. Since then, the popes have issued an annual message on different aspects of the situation of mass media and the moral dimension of their practice.

All this gives the impression that the Church still and only regards the media as an external "tool" to be used. It was John Paul II (1920-2005; pope from 1978 to 2005) who integrated mass media into the life of the Church itself, first and foremost through his personal testimony.

A man who made theatre at an early point in his life, Wojtyla would personally engage with journalists; in his speeches he always used "I," not the formal "we;" he accepted questions put to him without defending himself. If we add to this his travels (104 apostolic visits outside Italy; 146 visits in Italy), and the World Youth Days, all structured as "media events," right up to his funeral—attended by dozens of heads of state from all over the world—we can understand why television stations around the globe followed him everywhere, thereby increasing their audience. An audience was also guaranteed by the fact that on his travels Wojtyla met with everyone, rich and poor, powerful and weak; he did not hold back from defending human rights and religious freedom; he called for peace instead of war; he urged attention, fraternity, and religious sentiment; he condemned abortion, threats to family life, and the unjust exploitation of workers.

On the one hand, John Paul II made mass media true instruments of evangelization. At the same time, he saw mass media as an indispensable element of modern society.

It is worth recalling here what he says in his 1990 encyclical *Redemptoris Missio*, dedicated to the permanent validity of the missionary mandate. Speaking of the new environments in which to preach the Gospel, he states:

> The first Areopagus of the modern age is the world of communications, which is unifying humanity and turning it into what is known as a "global village." The means of social communication have become so important as to be for many the chief means of information and education, of guidance and inspiration in their behavior as individuals, families and within society at large. In particular, the younger generation is growing up in a world conditioned by the mass media. To some degree perhaps this Areopagus has been neglected. Generally, preference has

been given to other means of preaching the Gospel and of Christian education, while the mass media are left to the initiative of individuals or small groups and enter into pastoral planning only in a secondary way. Involvement in the mass media, however, is not meant merely to strengthen the preaching of the Gospel. There is a deeper reality involved here: since the very evangelization of modern culture depends to a great extent on the influence of the media, it is not enough to use the media simply to spread the Christian message and the Church's authentic teaching. It is also necessary to integrate that message into the "new culture" created by modern communications. This is a complex issue, since the "new culture" originates not just from whatever content is eventually expressed, but from the very fact that there exist new ways of communicating, with new languages, new techniques and a new psychology. Pope Paul VI said that "the split between the Gospel and culture is undoubtedly the tragedy of our time," and the field of communications fully confirms this judgment." (RM, 37, c).

Throughout his pontificate, John Paul II was a television star. His humanity— expressed in visits and meetings, his forgiveness of his would-be assassin Ali Agca, prayer, sports, illness, death—was recorded and broadcast to a world attentive to communication through images.

He was also responsible for the beginning of the use of the internet in the Vatican Press Office and in the work of the Holy See. The image of the pope pressing the "send" button on the computer to send his 2001Apostolic Letter *Ecclesia in Oceania* via the internet is famous.

The first Vatican publication to use the internet and online publications was precisely *Fides*, linked to Propaganda Fide. In 1998, two Chinese bishops were invited to take part in the Extraordinary Synod for Asia, Mattia Duan Yinming and Joseph Xu Zhixuan, respectively ordinary and coadjutor of the diocese of Wanxian (Sichuan). But the Beijing government forbade them to travel to Rome. *Fides* then started online publications, adding Chinese language to Italian, French, English, German, and Spanish, creating perhaps one of the first near-direct links between the Vatican and the Chinese Church.[8]

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[8] During the Synod on the episcopal ministry (September 30-October 27, 2001), through *Fides*, Msgr. Joseph Xu Zhixuan was able to send his speech, which was read in the Synod hall (see: https://www.vatican.va/news_services/press/sinodo/documents/bollettino_20_x-ordinaria-2001/01_italiano/b20_01 .html).

Benedict XVI

The election of Joseph Ratzinger as pope on April 19, 2005 was judged—especially by the liberal European and German press in particular—as a "return to the Middle Ages." His past as prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, typical of the post-Council period, raised fears for the so-called progressive mentality of a return to the Inquisition. However, it only took a few months for it to become evident that Pope Benedict XVI wished to continue in the path of John Paul II in dialogue with the world and the implementation of the Second Vatican Council. Although not endowed with a charismatic aura like his predecessor, but with a soft and meek voice, Benedict forced many to change opinions with his simple style and sharp analyses, and the freedom with which he approached the questions he was asked. As his quasi-official biographer, Peter Seewald testifies,[9] unlike the standard procedure for interviews with politicians and public figures, the pope never wanted to see in advance the questions he would be asked. Someone said that after "the medium television" pope, came the "medium of truth" pope who expressed his beliefs, analyzed problems without hiding them, and who offered paths for research and solutions that were not pre-packaged.

In a world in which empty images and words as a screen, and which seems to drown in relativism and manipulation, this "collaboration with the truth"[10] is an important point in favor of communications technology.[11] For Benedict XVI, the mass media serve to keep the world united, by allowing people to come to know one another and find ways to express collaboration and solidarity. In his first encyclical *Deus caritas est*, n.30, he affirms:

> Today the means of mass communication have made our planet smaller, rapidly narrowing the distance between different peoples and cultures. This "togetherness" at times gives rise to misunderstandings and tensions, yet our ability to know almost instantly about the needs of others challenges us to share their situation and their difficulties.

With the German pope, after the 2011 launch of the new News.va portal, Vatican communications made use of social media, including Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube.

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9   Cfr. Peter Seewald, *Benedikt XVI. Ein Leben*, 2020, Munich, Droemer Verlag, 2020. Quoted from the Italian edition, Milano: Garzanti, 2020: 924-939.

10 Ratzinger's motto as bishop.

11 See: Francisco J. Perez – Latre. "Los medios, los papas y la comunicación del Vaticano entre Benedicto XVI y Francisco (2007–2017)," in *Church, Communication and Culture*, vol. 4 (2019): 61-78.

Benedict XVI also directly experienced misunderstandings and tensions with mass media: the manipulation of his Regensburg speech (September 12, 2006), which was a critique of the anti-religious positivism of the West, was dismissed as an anti-Islamic stance. Other instances included his March 17, 2009, statement that the fight against AIDS for which the use of condoms is not enough, as proven by many studies and universities; the cancellation of the excommunication of some members of the St Pius X Fraternity, including Bishop Richard Williamson, whose anti-Semitic positions were unknown to the pope (and especially to the Curia!); the outbreak of paedophilia cases in which attempts were made to accuse Ratzinger of inaction, even though he was one of the first to react to the scourge, even before the denunciations; and the Vatileaks emergency, in which some media outlets stole confidential, though not highly sensitive, documents from the pope's secretariat and passed them off as absolute revelations.

In *Caritas in Veritate* (2009) on integral human development, Benedict XVI emphasized the importance of working in communications media with a morality inspired by human dignity. In this way, the pope taught: "The media can make an important contribution towards the growth in communion of the human family and the ethos of society when they are used to promote universal participation in the common search for what is just." (CV, 73) A few lines earlier, he emphasized that those who stress "the strictly technical nature of the media, effectively support their subordination to economic interests intent on dominating the market and, not least, to attempts to impose cultural models that serve ideological and political agendas." (Ibidem).

Under Benedict XVI also began the reform of the Vatican media, hitherto rather dispersed, brought together under a single central direction. The reform is still underway in the pontificate of Pope Francis, who transformed the Pontifical Council for Social Communications into a Dicastery for Communications and placed a layman as its prefect.

Pope Francis

The simple and direct style of Pope Francis, elected on March 13, 2013, immediately made him into a media personality. In addition to his choices for a "poor" pontificate expressed in the sobriety of his liturgical robes, his use of a utilitarian car, or his choosing not to go on holiday, there are personal gestures—in which he meets with groups of young people, with prisoners, or with the sick, and public gestures full of symbolism. Among the latter, it is worth recalling the July 8, 2013 trip to Lampedusa to remember some migrants who drowned at sea while trying to reach Europe; the September 7, 2013 Vigil of Prayer for Peace to avert an air attack on Syria, accused of

using toxic gas; the 2016 and 2021 trips to Lesbos (Greece), to meet migrants in refugee camps and to take some of them with him to Rome.

All these gestures received worldwide coverage and made his messages on the "globalization of indifference," on "a piecemeal third world war," and the need for peace and coexistence between peoples, visible and concrete. With him, the proclamation of the Gospel always translates into helping to heal the wounds of the sick world, which he compares to "a field hospital."

This is why he uses every means and agrees to be interviewed by anyone—even *Vanity Fair* in 2013 and 2021. During his pontificate, Vatican tweets have become almost daily occurrences. In 2017, he started using Instagram. By June 2020, according to Twiplomacy, Francis had 50 million Twitter followers, exceeded in number only by Donald Trump (112 million) and Narendra Modi (94 million).

Pope Francis does not lose sight of the fact that the communication sector itself is ill. In his annual messages for the World Day of Communications, he shows the limits of virtual communication, warning against forgetting reality; he urges friendship that is more than "likes;" he suggests escaping ideological or desk journalism and risking the encounter with the realities one wants to write about, because "to know one must meet" (2021); and proposes seeking to "build bridges and not walls" (Easter Message, 2019).

Press Agencies

Precisely in order to "build bridges and not walls," a number of missionary agencies arose in the 20th century within Propaganda Fide and its mission. They arose first and foremost from the desire to communicate to the Western world the life of the Churches in mission territories, especially in Asia. At the same time, they were to encourage the rich churches to support the proclamation of the Gospel in the poor churches. Gradually, they made better-known the life, their culture, religions, and problems of non-European peoples, becoming a source of quality information.

Built on the network of Christian missionaries and lay people in these lands, these agencies have also become an alternative or corrective source of information coming from their big international counterparts. The news sources of these missionary agencies are closer to the situations being discussed, and not tied to European or American mentalities. They are attentive to religious and cultural aspects, not just economic considerations. In this way they embody the universality of the Church – a Church which

is not only Western; in addition, they contribute to real globalization by providing cultural dialogue between East and West.

The first missionary agency was *Fides*, founded on April 4, 1927, is an unofficial voice of the Vatican, linked to Propaganda Fide. Through news and photographs, studies on the social and environmental conditions of the missions, the agency is now a center for the collection, production, and dissemination of information about the missionary world. Until 1998 it consisted of a weekly bulletin in Italian, English, French, Spanish, and German. Later it became a website to which Chinese was added, and for a short time Portuguese and Arabic too. Many journalists recognize during the Vietnam War that *Fides* was perhaps one of the few independent sources, beyond the pro-American or pro-Vietnamese information gathered in hotels in Saigon or Hanoi, informing on what was happening on the ground in Catholic and non-Catholic villages.

In 1979, *UCAN* (the Union of Catholic Asian News) agency was launched in Hong Kong, supported first by Maryknoll Missionaries, and subsequently by the Australian Jesuit province. With editions in English, Chinese, Indonesian, Korean, and Vietnamese, it grew from being a weekly bulletin to a website. For a time, it was the quasi-official voice of the Federation of Asian Bishops' Conferences (FABC). Even now, *Ucanews* is a fundamental source on the Churches of Asia.

In 1983, the *Missions Etrangères de Paris* launched *Eglises d'Asie*, first as a monthly magazine, then in the 1990s as a website. French journalists consider it a "valuable source for knowledge of Asian societies."

In 1986, PIME (the Pontifical Institute for Foreign Missions) founded the *AsiaNews* agency in Italy. Making use of the network of PIME missionaries and others in Asia, with an office in Hong Kong, it published a weekly bulletin of information in Italian on Churches and religions, but also on the societies, cultures, and politics of Asian countries. In 2003, it became a daily online agency with output in Italian, English, Chinese, adding Spanish in 2013, with the advent of Pope Francis.

I was editor of *AsiaNews* for 18 years, from March 2003 to May 2021. Previously I was editor of *Fides* from 1997 to 2002. I can say that while it provides timely information on the churches of Asia, *AsiaNews* is not a confessional agency. Rather, it is interested in the whole of Asia, including its politics and economics, but always with an eye to the human dimension. Among its readers are many non-Christians, Muslims, Hindus, and Tibetans. Many other news agencies, as well as international newspapers and television stations draw on this source.

In addition to providing information, the agency has often launched solidarity campaigns that have received strong support around the world. These include the campaign to free a Protestant Christian from Saudi prisons (2004); the campaign for freedom in Tibet (2008); the scholarship campaign for Chinese students (2010); supporting refugees from Mosul, Christians, Muslims, Yazidis (Iraq, 2014-2015); and the effort to free brick factory workers in Pakistan from slavery (2020-2021).

Conclusion

When *Propaganda Fide* was founded, the Church looked upon the media—i.e. the channels of information and communication that it did not control—as an enemy and considered freedom of the press as a satanic plague. With the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, the Church has come to consider communications media as an important element of society in which it finds spaces to communicate itself and to dialogue with the world.

The missionary agencies are a discrete symbol of this dialogue with the world, capable also of helping the media to be more themselves, that is, to reflect what is happening in world society, with a focus on real people, and without becoming imprisoned by ideological or economic prejudices.

An important contribution of these agencies is to highlight the value of different religions, linked as they are to cultures. Often in mass media, religion is presented variously as an exotic curiosity, as intolerant fundamentalism or a source of terrorism, or attempts are made to erase it from the eye of the public. But religion, particularly the Catholic faith, is more often than not the source of the promotion of human dignity and a basis for social development.

Another contribution of missionary agencies is the presence of an abundant network of correspondents, both priests and lay people, who are eager to communicate their particular situations. On the contrary, because of the economic problems that afflict secular agencies especially after the 2008 crisis, more and more staff, reporters, and correspondent are being laid off and positions eliminated. As a result, journalism is reduced to a copy-and-paste from agencies or other generic sources, without journalists experiencing at first-hand what they seek to communicate.

What is characteristic of these missionary agencies is that they see the different freedoms of religion and of the press and human rights as united. In many countries, these rights are increasingly being curtailed or stifled. This sometimes puts missionary

agencies at risk of closure, either directly by political powers, or indirectly. The example of the weekly *Svet Evangelia* (The Light of the Gospel), founded in Moscow is significant. Founded in 1994 after the fall of the USSR by the Catholic Archbishop of Moscow, Mgr. Tadeusz Kondrusiewicz, it was the only publication that collected testimonies from all over the former Soviet world, as far as Kazakhstan. But at Christmas 2007, under pressure from the Orthodox Patriarchate, which accused it of "proselytism" because it supported the Catholic Church's educational, charitable and cultural activities, the new Archbishop of Moscow, Paolo Pezzi, decreed its closure.

Sometimes there are also tensions with the Vatican, in particular with the Secretariat of State. But these tensions have never resulted to closures, which would only happen in case of serious errors of faith. Instead, tensions usually occur because the Vatican Secretariat of State has to juggle religious and press freedom with real or hoped-for diplomatic relations.

【摘要】梵蒂岡傳信部成立於 1622 年，旨在支持天主教會在世界各地的傳教事業，一直在傳播和大眾媒體方面發揮著重要作用。它的誕生是為了支持傳教自由，免受西方列強的干擾和影響，故而常常要尋找特殊的、自由的、有活力的溝通方式。同時，它需要建立一種關係來幫助和支持傳教士，並在亞洲、非洲和拉丁美洲的邊沿國家與天主教中心之間尋找溝通工具。但天主教會和教廷並不總能與傳播界維持良好關係。在梵蒂岡第二屆大公會議（1962-1965）之前，儘管歷任教宗對媒體（報紙、廣播、電視）表示同情，但卻經常警告不要不道德地使用這些媒體，對其產品發起譴責和禁令，以捍衛道德和正統。這常常構成教會與現代世界和傳播界敵對的形象。梵二會議旨在更新教會與當代世界的接觸，尋找與世界對話及互相理解的新方式。梵示會議批准的首批文件之一是大眾工具傳播法令（1963）。到了教宗若望保祿二世時期，教會作為傳播和大眾媒體世界的參與者，媒體不僅被視為傳播福音和天主聖言的工具，也被視為在多元世界對話的環境。我們要感謝波蘭教宗在旅行、生病、甚至去世時成了電視的主角。到了教宗本篤十六世和方濟各，網絡和推特已成為教廷常用的傳播工具。傳信部與世界各地傳教區溝通的需要，促使修會和傳教會利用大眾傳媒，幫助世界了解傳教國家的政治、社會和宗教狀況，在面對自然災害、飢餓、戰爭、迫害時，促進互助友愛。一些教會媒體的例子包括亞洲新聞、亞洲教會、天亞社等。

The Church and Communication

Mi Shen

[Abstract] The Church is called and sent to continue God's Trinitarian communication in Revelation and Incarnation into the here and now of all times and places. This Church is born in the communicating act of God's Holy Spirit on Pentecost. The Church community became a group of messengers of God's revelation to the whole world. Through the Church God's revelation and Jesus Christ's incarnation are to further unfold under the guidance of the Holy Spirit into the "*koinonia*" and "*diaconia*" of the faithful as a living experience and witness of the Word or the communication of God today. Therefore, communication is essential to the Church. Enlightened with this theological aspect of the Church and Communication, this paper aims to reflect on a deeper meaning of communication, not only as social media but more as a basic principle for theology. Communication is more than the expression of ideas and the indication of emotions; at its most profound level, it is the "giving of self in love," as it is defined by the life of the "Perfect Communicator," Jesus Christ. This study will also demonstrate a historical development of the Church's approach toward social media so as to discover how the Church dealt with various communication ministries in the past. Through historical facts and documentary provisions in Church communications documents and messages, the researcher looks forward to formulating some guidelines on how to deal with the challenges in social communications ministry specifically through social media at present.

Introduction: Communication

Communication has always been a fundamental aspect of human life. Throughout history, from the time of creation to the present, humans have engaged in communication. Communication has evolved alongside human history, especially in the last century with the advent of modern communication technologies. It has not only influenced the way people connect with themselves and others but also the way they live. Communication shapes human identity, culture, and faith.

Franz-Josef Eilers, a prominent theologian in communication studies, defines communication as an integral part of everyday life.[1] He notes that communication has become a significant and applicable term in various fields of study. In the sciences, it is crucial for engineering, information technology, network and data processing. In the humanities, communication draws from classical approaches in rhetoric, history, and philosophy. In the social sciences, it builds on insights from anthropology, sociology, psychology, and cultural studies. In business and marketing, communication focuses on mass and broadcast media like television, radio, and print.[2]

Traditionally, communication has been viewed as a linear process of transmitting information from a sender to a receiver. However, Eilers argues for a more enriched view of communication as a dynamic and ongoing dialogue among individuals. Communication is not just an interaction between a sender and a receiver, but a complex process influenced by various factors such as culture, context, and background.[3] It involves the sharing and interpretation of signs and meanings, both verbal and non-verbal, among individuals. Communication forms a common ground and gives rise to culture, belief, and society. In the Christian understanding, communication is *communio* or "communion," which leads to the formation of a community.[4] Communication is thus an essential aspect of human existence rooted in God's self-communication and the creation of humanity in God's image.

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[1] Franz-Josef Eilers, SVD, *Communicating in Community: An Introduction to Social Communication* (Manila: Logos Divine Word Publications, 1994), 2.

[2] Anh Vu Ta and Franz-Josef Eilers, *Social Communication in Theological Perspective: Communication Theology* (Manila: Logos Divine Word Publications, 2015).

[3] Eilers, *Communicating in Community,* 22.

[4] Eilers, *Communicating in Community*, 19.

Communication and Theology

Cardinal Carlo Maria Martini, a biblical scholar and former Archbishop of Milan, explores God's self-communication through the depiction of the Holy Trinity in a painting by Masaccio.[5] The painting portrays the Father holding the wooden cross, symbolizing His offering of His Son out of infinite love. The crucified Son willingly submits to the Father's will and becomes an offering for all humanity. The Holy Spirit, represented by a dove, signifies the communication between the Father and the Son, unifying humanity with the Trinitarian life. Humanity, represented by the Blessed Virgin Mary and John the Beloved, receives this divine self-gift.[6]

According to Martini, the painting captures the supreme act of divine communication, wherein the reciprocal love and offering among the three persons of the Trinity overflow as a gift to humanity. The hidden life of the Trinity is characterized by unceasing communication and communion. God, being communication Himself, wills to share His divine life with humanity. God's communication to humanity is not only a revelation but a self-communication. The culmination of this communication is found in the incarnation of the Son and His paschal mystery.[7] Jesus, the Word made flesh and the "Perfect Communicator," communicates the Trinity to the world through His life. His personal communication, both verbal and non-verbal, exemplifies the complete giving of self in love. Through His passion, death, and sacrifice on the cross, Jesus embodies true communication. The Church, established through the imparting of the Holy Spirit after Jesus' ascension, continues God's divine communication in the world. The Church's mission is to incarnate Christ by integrating communication into everything she does. As humans created in God's image and likeness, we bear the mark of the Triune God in our ability and need to connect and relate to ourselves, others, and respond to God's communication.

Communication in Church History

In the Bible, the Acts of the Apostles provides a detailed account of the life of the early Church. Inspired by their firsthand experience of living with Jesus and witnessing his paschal mystery, as well as driven by the fire of the Spirit, the early Christian

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[5] Carlo Maria Martini, *Communicating Christ to the World,* trans. Thomas M. Lucas, S.J. (Diliman: Claretian Publications, 1994), 27

[6] Carlo Maria Martini, *Communicating Christ to the World*, 28.

[7] Carlo Maria Martini, *Communicating Christ to the World*, 28-29.

community strove to follow the teachings of the faith. They exemplified how Christian communities should live and communicate. One notable characteristic of the early Christian communities was their deep connection to the Holy Spirit. They dedicated time to prayer and remained open to the guidance of the Holy Spirit in their personal lives (Acts 1:15-26) and in fulfilling their mission (Acts 10:44-48). Communication played a central role in shaping their relationship with God and with one another. They utilized various channels of communication available to them, using their voices and language to deliver speeches that affirmed one another (Acts 2:14), settled disputes (Acts 15), testified to their faith in the face of persecution (Acts 6), and shared the Gospel (Acts 13:44-47). They also wrote and exchanged letters to maintain connection and foster relationships. The Apostle Paul employed this form of communication to shepherd the different Christian communities. In addition to verbal communication, the early Church performed rituals to commemorate Jesus. They broke bread and prayed together (Acts 2:42), anointed disciples for mission (Acts 13:2) and embraced a communal lifestyle by sharing their possessions with one another. Their daily lives, both as individuals and as a community, became a true testament to the Gospel of Christ.

This profound connection between the Church and communication continued to evolve over time. In the 4th century, with the baptism of the Roman Empire into Christianity, the Church became the center of Roman culture. Alongside the development of oral and written traditions, the life of the Church thrived. The Church exerted a significant influence on art, architecture, and literature, including the production and preservation of books in Roman temples.[8] When these books were transferred to monasteries, it became a special commitment of the monks and religious to preserve, develop, and produce books of various kinds. Emperor Theodoric's chancellor, Cassiodorus (485-500 AD), and St. Benedict (529 AD), among others, established rules to guide the monks in their role of studying and copying these books, ensuring that spiritual guidance could reach the faithful despite time and distance.[9] Inside the monasteries, monks created, copied, and illuminated books by hand in dedicated rooms called "*scriptoria*," which in Latin means "place for writing." This process involved scribes in copying the textual content and illustrators or artists in painting images and adding elaborate decorations.[10] It is said that through the Church's effort to preserve not only religious books but also books on various subjects, the teachings of early

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[8]   Eilers, *Communicating in Community,* 219.
[9]   Eilers, *Communicating in Community*, 66.
[10] "The Medieval Scciptorium," The J. Paul Getty Museum, accessed April 23, 2022. https://www.getty.edu/art/exhibitions/scriptorium/#:~:text=Scriptorium%20s%20a%20Latin %20word,made%20each%20book%by%hand

philosophers were passed down. Pope Gregory the Great, in his book of Pastoral Rule (c. 590-591), included concepts that can be applied to pastoral work. They emphasize the importance of adapting to the needs of audience members to care for them effectively.[11]

During the late medieval period, the invention of the printing press by Gutenberg in 1450 revolutionized the production and distribution of books, greatly enhancing their speed and availability. While different forms of printing had been discovered previously in China (846 BC through wooden plates) and India (200 BC, mainly for ornamental purposes), Gutenberg's movable type system had a transformative impact on European printing. Eilers notes that the Church initially overlooked the impact of the printing press, in contrast to Martin Luther and other Protestant reformers who early on fully embraced the new invention. This move greatly aided the Reformation movement in 1517, as it allowed for the production of compact-sized books, including the Bible. It also introduced a new format of printing known as "flying sheets" or flyers, which Eilers identifies as the beginning of what he calls the "periodical press." As more people gained access to this new technology, the Catholic Church, and also Henry VIII adopted cautious stances in relation to the printing press. The King of England demanded that a royal license be obtained prior to any printing activity, while the Church, on the other hand, issued the "*Index Librorum Prohibitorum*" or the "List of Prohibited Books," which banned certain books containing erroneous doctrines that posed threats to the faith.

With the establishment of the Propaganda Congregation, however, a more positive view of the printing press emerged in relation to the Church's mission work. Through the advocacy of the congregation, the Church initiated its own printing press in 1626.[12] Pierre Babin's research, as cited by Eilers, highlights how printing helped safeguard a "uniformity of knowledge" to ensure the accurate transmission of Catholic doctrinal teachings. The evolving political developments of the modern era also influenced the Church's relationship with communication. The multiple revolutions in France (1789, July 1830, February 1848) and across Europe engendered hostility towards the Church, partly due to the antagonistic stance of the press toward the Church and the clergy. Consequently, the Church became wary of the press. In response to what it considered "bad press," the Church established its own newspaper in 1861, called *L'Osservatore Romano*, to defend the Pope and the Church. Additionally, religious groups across Europe took initiatives to establish Church-focused printed materials such as newspapers and periodicals.[13] Overall, from the late medieval/early- modern period to the 19th

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[11] Eilers, *Communicating in Community*, 219-220

[12] Eilers, *Communicating in Community*, 67-69.

[13] Eilers, *Communicating in Community*, 221.

century, the Church displayed reluctance in fully embracing new means of communication. In an effort to protect the faithful, the Church adopted a defensive stance, cautiously adapting to new communication inventions for its mission. Of course, the political environment also influenced the Church's relationship with communication and shaped its perception of the press, which was the predominant mode of communication during that time. To maintain its defensive position, the Church created and disseminated its own communication materials.

The 20th century witnessed the development of communication means such as film, radio broadcasting, and television, commonly referred to as mass media. It was during this time that the Church, under the papacies of Pius XI and Pius XII, exhibited a more open and constructive attitude towards communication. Eilers, in his survey of various Church documents issued by the popes throughout the 20th century, including decrees, encyclicals, pastoral instructions, and addresses, observed this shift in the Church's "official thinking or thinking in the field" of communication.[14]

Communication Documents of the Church

Vigilante Cura ("Vigilant Eye") – Written by Pope Pius XI in 1936, it is the first papal document in the 20th century solely dedicated to the topic of communication. It is inspired mainly by the success of the "Catholic Legion of Decency," a group formed by the faithful in the United States to oppose immoral motion pictures. Membership in the Legion required the non-patronage of any cinema or film deemed to be against the standards of Catholic moral teachings. With the encyclical, Pius XI sought to promote the movement on a bigger scale through establishment of cinema offices and the proposal of a world-wide ratings system for films. Recognizing the capacity of film to capture the imagination of viewers, as well as impact mind and soul, the document considers film to be more influential than the press. For this reason, the Pope cautioned the faithful to remain mindful and critical of motion pictures.[15]

Miranda Prorsus ("Remarkable Invention") – This encyclical was issued in 1957 by Pope Pius XII. The document does not reference the press but treats three other media, namely, cinema, radio and television. Eilers suggests that *Miranda Prorsus* should be read in connection with the Pope's other 60 addresses that tackle different considerations in communication. The number of speeches focused on communication, Eilers notes,

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[14] Eilers, *Communicating in Community*, 222-223.
[15] Eilers, *Communicating in Community*, 223-224.

express the Pope's special interest in the field. This is also evident in the affirmative approach of *Miranda Prorsus* in its discussion of electronic media. It presents an analysis of their significant potential effects and pastoral implications while underscoring the moral duty this entailed of safeguarding the truth.[16]

Inter Mirifica ("Among the Wonderful") – This is the first conciliar document on communication ever released by the Church in its 2000-year history. Issued by the Second Vatican Council in 1963 as the Decree on Social Communications, the draft document received criticisms regarding its quality and was reduced considerably to 24 paragraphs from its initial 114; however, its approval can still be considered a decisive moment for the Church, since the document coins the term "social communication."[17] It thus shows the Church's broader concern for communication, encompassing all the popular expressions of the time, such as "media of diffusion" or "mass media." Eilers explains that social communication is the "communication of and in human society" that "includes all ways and means of communication."[18] Thus, social communication not only refers to mass media, but to the whole range of human communication within society. Other highlights of the document include the need to focus on truth in using the means of social communication. It also proposes the establishment of a World Day of Communications to be celebrated yearly to remind the faithful of the Church's concern in the area of communication. The decree goes on to require a pastoral instruction, to be released in collaboration with experts in the field, that would ensure application of the conciliar principles. The decree also endorses the formation of the faithful and clergy in communication and calls for the official institution of the Pontifical Commission for the Means of Social Communication.

Communio et Progressio ("Unity and Advancement") – Following the requirement of the Council Fathers in *Inter Mirifica,* this pastoral instruction was released in 1971 to emphasize that the "chief aim" of communication is the "unity and advancement of men." It opens with a discussion of the Christian perspective of communication and cites social communication as a way to contribute to human progress and unity. It names Jesus as the "Perfect Communicator," who restores man's ability to connect to God and others through his incarnation, passion, death, and resurrection. The document addresses formation of seminarians and religious groups as well as the need for further research in

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[16]   Eilers, *Communicating in Community*, 224-226.
[17]   Eilers, *Communicating in Community*, 226-228.
[18]   Ta and Eilers, "Social Communication in Theological Perspective," 7.

communication. It also tackles in great detail the commitment and responsibilities of the Catholic faithful for evangelical communication.[19]

Aetatis Novae ("The Dawn of a New Era") – Issued by the Pontifical Council for Social Communications on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of *Communio et Progressio*, *Aetatis Novae* presents some pastoral concerns of the time that affect communications, such as the cultural-social and political-economic milieus. It discusses in detail how the media can truly be at the service of humanity by exploring different aspects of human life, including cultural engagement, the new evangelization, etc. It also offers challenges, such as the call for critical evaluation, formation of the faithful, and equal access to information and modes of communication. A unique aspect of the document is found in its appendix, which details the "Elements of Pastoral Planning.[20]

Rapid Development – Written in 2005 as Pope John Paul II's final document, "Rapid Development" was intended to celebrate the 40th year of *Inter Mirifica* by consolidating the pope's various reflections on communication from the previous documents. John Paul II invited the Church not only to utilize the means of social communication, but also to "integrate" the Gospel into the "new culture" formed by these means. As the development of technology had altered the way people live, thus also affecting culture and beliefs, John Paul II calls the Church to proclaim the message of Jesus in a manner meaningful to the people of today. The pope also reminds the faithful "not to be afraid" of emerging technologies but to consider them as marvels of God through which the Church might make the Gospel known. He also encourages communicators not to be afraid of experiencing opposition in their mission since Jesus has already "conquered the world" (John 16: 33). Lastly, the pope counsels the Church not to fear her own weakness since Jesus is present among us always.[21]

These documents demonstrate the Church's evolving understanding and engagement of communication throughout the 20th century. From initially cautious and defensive approaches to embracing and utilizing various media forms, the Church has recognized the importance of communication in fulfilling its mission of evangelization and engagement with the modern world. It has thus acknowledged the potential of media to spread the Gospel and to educate and inspire. The need for responsible and discerning use, always with ethical considerations, has been a highlight of the Church's rapidly changing landscape of communication.

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[19] Eilers, *Communicating in Community*, 229-231.
[20] Eilers, *Communicating in Community*, 232-233.
[21] Eilers, *Communicating in Community*, 234.

The Church and Communication Today

With the Church's recognition in recent years of the growing influence of social media platforms and their impact on society, Pope Francis, in particular, has emphasized the importance of using such media as tools for dialogue, encounter, and evangelization. He has encouraged Catholics to engage actively in digital spaces, promoting a culture of encounter and respect while at the same time sharing the message of the Gospel (World Communication Day Message, 2019). The Church has also acknowledged the need to address the negative aspects of social media, such as the spread of misinformation, cyberbullying, and the creation of echo chambers that reinforce divisions and polarization. It has called for responsible digital citizenship, urging individuals to cultivate virtues of patience, empathy, and critical thinking while navigating the online world.

Furthermore, the Church has recognized the power of storytelling and visual media in conveying its message. It has embraced the use of film, documentaries, and other visual arts as means of evangelization and promoting social justice. Through these media, the Church aims to touch hearts, inspire reflection, and create awareness about pressing issues affecting humanity.

Another significant development in the Church's engagement with media is the rise of online streaming and virtual platforms for religious services and events. Especially during times of crisis, such as the COVID-19 pandemic, digital technologies have enabled the faithful to participate remotely in Masses, devotional prayers, and other religious gatherings. While recognizing the limitations of virtual experiences, the Church has seen value in leveraging technology to foster a sense of community and ensure the spiritual well-being of its members.

Conclusion

Communication is an essential aspect of human existence and plays a significant role in shaping human identity, culture, and faith. The Church, recognizing the importance of communication, has engaged with various forms of media throughout history to fulfill its mission of spreading the Gospel and promoting social justice. From the early Christian communities' use of oral and written traditions to the invention of the printing press, the advent of mass media, and the dawn of digital age, the Church has adapted and evolved in its approach to communication. The Church's engagement with

 media has been guided by a desire to proclaim the Good News, educate, foster dialogue, and promote values that align with its teachings.

Throughout history, the Church has acknowledged both the positive and negative aspects of media. It has recognized the power of media to influence society, shape public opinion, and impact individuals. At the same time, it has remained vigilant about the potential risks and challenges that come with media consumption, such as distortion of truth, erosion of moral values, and trivialization of culture. The Church's documents on social communications have provided guidance to the faithful, emphasizing the need for responsible and discerning use of media. They have called for the promotion of authentic human communication, respect for human dignity, and the safeguarding of moral values in the media landscape. These documents have also encouraged the Church to engage actively with media as a means of evangelization and cultural dialogue.

In the present digital age, the Church faces new opportunities and challenges. The rapid development of technology, including the internet, has transformed the way people communicate, access information, and engage with one another. The Church has recognized the potential of digital media for reaching a wider audience, fostering global networking, and facilitating dialogue. However, it has also called for caution in navigating the digital realm, promoting responsible online behavior, and addressing the ethical implications of digital communication.

In conclusion, the Catholic Church has a rich history of engaging with various forms of media throughout the centuries. From oral traditions to print media, from radio and television to the internet and social media, the Church has adapted to the changing media landscape while remaining faithful to its core mission. The Church's documents on social communications provide a framework for the responsible and discerning use of media, emphasizing the importance of promoting truth, human dignity, and the values of the Gospel. By embracing the potential of media while remaining vigilant about its challenges, the Church seeks to communicate its message effectively and engage with the modern world in a spirit of dialogue and love.

【摘要】教會被召叫和受差遣，繼續天主的啟示和道成肉身中三位一體進入此時此地的通傳。教會是在天主聖神五旬節的溝通動作中誕生的。教會團體成為一群向全世界傳達天主啟示的使者。天主的啟示和耶穌基督的道成肉身透過教會，在聖神的引領下，進一步在信眾的「共融」（koinonia）和「服務」（diakonia）中揭示，作為對聖言或天主的通傳活生生的經歷和見證。因此，傳播對教會來說至關重要。受教會與傳播這一神學方面的啟發，本文旨在反思傳播的更深層含義，不僅作為社交媒體，而且更多地作為神學的基本原理。通傳不只是思想的表達和情感的顯示；在其最深刻的層面上，它是「在愛中奉獻自我」，正如耶穌基督這位「完美傳播者」的生命所定義的那樣。這項研究也將展示教會對待社交媒體的歷史發展，從而發現教會過去如何處理各種傳播事工。透過教會傳播文件和文告中的歷史事實和文獻規定，作者期待教會當局制定一些指導方針，去應對目前社會傳播事工中，特別是透過現有的社交媒體事工所面臨的挑戰。並會就中國教會及其社交媒體如何應對這一挑戰，特別是中國對線上宗教活動實施更嚴格法規之下，作案例研究。

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East Meets West in Cultural Exchange

Recreating Mindfulness Meditation in America

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[Abstract] This paper, based on the rising popularity of mindfulness meditation in America, reexamines the ideas and practice of decontextualization and recontextualization adopted by Buddhism in encountering with different cultures in the last 2500 years of history. This paper analyzes how mindfulness meditation in America today has shifted its goal from attaining Nirvana in traditional Buddhism to highlighting the pragmatic function of improving the mental health of practitioners. It further discusses Buddhist views of non-duality of the sacred and profane by examining how such a shift could result in the secularization of Buddhism and the sanctification of the secular.

Introduction

In the history of more than 2500 years Buddhism spread from "The Middle State" of ancient India to other parts of Asia, undertaking the course of recontextualization when encountering with other cultures and thus giving rise to varieties of Buddhism, such as Chinese Buddhism, Tibetan Buddhism, and Theravada Buddhism as well as their sub-streams of Chan Buddhism and Zen Buddhism, respectively. All these Buddhisms arrived in America one after another in modern history, readily transformed themselves in meeting with Christian religion, progressing from Buddhism(s) in America to American Buddhism in which mindfulness movement has become a mainstream today. The rising of American Buddhism in general and the development of the mindfulness movement in particular once again demonstrated the creativity and adaptability of Buddhism.

This paper introduces first briefly the history of Buddhisms in America to American Buddhism, and then investigates how the surfacing of the mindfulness movement is related to modern science and psychotherapeutic practice. A special attention is paid to examine how leaders of the mindfulness movement have justified their efforts of recreating new mindfulness culture skillfully by reembracing the Dharma and disassociating from traditional Buddhisms so that they are free of traditional restraint for medicalizing the practice of Buddhist meditation in dealing with psychosomatic maladies in contemporary America.

Making of American Buddhism

No one knows exactly when Buddhism was first introduced to America, yet scholars in general accept that Buddhism arrived in America first from China when Chinese immigrants arrived in the West Coast in the 1840s for the mining industry. Based on kinship and in the form of ancestor worship as well as for material prayer, Buddhism these immigrants brought with them was rather part of Chinese folk religion assorted with Confucianism and Daoism prevailing at the end of the Qing dynasty. By 1875, there were about eight Buddhist temples run by Chinese communities in San Francisco. Gradually, monastic Buddhism of Chan orientation arrived in America, although large monasteries appeared rather later. Ven. Xuanhua (1918-1995) a disciple of well-known Chan master Xuyun (?-1959) founded The City of Ten Thousand Buddhas in 1959, and in 1978, Xilai Temple appeared outside Los Angeles.

Towards the end of the 19th century, Japanese Buddhism also landed in America and showed rapid development after the World Parliament of Religion in 1893, largely due to the efforts of missionaries from Soto and Rinzai Zen, and others, and one of the most important figures was Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki (1870-1966) who was responsible for popularizing or rather westernizing Zen Buddhism in America. In the 1960s and 1970s, more immigrants from Southeast Asia, such as Sri Lanka, Thailand, Myanmar, Laos, Cambodian, and Vietnam arrived in America, bringing with them Theravada Buddhism and its meditation practice. The arrival of Tibetan Buddhism in the early 1970s immediately attracted the attention of western cultural elites and intellectuals who have since then not only undertaken the course of studying, teaching, and practicing Tibetan Buddhism, but also expanded the enterprise of Buddhism-Science dialogue, setting a new paragon for the discourse of Buddhist modernity. All these eventually paved a way for the widespread of the mindfulness movement towards the end of the 20th century.

The development of Buddhisms from different traditions and popularization of the mindfulness movement in America could be roughly divided into three stages.

Formation stage before 1960s—In associating with various Occultist movements related to theosophy, orientalism, and mysticism, Buddhism from China, Japan, as well as southeast Asia were gradually transmitted to America by Asian immigrants and their descendants. These Buddhisms co-existed peacefully and spread slowly for almost a century. Each of them maintained its traditional identity while undertaking self-transformation in new social and cultural contexts. Largely due to the historical, linguistic, cultural, political, religious, and even geographic embedment, they largely remained among their immigrants. Influenced or rather determined by colonialism and orientalism prevailing at the time, Buddhism in the West was considered superstitious and inferior to Western religion and culture, which enjoyed the status of spiritual superiority, cultural chauvinism, and language authority.

Development stage from 1960s-1990s—Buddhism as religion from different regions of Asia blossomed gradually while Buddhist philosophies began to draw the attention of intellectuals and Buddhist meditation became popular in American society, readily demonstrating its creativity and adaptability, its inner connection with modern science, and usefulness for the mental health and spiritual life of people, particularly the middle classes. Zen Buddhism promoted by Alan Watts, Jack Kerouac, and others exerted great impact on the advent of American Cultural Revolution in 1960s-1970s. Zen centers and communities, such as Rochester Zen Center in New York found by Philip Kapleau, San Francisco Zen Center and the Zen Center of Los Angeles were founded one after another. During this period, Tibetan Buddhism entered America and soon attracted an attention

of intellectuals who became interested in its analytic philosophy and colorful culture. In 1974, Chogyam Trungpa (1939-1987) founded the Naropa Institute in Boulder, Colorado and soon upgrade to be Naropa University, Joseph Goldstein, Jack Kornfield, and others were invited to teach Buddhism there. In 1979, a conference on Comparative Approaches to Cognition: Western and Buddhist, was held in Naropa University, both Buddhists and scientists attended the conference.

Since the early 1960s, the presence of Theravada Buddhism in America increased significantly, and 350 temples of Theravada tradition were founded by the immigrants from Sri Lanka, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Myanmar, and Vietnam toward the end of 1990s. Medication centers and institutes based on Theravada Buddhism were set up throughout America. Ruth Denison founded Dhamma Dena in the high desert of California in 1977; Sharon Salzberg, Jack Kornfield, and Joseph Goldstein, co-founded the Insight Meditation Society over a former Catholic seminary in Barre, Massachusetts in 1975; and Jon Kabat-Zinn founded the Stress Reduction Clinic at the University of Massachusetts Medical Center in 1979. In May 1975, The Insight Meditation Society (IMS) was set up, providing secluded retreat environment for the practice of meditation in the Theravada Buddhist tradition. In 1982, Dhamma Dhara Vipassana Meditation Center was opened in Shelburne Falls, Mass.

Thanks to the missionary efforts and charismatic leadership of Dalai Lama (1935-present), Thich Nhat Hanh (1926-2022) and others, Buddhism turned to be a popular object of scientific study in the academic world, full of scientific ideas, democratic spirits, and rational practices as it could be examined objectively; Buddhist worldview and ethics, Buddhist philosophy of dependent-origination, no-self, impermanence, particularly relativity and emptiness of Madhyamika school, mind-body relation in Yogacaga school, are studied in parallel with modern science, such as quantum mechanics, neuroscience, cognitive psychology. The attempt was thus made to de-cap the superstition and backwardness of Buddhism formerly shaped by orientalism and Western complexity of superiority. During this period, Columbia University, Harvard University, University of Chicago, University of Wisconsin, and universities in California, initiated the study on Buddhist meditation. By 1994, about two dozen universities had at least two full-time faculty members each in Buddhist studies and nearly 150 academic scholars of Buddhism-scholar practitioners or Buddhism appreciators. Scientific study and academic collaboration further enhanced public interesting in Buddhist cultures and meditation practices, helping Buddhism gain footholds in American society while mindfulness meditation soon turned to be a nationwide new movement.

Mindfulness meditation stage from the 1990s-Present—Western Buddhists and meditation practitioners such as Joseph Goldstein (1944-present), Jack Kornfield (1945-present), Sharon Salzberg (1952-present), and Christina Feldman studied the vipassana meditation in Asia in first, and soon began to teach it to American audience, specifically aimed at dealing with the symptom of mental depression prevailing at the time. The followers of Burmese monk Ledi Sayadaw (1846-1923) and his student Mahāsī Sayādaw (1904-1982) who taught "pure insight" or Suddha vipassana or "mindfulness-only" in a simplified form of breathing and body movement also arrived in America in 1990s, setting up mindfulness centers. Towards the end of the last century, mindfulness meditation in collaboration with Chan of Chinese Buddhism, Zen of Japanese Buddhism, Son of Korean Buddhism, Thien of Vietnamese Buddhism, Dzogchen of Tibetan Buddhism, and even the meditation of other religions taught by Jiddu Krishnamurti (1895-1986) and Ramana Maharishi (1879-1950) flourished in America, and so turned to be a mainstream of Buddhist development.[1] According to *The Complete Guide to Buddhist America*, there were then more than 1,000 meditation centers in America and most of them were run by American converts or so-called Euro-American Buddhists or white Buddhists.

Early in 1987, a conference on "World Buddhism in North America" was held at the University of Michigan and a "Statement of Consensus" was announced, outlining the visions of American Buddhism in future: 1. to create the environments necessary for tolerance and understanding among Buddhists and non-Buddhists alike; 2. to initiate a dialogue among Buddhists; 3. to increase a sense of community, and 4. to cultivate thoughts and actions of friendliness towards others, to approach the world as the proper field of Dharma. The statement summarized the major features of the contemporary American Buddhism at the time. On January 17-19, 1997, "Buddhism in America Conference" was held in Boston, Lama Surya Das, an American Buddhist and founder of the Dzogchen Foundation in Cambridge, Massachusetts, characterized American Buddhism of the future as following: 1. Dharma without dogma; 2. A lay-oriented sangha; 3. A meditation based on experiential tradition; 4. Gender equality; 5. A non-sectarian tradition; 6. An essentialized and simplified tradition; an egalitarian, democratic, and nonhierarchical tradition; 8. A psychologically astute and rational tradition; 9. An experimental, innovating, inquiry-based tradition, and 10. A socially informed and engaged tradition. These characteristics reflected the pragmatic

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[1]   Richard King, "Meditation and the Modern Encounter between Asia and the West," *The Oxford Handbook of Meditation*, edited by Miguel Frias, Daivd Brazier, and Mansur Lalljee, 2019, 5/24, p. 17.

nature of American Buddhism in general and the worldly reorientation of mindfulness meditation in particular.

Many factors have contributed to the rising of American Buddhism and fast development of the mindfulness meditation,[2] such as the new age movement of being "spiritual but not religious," religious romanticism, interiorization of religiosity, neo-paganism, individualistic intuition and needs, self-determining, freedom and liberalism, privatization of religious practice, and arising of so called "educated classes" of modern self-perception. Yet, the scientific studies of Buddhist philosophy and medicalization of Buddhist practice could be the two most important factors. Particularly, neuroscience and cognitive psychotherapy brought the mindfulness meditation into social discourse and daily life of ordinary people. Through such studies and practice, Buddhism is presented as the religion of science and art of living for human flourishing, full of self-effort, reflectivity, inner freedom and peace.

From Vipassana to Mindfulness Meditation

In the last one and half century, Buddhisms of different regions and traditions were brought to America, undergoing doctrinal reinterpretation and cultural recontextualization. Gradually American Buddhism emerged with some special features, and one of them is the mindfulness meditation of cognitive therapy. This new form of meditative practice or often called the mindfulness movement was chronical succession yet quite different from its predecessor of Vipassana meditation in Theravada Buddhism. In current study of Buddhism in the West, scholars would agree that differences are necessary and even inevitable for the spread of Buddhism from the East to the West,[3] yet others would see them as the distortion and even betrayal.[4] In responding to such views, some leaders of the mindfulness movement made efforts to justify the differences

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[2] According to the data from the *2012-2017 National Health Interview Survey*, in the past 12 months in 2017, the use of meditation increased more than threefold from 4.1% in 2012 to 14.2% in 2017, the most fast increasing among three complementary health in America. (other two are Yoga and chiropractor), (NCHS Data Brief, n. 325, November 2018. https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/databriefs/db325-h.pdf

[3] Laurence J. Kirmayer, "Mindfulness in cultural context," *Transcultural Psychiatry*, 2015, v. 52 (4), 460.

[4] 温宗堃，《批判正念：當代正念課程的批判與回應》，《福嚴佛學研究》，第 12 期，2017，頁 103-118。

claiming the new was created by reembracing the Dharma and disassociating themselves from traditional Buddhism.

Buddhist meditation in general consists of samatha—concentration or serenity and vipassana—superior knowledge, and the two were normally practiced by monastics for the sake of the liberation from cycle of rebirth or attaining the enlightenment. The samatha meditation is commonly shared by other religions while the vipassana is more Buddhistic guided by the ideas of impermanence, no-self, and suffering of the world. The sequence of the practice is not dogmatically fixed but varying as one could practice first samatha and then vipassana, or vice versa, or simultaneously. Yet monastics in Theravada tradition would prefer samatha first and then vipassana for stable concentration and intuitive knowledge could arise only from the state of samadhi. Nevertheless, the new form of meditation promoted vipassana practice without being relied on the foundation of samatha, highlighting sati in practices at the expense of samathi as meditators are instructed to engage in an analytical meditation on no-self, impermanence, and suffering.

In the mediation practice promoted by Mahasi Sayadaw, U Ba Khin, Goenka and others in Myanmar in the early 20th century, there are two kinds of concentration—access concentration or the vehicle of clam—samathayāna, and absorption concentration or the vehicle of pure insight—suddhavipassanāyāna. The practitioners may not enter the calm meditation, instead, they could directly jump to the insight. This kind of practice is also called "dry insight" (sukkha-vipassana) because it lacks the lubricating "moisture of the jhanas." In the dry insight meditation, one postpones the full development of śamatha until the insight arises. Yet he may turn back to samatha if failing to access to a higher insight or after attaining a certain state of insight such as after the rising of the knowledge of equanimity toward formations (sankharaupekkha ñana). Nevertheless, under any circumstances, the culmination of insight or perfection of wisdom occurs only from a state of śamatha, (bodhi, 349) because only then could intellectual understanding of no-self, impermanence, suffering, and emptiness previously cultivated be taken as the meditation object and the world is seen as it is in the union of samatha and vipassana. Clearly, such insight meditation promoted by the masters in Myanmar was further developed in the West with more emphasis on sati, or mindfulness.

Suddhavipassana or Sukkhavipassana movement soon spread to other Theravada countries welcomed not only by monastics but also lay Buddhists. Under the instruction of capable monastics, lay Buddhists began to learn and practice vipassana meditation based on the Satipatthana Sutta and Abhidhamma philosophy, which had been almost exclusively practiced and studied within monastic sangha before. Having mastered such

practice, some lay Buddhists turned to be the meditation masters being entrusted with the responsibility of protecting Buddhism. The followers of Ledi Sayadaw, such as Mohnyin Sayadaw (1872-1964), Saya Thetgyi (1873-1945), U Ba Khin (1899-1971), and particularly S. N Goenka (1924-present) expanded the vipassana meditation to non-Buddhists, advocating that the Buddha did not found Buddhism as religion, but as "an art of living," instructing people to meditate the nature as it is. "The day 'Buddhism' happened, it devalued the teachings of the Buddha. It was a universal teaching and that made it sectarian"[5] What the Buddha taught is Dharma, as they claimed, the universal truth applicable to all. Vipassana meditation is thus the way of liberation for all Buddhists and non-Buddhists. Goenka is quoted to have said: "Meditation is now no longer taught as part of Buddhism and reference to doctrinal teaching is further diminished…Insight meditation has become a nonsectarian and universal practice explicitly available to all religious adherents."[6]

Mingun Sayadaw (1870-1955) another well-known meditation master began to teach vipassana meditation to lay Buddhists in 1910s, and one of his most famous students was the Mahasi Sayadaw (1904–1982) who attached the systematic importance of Abhidhammic approach to vipassana meditation. In following the Seven Stages of Purification (sattavisuddhi) as outlined in Satipatthana Sutta, the Visuddhimagga, and Abhidhamm, Mahasi overwhelmingly advocated dry (Suddha) Vipassana practice in daily activities highlighting the importance of sati or mindfulness and paying little attention to deep concentration.[7] Practitioners could directly and mindfully observe their verbal and bodily movements, and by doing so they would realize the truth of impermanence, suffering, and non-self.

The vipassana meditation was brought to America largely by Westerners who had studied and practiced it under the mentorship of meditation masters in Asia and soon transformed it to the mindfulness meditation. The first generation of vipassana practitioners in the West readily decontextualized its Asian tradition and methodology by selecting and highlighting what is needed in the West, casting away the irrelevant or unscientific. With the help of modern neuroscience which has approved the positive efficiency of meditation, and cognitive psychotherapy which underlines the attention of patients on their internal and external world, as well as the awareness of consciousness

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5   S.N. Goenka, "Superscience: An Interview by Helen Tworkov," *Tricycle*, 10, n. 2 (2000): 49-50, (44-50).
6   Eric Braun, *The Birth of Insight Meditation: Meditation, Modern Buddhism, and the Burmese Monk Ledi Sayadaw*, Chicago University Press, 2013, 159.
7   Eric Braun, *The Birth of Insight Meditation,* 162.

and sub-consciousness in dealing with depression and anxiety, they further accentuated the sati or mindfulness, which became the most unique feature of the mindfulness based cognitive therapy in contemporary West.

Epistemologically, sati means memory, reminiscence, or recalling of both the past and the present, it was first translated as mindfulness or awareness by Rhys Davids (1843-1922), one of pioneering Western experts in Pali language. Nyanaponik (1901-1994), well-known monk-scholar rend the term into bare awareness and clear comprehension. Following such interpretations, Westerner practitioners became more interested in its meaning of bare awareness, non-judgment, and being at present. Gradually, the vipassana for spiritual enlightenment turned to be mindfulness based cognitive therapy and gave rise to an institutionalized, independent, non-sectarian, and all-inclusive mindfulness movement, essentially for dealing with mental depression and anxiety. David McMahan once observed: "No longer just a technique of transcendence for ascetics who have renounced the worldly life, meditation has acquired the purpose of fostering deeper appreciation of everyday activities and of cultivating skillful, robust, and mindful engagement in life. Rather than exclusively a means of achieving awakening in a traditional sense, it has in some cases been reconfigured as a technique for self-discovery, self-discipline, self-transformation, and physical and mental health outside of doctrinal and sectarian formulations. Meditation has also become democratized and individualized in a way quite foreign to all but the recent history of Buddhism."[8]

The shift of the focus from the Vipasssana or insight to sati or mindfulness, from spiritual goal to psychotherapeutic treatment may also have something to do with the shift of leadership from monastics to lay Buddhists in the West. Institutionalized centers and carefully planned programs for mindfulness practice were set up one after another, advocating its psychotherapeutic efficiency absent of Buddhist spirituality. Richard King once said: "It is somewhat ironic that Buddhist meditation, traditionally understood as a means of increasing awareness of the impermanent (anitya), stressful, and unsatisfactory nature of existence (duḥkha), now finds itself being deployed in the contemporary period as a therapeutic technique for overcoming stress."[9] Among these lay organizations, some maintain their Buddhist identity, while others seldom mentioned Buddhism or even deliberately disassociated themselves from Buddhism for varied reasons, such as the

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[8]   David L. McMahan, "Meditation and Modernity," *The Making of Buddhist Modernism*, Oxford Scholarship online, 2009, p.3.

[9]   Richard King, "Meditation and the Modern Encounter between Asia and the West," 18.

politics of the separation of the state and religion, sensitivity of religious identity in public institutions, or for maxima access to multi-culture society.[10]

The medicalization of Buddhist meditation has effectively enhanced the popularity of its practice in society.[11] Yet, such development seemed to have done little in promoting Buddhism in America, instead it invited criticism from both Buddhists and intellectuals that the mindfulness movement has despiritualized Buddhism. Kimmayer said: "However, there are justifiable concerns that in the process of transmission and translation something essential may be lost in terms of goals, methods, and messages, whether ethical, moral, or pragmatic. Thus, the effort in MBSR [Mindfulness Based Stress Reduction] and third wave cognitive behavioral therapies to secularize, simplify, and convey mindfulness practices in a therapeutic idiom has allowed practitioners to work with large numbers of people in clinical settings who start from a place not of seeking enlightenment or some other moral or spiritual good but simply want help dealing with everyday struggles with illness, pain, and suffering.[12] Jeff Wilsom also expressed his concerns about the shifting from religious practice to medical exercise, as he said: "At the same time, there are voices of dissent from within the tradition, suspicious of the changes demanded by such recontextualizations. Some fear that the transcendent element of Buddhism is in danger of being lost entirely, while others feel that mindfulness has been misunderstood on a basic level by its newest fans. Even medical mindfulness's greatest proponents occasionally show signs of surprise or chagrin at the degree to which their program has been carried out, or some of the secondary affects it has had on Buddhism in America."[13] To these scholars and Buddhists, the mindfulness movement has lost its Buddhist identity and spiritual significance, for it is professionalized to become the property of psychologists, doctors, scientists, for they are mainly practiced by medical clients rather than Buddhists.[14]

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[10] Jeff Wilson highlighted the centralized control and secret practice, and religious component as two major factors of the transcendent meditation. The Mindfulness Movement go beyond the two so that it is successfully integrated into American culture within the medical establishment and society at large: Jeff Wilson, "Medicalizing Mindfulness: How is Mindfulness Modified to Fit a Scientific and Therapeutic Culture?" *America: The Mutual Transformation of Buddhist Meditation and American Culture,* (Oxford Scholarship Online, 2014), 5-6.

[11] Jeff Wilson, "Medicalizing Mindfulness," 27.

[12] Laurence J. Kirmayer, "Mindfulness in cultural context," *Transcultural Psychiatry*, 2015, v. 52 (4), 460.

[13] Jeff Wilson, "Medicalizing Mindfulness: How is Mindfulness Modified to Fit a Scientific and Therapeutic Culture?" *America: The Mutual Transformation of Buddhist Meditation and American Culture*, Oxford Scholarship Online, 2014, p. 3.

[14] Jeff Wilson, "Medicalizing Mindfulness," 27.

Recreation of the Dharma

Leaders of the mindfulness movement would however readily reject the accusation of secularizing Buddhism because as they claimed, the mindfulness meditation has little to do with Buddhism, for it is rather the new embodiment of the Dharma. Joh Kapat Zinn, the founder of the MBSR, denied that he was a Buddhist and the MBSR was part of institutional Buddhism. Instead, he followed the example of meditation masters who had reinterpreted the Dharma to justify the vipassana practice in Asia, expounding the mindfulness as an umbrella term associated with a universal dharma or the teaching of the Buddha. In order words, the mindfulness meditation is not Buddhism but the Dharma. "By 'umbrella term' I meant that it is used in certain contexts as a place-holder for the entire dharma, that it is meant to carry multiple meanings and traditions simultaneously, not in the service of finessing and confounding real differences, but as a potentially skillful means for bringing the streams of alive, embodies dharma understanding and of clinical medicine together."[15] By distancing the mindfulness movement such as MBSR from institutional or traditional Buddhism and by identifying the mindfulness meditation with the Dharma, Kabat Zinn was able to justify its medicalized practice.

Kabat Zinn downplayed the importance of any existing tradition and culture of Buddhism in the mindfulness practice of the MBSR. As early as in 1975, he declared "I really don't care about Buddhism. It's an interesting religion but it's not what I most care about. What I value in Buddhism is that it brought me to the Dharma."[16] Again, in an article entitled "An Outpatient Program in Behavioral Medicine for Chronic Pain Patients Based on the Practice of Mindfulness Meditation: Theoretical Considerations and Preliminary Results," written in 1982, Kabat Zinn revealed: "All meditation practices used in the SR&RP [MBSR] were taught independent of the religious and cultural beliefs associated with them in their countries and traditions of origin."[17] In 1990, he published a popular book entitled *Full Catastrophe Living: Using the Wisdom of Your Body and Mind to Face Stress, Pain, and Illness*, in which he even shunned to present mindfulness technique in Buddhist term, as he said: "From the beginning of MBSR, I bent over backward to structure it and find ways to speak about it that avoided as much

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[15] Jon Kabat-Zinn, "Some Reflections on the Origins of MBSR, Skillful Means, and the Trouble with Maps," *Contemporary Buddhism*, 12: 1, (2011): 290.

[16] Kabat-Zinn, "Toward the Mainstreaming of American Dharma Practice," in *Buddhism in America: Proceedings of the First Buddhism in America*, Al Rappaport and Brian Hotchkiss, eds., (Boston: Charles E. Tuttle, 1998), 515.

[17] Jon Kabat-Zinn. "An Outpatient Program in Behavioral Medicine for Chronic Pain Patients Based on the Practice of Mindfulness Meditation: Theoretical Considerations and Preliminary Results." *General Hospital Psychiatry*, 4.1 (1982): 33-47.

as possible the risks of it being seen as Buddhist, 'New Age,' 'Eastern Mysticism' or just plain 'flakey.' To my mind this was a constant and serious risk that would have undermined our attempts to present it as commonsensical, evidence-based, and ordinary, and ultimately a legitimate element of mainstream medical care."[18] In 2005, he published another book *Wherever You Go, There You Are: Mindfulness Meditation in Everyday Life*, Kabat Zinn acknowledged Buddhist teachings as an important source for his understanding of the mindfulness meditation and founding of the MBSR, yet he never said openly they were part of Buddhism.

By disassociating with traditional Buddhism, Kabat Zinn was able to transcend the cultural boundary and present the mindfulness meditation in more humanistic form, recreating new practice not as a Buddhist but as a practitioner of the Dharma. Meanwhile, teaching the mindfulness meditation would not be the same as advocating Buddhism, but as promoting the teaching of the Buddha or the Dharma. "[mindfulness] has nothing to do with Buddhism per se or with becoming a Buddhist, but it has everything to do with waking up and living in harmony with the world. It has to do with examining who we are, with questioning our view of the world and our place in it, and with cultivating some appreciation for the fullness of each moment we are alive"[19]

The Dharma as the universal truth taught by the Buddha could manifest itself in various forms at different times. To Kabat Zinn, the medicalization of the mindfulness as practiced in the West was not the decontextualization of traditional Buddhism, but recontextualizing the dharma in a new environment. He said: "Why not try to make meditation so commonsensical that anyone would be drawn to it? Why not develop an American vocabulary that spoke to the heart of the matter, and didn't focus on the cultural aspects of the traditions out of which the dharma emerged, however beautiful they might be, or on centuries-old scholarly debates concerning fine distinctions in the Abhidharma. This was not because they weren't ultimately important, but because they would likely cause unnecessary impediments for people who were basically dealing with suffering and seeking some kind of release from it."[20] The mindfulness meditation is the teaching of the Buddha most relevant for the contemporary world as it could be medicalized to help people in dealing with their suffering.

If the mindfulness meditation is not Buddhism, then, what is the relationship between the mindfulness movement and traditional Buddhism or the mindfulness

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18 Jon Kabat Zinn, "Some Reflections on the Origins of MBSR," 282.
19 Jon Kabat-Zinn, *Wherever You Go, There You Are: Mindfulness Meditation in Everyday Life* (New York: Hyperion, 1994), 3.
20 Jon Kabat-Zinn, "Some Reflections on the Origins of MBSR," 288.

meditation and other forms of meditation in traditional Buddhism? Kabat Zinn would claim that both the mindfulness meditation and other meditation practices in traditional Buddhism are equally embodiment of the Dharma, the only difference between them was that the mindfulness meditation is much needed today so that it is the most apt practical form of the Dharma. According to Kabat Zinn, other forms of Buddhism may also be the embodiment of the Dhamma suitable for certain times and places in the past, yet such forms may not be appropriate any more today. He said: "This means that we cannot follow a strict Theravadan approach, nor a strict Mahayana approach, nor a strict Vajrayana approach, although elements of all these great traditions and the sub-lineages within them are relevant and might inform how we, as a unique person with a unique dharma history, approach specific teaching moments in both practice, guided meditations, and dialogue about the experiences that arise in formal and informal practice among the people in our class. But we are never appealing to authority or tradition, only to the richness of the present moment held gently in awareness, and the profound and authentic authority of each person's own experience, equally held with kindness in awareness."[21]

While disassociating the mindfulness meditation with traditional Buddhism, Kabat Zinn reidentified its Dharmic nature. Dharma or Dhamma means that which is established, sustained, or upheld. It implies the righteousness, principle, norm, quality, duty, law, and phenomena in the religious and cultural context of ancient India. The Buddha adopted the term to indicate the universal truth and his teaching as often seen in the phrase Buddhadharma. Kabat Zinn said: "The word Dharma refers to both the teachings of the buddha and also the way things are, the fundamental lawfulness of the universe. So, although the Buddha articulated the Dharma, the Dharma itself can't be Buddhist any more that the law of gravity is English because of Newton or Italian because of Galileo. It is a universal law."[22] Dharma is the universal law, and the mindfulness meditation is the embodiment of the Dharma and the application of the law for dealing with human suffering today.

In Theravada tradition, Dhamma could be both the path to and the end of enlightenment; the vipassana could be a means of wisdom as well as the realization of wisdom, vipassana meditation as a mean would finally turn to be the wisdom for enlightenment. Accordingly, Jon Kabat Zinn claimed that the mindfulness meditation is both the means and the end itself. In reference to a passage in the writings of

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[21]   Jon Kabat-Zinn, "Some Reflections on the Origins of MBSR," 299.
[22]   Jon Kabat-Zinn, "Why Mindfulness Matters," *The Mindfulness Revolution: Leading Psychologists, Scientists, Artists, and Meditation Teachers on the Power of Mindfulness in Daily Life*, Barry Boyce, ed., (Boston: Shambhala, 2011), 57.

Nyanaponika Thera (1962), Kabat Zinn declared that mindfulness is "the unfailing master key for knowing the mind, and is thus the starting point; the perfect tool for shaping the mind, and is thus the focal point; the lofty manifestation of the achieved freedom of the mind, and is thus the culminating point…Seen in this way, mindfulness is the view, the path, and the fruit all in one."[23] By highlighting the oneness of the means and the end, Kabat Zinn was able to transcend duality of spiritual enlightenment and psychosomatic well-beings, expanding the practice in secular setting.

Dharma as the universal truth transcends cultural boundary so that it could manifest itself in any social and cultural context. The mindfulness meditation as a new embodiment of the Dharma also transcends any Buddhist identity, demonstrating itself as cognitive science and psychotherapy to deal with mental disease. "Since Buddhist meditative practices are concerned with embodied awareness and the cultivation of clarity, emotional balance (equanimity) and compassion, and since all of these capacities can be refined and developed via the honing and intentional deployment of attention, the roots of Buddhist meditation practices are de facto universal."[24]

If the mindfulness is the embodiment of the Dharma, the founding of MBSR would be a skillful means to maximize medical benefit. Kabat Zinn said: "The MBSR was developed as one of a possibly infinite number of skillful means for bringing the dharma into mainstream setting."[25] In contemporary America, the mainstream setting is science and technology, the mindfulness meditation promoted by MBSR thus makes use of modern science so that it turns to be the knowledge of neuroscience and cognitive psychotherapy to have better understanding of human brain and mind, to more effectively deal with mental diseases. "Mindfulness and dharma are best thought of as universal descriptions of the functioning of the human mind regarding the quality of one's attention in relationship to the experience of suffering and the potential for happiness."[26] In summarizing the practice of the MBSR in the last 30 years, Kabat Zinn said: "We can observe an accelerating confluence of dharma with mainstream medicine, healthcare, cognitive science, affective neuroscience, neuroeconomics, business,

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[23]   Jon Kabat Zinn, "Some Reflections on the Origins of MBSR," 291.
[24]   M.J.G. Williams & J. Kabat-Zinn, "Mindfulness: Diverse perspectives on its meaning, origins, and multiple applications at the intersection of science and dharma," *Contemporary Buddhism*, 12(01), p. 3 (2011): 1-18.
[25]   Jon Kabat-Zinn, "Some Reflections on the Origins of MBSR," 281.
[26]   Jon Kabat-Zinn, *Coming to Our Senses: Healing Ourselves and the World Through Mindfulness,* (New York: Hyperion, 2005), 136-137.

leadership, primary and secondary education, higher education, the law, indeed, in society as a whole, in this now very rapidly changing world."[27]

Since the mindfulness meditation could serve as medicine to deal with suffering of people, it is duty of the practitioners or followers of the Dharma to promote it in society. To Kabat Zinn, it is right livelihood and duty-bound for him and others to teach and practice mindfulness meditation for self-benefit and benefiting others, as the Buddha did 2500 years ago. He said: "To my mind, when each of us who cares about this work [teaching MBSR], who loves this work, takes care of the dharma through our practice and our love, then the dharma that is at the heart of the work flourishes and takes care of itself."[28] The ideal place to teach and practice the mindfulness would be hospitals and clinics, where the MBSR could provide with the complementary healing, enabling patients to understand the reality of their mental problems and suffering of the world. Kabat Zinn said: "After all, hospitals do function as 'dukkha magnets' in our society, pulling for stress, pain of all kinds, disease and illness, especially when they have reached levels where it is impossible to ignore them."[29] Early in 1979, Kabat Zinn and others founded the Stress Reduction and Relaxation Program, and a few years later, it moved to the Massachusetts University Hospital and renamed it the Stress Reduction Clinic with a mission to "normalize it [mindfulness meditation] by emphasizing that it was a clinical service, like any other, in the Department of Medicine."

By identifying the mindfulness meditation with the Dharma, Kabat Zinn thus discharged the accusation of secularizing Buddhism and decontextualizing Buddhist culture. He insisted that medicalization of the mindfulness is different from decontextualization or deculturalization of Buddhism, it is in fact returning to the Dharma or original teaching of the Buddha. Not only that it did not desacralize Buddhism but also it brought the Dharma into people's life. "How to take the heart of something as meaningful, as sacred if you will, as Buddha Dharma and bring it into the world in a way that doesn't dilute, profane, or distort it, but at the same time is not locked into a culturally and tradition- bound framework that would make it absolutely impenetrable to the vast majority of people, who are nevertheless suffering and who might find it extraordinarily useful and liberative." [30] The mindfulness addressed itself as an

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27 Jon Kabat Zinn, "Some Reflections on the Origins of MBSR," 284.
28 Jon Kabat Zinn, "Some Reflections on the Origins of MBSR," 295.
29 Jon Kabat-Zinn, "Some Reflections on the Origins of MBSR," 288.
30 Jon Kabat Zinn, "Indra's Net at Work: The Mainstreaming of Dharma Practice in Society." In *The Psychology of Awakening: Buddhism, Science, and Our Day to Day Lives*, edited by Gay Watson and Stephen Batchelor (York Beach, ME: S. Weiser, 2000), 227.

alternative to alleviate human suffering, catalyzing greater compassion and wisdom to release one from suffering. Kabat Zinn said: "The intention and approach behind MBSR were never meant to exploit, fragment, or decontextualize the dharma, but rather to recontextualize it within the frameworks of science, medicine (including psychiatry and psychology), and healthcare so that it would be maximally useful to people who could not hear it or enter into it through the more traditional dharma gates, whether they were doctors or medical patients, hospital administrators, or insurance companies."[31]

In traditional Buddhism, the Buddha is understood as a doctor who taught the Dharma as if prescribing the medicine for patients to eliminate suffering. Following this tradition, Kabat Zinn claimed, "The Buddha himself was not a Buddhist," but a doctor who diagnoses the symptom and prescribes medicine. "He was a healer and a revolutionary, albeit a quiet and inward one. He diagnosed our collective human dis-ease and prescribed a benevolent medicine for sanity and well-being." [32] Mindfulness meditation is kind of medicine prescribed to deal with sick mind, yet its efficiency could only be realized inside just as patients must take medicine themselves. Similarly, mindfulness meditation provides a way for patients to heal their mental problem, yet the practitioners must carry out such work themselves. In his book *Full Catastrophe Living*, he said: "*Healing*, as we are using the word here, does not mean 'curing,' although the two words are often used interchangeably. …there are few if any outright cures for chronic diseases or for stress-related disorders. While it may not be possible for us to cure ourselves or to find someone who can, it is possible to heal ourselves. Healing implies the possibility for us to relate differently to illness, disability, even death as we learn to see with the eyes of wholeness. As we have seen, this comes from practicing such basic skills as going into and dwelling in states of deep psychological relaxation and seeing and transcending our fears and our boundaries of body and mind. In moments of stillness, you come to realize that you are already whole, already complete in your being, even if your body has cancer or heart disease or AIDS or pain."[33] Healing is done within associated with one's mind, mindfulness meditation is to purify the mind which has been sick of depression and anxiety.

The medicalization of the mindfulness meditation in America evolved from the vipassana meditation in Asia could be understood in the light of the Buddhist history in connection with the principle of the dependent origination. From a phenomenological

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[31] Jon Kabat-Zinn, "Some Reflections on the Origins of MBSR," 288.
[32] Jon Kabat-Zinn. *Coming to Our Senses,* 137.
[33] Jon Kabat Zinn, *Full Catastrophe Living: Using the Wisdom of Your Body and Mind to Face Stress, Pain, and Illness* (New York: Random House, 1990), 173.

perfective, Buddhist history of more than 2500 years could be considered as the manifestations of the Dharma, undergoing series paradigm shifts and giving rise to variety of Buddhisms—such as so-called primitive Buddhism, sectarian Buddhism, Mahayana Buddhism, and Tantric Buddhism, as well as Indian Buddhism, Theravada Buddhism, Chinese Buddhism, Japanese Buddhism, and American Buddhism. Each of them could be the embodiment of the Dharma at different times and places, showing some special features. The leaders of the mindfulness movement made efforts to disassociate themselves from existing Buddhisms without identifying themselves as Buddhists. This kind of practice could be understood in comparison with early Chan Buddhism where Chan masters denied its connection with traditional Buddhism, rebuking the Buddha and patriarchs, burning Buddha-statues. They justified their efforts by claiming to have embraced the Dharma intuitively, practicing beyond what the Buddha taught. Similarly, the mindfulness movement as its leaders claimed transcends Buddhist history, philosophy, and cultures directly drawn from the Dharma specifically beneficial for cotemporary world.

The Dharma, being the teaching of the Buddha or law of causality as given in Pali Buddhism, is full of dynamic creativity consistently conditioning new practices and cultures in accordance with the time and space. Buddhists often use the term Yana or vehicle to indicate different embodiments of the Dharma in history, such as the Vehicle of Hearers, the Vehicle of Bodhisattva, and the Vehicle of Vajra. The mindfulness movement as new embodiment of the Dharma is said to have given rise to so called the Third Wave of Cognitive Science, and scholars have coined a new term Mindfulness Vehicle or the Fourth Yana. All these Yanas are equally embodiments of the Dharma, the value of each Yana is not drawn from any comparison with the others but based on its suitability and beneficial efficiency in deal with the suffering of the world. The mindfulness movement as the fourth yana focuses on psychosomatic well-being of people, thus it sounds to have disregarded the ultimate goal of enlightenment or nirvana. Yet, as all yanas are the skillful means for achieving the perfect enlightenment, the mindfulness could be a way for the final goal.

Dharma in Buddhism is not dogmatic but often compared as medicine in dealing with suffering as shown in the format of the Four Noble Truths, liberation from the suffering is the ultimate goal of Buddhist meditation. In early Buddhism, only monastics are expected to liberate themselves from the suffering of rebirth in this life through meditation while lay Buddhists are supposed to practice morality and generosity to win better rebirth. Change occurred in Mahayana Buddhism as the gap between the monastics and lay Buddhists in spiritual practice and achievement disappeared, and in Chan

Buddhism, anyone could attain sudden enlightenment in this life only if seeing into one's own Buddha nature. A similar change took place in modern Theravada Buddhism as the vipassana meditation in connection with Abhidhamma study was extended to lay Buddhists who could achieve the similar spirit goal as monastics would. Eventually, the mindfulness meditation in the West as recreation of the vipassana meditation emerged, highlighting the importance of sati and medicalized the practice for dealing with psychosomatic diseases. By examining the mindfulness movement in the West today in connection with the historical developments of Buddhism in the past, one may realize that the leaders of the mindfulness movement may have inherited the Buddhist spirit of recreating new culture by reinterpreting the Dharma.

Conclusion

Before the widespread of mindfulness meditation, Buddhism(s) in America had already undergone self-transformation and self-recreation for a century, actively participating in social, intellectual, and cultural activities, seeking dialogue with modern science, contributing to New Cultural Movement, and eventually shaping new forms of Zen Buddhism, engaged Buddhism, cultural Buddhism, intellectual Buddhism, and scientific Buddhism with western characteristics. Toward the end of the 20th century, the mindfulness movement originated from the Vipassana of Theravada Buddhism in combination with other forms of meditation practice in Mahayana Buddhism became a mainstream of American Buddhism thanks to the scientific study of Buddhism and medicalization of the meditation practice. The rising and development of the mindfulness movement is conditioned by the varieties of factors, inside and outside, the social and cultural environment of the West influenced by secularization, individualization, and de-spiritualization, may have also laid down a sound foundation. Yet, the most important factors would be the Dharma, very essence of Buddhism, demonstrating the self-transformation and self-recreation in serving the need of the world.

【摘要】本文以靜觀默想在美國日益流行為背景，重新檢視佛教在近二千五百年歷史中，與不同文化相遇時所採取的去情境化和再情境化的概念和實踐。本文將分析當今美國的靜觀默想如何將其目標從傳統佛教的涅槃轉變為強調改善修煉者心理健康的實用功能，透過檢視這種轉變如何導致佛教的世俗化和世俗的神聖化，並進一步討論佛教關於神聖與世俗非二元性的觀點。

A Century of Incoherent Missionary Policy. Propaganda Fide and China:

From the Accommodation Imperative (1659's Instruction) to the Condemnation of the Chinese Rites (1742)

Gianni Criveller, PIME

[Abstract] This essay is to illustrate the inter-cultural features involved in the Chinese Rites Controversy, which had a devastating impact on the Chinese missionary endeavor. The 1659 instruction by Propaganda Fide, also known as the Magna Charta of the Congregation, obliged apostolic vicars and all missionaries in eastern Asia, including China, to carry out the missionary practice of adaptation. Missionaries were prohibited from combating local customs and traditions, except when they were in obvious contradiction to faith or morals. The directives also included the invitation for the promotion of indigenous clergy. The instructions were quite innovative, just as innovative was the missionary method envisaged by Francesco Ingoli, Propaganda Fide's first director. Sadly enough, the ground-breaking directives were not put into practice, quite paradoxically, exactly by Apostolic Vicars and missionaries sent by Propaganda Fide. Subsequent pronouncements by Propaganda Fide and by the same Pontifices contradicted early openness. Proposals coming from China for the promotion of Chinese clergy and liturgical adaptation were disapproved. At the end of the Rites Controversy, Chinese Christians were forced to discontinue the practice of the traditional rites in honour of the ancestors. The Rites Controversy was initiated in Fujian province in mid-1635. Dominican and Franciscan missionaries objected to the evangelization method introduced to China by Matteo Ricci and Giulio Aleni. Propaganda Fide and the Holy See were called in to declare whether the Christians were allowed to participate in the ancestral rituals. In contradiction with 1659's Instruction, Rome was unable to make a coherent decision, and the controversy dragged on. Pope Clement XI was determined to disapprove the Rites hoping, at the same time, to save China Mission from destruction. Sadly, the two objectives could not be achieved together. In 1742, Benedict XIV condemned the Rites in the most solemn fashion, putting to a definitive end China Mission as envisaged by Matteo Ricci.

My contribution to the symposium concerns inter-cultural aspects involved in historical controversies between Propaganda Fide and the China mission, which had a devastating impact on evangelization.

First Part

The Accommodation Imperative for Mission Today

Faith and Interculturality[1]

The China mission proved that accommodation, the result of the encounter between faith and culture, is an imperative in the process of evangelization. In the early days, Propaganda Fide acknowledged that, but was unable to walk that line coherently. Today's pluralism of culture and cultures makes the relationship between faith, mission and culture even more complex.

Numerous cultures coexist in the same village, city, community and family. Not only that, post-modern and post-human complexity make different cultures co-exist within each one of us. We are multi-cultural subjects, and the different cultures within ourselves might even be in opposition.

"Accommodation" was a major feature in the Jesuits' mission. This accommodation has its theological roots particularly in Thomas Aquinas, Erasmus of Rotterdam and Ignatius of Loyola. Aquinas adopted the term accommodation to describe the process by which, in the Holy Scriptures, God has spoken to humanity in a human fashion, intelligible to people. God accommodates us by speaking our language.

Erasmus of Rotterdam introduced the concept of *accommodatio Christi*: Christ accommodated himself by coming into the world.

The founder of the Society, Ignatius of Loyola, adopted the principle of accommodation for mission: "It is not that they must become like us, but we like them."[2]

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[1] On this topic, see Gianni Criveller, *The Parable of the Inculturation of the Gospel in China: A Catholic Viewpoint*. Centre for the Study of Religion and Chinese Society: Occasional Paper no. 14, Chung Chi College, Chinese University of Hong Kong, 2003. In Chinese: *Theological Annual*: vol. 26 (2005): 1-59; Gianni Criveller, "The Missionary Method of Matteo Ricci," *Tripod*, n. 158 (2010): 13-54.

[2] As reported by Joseph Sebes, "A 'Bridge' Between East and West: Father Matteo Ricci S.I.,

The Question of Language

Language was central in missionary controversies in China. Language is not just a tool of communication but is itself communication, the specific existential form of expressing one's own reality. Language is the abode of existence, its form and its boundary. Do the evangelizers of today know the postmodern and post-human languages? What do we know about the languages of young people, immersed into the digital reality? Is our language meaningful to people we evangelize? Mission is no longer a question of the Gospel encountering cultures geographically other. Many evangelizers are unfamiliar with the languages and cultures of the new generations.

The Question of Translation

The controversies in China started out of the fear of translating the evangelical message into a different language, into another world. Translation is a form of accommodation. Do we accept today the risk of translating? The translation of the Christian message into an understandable and contemporary language is the new, difficult, frontier of accommodation or rather of evangelization.

We have seen that Thomas Aquinas observed that God speaks to us in human language, originating the term *accomodatio*. God accommodates us by speaking our language: we say the Bible is the "Word of God," and such it is. But, in fact, it is a very human word, even imperfect, as imperfect are several biblical words and episodes. If it were not a human word, the Bible would be incomprehensible to humans.

The Question of a Church as People of God

The fate of the mission and the fate church is the same. China missionaries asked the Church to be entrusted to local clergy. Chinese priests were discriminated against and given a second-class position. Today it is no longer a question of local clergy only, but of restoring the mission to those to whom it belongs: the disciples of Jesus, the baptized, the entire holy people of God.

His Time, His Life and His Method of Cultural Accommodation," in Lo Kuang ed., *Collected Essays of the International Symposium on Chinese-Western Cultural Exchange in Commemoration of the 400th Anniversary of the Arrival of Matteo Ricci S.J. in China* (Taipei, Furen Daxue, 1983), 73.

Every baptized faithful, woman or man, being a Christian, as the name says, is another Christ. All baptized are kings, responsible participants in the community, in imitation of Jesus the Good Shepherd. All baptized are priests, that is, capable of offering their lives to God in imitation of Christ, the one and only priest. All baptized are prophets, missionaries who announce the word of the gospel of life.

If we take this doctrine seriously, we will already be a completely different church and a different mission. The Church must become the Church of the baptized, women and men, with their charisms and ministries, without discrimination. We are in the age of the image, and too often, the image that the Church offers is of an all-male, clerical, chauvinist, patriarchal, vertical and authoritarian society. This is not an evangelical Church. Many people today, including young people and women, from all over the world, stay away from a Church with such a poor image.

Second Part

Accommodation Imperative in the 1659's Instruction

With the foundation of Propaganda Fide in 1622 and the innovative vision by Francesco Ingoli, its first director, the Holy See entered into modernity, and reclaimed its prerogatives and fine-tuned its methods.

As first archivist, Ingoli collected records and reports; letters and minutes of meetings; instructions, circulars and decrees, creating the basis for the extraordinary rich archives of Propaganda. Propaganda Fide quickly became the Roman Curia's best-informed office on worldwide affairs. The documentation collected on the mission field would become important for both the Congregation's planning on missionary method and activities, and for the future historiography as well.

The Holy See invented a new method for exercising its authority: appointing titular bishops as Apostolic Vicars, so that they would function on behalf of the Pope bypassing the colonizing policies of Spain and Portugal.

The patronage (*patronado* in Spanish and *padroado* in Portuguese) was the ecclesiastical privilege bestowed upon Iberian nations by Pope Alexander VI in 1493 in the Treaty of Tordesillas, a concession based on the theory that the Pope had supreme authority all upon the world, including the non-Christian countries.

In 1659 Propaganda Fide changed its missionary approach, spelling it out in the *Instructions for Apostolic Vicars of Cochinchina, of Tonkin and China.* This important document is considered the *Magna Charta* of the Congregation. The *Instruction* obliged Apostolic Vicars and all missionaries to adopt the practice of accommodation. Missionaries were to preserve local customs, values and traditions, except when in contradiction to faith or morals. The directives also included the invitation for the promotion of indigenous clergy, adequate spiritual and intellectual formation for the missionaries; the request that missionaries abstain from politics and commerce to preserve the spiritual character of mission. Financial independence from Spain and Portugal were also important aspects of the *Instruction*.

This is one of the most famous passages of the *Instruction:*

"Do not make any effort, do not use any means of persuasion to induce those peoples to change their rites, their lifestyle and their customs, unless they are openly contrary to religion and good morals. In fact, what is more absurd than transplanting France, Spain, Italy or some other European country to China? This is not what you must introduce, but faith, which does not reject or harm the rites and customs of any people, provided they are not bad, but rather wants to safeguard and consolidate them."[3]

Propaganda Fide however, soon found itself embroiled in Rites controversies in India and China, and other juridical controversies in conflict with the prerogatives, rights and privileges claimed by Spain and Portugal. The ground-breaking directives were not put into practice.

Subsequent pronouncements by *Propaganda Fide* contradicted the 1659 *Instruction*. Plans for the promotion of Chinese clergy and liturgical adaptation were disapproved and Chinese Christians were forced to discontinue the practice of the Rites.

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[3]   The Latin text and Italian translation are to be found in Massimo Marocchi, *Colonialismo, cristianesimo e culture extraeuropee. La istruzione di Propaganda Fide ai vicari apostolici dell'Asia Orientale (1659).* Jaca Book: Milano, 1980, 50-53. The English translation here is mine.

Third Part

Propaganda Fide and Calls for Accommodation from China

The Question of a Liturgy in Chinese Language[4]

Jesuit Superior Nicolò Longobardo, the successor of Matteo Ricci, was the first asking for a dispensation from using Latin in the liturgy. There were numerous mature men suitable for the priesthood, but they could not possibly learn Latin.

In 1615, Pope Paul V gave the permission for adopting Chinese language in the liturgy and permitted other liturgical adaptations. On the other hand, he decided it was too early to ordain Chinese priests.

The concession, known as "Paul V's privilege," was not put into practice. Belgian missionary Nicolas Trigault, the "father of Chinese liturgy," who personally obtained the privilege from Paul V, died tragically while translating into Chinese Catholic liturgical texts. This sad incident stopped the project.

In 1654, Jesuit Luigi Buglio resumed the translation of the liturgical and theological texts. However, *Propaganda Fide* did not confirm Paul V's concession.

Jesuits Michal Boym and Martino Martini, while in Rome, asked the permission to use Chinese as liturgical language. In 1658, the question was submitted to Propaganda Fide, under Pope Alexander VII.

Francesco Albrizzi, secretary of Propaganda Fide, was in favor of the Chinese liturgy, stating that unless Chinese language were allowed, China's conversion would be impossible.

A compromise was reached: China would be allowed to ordain mature men, who did not know enough Latin, provided that they could read it and that the canon of the Mass and the formulas of the Sacraments were explained to them. It was known as

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[4]   For more information on this paragraph and the following one, I refer the reader to Gianni Criveller, "The 'Parable' of Liturgical Inculturation in China from the 17th Century to the Present: with particular reference to the Memorial by Antoine Thomas (1695)"; in *From Antoine Thomas S. J., to Celso Costantini, Multi-aspect Studies in Christianity in Modern China*, edited by Ku Weiying & Zhao Xiaoyang (Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press, 2011), 102-139.

The "privilege of Alexander VII." Few Chinese priests were ordained at the end of 17th century under that privilege.

A few years later, when Buglio's translations of Latin texts into Chinese were finally available, the Jesuits sought to obtain confirmation of Paul V's dispensation. Rome's attitude changed: now it was favorable to the ordination of native clergy but not to an indigenous hierarchy. Rome also refused to confirm Paul V's concession about using Chinese as liturgical language.

Jesuits kept sending appeals to Rome asking to use the Chinese language and for the ordination of a larger number of Chinese priests.

Jesuit Prospero Intorcetta and Philippe Couplet went to Rome, respectively in 1670 and 1684, to advocate for the cause of Chinese liturgy at Propaganda Fide. They were both unsuccessful.

Antoine Thomas' Call for Chinese Clergy and Liturgy

In 1695, the Belgian missioner Antoine Thomas wrote a memorial addressed to Pope Innocent XII: *On the need to ordain Chinese priests and the dispensation to offer the sacrifice of the Mass in Chinese*.

The Pope transmitted it to the Congregation of Propaganda Fide without positive result.

The request by Thomas concerned the promotion of indigenous clergy and was in line with 1659 *Instruction*. The Jesuit missioner argued that the Church of China needs Chinese priests and a Chinese hierarchy to convert the immense country to the Christian faith.

The time appears favorable after the 1692 Edict by the Kangxi Emperor. The larger the number of faithful in each province of the Empire, the less likely a future persecution that could extinguish the incipient Catholicism. The tragedy of persecution in Japan, Thomas argued, proves that only local priests and bishops will be able to save the Church in time of persecution.

The ancient practice of the Church, continued Thomas, was to choose leaders among local men. Chinese people, according to Thomas, are more learned than the Greeks and the Romans. To those who find fault in the Chinese priests, Thomas objected that everywhere some clergy are unworthy, but it does not disqualify an entire community. In fact, concludes Thomas, Chinese priests had proven to be even better than European ones.

Thomas' second petition was about obtaining permission for the Chinese priests to celebrate in their own language. Thomas went back to the practice of the first millennium, when Mass was celebrated in Hebrew, Greek, Latin and various other national languages. For the sake of successful evangelization, the Popes allowed different liturgical languages. This rule, noticed Thomas, applies to China even more urgently.

Under the present circumstances, Thomas argued, it is impossible to train young Chinese men in excellent Latin. Sending youngsters to Europe does not seem to be a viable solution. It would be better to train trustworthy mature adults, proficient in their own culture, for the role of leadership. So did the Apostles.

Thomas did not exclude the use of Latin; he simply asked for permission to celebrate in either language. Allowing use of the Chinese language was both in accordance with the tradition of the Church and the most reasonable option under the circumstances.

China, explains Thomas, is an entire new world, possibly with more inhabitants than Catholics in the rest of the world. Even the conversion of neighboring nations depends upon the Chinese. Thomas concluded his memoir by claiming that this issue is the greatest since the beginning of the Church.

In 20 years, several China missioners went to Rome to plead the case of the China Mission. They wrote various memorials and submitted them to Propaganda Fide and other Roman authorities. They are a remarkable documentation in the history of missionary thought. Yet they did not achieve their objective, which arguably would have been a tremendous turning point in the practice of cultural exchange in the life of the Church in China.

China Mission, Language, Theology and the Rites Controversy[5]

The Chinese Rites Controversy (17th-18th centuries) was a major turning point in the history of Chinese Catholicism. It had a devastating impact on missionary endeavors

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[5] On the Chinese Rites controversy, and related issues, see my essays: "The Chinese Rites Controversy. The Narrative of an Ill-Fated Misunderstanding," edited by, Hoster B. and Kuhlmann D., *Rooted In Hope: China* - Religion - Christianity: Festschrift In Honor Of Roman Malek S.V.D, on The Occasion Of His 65th Birthday. Monumenta Serica monograph series LXVIII/1. Routledge: Oxon/ New York. 2017, 205-227. Also "The Theological Background of the Chinese Rites Controversy," edited by, Chen, Alexander Tsung-Ming, *Catholicism's encounters with China: 17th to 20th century*. Leuven: Ferdinand Verbiest Instiute, 2018.

in China, yet the history of the Rites Controversy has not yet been told in its entirety and complexity.

The Rites controversy began in Fujian province in mid-1635. Dominican and Franciscan missionaries objected to the evangelization method introduced to China by Matteo Ricci and Giulio Aleni. The controversy started over a discussion about the meaning of Chinese ideograms. In a very important sense, the controversy was about the cultural process of translation.

The controversy was also about theology: were the ancestral rituals religious or civil? Could Christians take an active or passive part in them? Matteo Ricci stated that the rites in honor of the ancestors were not idolatrous and probably not superstitious as well. This position was based on *probabilism*, a moral doctrine professed by the Jesuits. *Probabilism* says: if you are not definitely certain that something is morally wrong, then you can opt for freedom of doing it, provided that it is probably good.

The Holy See and especially Propaganda Fide were called in to decide whether or not the Christians were allowed to participate in the ancestral rituals. Propaganda Fide and Rome were unable to make a clearcut decision, and the controversy dragged on for several decades.

In 1684, Propaganda Fide started sending to China its own missionaries, with the purpose of limiting the excessive power of the Iberian nations. They were called *propagandisti*, i.e. missionaries sent expressively by Propaganda Fide, and subject to it, even if they were members of a religious order. In the following decades, many *propagandist* missionaries followed. Among them Carlo Orazi da Castorano, whose importance in the controversy of the Rites is difficult to exaggerate.

China's Emperor Kangxi and Pope Clement XI got personally heavily involved and it reached an incredible level of complication and animosity. A vast amount of writings were produced in China and in Europe. Two Papal Legations to China (17th century) could not solve the matter, and the tension between Beijing and Rome escalated.

In 1704, the commission of the four cardinals of Propaganda Fide, with the approval of Clement XI, decided against the Rites: the tablets of the ancestors adopted by Catholics should omit the final characters that followed the name of the deceased: "place of the soul" (*lingwei*), considered a "superstitious belief" of the presence of the soul in the tablet.

A dozen Chinese Catholic literati had argued that this was not the interpretation that should have been given to these characters. Again, linguistic interpretation and the issue of translation are fundamental issues.

Clement XI was determined to disapprove the rituals but hoping, at the same time, to save the China Mission from destruction. But the two objectives were not compatible.

In 1742 Benedict XIV condemned the Rites in the most solemn fashion, putting to a definitive end not only to the century-long controversy, but also to the China Mission initiated by Matteo Ricci based on the method of accommodation.

The Jesuits lost a major battle, and for other reasons as well, their reputation collapsed, to the point that the same Society of Jesus was suppressed in 1773. In 1939, the Holy See, under the influence Celso Costantini, its Delegate to China, dramatically reversed the prohibition of the Rites.

The Second Vatican Council promoted the practice of inculturation and in the post-Council reflection Matteo Ricci became one of the most admired and mentioned missionaries. Recent Popes John XXIII, Paul VI, John Paul II, Benedict XVI and Francis praise Matteo Ricci as a great and exemplary missionary. They confirmed the correctness, the farsightedness and the enlightened of Matteo Ricci's missionary method, underlining the justness and validity of his "accommodation."

The damage caused by the failure to apply the accommodation imperative is still hovering over the Church. In some Asian areas, Christianity is considered still a "foreign religion." Yet, Christianity—in its original inspiration—is neither a religion nor something foreign. Christianity is a universal faith.

【摘要】本文旨在闡述中國禮儀之爭所涉及的跨文化特徵，它對中國的傳教工作產生了毀滅性的影響。傳信部 1659 年也被稱為《傳教憲章》的指示，責成東亞地區包括中國在內的宗座代牧和所有傳教士開展適應本地文化的傳教方法。傳教士被禁止反對本地的習俗和傳統，除非它們明顯違背信仰或道德。這些指示也包括邀請重用本地神職人員。這些指示非常具有創新性，正如傳信部首任部長方濟各·英戈利所設想的傳教方法一樣具有創新性。可悲且相當矛盾的是，由傳信部派遣的宗座代牧和傳教士沒有將這些開創性的指示付諸實踐。傳信部和教宗隨後的聲明，與早期的開放態度互相矛盾。來自中國關於重用國籍神職人員和禮儀本地化的提案被拒絕。在禮儀之爭結束之時，中國基督徒被迫停止拜祭祖先的傳統儀式。禮儀之爭始於 1635 年中期，在福建省爆發。道明會和方濟會的傳教士反對利瑪竇和艾儒略引入到中國的傳教方法。傳信部和羅馬教廷被要求聲明是否允許基督徒參與祭祖。由於與 1659 年的指示相矛盾，羅馬無法做出一致的決定，使爭論一直持續。教宗克萊孟十一世決定不贊成這些禮儀，同時希望挽救中國傳教團免於毀滅。遺憾的是，這兩個目標無法同時達成。1742 年，本篤十四世以最嚴屬的方式譴責了禮儀，徹底結束了利瑪竇所設想的中國傳教活動。

Promoting the Indigenization of Catholicism in Republican China: The Role of Propaganda Fide in Canton

Thierry Meynard, SJ

[Abstract] In 1919, the Apostolic Letter *Maximum Illud* marked the call of the Vatican to promote the local church in the mission territories outside Europe and North America. Its reception and implementation in China proved particularly difficult, but Propaganda Fide greatly supported the efforts of Antoine Fourquet, MEP, Apostolic Vicar of Canton (1923-1947). Based on original documents of the Archives of the Propaganda Fide (APF, Rome), of the Diocese of Canton (Ricci Institute, Boston) and of the MEP (IRFA, Paris), we shall examine the general context of the church in China at that time, and more specifically how the new policies made by Propaganda Fide were actively promoted in Canton by Fourquet, and how Propaganda Fide supported him in his conflict with the MEP. Despite many achievements in inserting better the Catholic church within the Chinese society, the personality of Fourquet and his methods alienated the MEP, and finally Propaganda Fide asked him to resign. Through this case study we shall reflect on the historical significance of the promotion of the local church and the role of the universal church as represented then by Propaganda Fide.

The Political Context of the Vicariate of Canton

In 1848, Propaganda Fide officially created the apostolic prefecture of Canton, comprising Guangdong, Hainan, and Guangxi, entrusting this large mission territory to the Missions Étrangères de Paris (MEP). Zéphirin Guillemin 明稽章 (1814-1886) was the first apostolic prefect (1853-1886). He claimed a historical continuity with the Catholic communities that had existed in the Guangdong province in Late Ming and Early Qing, but compared to North China and the Jiangnan area, the communities there had always been very small, and in fact, they did not survive the persecution of Yongzheng in 1724. Even more problematic, Guillemin claimed that France had assumed the role of protecting the Catholic missions in China since Kangxi. With the pretext of the murder of Auguste Chapdelaine MEP (1814-1856) by a corrupt official in Guangxi, France participated with the British in the Second Opium War. Canton was attacked at the end on December 1857 and captured on January 1, 1858. Starting with the Treaty of Tianjin in June 1858, France put progressively in place a protectorate of the Catholic missions in China.[1]

The rebirth of Catholicism in South China in the second half of the 19th century was very much linked to the colonialism of France in a large region which included Vietnam, Yunnan, Sichuan, Guangdong and Guangxi. As a symbol of the victory of France and Catholicism in China, Guillemin built his cathedral on the land of the *yamen* of the governor of Guangdong and Guangxi that the French and British troops had destroyed in 1857.

Canton was one of the most progressive cities in China, playing a leading role in the revolutionary movement which finally overthrew the Qing dynasty in 1911, but the decade following the revolution was politically very unstable. After he failed to get control of Peking, Sun Yat-sen established in 1920 a revolutionary government in Canton under the KMT (Kuomintang or the Nationalist Party of China). Thanks to Mikhail Borodin (1884-1951), special envoy of Lenin, the KMT was reorganized as a modern party with political program, internal procedures, and discipline. The KMT was represented at all levels of the government, including the army. Thanks to the Soviet model, the KMT broke away from the traditional elitism of Chinese politics by building a political basis in the people through the engagement with the masses (students, workers,

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[1]   See Matthieu Masson, "La Mort d'Auguste Chapdelaine : Prétexte d' une Guerre, Occasion du Protectorat Religieux de la France en Chine Matthieu Masson," in Li Ji, editor, *Missions Étrangères de Paris (MEP) and China from the Seventeenth Century to the Present* (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 96-164.

and peasants) by ways of propaganda, mass movements, protests, and strikes. The program promoted national consciousness and the abrogation of unequal treaties with foreign powers (like regaining control of the customs). In terms of religion, the KMT made efforts to abolish the prerogatives granted to Christianity under the unequal treaties, so that all the missionaries and Chinese Christians should be submitted to national law. The Anti-Christian movement (*Feijidujiao yundong,* 1922-1927) was particularly strong in Canton.

Despite the strong influence of the radical left (the Bolsheviks), it existed also within the KMT a significant liberal faction linked to the business community. After the death of Sun Yat-sen in 1925, the right wing of the KMT made a coup on March 20, 1926 to purge the communist elements. In 1927, Chiang Kai-shek decided to cut all ties with the communists. Borodin and the Soviets were forced to flee China. In reaction, some 20,000 communist soldiers attempted to take over Canton on December 11-13, 1927, but the insurrection failed, with thousand killed, including the Russian vice-consul.

In the 1910s and 1920s, public safety was a big concern, especially in the countryside where armed groups operated, kidnapping Chinese and foreigners for ransom. In 1928, the KMT gained control over most of the country, but Guangdong was autonomous and under the control of General Chen Jitang 陳濟棠 (1890-1954) from 1929 to 1936. In this period, the political and social order was restored in Canton which enjoyed a strong economic and social development, despite the Great Depression which made many emigrants to return China and come to Canton. The situation deteriorated greatly in 1937 with the Japanese invasion. In August, Japanese aviation started their attack against Canton.[2] At the beginning there were two alerts a day, and later five. From August 1937 to October 1938, casualties in the city were estimated at 6,000 killed and 8,000 injured. Half of the population had left, with many migrating to Hong Kong and Macao. On October 21, 1938, Canton was finally captured by the Japanese army, and some areas of the city were destroyed by fire. On December 25, 1938, Hong Kong surrendered to the Japanese, cutting an important way of communication between Canton and the outside world.

On August 8, 1938, Japanese aviation dropped bombs which exploded at the gate of the Cathedral, killing 38 people who had taken refuge in the garden, also destroying the glassworks of the Cathedral and the buildings of the Catholic Action and

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[2]   Fourquet mentions that the first attack was on August 31, 1937; Fourquet, Riferisce sull suo Vicariato nel momento dell'attuale conflitto cino-giapponese; APF, Indice generale 1937, Vol. 1279, 3775/1937, ff. 807-813, 809.

Catholic Youth.[3] During the great fire of October 21, 1938, the Cathedral and the adjacent buildings could only be saved thanks to the Chinese Catholics.

Propaganda Fide and the Ambivalent Role of Guébriant

During the redaction of *Maximum Illud* (1919), Cardinal Willem Van Rossum (1854-1932) sent a questionnaire to six Apostolic Vicars, one of them being Jean de Guébriant MEP (1860-1935), Apostolic Vicar of Canton (1916-1921). Guébriant's response retained the attention of Propaganda Fide since he was later appointed Apostolic Visitor for all China for a fact-finding mission. In 1920, Guébriant went to Rome to present his conclusions to Van Rossum, especially recommending the nomination of an Apostolic Delegate to China to establish an official channel between the Holy See and the Chinese government, but Guébriant was opposed to ending the French protectorate. Concerning the issue of promoting Chinese clergy to the episcopate, Guébriant was very cautious and saw it as a long-term objective.

In 1921, Guébriant was elected Superior General of the MEP. This was an important indication that the MEP was embracing the spirit of *Maximum Illud*, but an active minority of the MEP fought against the Apostolic Letter, as we shall see. In 1923, at a conference at the Institut Catholique de Paris, Guébriant expressed the need for the nomination of Chinese bishops and a progressive transfer of power to the local clergy:

> The Chinese clergy will quickly outnumber the missionary clergy, and there is no doubt that, always better trained in establishments always better organized, they shall realize their importance and see clearly that the whole future depends on them. Under these conditions, will they accept European leadership indefinitely? It is not possible, and it would not be human. And here comes the question of the Chinese episcopate. Surely, they have too much common sense to prematurely demand what must be done sooner or later, and the Chinese Catholics, the first, would protest a precipitous and abruptly generalized transition from the traditional administration of missionary bishops to that of Chinese bishops. But it is up to the missionaries themselves to foresee the unavoidable with its advantages and dangers, to assure the maximum of the former and to minimize the latter, and to proceed, under the direction of the Holy See, to trials well distributed and well graduated. And even then, the time is not yet ready for them to withdraw. Because

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[3] Fourquet estimated the material loss to more than 300,000 HKD; see Ricci F8.1.017; APF, Fourquet, Bombardamento aereo giapponese (8 Agosto 1938), Indice generale 1938, Vol. 1408, 3295/1938, ff. 662-667.

they will have to play a role of sublime selflessness, the very one that expresses the touching word of Scripture: "Like an eagle that stirs up its nest, that flutters over its young, spreading out its wings, catching them, bearing them on its pinions." There will be no lack of means to play their maternal role for a long time, a long time to come; and the best way will be the centers of education and teaching, especially the seminaries, where, keeping the upper hand on the training of the young clergy, they will keep the strongest and the sweetest of authorities, that of affection and trust.[4]

This passage is quite remarkable by laying out the necessary transition of leadership from the foreign missionaries to the Chinese clergy. However, Guébriant envisions here a long transition process at the end of which the missionaries would have relinquished all authorities, enjoying only moral authority. Among the missionaries who recognized the need for power transfer, the debate was between a swift transfer as advocated by the Lazarist Vincent Lebbe (1877-1940), or a cautious and slow transfer, as advocated by Guébriant. As we shall see, the pace of the transition was not to be decided internally by the Church alone, but mostly by the political and societal changes happening in China, forcing the Church to adapt.

In view of the cautionary attitude of Guébriant, the American historian Ernest Young considers the role of Guébriant "at best ambivalent," though François de Sesmaisons recently wrote a biography that attempts to defend his policy.

Van Rossum, Costantini and Fourquet, a Common Mind for a Chinese Church

Celso Costantini (1876-1958) was named by the pope as the Apostolic Delegate to China (1922-1933), with the rank of Archbishop. He received two missions from Rome: to promote Chinese priests as bishops of existing vicariates and to create new territorial entities entrusted entirely to Chinese bishops and clergy. Those two missions were met with fierce resistance from many foreign missionaries, especially the French.[5]

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[4] Guébriant, "L'Apostolat missionnaire de la France," in *Bulletin de l'Institut catholique de Paris* (November 1923), 210. Digital file:
https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6497449f/f1.image# (April 23, 2023)

[5] About the role of Costantini, see Jean Charbonnier, "Du protectorat français au rôle joué par Mgr Costantini, 1840-1926 : une étape importante dans l'implantation de l'Église en Chine," *L'Année canonique* LIII.1 (2011) : 25-33.

Costantini needed obviously to keep close contact with Van Rossum since the vicariates and prefectures depended on Propaganda Fide. Costantini needed also to find in China some vicars and prefects who would not only pay lip service to *Maximum Illud* but would implement it.

When Costantini arrived in China in late 1922, Fourquet as pro-vicar welcomed him in Canton. The two shared basic understandings on the mission, and they could help each other. Facing the staunch opposition of the French missionaries in implementing *Maximum Illud*, Costantini could effectively rely on Fourquet to enforce the new directives and to serve as a model for the whole Church in China.

In 1922, Costantini had no direct experience of China, while Fourquet had been there since 1896. Many analyses of the political and social situation of China were, in fact, first expressed by Fourquet in his letters to Costantini, who transmitted them to the Holy See, Propaganda Fide, or other vicariates in China. It was the beginning of a strong collaboration which that during the time of Costantini in China (1922-1933). Also, Fourquet directly expressed his views to Propaganda Fide, where he could find understanding and support, while his correspondence with the MEP headquarters expressed along the time more and more disagreements and conflicts, especially after the death of Guébriant in 1935.

In a letter of 1925, Fourquet mentioned the growing tension between Chinese and foreigners in the country. The rejection of foreign interference in China was nurturing the Anti-Christian movement, and in front of this, Fourquet advocated patience, charity, civility, and gentleness. For him, it was important not to stir up more conflicts but to show that Christianity was not bound to foreign powers. However, Fourquet lamented that some fellow missionaries, unfortunately, are sick with the virus of "Sinophobia," who vituperate "against the institutions, the morality, the people of this region, the Chinese clergy and the sisters, the Apostolic Letter *Maximum Illud*, the cardinals who know nothing about China, the Apostolic Vicars who are too lenient to the Chinese clergy, sisters and lay."[6] Fourquet viewed the Anti-Christian movement as negative, since it increased the hostility of the Chinese towards the Church, but also as an opportunity for foreign missionaries, "like a visit of Our Lord, a warning from Him."[7] He called upon a deep conversion of the heart, concluding that if there was any hint of Sinophobia in the

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[6]   Fourquet, Riferisce sulla cinofobia di qualche missionario, 9 December 1925; Indice generale 1926, *Rubrica 33 Kuang-tong e Kuam-Si*, vol. 912, 91/807v.

[7]   Fourquet, Riferisce sulla cinofobia di qualche missionario, 9 December 1925; Indice generale 1926, *Rubrica 33 Kuang-tong e Kuam-Si*, vol. 912, 91/807v-808r.

heart of the missionary, then he was not fit; he was in fact harmful, and he should leave China.[8]

A few months later, in March 1926, Costantini wrote a letter to Propaganda Fide, mentioning the opposition faced by Fourquet from his fellow MEP, and he made echo to the thoughts of Fourquet on the Sinophobia among missionaries. Costantini examined different remedies to the situation. One was to recall some missionaries back home, and Costantini assured that he would do it when necessary.[9] Indeed, starting from 1927, Costantini and Lebbe were facing a campaign against them, especially with the publication that year of *Le Christ en Chine* by the Lazarist Henri Garnier (1883-1965). In 1928, Costantini asked Garnier to leave China for good. Concerning the old missionaries who felt ousted by the new regime and fearful of the reprisals of the nationalists, Costantini considered that the best remedy consisted in publishing the documents of the Plenary Council of Shanghai of 1924, in establishing Chinese missions and a Chinese Institute in Rome:

> Those things are destined to change the missionary psychology in China. When we have five to ten beautiful native missions, the way will be brightly traced. Then it will be no longer a matter of theories and precepts, but all will see *Maximum Illud* put into practice and bear fruit.[10]

It is remarkable to see how much Costantini and Fourquet shared similar views. Both realized that, more than taking coercive actions against the entitlements of the foreign missionaries, they needed to invite them to change their inner attitude. Fourquet who had experienced the Bolshevik revolution of 1925 in Canton felt more strongly the urgency. China was changing quickly and could not accept anymore the colonial system imposed on her since the opium wars. Radical changes on the part of the Church were needed. In a report to Propaganda Fide about the political and religious situation in South China in 1926, Costantini supported the positive engagement of Fourquet with the republican government, despite the presence of the Bolshevik faction, and Costantini analyses the future of China with lucidity:

> I believe that Mgr. Fourquet is right because whatever the solution to the crisis that China is now going through, it will undoubtedly result in a decrease of the foreign

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[8] Ibidem.
[9] Costantini, Circa i missionari di sentimenti anticinesi, Pekin, 4 March 1926; Indice generale 1926, Vol. 912, 1231/836v.
[10] Costantini, Circa i missionari di sentimenti anticinesi, Pekin, 4 March 1926; APF, Indice generale 1926, Vol. 912, 1231/837r.

influence, and the missions will have to come to terms with the spirit of new China.[11]

As we can see, Fourquet, Costantini, and Van Rossum clearly saw the end of a colonial model of the Church, and the need to transition to a Church that embraces the "spirit of new China."

Ending the French Protectorate

Costantini was often criticized by French diplomats and missionaries for undermining the French protectorate. He found in Fourquet someone who was able to disentangle himself from the narrow interests of the French community. The most obvious function of the protectorate was to place the missionaries, the Chinese Catholics, and the properties of the Church under the protection of the French army and police. But Fourquet was adamant not to make recourse to the French army unless ultimate necessity. For example, in September 1925, the cathedral of Canton was surrounded for a few days by the mob, and some advised him to call the French army, which was stationed not far on Shamian island, to lift the blockade. For three days, Fourquet resisted this solution, and instead let the Chinese priests negotiate with the mob leaders and with the government. Finally, the government sent its police to disperse the mob.[12] In his report to Guébriant, Fourquet copied what he had written to the French Consul:

> I thank God for having placed beside us an imposing force, capable of enforcing our rights, but I am also resolved to have recourse to it only when all other means have been exhausted. This is the theory which I have always maintained about the functioning of the Protectorate.[13]

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[11] APF, Indice generale 1926, Rubrica 33/2 Kuang-tong e Kuam-Si, vol. 912: Costantini, Rapporto circa le condizioni politiche religiose nel Sud della China, Hong Kong, 16 June 1926, 2735/1926, 761-771; 764-765.

[12] See Letter of Fourquet to Guébriant, dated 19 Octobre 1925, Canton ; Rimette un rapporto del Vicario Apostolico di Canton circa la rivolta del Settembre 1925; 80/1926, ff. 795-804, 798.

[13] Letter of Fourquet to Guébriant, dated 19 Octobre 1925, Canton ; Rimette un rapporto del Vicario Apostolico di Canton circa la rivolta del Settembre 1925 80/1926, ff. 795-804, 799 : "Je remercie Dieu d'avoir placé à côté de nous une force imposante, capable de faire respecter nos droits, mais je suis également résolu à n'y recourir que lorsque tous les autres moyens auront été épuisés. C'est relativement au fonctionnement du Protectorat la théorie que j'ai toujours soutenue."

Fourquet finished his account with this reminder: "Let us not forget that the Protectorate, a precious weapon, is also dangerous. It can hurt those who use it."[14] In this report, Fourquet did not dismiss altogether the protectorate, since he still called it a precious weapon. But in a letter to Propaganda Fide in 1927, Fourquet made explicit his wish to abandon the protectorate altogether, saying "Personally, I think that we should spontaneously renounce to all the privileges to which we pretend as foreigners; we should be citizen of this country."[15] Fourquet's efforts to remove the Church from the French Protectorate was not welcomed nicely among the French community. He was said to share "socialist ideas," and was even called the "Bolshevik bishop."[16]

Inviting Non-French Congregations and Religious Groups

What was the territorial situation of Vicariate at the beginning of the Republican era in 1911? It included all the province of Guangdong, including Hainan, but excluding Zhaoqing which was under the Diocese of Macao. During the Republican era, the Prefecture/Vicariate was divided four times, with the east, north, west, and south of the Guangdong province being detached from Canton.

1.   In 1914, Propaganda Fide detached Chaozhou/Shantou, at the east of the province, and erected the Apostolic Vicariate of Chaozhou 潮州 (Swatow), still entrusted to the MEP. Adolphe Rayssac 實茂芳 (1866-1941) was Apostolic Vicar from 1914 to 1935, and he was succeeded by Charles Vogel 荷敬謙 (1878-1958) from 1935 to 1949.

2.   In 1920, Propaganda Fide detached the north of the province and erected the Apostolic Vicariate of Shaozhou 韶州 (Shiuchow), but for the first time, the Propaganda entrusted this former MEP territory to a different missionary group, the Italian Salesians. Luigi Versiglia 雷鳴道 (1873-1930) was the first Vicar Apostolic until his assassination (1920-1930), succeeded by Ignazio Canazei 耿其光 (1883-1946).

3.   In 1921, Propaganda Fide detached the south of the province, Beihai, Maoming, and Hainan, which was created an independent vicariate, still entrusted to the MEP. Auguste Gauthier 俄大法 (1868-1927) was Apostolic Vicar from 1921 to 1927, Louis

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[14]   Letter of Fourquet to Guébriant, dated 19 Octobre 1925, Canton ; Rimette un rapporto del Vicario Apostolico di Canton circa la rivolta del Settembre 1925 80/1926, ff. 795-804, 800.
[15]   Fourquet, Letter to the Propaganda, 20 January 1927; APF, Indice generale 1927, 1654/928.
[16]   Léon Robert, Letter to Guébriant, dated 24 February 1926; AMEP, Q 555-137.

Pénicaud 賁德馨 (1874-1943) from 1929 to 1940, and Gustave Deswazières 祝福 (1882-1959) from 1940 to 1947.

4.   In 1924, Propaganda Fide detached the west of the province, Jiangmen 江門 (Kongmoon), and for the second time, Propaganda Fide entrusted this former MEP territory to a different missionary group, the American Maryknoll. The first Apostolic Vicar was James Walsh 華理柱 (1891-1981) from 1924 to 1937, succeeded by Adolph Paschang 柏增 (1895-1968) from 1937 to 1946.
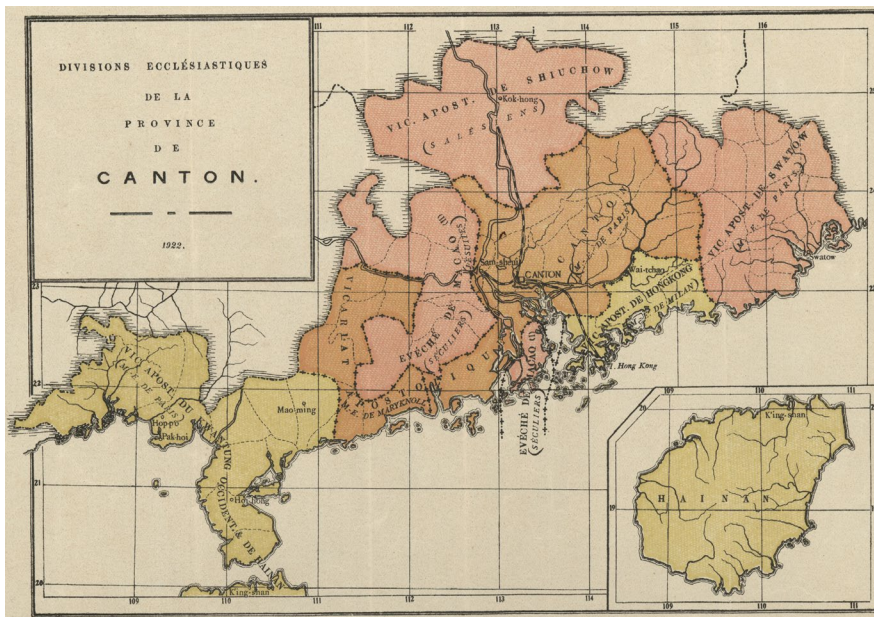

Fig. 1: Ecclesiastical division of Guangdong with Apostolic Vicariate of Canton; F8.17: f. 12; Boston Ricci Institute

When a new apostolic vicariate was created with MEP still in charge, the project was initiated by the Canton Vicariate, discussed with MEP headquarters, and then presented to Propaganda Fide. Once approved, the MEP missionaries within the territory to be erected as apostolic vicariate proposed names for the future apostolic vicar, and then the MEP headquarters submitted the names to Propaganda Fide, but the local Chinese priests did not vote. A recurrent issue was how to separate the assets of the new vicariate from Canton because the regional office of the MEP in Hong Kong used to

invest in land and commercial buildings in the city of Canton for the whole, and then arguments were often raised on how to split fairly capital and interests. For example, when Chaozhou was separated from Canton, a conflict arose that needed the intervention of the headquarters in Paris and even Propaganda Fide in Rome. Another recurrent issue was how to allocate the subsidies sent by Paris among the vicariates. For example, the newly erected Vicariate of Beihai complained that it did not receive its just share.

When a new apostolic vicariate was created and entrusted to another congregation, it was somehow much easier. The project was started with Propaganda Fide and then discussed with the MEP. When the Salesians or the Maryknoll took control of their mission in Guangdong, they assured full leadership. With this model, the Chinese clergy was even less engaged in the process.

The territorial changes of the Vicariate of Canton had important implications in terms of the number of Catholics, priests, and sisters, as can be seen in the chart on page 211.

Compared to North China, the Jiangnan or Fujian, the Catholic population in Guangdong was small and scattered, except in the areas of Chaozhou and Meizhou, which were first detached in 1914. With this separation, the Canton Vicariate lost half of its Christians. With the further separations of Shaozhou, Beihai and Jiangmen from 1921 to 1924, the Canton Vicariate was reduced to 12,000, only a fifth of the number before 1914.

The comparison with Peking illustrates well the situation of Canton. In 1931, Peking had the same population as Canton, but Catholics in Peking represented 6% of the population, compared to 0.3% in Canton.[17] Peking was served by 126 priests (30 of whom Chinese), while Canton had only 29 priests (19 of whom Chinese). In 1928, each priest of the Vicariate of Canton baptized in average only six adults and eight children.[18] Fourquet explained the very low percentage of Catholics in Canton: (1) materialist and atheistic propaganda; (2) social disorder affecting the running of the Church; (3) emigration with many Catholics moving to Southeast Asia, the Pacific, North and South Americas; however, if the migrants from Canton were counted, the total number would be 80,000, since 65,000 Cantonese Catholics were living then overseas.[19]

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[17] See Jean-Marie Planchet, *Les missions de Chine et du Japon*, Pékin: Imprimerie des Lazaristes, 1931.
[18] F8.1.007.
[19] Ricci F8.1.005 & F8.1.011.

Year	Chinese priests	Missionaries	Local sisters	Foreign sisters	Seminarians	Orphans	Pupils	Catholics/population
1911	26	75	12	20	62	410	4.100	60,300/27,000,000
1913	24	72					4.300	61,600
Detachment of Chaozhou								
1918	17	53			67		2.580	31,450
Detachment of Shaozhou, Beihai and Jiangmen								
1927	22	18	49	13	44			13,000/ 4,500,000
1929	22	18	48	20	81	770	1.435	14,400
1931	29	19	58	12	63	330	2.250	14,500
1938	36	19	74	58	71	240	2.700	18,600
1939	36	18	75	36	65	300	1.300	16,000/ 4,600,000
1941	38	17	77	36	48	350	1.950	16,000
1947	43	10	51	42			2.700	21,000

Chart 1: Statistics for the Canton vicariate 1911-1947

When Fourquet started as Apostolic Vicar in 1923, the Catholic population was only 12,000 and he set for himself a very ambitious objective of 100,000. In fact, there was a very slow growth of the Catholic population of the Canton Vicariate, due mostly to emigration. When he left in 1947, there were only around 21,000 Catholics.

Failed Attempts of Erecting Mission Territories Entrusted to Chinese Clergy

The Maryknoll, an American missionary society modeled after the MEP and founded in 1911, decided to go to South China. According to an agreement signed on December 25, 1917, between Guébriant and James Walsh MM (1891-1981), the Maryknoll priests were to be sent to Guangxi province.[20] However, sometime later, they asked Propaganda Fide to have Jiangmen 江門 in Eastern Guangdong, including the island of Shangchuan 上川 and the graveyard of Saint Francis Xavier (1506-1552).

Having heard about the proposal, a local Chinese priest Boniface Yang Fujue 楊福爵 (1878-1938) and other local priests wrote in July 1918 a letter to Propaganda Fide to express their disagreement:

> I give thanks that through my efforts and pains the predication of the Gospel in the region of Xinning 新寧, despite many difficulties, has developed, so that the number of baptized and of catechumens has increased. I heard that the district including the island of Shangchuan 上川 is to be given to another missionary institute. I submit my will to the people who are in charge to decide but allow me to express myself. As you know, there is a great hope for the diffusion of Christianity in Xinning, and the number of neophytes and catechumens increases day by day, in Chexi 赤溪, Guanghai 廣海, Shangchuan 上川, Xinchang 新昌, Haiyan 海宴, Tan'an 坦安, etc. It seems to me that it is possible to obtain abundant fruits like in the past years. Therefore, I pray that we can still serve those areas. Moved by my love for the Christians here, I take the liberty to write this, and ask you to excuse my audacity.[21]

Yang suggested that the Chinese priests who had already served in the area for some time were more qualified than foreign missionaries to continue the work. Alfred Fabre

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[20] See APF, Indice generale 1922, Rubrica 130, Cina, Vol. 766, 435/1918, ff. 435-436.
[21] Bonifacio Yeung e altri Padri – Chiedono che si conservi a loro la regione che si vuole affidare ai missionari dell Istituto di Maryknoll; APF, Indice generale 1922, Vol. 766, 3785/527-530.

(1878-1967) also expressed disagreement with entrusting this territory to the Maryknoll, and he wrote a letter to Guébriant in Paris, who was Superior General of the MEP since October 1921, saying that the Maryknoll priests wanted to stay close to the Western civilization (that is Hong Kong, Macao or Canton), and were not truly interested in going "field-afar," as their magazine claimed.[22]

Jean Charbonnier recently wrote that "De Guébriant offered the busy Kongmoon (Jiangmen) region west of Guangzhou" to the Maryknoll.[23] In fact, in December 1922, Guébriant sent confidentially the letter of Fabre to Propaganda Fide in Rome, and he added his own letter, expressing strong reserve about giving Jiangmen to the Maryknoll. In his letter, Guébriant pointed out a negative recurrent pattern:

> We fall again in the same abuse, always to be feared in the missions: discarding the less central areas for some privileged and more convenient places. My formal advice is that the new American mission should not be allowed to move towards Canton and Macao the borders already agreed upon…The territories of Xinning, Xinhui 新會 and Chexi have around 4,000 Christians and many catechumens. Three missionaries and four Chinese priests live there in different places. The churches and chapels are in total twenty. A few important schools are running. Conversions are not rare…[24]

Probably Guébriant knew about the letter of Yang Fujue to Rome, and we learn from his own letter there were three MEP (including Fabre) and four Chinese (including Yang) serving this area at that time. Interestingly, the Chinese and the foreigners did not write together a common letter. In fact, the letter of the four Cantonese priests could convey more forcefully the Chinese point of view.

Despite all those efforts, Propaganda Fide agreed in 1924 upon the request of the Maryknoll to obtain Jiangmen. If we judge only the results on Shangchuan island where Yang was previously assigned, the work of the Maryknoll there met with great difficulties, and Robert Cairns (1884-1941) who replaced Yang Fujue as pastor alienated so much the locals that no one wanted to attend Mass.[25]

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[22] Guébriant, Invia il suo parere circa l'erezione della nuova missione, carta geografica; APF, Indice generale 1922, Vol. 766, 3689/531r-531v.

[23] Jean Charbonnier, "The MEP in China: A Chronology from the 17th Century to the Present," in *Missions Étrangères de Paris (MEP) and China from the Seventeenth Century to the Present*, edited by Li Ji (Brill: Leiden, 2022), 263.

[24] Guébriant, Paris, 13 December 1922; APF, Indice generale 1922, 3689/533-536.

[25] According to my personal communication with Fr. Matthieu Masson, Cairns had expressed in

Retrospectively, the cession of Jiangmen to the Maryknoll in 1924 was a missed opportunity for creating an apostolic prefecture administered directly by the Chinese clergy. Already in the year 1923, Costantini had negotiated with the Italian Franciscans that the mission of Puqi 蒲圻 (Hubei province) was not to be given to the American Franciscans as initially planned, but established as an apostolic prefecture administered directly by the Chinese clergy. In 1924, Costantini also secured from the Lazarists another territory in Hebei to be entrusted to local Chinese clergy.[26] Guébriant himself was not opposed in principle to the creation of a vicariate entrusted to local clergy. In 1922, he had asked three MEP apostolic vicars in Sichuan to discuss plans for creating a Chinese mission, but he met strong opposition from the MEP apostolic vicars and missionaries, and only in 1927 Chinese missions were created in Sichuan, and only in 1930 two Chinese were consecrated as bishops.[27]

In the case of the Maryknoll territory, the negotiations had started a long time ago, in 1917, and in 1924, the hands of Propaganda Fide were already tied up with the Maryknoll. Probably neither Yang Fujue nor Guébriant had envisioned at that time that Jiangmen could have been fully entrusted to the local clergy. Despite the oppositions of Yang Fujue in 1917 and of Guébriant in 1922, Jiangmen was officially given to the Maryknoll mission in 1924. Perhaps Propaganda Fide considered that the American priests could adapt more easily to Jiangmen, because of the proximity to Hong Kong, but this kind of reasoning leads to consider first the needs of the missionaries over the needs of the Catholic Chinese.

Fig. 2: Mgr Antoine Fourquet bishop of Canton; IRFA; Chine, bt 43

The cession of Jiangmen to the Maryknoll was negotiated mostly with Propaganda Fide and Guébriant, so Fourquet played only a minor role in the affair, though it appeared

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a letter to Fourquet his frustrations: "There is no good catholic in Sancian."

[26] See R.G. Tiedemann, *Handbook of Christianity in China, 1800-present* (Leuven: Brill, 2009), vol. 2, 581-582.

[27] François de Sesmaisons, *Cette Chine que j'aime: Jean de Guébriant, 1860-1935: un missionnaire breton au siècle des missions* (Paris: Publibook, 2016), 453.

that in the beginning he did not welcome the American missionaries.[28] Indeed, Fourquet asked the Maryknoll that Shangchuan could remain in the Canton Vicariate so that Boniface Yang could continue there, but this failed as we just said.

After Fourquet became Apostolic Vicar in 1923, fresh efforts were made to separate from the Canton Vicariate an area to be entrusted to Chinese priests. The project was initiated by Guébriant in 1924, and after receiving the approval of Costantini, Fourquet announced in 1926, in the Shanghai-based Catholic newspaper *L'Écho de Chine*, the preparation for the establishment of an apostolic vicariate including Zijin 紫金, Xinfeng 新豐, Boluo 博羅 and Longmen 龍門, with the city of Heyuan 河源 as center of the mission. Fourquet entrusted his pro-vicar Eugène Thomas (1876-1929) to prepare for this project to be realized within five or six years. Especially, Fourquet missioned Thomas to do fund-raising among the Cantonese populations in Vietnam, Thailand, Malaysia, and Singapore.[29] Costantini reported to the Propagation Fide that Fourquet presented him with a plan for an indigenous mission, and even began the work of preparing what is necessary for its good success, but Costantini had also received a report from another missionary in Canton, raising objections about the appropriateness of the chosen territory. Costantini showed support on the principle, but he expressed the necessity to discuss further the project with Fourquet, before transmitting it to Propaganda Fide.

However, the project did not go very far. Bandits were active in the area. Also, the relationship between Fourquet and Thomas deteriorated, and the latter died in 1929. In his 1931 annual report to Propaganda Fide, Fourquet still analyzed the necessary steps to take:

> It is well attested that the great missionary societies look with a bad eye on the new churches, through the fruits of their labors, and they stop providing counsel and support to vicariates which are entrusted to the management of the local clergy. It is basic prudence to prepare ahead of time counsel and support when we are preparing in the future the establishment of a local management.[30]

However, this project which needed Chinese clergy and the financial resources of the Cantonese diaspora did not materialize. By 1935, 19 mission territories were already

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[28] Sesmaisons, *Cette Chine que j'aime*, 314.
[29] Fourquet, Letter to Guébriant, dated 23 June 1926; see AMEP Q 555 154.
[30] Fourquet, Relazione annua 30 June 1930 - 30 June 1931, 10 October 1931; APF, Indice generale 1931, 4057/647r.

entrusted to Chinese secular priests,[31] but in the Canton Vicariate, an opportunity was missed with Jiangmen in 1917, and the project of Heyuan in 1926-1929 failed also.

Promoting Chinese Clergy and Laypeople

Fourquet implemented the instructions of *Maximum Illud* and *Rerum Ecclesiae* in promoting the local clergy, sisters, and lay people. One of his most courageous plans was to promote Chinese bishops with rights of succession in the major cities of China so that the Chinese bishops could quickly replace foreign bishops. In 1929, Costantini supported Fourquet's request for a bishop, but since Fourquet was relatively young (57 years old,) Propaganda Fide did not want to appoint a bishop with the right of succession, but instead named Yang Fujue as auxiliary. On July 26, 1931, this one was consecrated auxiliary bishop in the cathedral of Canton, with Mgr. Simon Zhu Kaimin 朱開敏 SJ (1868-1960) as the main consecrator, and the other two consecrators being Walsh and Canazei.

Fig. 3: Seminary of Canton with Mgr. Yang 1933; IRFA, bt 8

After the consecration of Yang at the cathedral of Canton, Fourquet gathered the Bishops Zhu Kaimin, James Walsh, Ignazio Canazei, Enrico Valtorta PIME (1883-1951) and Manuel Prat Pujoldevall OP (1873-1947) to discuss about a project of letter to be

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[31]   See R.G. Tiedemann, *Handbook of Christianity in China*, 584.

sent to Propaganda Fide, urging her to proceed further to the nominations of Chinese coadjutor bishops, or at least auxiliary bishops, in the major cities of China.[32] Clearly, Fourquet wanted to promote more widely the Canton experiment of appointing Chinese auxiliary bishops as a preparation to replace foreign bishops. We can notice that, besides Fourquet, there was no MEP involved in this meeting. Fourquet also attempted to push for the appointment of a Chinese coadjutor bishop in Peking during a canonical visit he made there in 1928, but the French Lazarists and the French diplomats swiftly blocked the move.[33]

In the annual report to Propaganda Fide, written in 1931, Fourquet mentioned this project of nominating Chinese bishops in the major cities of China, and he criticized the MEP mentality of having the Chinese clergy as "precious auxiliary" according to the famous expression of Adrien Launay (1853-1927) in his *Histoire des Missions Étrangères*.[34] In this same report, Fourquet noticed that the MEP headquarters are reducing significantly the financial support to the Canton Vicariate, and he suggested that this might be an act of revenge against him about the nomination of Yang, but Fourquet was adamant that he would not change his style of management and that he would continue implementing the policies of the pope.[35]

Thanks to his connections with the wider society, Fourquet could understand better the rise of the Chinese political conscience in the Republican era, and the need for the Church to embrace it. Though Costantini did not have such a deep knowledge of China, he supported Fourquet and could convince Van Rossum in Rome to support Fourquet. On the contrary, some MEP priests of the Vicariate and even Guébriant were too much enclosed in the structures of the Church and unable to understand the positive evolution of the Chinese society, and thus they resisted any quick transfer of power to the Chinese clergy.

The question of institutional power was looming very large in the question. For almost one hundred years, the MEP as an institution had invested human power and

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[32] Because Mgr. Prat had to leave earlier, he could not sign the letter and the project of letter altogether was dropped. Fourquet, Relazione annua 30 June 1930 - 30 June 1931, 10 October 1931; APF, Indice generale 1931, 4057/643r. For the draft of the letter, see Ricci Institute, BC: F4.7-VI.III.008.

[33] See Soetens, *L'Église catholique en Chine au XXe siècle*, 142. See also Young, "Vignettes of Responses by MEP Missionaries to China 1886-1936," 242.

[34] Fourquet, Relazione annua 30 June 1930 - 30 June 1931, 10 October 1931; Indice generale 1931, 4057/645r.

[35] Fourquet, Relazione annua 30 June 1930 - 30 June 1931, 10 October 1931; Indice generale 1931, 4057/652v.

finances in the Canton Vicariate. Even though the ultimate end of the MEP was, in Canton as elsewhere, to help the local Church to obtain one day its full independence, MEP priests working in the Canton Vicariate and the MEP headquarters in Paris wanted to preserve their principal mission in China. Fourquet and Costantini understood better that the time had come for the Catholic Church in China to stand on its own.

In his annual report to Propaganda Fide, written in 1936, Fourquet makes the bold move of asking for the transfer of the Canton Vicariate to the Chinese clergy:

> I would like to stress an eventuality which may come soon, that is transferring the ecclesiastical administration to a local. In fact, our Society has very few members here able of a great effort. Except two or three, all are old…To transfer the Vicariate to locals, the Holy See has one rare opportunity. In 1860 and 1862, Bishop Guillemin obtained from the imperial government the land where our cathedral is situated…This excellent bishop, as if he did not foresee the future developments of the Church in China, made the mistake to have a clause in the contract according to which the land shall belong to the Catholic Church as long as it has a bishop belonging to the MEP…We could submit the question to the Chinese government as follows: if we replace the foreign missionaries by Chinese, would you be ready to recognize the land where the Cathedral is located as belonging to the Catholic Church?[36]

The question of the ownership of the land of the Canton cathedral is a complex issue since it involved the French government, and we shall not discuss it here,[37] but this document above shows that Fourquet was serious about transferring all the power to the Cantonese clergy, as he already said in 1930. With this plan of 1936, Fourquet suggested a way to give legal foundations to the Catholic Church, both for its leadership and for its land, which did not rest on privileges obtained under a colonial system, but on the common law of China. This project was far-reaching because it was not simply separating a territory of the Canton Vicariate and establishing a Chinese mission, but it was to entrust the whole Canton Vicariate, or most of it, including Canton, under the authority of the Chinese clergy.

However, Yang Fujue died on February 23, 1938, aged only 60 years old. The Japanese attacked Canton in 1937 and the bombing of the cathedral on August 8, 1938

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[36] Fourquet, Relazione annua e statistica, Progetto di affidare al clero indigeno il Vicariato, to Fumasoni Biondi, 6 August 1936; Indice generale 1936, vol. 1279, 3013/706-708.

[37] See Jean-Paul Wiest, "The Building of the Cathedral of Canton: Political, Cultural and Religious Clashes," in *Religion and Culture* (Macau: Macau Ricci Institute, 2004), 231-252.

also made things more complicated. Fourquet's project of appointing Chinese coadjutor bishops in other big cities faced strong opposition.[38] Yang remained a lone and short-lived exception in the Catholic Church in the Republican era, being the only Chinese auxiliary bishop.

Serving Greater Needs through Social Works

During the Qing dynasty, social work in Canton was supported by the local government, but in the final decade of the Qing dynasty and the first decade of the Republic, due to political and social unrest, the local government withdrew from managing and funding social work. During this period of disengagement of the government, the local merchants and gentry got more involved in the operations of orphanages and hospices. The Fangbian Hospital 方便 (Fongpin) was established in 1899 by the local elites in the Western area of the city to fight against the plague.[39] It became one of the largest hospitals in Canton and even in South China, with close to one thousand beds, 21 medical doctors, and 210 staff.[40] Also, in 1920, the general Chen Jiongming 陳炯明 (Chan Kwing-Ming, 1878-1933), head of the Military Government of Guangdong and having little time for social work, entrusted the Three Hospitals of the General Relief 普济三院 (*Puji sanyuan, Po Chai Sam Yun*) in the Eastern district (Dongguan 東關) to the Catholic Church, this included: a home for old men (*nan laorenyuan*), a home for old women (*nü laorenyuan*), and a home for the blind (*gumuyuan*). Chen Jiongming could entrust the Three Hospitals to the Catholic Church because since its beginning the Apostolic Prefecture and then the Vicariate of Canton had been involved in social works, running dispensaries, clinics, and orphanages in the city. In 1907, the MEP priest and medical doctor Louis Lambert Conrardy (1841-1914) established a modern leprosarium on the island of Shilong 石龍 (Shek-lung), 80 km from Canton, over the East River (東江), with the Canton government paying a monthly allowance. The Sisters Missionaries of the Immaculate Conception (MIC) 無原罪傳教女修會 (founded in 1902 at Montreal) came to Canton in 1909, and besides running the

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[38] See Soetens, *L'Église catholique en Chine au XXe siècle*, 142.

[39] Shuk-wah Poon, *Negotiating Religion in Modern China: State and Common People in Guangzhou, 1900-1937* (Hong Kong, Chinese University Press, 2011), 107. In 1952, the Fangbian Hospital and the Hospital of the Canton government 廣州市立醫院 merged to form the First People's Hospital 第一人民醫院.

[40] Tang Fuman 唐富滿《廣州方便醫院與近代廣州社會》,《中山大學學報論叢》(Sun Yat-sen University Forum),2007 年,第 10 期,頁 223-227。

school of Holy Spirit, they also established an orphanage. The Little Sisters of the Poor 安貧小姊妹會 (founded in 1839 in Britany) came to Canton in 1913; this international group (French, English, Belgian, Irish, Chinese) built a modern hospice for 100 elderly at Plum Village of the East Mountain 東山梅花村 (Tong Shan), a military area at the East of the city (now it is a kindergarten for the Provincial government 梅花村省委幼兒園).[41] However, it seems that the chief concern of the Catholic Church in managing public institutions was to proselytize the inmates, and this created some incidents.[42]

It was only in 1924 that the republican government engaged in social work, reassuming the management of the Three Hospitals. In 1925, it also founded the Municipal Poorhouse (*Shili pinmin jiaoyangyuan* 市立貧民教養院) in the western suburb (*shangxiguan* 上西關) and the First Municipal Insane Asylum (*Shili diyi shenjingbingyuan* 市立第一神經病院). In 1927, an asylum previously run by an American mission became the Second Municipal Insane Asylum (*Shili di'er shenjingbingyuan* 市立第二神經病院). In 1928, the Guangzhou Municipal Poorhouse (*Guangzhoushi pinmin jiaoyangyuan* 廣州市貧民教養院) was also established at Shipai 石牌, providing housing and food for some 4,600 indigents in 1933. In the 1930s, the government also built lodgings with cheap rent for workers and peddlers which housed more than 3,000 people in 1936.[43] In 1933, four institutions (a male hospice, a female hospice, a hospital for the blind, and the asylum for indigents of Shipai) merged into the Municipal Poorhouse 廣州市救濟院.

Unexpectedly, the war created the occasion for extending the social work of the Church to the general public. Indeed, when the Japanese army was about to enter Canton in October 1938, half of the population had already left the city, and there was a shortage of staff to run the social work in the city. In his report about the vicariate during the war years (1938-1945), Fourquet mentioned that two weeks before the capture of Canton by the Japanese army, on October 8 and 8, 1938, he received three visits. First, there was Mr. Cai Chang (蔡昌 Tsoi Cheung, 1877-1953), chairman of the board of the Fangbian Hospital, and the founder of the Daxin 大新 Department Store. Cai read the decision of the board entrusting Fourquet with the management of the hospital. The other visit

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[41] Dominique Tyl 狄明德, "1900-1930 年廣州慈善柴捆, *Xixue dongjian yanjiu* 8, 2019, 214-224.

[42] See Alfred Lin, "Warlord, Social Welfare and Philanthropy: The Case of Guangzhou Under Chen Jitang, 1929-1936," in Modern China 30 (2): 151–198, 157.

[43] See Alfred Lin, "Warlord, Social Welfare and Philanthropy," 151–198, 169-175.

happened on October 9. The two general secretaries of the municipal government and the provincial government requested Fourquet to manage the Municipal Poorhouse. The third and final visit, still on October 9, 1938, was by the director of Hygiene who entrusted Fourquet with the asylum for 300 insane 廣州市立精神病療養院 at Fangcun 芳村 (Fong Tsun).[44]

It seems that all those public institutions had reached a similar conclusion: besides the issue of the lack of staff, they would be better protected from the Japanese by being under the management of a French bishop. The Catholic Church had already managed public institutions in the years 1920-1924, as mentioned above, and though there was concern about proselytizing, the performance was still recognized as acceptable.

Because Cai Chang and all the directors of the hospital had to flee Canton, they entrusted the direction to Fourquet.[45] In fact, Cai had contacted Fourquet six months earlier with the request of transferring the management of the hospital, and on March 17, Fourquet sent a letter to the Superior General of the Canadian Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of the Holy Angels 天神之后傳教女修會 (founded in 1922 at Sherbrooke) asking them to send first three or four sisters. When the Japanese entered Canton in October 1938, the sisters remained alone to take care of some 600 patients in the hospital, with all the nurses except two having fled.[46]

The Canadian Sisters Missionaries of the Immaculate Conception (MIC) took care of the asylum for the insane at Fangcun, with Sister Gratia Blanchet (連道明, 1894-1997) as director from October 1938 to November 1945. At the end of 1939, the number of patients had grown from the initial 300 to 740.[47]

The forty-plus Chinese sisters belonging to the local congregation of the Immaculate Conception 中華女士聖母無原罪善會 (established in 1898) oversaw 5,450 persons, consisting of the patients in the male and female hospices (2,300), in the blind hospital (950), and the Municipal Poorhouse of Shipai (2,200). The latter accommodated many emigrants who had returned from Malaysia and Indonesia since the economic crisis of 1929 et 1930.[48]

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[44]   Ricci, F10.25.024.
[45]   Ricci, F6.4_035.
[46]   Ricci, F8.1.077 & F10.25.024.
[47]   Alfred Fabre MEP, "La charité du Christ à Canton," *Bulletin des Missions Étrangères de Paris*, 1940, 459.
[48]   Alfred Fabre MEP, "La charité du Christ à Canton," *Bulletin des Missions Étrangères de Paris*, 1940, 466.

In total, Fourquet computed that he had taken responsibility for 5,000 patients in those public institutions in 1938.[49] In another letter around the same time, he mentioned a total of 10,000 persons,[50] including 5,000 persons in the Catholic institutions, though those numbers seem inflated.

With the Japanese occupation followed economic and social difficulties, and in his report of 1946, Fourquet mentioned that the number of patients in the public institutions had reached 6,300.[51] At some point, Fangbian Hospital had to feed, clothe, or bury around 20,000 patients per year.[52]

In October 1938, Fourquet had received from the provincial government 13,000 Dollars, and from the Director of Hygiene 4,000 Dollars. After the arrival of the Japanese army, the Cantonese who had taken refuge in Macao and Hong Kong sent financial support. In 1941, the American Red Cross also donated to the Canton refugee area committee of the International Red Cross some 960 tons of wheat and 240 tons of rice, and the Catholic Church apparently received part of this.[53] Since 1944, the French government in Indochina regularly sent through the consulate of France in Canton some shipments of rice for the Catholic missions in Canton, with two-thirds being free of charge, and the third being sold at the market price in Saigon. For example, in 1946, 52 tons of rice were sent, in 1947, some 90 tons; in 1948, 28 tons.[54] Sometimes Fourquet himself was on board a truck with the Chinese sisters, and they passed the Japanese checkpoints to deliver the rice to the different institutions.

The Catholic Church assumed the management of the public institutions of Canton from 1938 to 1946 to respond to the exceptional circumstances of the war. This generous decision can be seen along the line of the Indigenization of the Church. The Church

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[49] Ricci, F8.1.017.
[50] Fourquet to Cardinal Fumasoni-Biondi, dated 22 November 1938; Indice generale 1938, Vol. 1408 ; Informa sulla condizione della cita di Canton in seguito alla occupazione giapponese, 5051/1938, ff. 700-704; 701v-702r.
[51] F10.25.024.
[52] F7.81.003.
[53] F4.2.046.
[54] F6.4.005; F6.4.013 ; F.6.4.018. It seems that those shipments went for the Catholic missions and not for the public works managed by the Church. For example, in 1947, the Archdiocese of Canton allocated 24 tons to the orphanage of the sisters of the Immaculate Conception (MIC), 15 tons to the leprosarium of Shilong, 10 tons to the works of the Archdiocese, six tons to the asylum of the Little Sisters of the Poor, and one ton to the Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of the Holy Angels.

accepted temporarily the management of public institutions to serve the greater good, for the sake of the needy, regardless of their personal faith.

On December 8, 1948, Ou Yangju 歐陽駒 (Au Yang Kiu, 1896-1958), mayor of Canton (1946-1949), wished to honor the generous support of the Canton Vicariate in 1938, and thus he decided to confer the title of Honorable Citizen 榮譽公民 to three persons who had contributed greatly to Canton. James McClure Henry 香雅各(1880-1956), who was born in Canton, the son of a Baptist missionary, had been provost of the Lingnan University. F. A. Nixon 聶克遜 had been a British postal commissioner in Peking. About Mgr. Fourquet, the official letter mentioned his caritative works during the Japanese occupation, maintaining the hospices, the hospital for war victims, and the public hospital of Fangbian. Because Fourquet had already left Canton, Gustave-Joseph Deswazières, administrator of the Canton Archdiocese, replaced him at the ceremony. The Golden Key of Canton awarded to Fourquet is still preserved at the museum of the MEP in Paris.
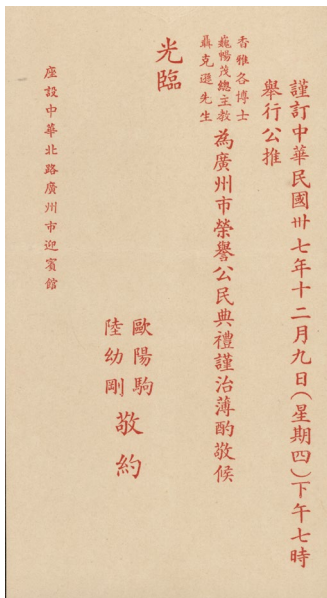
Fig. 4 - Canton Archives, Boston Ricci Institute F7.9.001

Fig. 5 - Key of Canton 廣州之鑰; photography: Meynard, 2022

Conclusion

In the 17th century, Propaganda Fide relied on new missionary societies like the MEP so that the Vatican could regain ecclesiastical control of the missions from the Spanish and Portuguese colonial powers. In the case of China, the effects of the new policy had limited effects because the Rite Controversy and the subsequent prohibition of Catholicism in the 18th century had frozen the dissemination of the Church, which was allowed to exist only on the fringes. In the 19th century, the French government and missionaries (MEP, Lazarists and Jesuits) progressively imposed the idea of a protectorate of France, and it was only with *Maximum Illud* in 1919 that Propaganda Fide attempted to disentangle itself from the colonial power of France.

Recently, Ambrose Mong stated that the failure of the missionaries in China was closely linked to their reluctance in handing over the leadership to the local clergy:

> The main reason for their failure was the refusal of European clergy to hand over the leadership of the Church to the Chinese, in spite of Rome's edicts to establish an indigenous ecclesiastical hierarchy. With local clergy in charge, the issue of language and cultural adaptation would have been resolved.[55]

This suggests that the reasoning of delaying the transfer of power to the locals until they met the requirements was flawed. Funding new seminaries and recruiting local vocations as Guébriant advocated could not solve the basic problem. As Propaganda Fide, Costantini and Fourquet clearly understood, the local clergy needed to be first empowered through the nomination of Chinese bishops, not only in remote mission territories, but also in the major cities of China.

In the spirit of *Maximum Illud*, Fourquet made great efforts to insert the Church into Chinese politics. Though the Catholics in Europe were traditionally monarchists and suspicious of the republics, Fourquet developed polite relations with the revolutionary government of Canton. His involvement not only reached out to political circles, but also to other religions. According to his necrology, Fourquet had met a Buddhist monk who had progressive social ideas like him, and he made the vow to eat vegetarian, a vow that he kept until his death.[56] He also promoted the establishment of a Catholic university or Normal College in Canton, that could train teachers for the Catholic schools of the

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[55] Ambrose Mong, "Catholic missions in China: failure to form native clergy," *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church* 19.2 (2019): 30-43.

[56] Notice nécrologique d'Antoine Fourquet, Institut de Recherche France-Asie: https://www.irfa.paris/fr/notices/notices-necrologiques/fourquet-1872-1952 (16 September 2021)

Vicariate and could also train non-Catholics. This plan of a Catholic institution of higher learning did not materialize but it inserted itself into the larger project of having the voice of the Catholic Church heard in the intellectual scene. In his annual report to Propaganda Fide of 1933, he mentioned the intellectual debates taking place in China, with many negative ideologies coming from the West, and the need for the Church not to ignore the new "hypothetical teachings" but to show that "many so-called scientific facts lack foundations."[57] Its intellectual attitude seems here to be quite reactionary and apologetic, but we have seen that he could also embrace the cause of Chinese nationalism.

Through all his engagements, Fourquet wanted the Catholic Church not to be a colonial church, but to be assimilated into the Chinese modern society. He could count on the support of Propaganda Fide, but he faced the strong opposition of his MEP confreres and headquarters in Paris. The circumstances around his resignation and departure from Canton would need a more precise study.

Western name	Chinese name	Period	Title
Jean-Marie Mérel	梅致遠	1901-1914	Apostolic Prefect
Adolphe Rayssac	實茂芳	1915-1916	Administrator
Jean-Baptiste de Guébriant	光若翰	1916-1921	Apostolic Vicar
Antoine Fourquet	魏暢茂	1923-1946	Apostolic Vicar
Antoine Fourquet	魏暢茂	1946-1947	Archbishop
Gustave Deswazières	祝福	1946-1951	Administrator
Tang Yee-ming	鄧以明	1951-1995	Archbishop

Chart 2 – List of the bishops of Canton

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57 Fourquet, *Relazione annua* to Cardinal Fumasoni Biondi, 20 October 1933; APF, *Indice generale* 1933, vol. 1150, 4130/654v-655r.

【摘要】1919 年，《夫至大》宗座牧函標誌梵蒂岡呼籲在歐洲和北美以外的傳教地區促進教會本地化。事實證明，它在中國的接受和實施特別困難，但傳信部大力支持巴黎外方傳教會士、廣州宗座代牧魏暢茂（Antoine Fourquet，1923-1947）的努力。本文根據傳信部和廣州教區的原始檔案，檢視當時中國教會的情況，更具體地探究魏暢茂在廣州是如何積極推行傳信部制定的新政策，以及在他與自己修會的衝突中，傳信部是如何支持他。儘管天主教在很多方面很好地融入中國社會，但魏暢茂的個性和他的方法卻得不到許多人的認同，尤其是他本身的修會，並使傳信部最終責令他辭職。透過這個案研究，我們將反思促進教會本地化的歷史意義，以及當時以傳信部為代表的普世教會的角色。

對話論壇

為強化大中華地區和國際間對華人天主教團體的學術研究工作，雙語性質的《天主教研究學報》接受以中文或英文的投稿，並附以相對語文的摘要。《學報》偶爾或包括書評及本中心的活動簡訊，每年出版一次，主要以電子方式發行。我們鼓勵讀者及作者以本刊作互動討論的平台，並歡迎對本刊批評及提出建議。《天主教研究學報》以同儕匿名審稿方式選稿以維持一定的學術水準。本刊的性質大體屬於人文學科，以社會科學方法研究天主教與中國及華人社團，同時著重文本及實證考察的研究。本刊歡迎個別投稿及建議期刊專題。下期專題將採用 2023 年 5 月舉行之「利瑪竇研究學術會議：一代傳教士的啟迪」會上提交的論文。

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