

Using the Jesuits' Accommodation Experience in China
to Guide Change in Chinese Organizational Settings Today

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Abstract

In the late 1970s, China's party leaders realized that China was not able to develop in isolation. Their aim of "learning from advanced countries" also implied bringing change to China on all business-related levels. However, both Chinese and Western practitioners and scholars agree on the inappropriateness of any change approach alien to Chinese specification.

To bridge this void, this research directs its interest towards a substantive theorizing upon the Jesuits' Accommodation approach in China (1583-1742). To do so, Hermeneutic Phenomenology, rooted within the Utrecht School and following Max van Manen, establishes a renewed contact with the Jesuits' Accommodation experience outside its traditional research environment.

Grounded in an exhaustive description of the Accommodation phenomenon along its meaning-units, a reflective analysis into the structural aspects of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience allows eight essential themes to be abstracted. Becoming the building blocks of a substantive *Theory of the Unique*, these themes summarize all requirements that are reflected in, and/or concern Context, Course, and Content of any *Sinicized* change approach able to in-culturate/accommodate (foreign) persons|change-agents, (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and (alien) approaches|international best-practices into a Chinese environment.

As a result, research into the Jesuits' Accommodation approach provides Chinese and Western management practitioners and scholars with one new substantive approach to act towards the Chinese Others with thoughtfulness and tact in a fresh and systematic way.

Further conceptualized and *Sinicized*, applying *The Chinese Change Concept—The 3C-Approach* in a contemporary Chinese organizational environment finally allows to effectively manage change in Chinese organizational settings today.

Author's Declaration

I declare that the work in this thesis was carried out in accordance with the regulations of the University of Gloucestershire and is original except where indicated by specific reference in the text. No part of the thesis has been submitted as part of any other academic award. The thesis has not been presented to any other education institution in the United Kingdom or overseas.

Any views expressed in the thesis are those of the author and in no way represent those of the University.

Signed Date

Jürgen Wolff

15. June 2016

Den Eltern zur Freude,

Dem Herrn zu Ehren!

- Totus tuus -

Conventions

Use of sources and language:

Hanyu Pinyin to transcribe Chinese characters into Latin script as employed in the People's Republic of China, Republic of China (Taiwan) and Singapore AND simplified Chinese.

Greek characters AND transcription into the Latin script

French, Portuguese, Russian, and Spanish characters NO transcription into Latin script

Quotes and References:

Quotes from the *Holy Bible* are based on the King James Version including its assigned *Biblical Apocrypha*

References to/quotes from the *Spiritual Exercises* are taken from the German translation based on St. Ignatius Loyola's Spanish Autograph—referenced in the Reference section as Knauer (2008)

References to/quotes from the *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and their Complementary Norms* are taken from the Complete English Translation of the Official Latin Texts of the *Constitutiones Societatis Iesu et Normae Complementariae* of 1995. They are referenced in the Reference section as Societas Iesu (1996). To allow retracing the particular Constitution and Norm references are—contrary to APA specification—given in full.

To allow retracing the particular Letters of missionaries and founder of Orders references to/quotes from those documents are—contrary to APA specification—given in full.

To comply with the academic customs of referencing and quoting from Pasquale D'Elia's *Fonti Ricciane* references to/quotes from this source are—contrary to APA specification—given in full.

The Chinese titles of Chinese Books and their English translations, related content summaries and biographical details of respective authors—if not stated otherwise—are based on *The Ricci Institute Library Online Catalog/The Ricci 21st Century Roundtable Database*, references to/quotes from this source are given in simplified Chinese.

If not stated otherwise imperial titles are based on Hucker C. O. (1985) *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AS USED IN MAIN TEXT AND APPENDIX

Acts	Acts of the Apostles
C.M.	Congregatio Missionis—Lazarists Vincentians
Con.	Constitutions
Cor.	Epistle to the Corinthians
Dtn.	Book of Deuteronomy
Eph.	Epistle to the Ephesians
Ex.	Book of Exodus
FR	Fonti Ricciane
Gal.	Epistle to the Galatians
Hebr.	Epistle to the Hebrews
Is.	Book of Isaiah
Jer.	Book of Jeremiah
John	Gospel of John
Kings	Book of Kings
Lk.	Gospel of Luke
M.E.P.	Missionarii ad exteras gentes Parisienses—Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris Society of Foreign Missions of Paris
Mk.	Gospel of Mark
Msgr.	Monsignor
Mt.	Gospel of Matthew
No./N.	Number
O.C.D.	Ordo Carmelitarum Discalceatorum—Discalced Carmelites
O.P.	Ordo Praedicatorum—Dominicans
O.S.A.	Ordo Sancti Augustini—Augustinians
O.F.M.	Ordo Fratrum Minorum—Franciscans
O.F.M. Ref.	Ordo Fratrum Minorum Reformatorum—Franciscans (Strictioris Observantiae)
Prov.	Book of Proverbs
Ps.	Book of Psalms
Petr.	Epistle of Peter
Rom.	Epistle to the Romans

Sam.	Book of Samuel
SE	Spiritual Exercises
Sir.	Book/Wisdom of Sirach
S.J.	Societas Jesu—Jesuits
Thess.	Epistle to the Thessalonians
Zech.	Book of Zechariah

1. RESEARCH INTRODUCED AND PLACED

1.1 Background and Significance of the Study

*Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain
shall meet,
Till Earth and Sky stand presently at God's great Judgment
Seat;
But there is neither East nor West, Border, nor Breed, nor
Birth,
When two strong men stand face to face, though they come
from the ends of the earth!*
(Kipling, 1941, "The Ballad of East and West", p. 111)

In the late 1970s, China's pragmatic party leaders realized that China was no longer able to develop in isolation (Deng, 1978; Hsü, 2000; Vogel, 2011; Yueh, 2011). They were sure that modernization could only succeed by opening-up the country, importing foreign science along with management experience and skills (Deng, 1978, 1984; Hsü, 2000; Lufrano, 2008; Trescott, 2007; Vogel, 2011; Yu, 2004). To make China a great economic power by the early twenty-first century, it was thus necessary to overcome the closed-door years of ignorance and backwardness—the years from the mid-Ming period (~1525) to the Opium War (1839-1842), and the time from *Dayuejin*-大跃进-*The Great Leap Forward* (1958) to Mao's death (1976) (Deng, 1985).

To hence, enable China's economic self-reliance, the Third Plenum of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (Deng, 1984; Lufrano, 2008; Vogel, 2011; Yu, 2004) drew upon Zhou Enlai's reform-oriented ideas, which were already officially articulated in the 1960s (RenMinRiBao, 1963). Doing so, the Plenum decided the basic principles of the still lasting *gaigekaifang*-改革开放-*Reform and Opening-up Movement* and agreed on launching *sigexiandaihua*-四个现代化-*Four Modernizations*. In so marking "the sharpest about-turn in Chinese political thinking", (Faure, 2006, p. 72) this plenary session of December 1978 formally initialized the beginning of the reform era in China (Deng, 1978). It is in this context that the enacted aim of overcoming standstill and slow development by both "learning from advanced countries" (Deng, 1978, para. 1) and obtaining "a great deal of foreign assistance" (Deng, 1978, para. 2) resulted in bringing change to China on all business-related levels (Beijing Review, 1993).

Striving for nothing less than an all-over reversal of the Maoist policy of seclusion and its related way of running the economy (Deng, 1985; Faure, 2006; Hsü, 2000; Lufrano, 2008; Rozman, 1982), new, principally Western approaches to business had to be learned and implemented (Branine, 2005; Deng, 1978; Hempel & Martinsons, 2009; Hofstede & Bond, 1988; Huang, Moore, & McCarthy, 2014; Lufrano, 2008; Wang, 2010; Yueh, 2011; Zhu, 2009). Once the country embarked on this transformation process change and alteration became unstoppable (Beijing Review, 1993). To continue coping with the diversified-diversifying needs and requirements of modern customers, economy, and society alike, Chinese organizations still strive to bridge the gap in terms of contemporary, mainly Western business concepts (Bai & Enderwick, 2005; HuaXia, 2009a; Liu, 2006; McCain, 1999; PWC, 2010a, 2010b; Rothwell, 2004; Schlevogt, 2002; Street & Matelski, 2009; Wang, 2010; Wang, He, & Yu, 2005; Wind, 2006).

Deng's "'Declaration' for the New Period" (Yu, 2004, p. 141) at the Closing Session of the 1978 Central Work Conference planted the seed—prior to the Third Plenum—of the need for business change in China. The consequent transformative and still ongoing (Vogel, 2011; Yu, 2004) events in Chinese organizational settings are clear (Street & Matelski, 2009; Yu, 2004; Yueh, 2011).

However, deciding upon and implementing interventions into daily practice management in international, cross-cultural settings is still largely concerned with the idiosyncrasies of national culture (Branine, 2005; Berrell, Wrathall, & Wright, 2001; Hempel & Martinsons, 2009; Hofstede & Bond, 1988; Lüsebrink, 2012; Negandhi & Estafan, 1965; Thomas & Liao, 2010; Wang et al., 2005) and its "impact on major business activities" (Leung, Bhagat, Buchan, Erez, & Gibson, 2005, p. 357). Chinese managers and workforce thus expect that every modification to daily practice simultaneously locate in, and take place within, the framework of Chinese characteristics (HuaXia, 2009b; Redding & Wong, 2008; Schlevogt, 2002; Wang et al., 2005; Warner, 2009; Whiteley, Cheung, & Quan, 2000; Ying, 1998).

This means agreeing with

- Hofstede and Bond (1988), who recognize that both “national culture does not stop at the [company] gate” (p. 20) and recognizing local cultural patterns when managing change in a requesting-receiving country such as China is not a luxury but a mission-critical necessity; and
- Leung et al. (2005), who question the disappearance of “inefficiencies and complexities associated with divergent [cultural] beliefs and [organizational] practices” (p. 358) in the wake of an emerging global economy and the development of standard, culture-free business practices that consequentially would easily solve those highly practical international, cross-cultural managerial problems.

Even if globalization enables a virtually boundary-less flow of business resources, it is further inevitable to consider that global westernization mainly results in the “convergence of consumption patterns and leisure activities” (Leung et al., 2005, p. 359). Far-reaching influences on and changes in “fundamental issues such as beliefs, norms, and ideas about how individuals, groups, institutions, and other [...] social agencies ought to function” (p. 359) however are marginal or virtually non-observable in contemporary China (Bond, 1991; Bond & Hwang, 2008; Hofstede & Bond, 1988; Kulich & Zhang, 2010). Chinese consider it possible to modernize “without compromising their strong [...] traditions [...] [and thus remain] distinct from modern Westerners” (Bond, 1991, p. 116). The distance between the Western and the Chinese cultures has seen little change (Branine, 2005; Hofstede, 2001; Hwang & Han, 2010). In this regard, Hwang and Han (2010) highlight those strong traditional Chinese values that root in “Confucian thought [...] [, mirror the] Confucian ethical system of benevolence-righteousness propriety for ordinary people [...] [and hence, centre] the

- fundamental principles for social interaction [and hierarchy]” (p. 482)—*wulun*-五伦-Five Bonds|five cardinal hierarchical relationships;
- “obligation-based [role] ethics of Confucianism” (p. 485); and
- understanding of *zuo mianzi*-做面子-“[m]aking face and [*zheng mianzi*-争面子-]keeping up face” (p. 489) and its related role obligation.

These have remained a constant in Chinese culture, despite the past socio-political changes and historical developments.

It is in this regard, that these particular values and their contemporary manifestations exhibit and demonstrate a socio-cultural continuity. This allows insights gathered from the past and its related lessons to be (still) valid today. Redding and Wong (2008) further emphasize in their psychological research on Chinese organizational behaviour, that these particular manifestations of “Confucian ideology which have remained constant [...] [still] have significant impact on present-day organizations” (p. 272). They are thus increasingly able to co-exist with modern—mostly Western—values (Bond & Hwang, 2008; Hofstede & Bond, 1988; Hwang & Han, 2010; Leung, 2008; Littrell, 2005; Redding & Wong, 2008; Smith & Bond, 1998; Ying, 1998).

Such situation notwithstanding, many still expect business practices to become progressively similar. Some anticipate international business practices to emerge from Sino-Western cultural levelling—at least in the short- and medium term. Some Western managers plainly expect Chinese participants in the field to westernize—they tend to be over-optimistic (Hofstede & Bond, 1988; Huang et al., 2014; Leung, 2008; Leung et al., 2005; Liu, 2006; Wang et al., 2005; Warner, 2009; Whiteley et al., 2000; Ying, 1998; Zhu, 2009).

Put briefly, Davis (2008) handily summarizes the cultural stress and mine field that awaits those Western managers who have accompanied and still accompany the Chinese on their transformation journey. He emphasizes that the “problem is not that we overvalue cultural differences but that we underestimate them. Even in our multiculturalism, we imagine a sameness of outlook and aspiration, an unwitting projection of ourselves in the end” (p. 270). This holds particular truth in China (Branine, 2005; de Bary, 1994; Child & Tse, 2001; Hempel & Martinsons, 2009; Hofstede & Bond, 1988; Leung, 2008; Littrell, 2005; Liu, 2006; Schlevogt, 2002; Thomas & Liao, 2010; Wang, 2010; Wind, 2006; Ying, 1998; Yu, 2012; Zhu, 2009). Especially in the context of how to both bring change to China on all business-related levels, and effectively manage change in Chinese organizational settings in order to finally achieve modification to daily practice, management and academic literature of multiple provenance and sophistication mostly join in the pessimistic spirit as outlined above.

In doing so, papers and publications first and foremost introduce those Western practitioners and scholars who

- either lament, at best, the ineffectiveness of Western change approaches in a Chinese (organizational) setting, without providing suggestions on how to eliminate the inappropriateness of the Western change approaches (Berrell et al., 2001; Branine, 2005; Liu, 2006; Newell, 1999; Tung, 1986; Ying, 1998; Zhuang & Whitehill, 1989); or
- alternatively, accuse, at worst, the Chinese of their inability and reluctance to accept requested westernized best-practice interventions into their daily practice (Bai & Enderwick, 2005; Branine, 2005; Liu, 2006; Newell, 1999).

In any case, the result is fatal!

What *prima facie* only seems to be a particular soft problem, which primarily centres on cross-cultural issues and deficient expectation management (Hofstede & Bond, 1988), soon turns into a managerial and economic burden—at least when assumptions turn into practical yet tangible lived experiences. Generally applying to Western and Chinese practitioners alike, those who are expected to effectively enable, implement, and guide required change in Chinese organizational settings today are at best disillusioned and frustrated or at worst angry and reassured in their respective ethnocentric preconceptions. This further validates Newell's (1999) findings. It confirms that a linear attempt to apply Western change approaches in a Chinese organizational setting is based on false assumption and is thus ineffective.

The need for business change in China in general and particularly in current Chinese organizational settings still being beyond dispute (Hempel & Martinsons, 2009; Liu, 2006; Street & Matelski, 2009; Ying, 1998), the practical questions remain as follows:

- Is there at all a possibility to let *the twain* meet when trying to serve the Chinese aim of “learning from advanced countries (Deng, 1978, para. 1) and obtaining “a great deal of foreign assistance” (para. 2)?
- Is there at all a way to escape the vicious circle of self-fulfilment when managing an accepted, effective, mutually beneficial change on all business-related levels in Chinese organizational settings today?

Additionally, Chinese and Western practitioners and scholars do

- agree on the inappropriateness of any change approach both alien to Chinese specification and un-acknowledging respective particularities (Bai & Enderwick, 2005; Berrell et al., 2001; Branine, 2005; Kaeser, 2015, February; Liu, 2006; Newell 1999; Wang, 2010; Ying, 1998); and
- highlight problems related to imitating Western change concepts—due to cultural, historical, and conceptual issues (Aguinis & Roth, 2005; Easterby-Smith, Malina, & Yuan, 1995; Hempel & Martinsons, 2009; Hofstede, 1980, 1984; Kaeser, 2015, February; Lewis, 2006; Liu, 2006; Wang, 2010; Wind, 2006; Ying, 1998).

These observations provide the basis and push for finding new solutions.

In order to accommodate Western ideas into a Chinese (organizational) setting some have sporadically attempted to change perspectives and find possibilities for interaction (Chen, 2012; Cheng, 2012; Hempel & Martinsons, 2009; Hofstede, 1980; Huang et al., 2014; Kaeser, 2015, February; Ma, 2012; McAdam, Moffett, & Peng, 2012; Newell, 1999; Wan, 2012; Wang, 2010; Ying, 1998; Zhao, 2012).

However, extensive review showed that management and academic literature had not yet developed a workable, change-enabling, change-implementing, and change-guiding model that acknowledges Chinese and Western characteristics/particularities in a fresh and systematic way; or, at least, provide recommendations on how to form a *Sinicized* change approach. This is despite prevailing agreement of the need to meet the actual managerial challenge; of preparedness to search for suggestions that address the organizational void; and willingness to adopt a solution that

- proves to be good for both Chinese and Western participants;
- acknowledges the managerial and cultural issues of concern; and
- is able to deal sensitively and thoughtfully with a comparable managerial context by acting towards the *Chinese Others* with thoughtfulness and tact (Hofstede, 2003; van Manen, 1990, 1991).

These continuing deficiencies demonstrate the uniqueness of (and need for) the research at hand.

Additionally, references are not given on where to find an/this *eudaemonic* solution-*eudaimonia*-εὐδαιμονία (Gemoll et al., 2010) to meet the managerial challenge of enabling, implementing, and guiding change in an accepted, effective, mutually beneficial, Sino-Western way from within the Chinese organizational setting.

Following this roadmap of research and problem solving, van Manen (1990) highlights that the “starting point [...] [is lived experience]” (p. 54). In this respect (re-)searching “epiphanic moments” (Angelides, 2001, p. 430 as cited in Bednall, 2006) becomes the gateway to acknowledging and solving problems (Anderson, 2006; Chang, 2008; Ellis, Adams, & Bochner, 2011; Hayano, 1979; Moustakas, 1994; van Manen, 1990). One question thus imbibes the beginning of this phenomenological inquiry into lived experience:

- What human experience do I feel called upon to make topical for my investigation?

Acknowledging the connecting factors and overlaps between

- the academic and practical, Chinese and Western concerns regarding the inappropriateness of non-*Sinicized* change approaches; and
- a social phenomenon that—being located in a Chinese setting—can be linked to the research context and already proved to be effective as a guiding approach at an earlier time,

research directed its interest towards

The Jesuits' Accommodation experience in China between 1583 and 1742.

It was not until the end of the twentieth century that research first directed its focus on the Accommodation phenomenon's trans-disciplinary aspects (Standaert, 2005a, 2010b). Studies initially regarded it solely as a religious phenomenon (Bettray, 1955). Notwithstanding this later shift in systematic study, the joint religious and secular character of the subject (Standaert, 2010b) has not been researched in the managerial context. In this regard, Standaert (2010b) highlights that the academic compartmentalization of the Jesuits' Accommodation phenomenon is a limitation that needs broader interaction and open-minded transfer of researched insights across the boundaries of established disciplines.

Linking managerial concerns to the historical context of the Jesuits missionizing in China (in a comparable cultural and organizational setting) has two advantages. It involves not only the study of *good examples* of enabling, implementing, and guiding change in China (van Manen, 1991), but also yields new insights into the uniquely *complex processes* of managing and leading change in comparable Chinese organizational environments (van der Mescht, 2004). It prepares the ground for novel research into how to enable, implement, and guide an accepted, successful, effective, and mutually beneficial change in a contemporary Chinese organizational context that simultaneously acknowledges and respects Chinese and Western characteristics and particularities while avoiding ethnocentrism and faux internationalization.

It is in this regard that understanding the goodness of the Jesuits' *maieutic-μαϊευτική* (Gemoll et al., 2010) endeavour (Meyer-Drawe, 1997) of bringing new ideas and approaches, and hence, change to China establishes a renewed contact with the Jesuits' Accommodation approach within a comparable setting but outside of its traditional research environment (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009).

To such an extent, merging historical contexts and temporal horizons (Husserl, 1922) and creating "a link between past, present and future" (Holloway & Wheeler, 2002, p. 203) presents a new way of viewing comparable organizational cases (Takala & Lämsä, 2005; Sanders 1982).

In comprehending the genuine practicality of the Jesuits' Accommodation activity to enable, implement, and guide conversion/change in a Chinese environment, this research breaks new ground, as it offers a unified solution to the managerial issues of concern.

This summarizes the respective background of the study and shapes the "argument about the significance of [...] [this] research and where it leads" (Bryman & Bell, 2007, p. 95).

1.2 Purpose of the Study

From the great Jesuit scholars of the sixteenth century down to the best sinologists of today, we can see that there was never a more powerful antidote to the temptation of Western ethnocentrism than the study of Chinese civilization. (Simon Leys, 1988, as cited in Standaert, 1997, pp. 576-577)

Following Whitley (1984b), contemporary management research needs to create knowledge, insights, and solutions that cater to the specification and demands of management practitioners and academics alike. Denyer and Tranfield (2006) suggest that management research has its duty to provide practical ideas and suggestions that enable practitioners to decide and implement interventions into their daily business. Simply carrying forward traditional research assumptions about the world being concrete, structured, and closed-ended does not do justice to these expectations. It also proves to be unsatisfactory in meeting the growing demands of management research to acknowledge and answer practical international, cross-cultural managerial problems (Noorderhaven, 2000; Seymour, 2006).

This holds particularly true for the simultaneous Chinese and Western concern that motivates this study. Starting where scholars and practitioners apparently stop research is hence, expected to develop one new substantive *Sinicized* change approach that simultaneously acknowledges Chinese and Western characteristics/particularities in order to effectively enable, implement, and guide change in Chinese organizational settings today.

Taking up the contextualizing insights that sum up the *Background and Significance of the Study* and striving towards bridging the topic-related void by providing comprehensive, target-oriented recommendations on how to manage an accepted, effective, and mutually beneficial change in Chinese organizational contexts today, this paper aims at bringing (back) into focus the underlying cross-cultural issue.

To do so, the thesis adopts a stance hitherto unusual in the realm of management research, in order to look at the prevailing managerial concerns from a different vantage point.

In this regard, stance and research are also unusual as both rely on and use a historical approach that makes extensive usage of historical method usually applied within the ambits of business history, not managerial research.

Thus, by reclaiming known ideas, established practices, and applied approaches but with a new interpretation (Hart, 1998), this paper will educe and then transfer practical ideas and creative suggestions from cross-disciplinary, hermeneutic-phenomenological research (Takala & Lämsä, 2005). To do so, the author and study conform to Noorderhaven's (2000) and Ehrich's (2005) stipulations, by transcending traditional research assumptions that dominate contemporary business research (Myers, 2009; Bryman & Bell, 2007). They accentuate that new, surprising insights into complex interpersonal and intercultural managerial concerns must also involve the related equivocal and complex processes of managing and leading. Only by looking at the business-related problem under scrutiny in its entirety can we make sense of a social phenomenon or a human experience

- across cultural, historical, and disciplinary boundaries; and
- beyond the limits of apparently well-established theories, constructs, and solutions.

In so avoiding compartmentalization while re-turning to the things themselves (Husserl, 1922; van Manen, 1978, 1990), this research will break new ground. It approaches the existing managerial issue, its apparently unquestioned truths, and its (seemingly) over-researched question in a creative, fresh way (Ehrich, 2005).

In such a way, the study researches the

Jesuits' Accommodation experience in China between 1583 and 1742

as a social phenomenon that

- is located in a Chinese setting;
- can be linked to the research context; and
- has proven to be effective as a guiding approach at an earlier time.

Such a novel (reflective and historical) approach in management research as well as in the consideration and the use of original (primary) textual sources is expected to yield “new insights into the uniquely complex processes of [...] managing” (van der Mescht, 2004, p. 1) change in comparable Chinese environments.

In so adhering to a design unique in business research, this study of the Jesuits’ Accommodation experience seeks answers in the managerial context under an apparently well-researched topic (Seymour, 2006).

By interpretively understanding, reflecting on, and substantively theorizing upon what it means to be a Jesuit in China aiming at successfully spreading the Gospel, it should be possible to interpretively understand, reflect on, and substantively theorize upon change in a Chinese organizational setting today (van Manen, 1990). This should clarify the structures that have come to restrict or question the nature and ground of guiding change until now.

This holds true in the historical context and within a contemporary cross-cultural managerial setting (van Manen, 1990). It is further consistent with the historical and contemporary moral requirement of interacting tactfully with both the Chinese and the Western settings “in [...] [comparable] situations on the basis of a carefully edified thoughtfulness” (van Manen, 1990, p. 8).

Thus, establishing a renewed contact with the Jesuits’ Accommodation experience outside its traditional research environment (Standaert, 2010b), and comprehending the genuine practicality of the Jesuits’ activity to missionize, hence, to enable, implement, and guide conversion/change in Chinese environments, presents a new way of viewing comparable organizational cases (Sanders, 1982). It allows new insights into the uniquely complex processes of guiding change within Chinese conditions (van der Mescht, 2004).

Thus, modelling a *eudaemonic* solution to act towards the *Chinese Others* with thoughtfulness and tact (Ehrich, 2005) in a fresh and systematic way, bridges the topic-related void, and meets the requirements of originality in scholarship (Hart, 1998).

As the purpose of pursuing this unique management research design is to enlighten practice by phenomenological reflection (van Manen, 1978, 1990), grasping, clarifying, and making explicit the structural aspects (that is, the essential structures, the essence) of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience (van Manen, 1990) is necessary.

Thus, bringing "to speech [...] [the] reflective understanding" (p. 20) of the Jesuits' Accommodation experience requires an insightful description of its inter-subjective *qualia*, i.e. the immutable essence(s) of the experience under scrutiny, and texture (Husserl, 1922; Moustakas, 1994) from the perspective of those experiencing (Cohen & Omery, 1994; Owen, 2008; Tufford & Newman, 2010).

Doing so enables a more direct contact with the Jesuits' endeavour. It allows a deeper understanding of and reflection on the true nature of that phenomenon as an approach to enable, implement, and guide change in contemporary Chinese organizational settings (van der Mescht, 2004).

As a result, pursuing this particular reflective (research) approach links the essence of the Jesuits' Accommodation experience to the managerial issue of concern and thus results in developing and inductively conceptualizing one new substantive *Sinicized* approach to effectively manage change in Chinese organizational settings today.

2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND OBJECTIVES DERIVED

One question embeds the beginning of a phenomenological inquiry into lived experience: What human experience do I feel called upon to make topical for my investigation? (Max van Manen, 1990)

According to Bryman and Bell (2007), working out research questions and developing related research objectives are a crucial prerequisite to define an appropriate research design. This traditional approach (Bryman, 2007) also holds true in terms of researching human experience, i.e. a phenomenon. In this context, Moustakas (1994) highlights that the research design “relates back to the [research] question, is developed [...] to illuminate the question, and provides a portrayal of the phenomenon that is vital, rich, and layered in its textures and meanings” (p. 59).

In contrast to many perspectives on social and human science research, and the general understanding that (apparently) un-specific and/or open-ended research questions and objectives imply the danger of unfocused research (Bryman & Bell, 2007), Moustakas (1994) and van Manen (1978, 1990) raise the issue that a different positioning and understanding is required when formulating a research question that

- deals with a human experience;
- asks “for the meaning and significance of certain phenomena” (van Manen, 1990, p. 23); and
- guides and directs the “phenomenological process of seeing, reflecting, and knowing” (Moustakas, 1994, p. 59).

Clearly stating that “the essence of the question is the opening up, and keeping open, of possibilities” (Gadamer, 1975, p. 266 as cited in van Manen, 1990), van Manen (1990) emphasizes that simply relying on clear-cut, non-ambiguous research questions that are expected to yield clear-cut answers ready to be interpreted in a non-ambiguous way will restrict finding the essence of a phenomenon. Doing so complicates disclosing that kind of knowledge that inheres in practical action. Additionally, Ehrich (2005) highlights that starting from an unequivocal research question precludes any transfer of non-managerial and thus, conceptually non-prestressed insights, into the universe of managing.

Even if the research question “that is the focus of and guides an investigation must be carefully constructed” (Moustakas, 1994, p. 59), van Manen (1990) concludes that researching a phenomenon regarding its true nature by simply raising a question and striving to find a final, comprehensive answer is neither conducive nor productive.

Notwithstanding the claim for a living research question, today’s management research is to create knowledge, insights, and solutions that cater to the specification and demands of management practitioners and academics alike (Aram & Salipante Jr., 2003; Denyer & Tranfield, 2006; Whitley, 1984b) while acknowledging “the scientific status of management research as a practically oriented social science” (Tranfield, 2002, p. 378). A phenomenological question is thus expected to adhere to scientific clarity (Aram & Salipante Jr., 2003), but above all, it

- gives “a direction and focus to meaning” (Moustakas, 1994, p. 59);
- requires and enables constant reflection “on the very thing that is being questioned [by being questioned]” (van Manen, 1990, p. 44); and
- engages the researcher and the addressee—with the latter being able to “wonder about the nature of the phenomenon” (p. 44) and the former being able to be and stay interested in understanding (van Manen, 1990).

In so doing, a researcher is unable to formulate a proper research question until s|he has identified her|his interest in the nature of a selected human experience (Moustakas, 1994; van Manen, 1990). As questioning is linked to the researcher only, van Manen (1990) clarifies that the researcher stands in the midst of what makes the question possible in the first place. S|he is aware of, and brings to the fore, her|his own insights, prejudices, concerns, and values, and establishes “a renewed contact with the original experience” (p. 31) by questioning the phenomenon again and again “until that which is put to question begins to reveal something of its essential nature” (p. 43). To thus, enable the researcher’s broad involvement, and to allow questioning to yield valuable insights into the essential nature of a human experience (Moustakas, 1994; van Manen, 1978), the necessity of formulating a research question “outside the confines of theoretical constructs and [...] [disciplinary] frameworks” (Ehrich, 2003, p. 42) becomes obvious.

The research aim of comprehending the true nature and the genuine practicality of the Jesuits' change-enabling, change-implementing, and change-guiding activity in a Chinese environment while establishing renewed contact with the Jesuits' original transformative and transforming experience (Ray, 1994; van Manen, 1978, 1990), already points towards the central question that motivates the researcher and research alike:

- What constituted the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience in China?

By reflecting on this lived experience outside its traditional research environment, the researcher constantly address the question of *what* the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience is really like, *what* its true nature, its essence is (Husserl, 1922; van Manen, 1978, 1990). Understanding this essence might yield new insights for management within a comparable setting, but outside the boundaries "of pre-existing theories and well-establish [sic] constructs" (Ehrich, 2005, p. 8). In detailing the question that is central to the research as stated above, the following research questions that relate to "the phenomenological process of seeing, reflecting, and knowing" (Moustakas, 1994, p. 59) can be constructed:

- What constitutes the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience in China?
- What is the essence, the *true nature*, of this lived experience?
- Which insights does this understanding yield for the process of managing change in comparable Chinese organizational settings?
- How can these insights be aggregated within one new substantive *Sinicized* approach to guide change in comparable Chinese organizational settings today?

Van Manen (1990) claims that researching a lived experience and elaborating upon phenomenological knowledge is a personal interpretation, and its understanding, though containing within itself a universality that enables a theoretical position to be captured from practice (Ray, 1994; van Manen, 1978, 2007), cannot be generalized in a positivistic way (Aram & Salipante Jr., 2003). Aligning the research questions with their practical use in a managerial context thus requires looking for answers that satisfy a general phenomenological understanding and the practical requirements of management research (Aram & Salipante Jr., 2003; Whitley, 1984b).

In this regard, the research questions refer to a set of definable research objectives that—despite their clarity—enable one, but no final, interpretation (van Manen, 1978, 1990) of the true nature of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience.

As dealing with the research questions does not present a new view, but only a new way of viewing the guiding organizational matter (Sanders, 1982), defining and working on the respective research objectives simultaneously

- allows the formation of one new substantive *Theory of the Unique* (Bryman & Bell, 2007; van Manen, 1990) that—based on similarity of background between the Jesuits enabling, implementing, and guiding conversion/change, and management enabling, implementing, and guiding change in the same cultural, value-related and moral context—yields fresh, new insights into topic-related managerial concerns (Ehrich, 2005; Hart, 1998); and
- leads to intelligibility and deep understanding regarding the phenomenon itself (Moustakas, 1994), and how learning its essence affects one (van Manen, 1978, 1990, 1991).

Carrying forward this twofold understanding, reflection that leads to theoretical developments describes the main character of the research objectives that emanate from the particular research questions (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe, & Lowe, 1991; Ray, 1994; van Manen, 2007).

Understanding, describing, and elucidating the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience constitutes these research objectives. Dealing with them recognizes the wider context of the research aim, produces answers to the research questions, and enables the emergence and transfer of new insights into managerial concerns into one new substantive theory that acknowledges and works within conceptual similarities (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009; Ehrich, 2005).

In so doing, three research objectives derive from the research questions:

1. Reflect on the constituents, the essence, and the *true nature* of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience in China.

2. Enable new insights into the managerial concern of enabling, implementing, and guiding change in comparable Chinese organizational settings to emerge from this understanding.
3. Transfer these insights into one new substantive *Theory of the Unique* that acknowledges the issue of concern; that works within comparable managerial contexts; and that lends itself to further investigation.

Conceptualizing one way to successfully *inculturate* (foreign) persons, (unfamiliar) ideas, and (alien) approaches in a Chinese setting by describing and interpreting the true nature of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience—whilst making extensive usage of historical method in the consideration and the use of the original (primary) textual sources and hence, whilst relying on text to capture the essence of the respective phenomenon—already points towards a facilitating research methodology hitherto unusual in management research. Deriving from this is an appropriate research method that caters to the aim of the research question and the research objectives.

Notwithstanding this apparently straightforward commitment which confirms the traditional approach to defining a workable research design (Bryman, 2007; Moustakas, 1994; van Manen, 1978, 1990), and which highlights a “certain dialectic between question and method” (van Manen, 1990, p. 2), understanding the related philosophical issues and related practical necessities helps ensure that methodological settings and methodical techniques prove appropriate (Ray, 1994; Seymour, 2006; van Manen, 1978).

To such an extent, reflecting on the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience already refers to a facilitating, supporting, and fertilizing *Research Philosophy* that—*Clarified* in the next section—likewise implicates both an adequate research methodology and a compatible research method (Easterby-Smith et al., 1991).

3. RESEARCH PHILOSOPHY CLARIFIED

Business research “does not exist in a vacuum” (Bryman & Bell, 2007, p. 4), but the area of its application defines it, and the philosophical traditions that form humanities and social sciences in general inform it (Aram & Salipante Jr., 2003). Aimed at creating knowledge, insights, and solutions that meet the requirements of management practitioners and academics alike (Aram & Salipante Jr., 2003; Denyer & Tranfield, 2006; Whitley, 1984b), research conducted in the business area always requires placing it “in the context of [...] social science disciplines [...] and its specific fields” (Bryman & Bell, 2007, p. 4) on which it is based (van Manen, 1978, 1990). Especially in the novel, at least unusual context of the research at hand, following Seymour’s (2006) recommendation not “to avoid the mire of philosophy of science” (p. 137) but to think through and clarify research philosophy in order to achieve “cohesion, in terms of both epistemological consensus and research agenda” (Denyer & Tranfield, 2006, p. 215) is necessary. Presenting the ontological and epistemological positioning of the research|er will further clarify the related value-canon, theoretical positioning, and issues of research practice and existing practical considerations. It is therefore, indispensable in defining and defending methodological approaches and methodical necessities (Bryman & Bell, 2007) especially those new to business research.

With its objective existing only in and being dependent on interaction with the outer world (Seymour, 2006), the research aim requires and assumes an *interpretivistic ontology* (Ray, 1994) to be fulfilled. Educing and transferring practical and creative suggestions (Takala & Lämsä, 2005) from the cross-disciplinary research topic cannot be enabled within a framework of scientific laws, but requires going outside the boundaries of existing ideas (Ehrich, 2003). The natural transcending of a positivist mind-set, with the assumption that the world is socially constructed and subjectively perceived (Husserl, 1922), recognizes the interpreting observer as part of, and influencing what is, observed (Nicholson, 1997; Ray, 1994; van Manen, 1990). Such research focuses on the essential meaning of the phenomenon under scrutiny, whilst trying to understand various occurrences through looking at the totality of each situation (Husserl, 1922; Moustakas, 1994; Seymour, 2006).

With this reflexive research stance (Dowling, 2007; Ray, 1994; van Manen, 1978, 1990, 1995), the aim of the researcher is not to gather facts and measure how often certain patterns occur, but to appreciate the different constructions and meanings (Alvesson & Sklödberg, 2009) that are placed upon (the Jesuits') lived experience. These constructions and meanings exist in an already interpreted world, woven into its wider context (Seymour, 2006). Understanding, describing, and elucidating upon the true nature of the Jesuits' Accommodation experience relies on and requires the object of study to be contextualized and interpreted (Easterby-Smith et al., 1991; Ray, 1994). This is more likely to enable "a renewed contact with [the] original experience" (van Manen, 1990, p. 31). In turn, this renewed contact facilitates understanding and makes apparent its inter-subjective meaning to meet the research aim (Dowling, 2007; Husserl, 1922; Morgan, 1980; Moustakas, 1994; Nicholson, 1997; van Manen, 1978).

This position also holds true for the sources that provide the answers to research questions and how research objectives are to be approached. Requiring a doubly *interpretivistic ontology*, research does not only aim to **understand, describe, and contextualize** the Jesuits' lived experience as outlined in the respective textual sources, but also to **understand, describe, and contextualize** the sources as being socially constructed and given meaning to by people (Husserl, 1922). This reflection on the Jesuits' Accommodation experience, as perceived and brought to the fore via an interpretative act (Seymour, 2006; van Manen, 1978, 1990), can only be achieved within a matching, facilitating, fresh-insights-provoking epistemology (Ehrich, 2005; Hart, 1998; Ray, 1994).

Given the research aim, dealing with the research questions and meeting the research objectives requires an ontological interpretivist positioning (Ray, 1994). This permits research to "present [...] a new way of viewing" (Sanders, 1982, p. 359) "outside the confines of pre-existing theories and [...] constructs" (Ehrich, 2005, p. 8). In achieving this, the *interpretivist epistemology* allows the acquisition of new insights from a social world that is subjectively inferred through contextualization (Easterby-Smith et al., 1991; Mintzberg, 1991; van Manen, 1978).

Embedded in textual sources (Bauman, 1978; van Manen, 1990), these insights assume their significance by resting on reflective observation and interpretation of this contextualized experienced reality (Aram & Salipante Jr., 2003; Moustakas, 1994; Nicholson, 1997; Seebohm, 1997; van Manen, 1978, 1990). See(k)ing the essential, inter-subjective meaning that is attached to the Jesuits' actions or a set of Accommodation events (Gerring, 2003; Husserl, 1922; van Manen, 1990) "couples the [descriptive] phenomenology of 'everydayness'" (Seymour, 2006, p. 147) that is "interested in types and structures of lived experience" (Seebohm, 1997, p. 309) "with hermeneutic interpretations and renderings" (Seymour, 2006, p. 147). Dialectical reflection on the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience (Cohen, Kahn, & Steeves, 2000) renders the hidden and ambiguous into a visible, clear, coherent form (Bauman, 1978; Gerring, 2003; Moustakas, 1994). It makes apparent the particular within the common phenomenon under scrutiny (Nicholson, 1997; van Manen, 1978, 1990) in a thick, holistic, sensitive, and reflexive way (Geertz, 1973; van Manen, 1978).

As knowledge is granted and given only via interpretation and the creative, circular interaction with the textual sources (Cohen et al., 2000; Moustakas, 1994; Ray, 1994; van Manen, 1978, 1990), research epistemology too has to consider a doubly interpretivistic need. Making apparent the pure, unencumbered (but hidden) vision of what the Jesuits' experience in its essence is (Husserl, 1922; Moustakas, 1994; Seebohm, 1997; van Manen, 1978, 1990) simultaneously requires **understanding, describing, and elucidating** the phenomenon along its manifestations in textual data (Bauman 1978; Ehrich, 2003; Ray, 1994; Sanders, 1982). This must be combined with **understanding, describing, and elucidating** the expressions and objectifications of the phenomenon within its social-historical and cultural context (Bauman, 1978; Cohen et al., 2000; Seebohm, 1997) "that account for the experience" (Moustakas, 1994, p. 10).

Particular knowledge exists in relation to its given historical context, society, and (above all) culture, and so is not absolute (Stevenson & Pearsall, 2010). Understanding, describing, and elucidating requires, and is supported by, a value-canon that is rooted in *cultural relativism*.

This value stance enables an on-going and reflexive interaction with, and contextualization of, the respective culture-related data (Heyer, 1948). “[E]thnocentric western views and [...] practices” (Ulin, 2007, p. 803) are challenged. Transcending simple, ostensible tolerance “of diverse cultural practices as embodied in particular representations” (p. 811) necessitates critically and reflexively “studying others as [a] part of a process of critically understanding ourselves” (Ulin, 2007, p. 818). This generates *cultural relativism*: a desired prerequisite and a research-related necessity (Gearing, 2004; Tufford & Newman, 2010; van Manen, 2007). It is needed to answer the research questions and to meet the research objectives, that is, “to bring to speech [...] [the] reflective understanding” (van Manen, 1990, p. 20) of the essential structure of what the Jesuits’ experience in its essence is (Husserl, 1922; Seebohm, 1997; Moustakas, 1994). *Cultural relativism* is an appropriate “attitude of objectivity” (Johnson, 2007, p. 801) towards the expressions and objectifications of the phenomenon within its social-historical and cultural context (Bauman, 1978; Cohen et al., 2000; Seebohm, 1997). It facilitates “practical applications of that [culture-related] knowledge” (Johnson, 2007, p. 797) in the form of a substantive *Theory of the Unique* (van Manen, 2007).

Adhering to *cultural relativism* also allows room for a doubly interpretive, hermeneutic effort. Interpretatively theorizing (Ray, 1994; van Manen, 1990) the essential, inter-subjective meaning (Geertz, 1973) that is attached to the Jesuits’ experienced communication and interaction with the *Chinese Others* (Standaert, 2002a, 2002b, 2003a) as represented in text is the first strand. Working towards the substantive *Theory of the Unique* asks that the mutuality between Western and *Chinese Other* (Standaert, 2002a, 2002b, 2003a) which sums up, fills the “in-between[ness: *jian*-间]” (Standaert, 2002, p. 40), and which highlights communication, interaction, and coherence in this encounter be **understood**, **described**, and **elucidated** in an unprepossessed (Johnson, 2007; van Manen 2007), critical and reflexive (Ulin, 2007) manner. The second (double) strand, requires critically and reflexively **understanding**, **describing**, and **elucidating** the shared meaning (Geertz, 1973; Ulin, 2007) that is embedded in the interaction between Western and Chinese culture.

This limits ethnocentric bias (Sumner, 2002) as well as countering and transcending overhasty or compliant homogenization towards a dominant Western model (Marcus & Fischer, 1999).

In line with the study's ontological, epistemological, and value-stance-related understanding, working towards the substantive *Theory of the Unique* adopts an interpretivistic position that inductively allows theoretical ideas to emerge from the reflective analysis of data that deal with the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience (Ray, 1994; van Manen, 1978, 2007). This interpretive theorizing makes visible the invisible. It enables a new way of viewing, of looking at, of seeing the unique in practice along its manifestations in the respective text (van Manen, 1978, 1990) while communicating the human experience represented in the text as thematic structures (Ray, 1994).

In this understanding, inductively conceptualizing a theoretic position from reflective insights into a phenomenon is thinking with data (Geertz, 1973). It is not dependent on the number of sources (Bryman & Bell, 2007; Ray, 1994), but on the meaningfulness of data. Researching the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience considers solely the value of every particular lived transformative and transforming experience, as captured in textual sources, as a valid basis for practical action (van Manen, 1978, 1990). This clearly reconciles the apparent antagonism between theory supporting practice or theory supported by practice (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009; Ray, 1994; van Manen, 1978, 2007).

This inductive thinking gives rise to a theoretical construct that is an expression of meaning of a particular life-experience (van Manen, 1978, 2007). The purpose of achieving it is to enhance managerial understanding and action (van der Mescht, 2004), by capturing the meaning of an inter-cultural, inter-subjective condition, of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience, which generates meaningful knowledge. This facilitates the potential to theorize substantively upon this lived experience via description and interpretation of its social meaning in a different culture- (Johnson, 2007; Ray, 1994), time-, and discipline-related constellation, and from the researcher's point of view (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009; van Manen, 2007).

Such an inductively conceptualized/created theoretical position has two benefits. It not only opens out into a substantive *Theory of the Unique* that is eminently suitable to deal appropriately with a particular situation, a setting, and a person (Ray, 1994; van Manen, 1978, 1990) comparable to the phenomenon from which it is derived, but also allows a conceptual understanding that lends itself to further investigation (Moustakas, 1994). The creation of practice-enlightening (van Manen, 1978, 2007) “*action sensitive knowledge*” (van Manen, 1990, p. 21) incorporates a doubly interpretive, inductive process. Interpretive theorizing expresses the meaning of a particular life-world experience (Ray, 1994) and “the essence of practice itself” (van Manen, 2007, p. 14). It also simultaneously enhances, develops, and advances problem-focused, trans-disciplinary, and relevant knowledge in management and for management practitioners (Aram & Salipante Jr., 2003; Pettigrew, 2001; Starkey & Madan, 2001). This it does “by capturing the meaning of the human experience as universal” (Ray, 1994, p. 124) while “contributing to [...] thoughtfulness and [...] [the] ability to act toward others [...] with tact or tactfulness” (van Manen, 1990, p. 7).

Figure 1 characterizes the substantive *Theory of the Unique* as an outcome of the entire research.

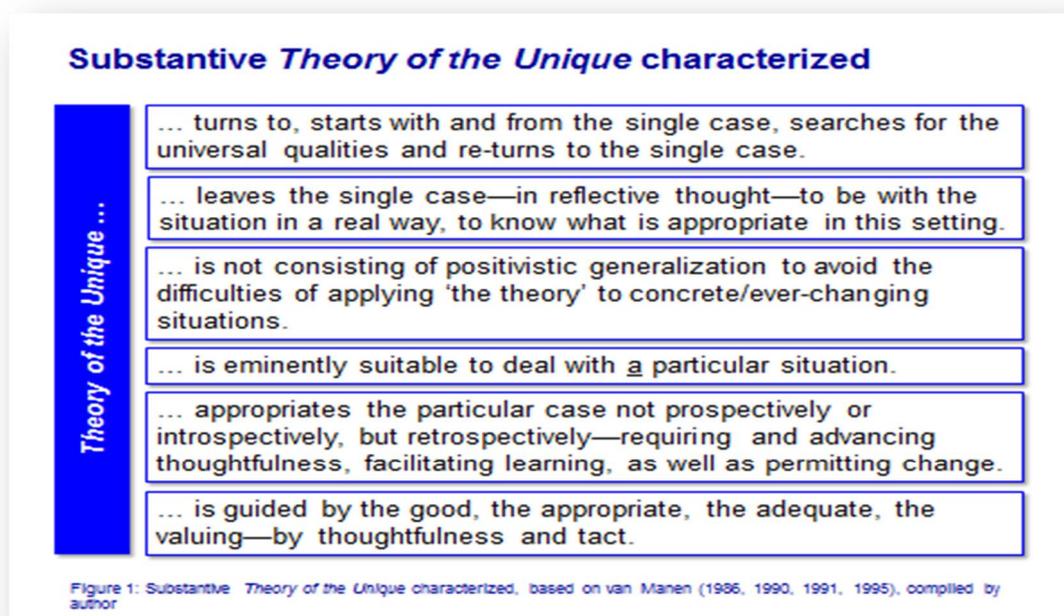


Figure 1: Substantive *Theory of the Unique* characterized

Figure 1: Substantive *Theory of the Unique* characterized, based on van Manen (1986, 1990, 1991, 1995), compiled by author

Figure 2 highlights the fundamental remits that require consideration to develop one substantive *Theory of the Unique*.

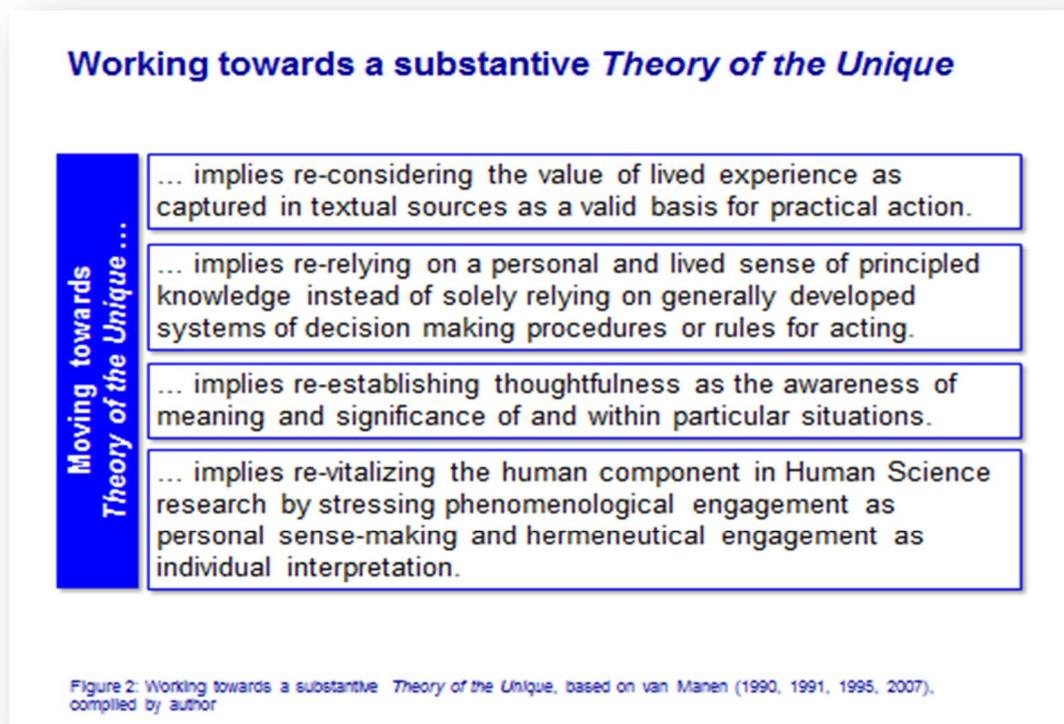


Figure 2: Working towards a substantive *Theory of the Unique*

Figure 2: Working towards a substantive *Theory of the Unique*, based on van Manen (1990, 1991, 1995, 2007), compiled by author

To ground research and to clarify methodological and methodical remits, it is necessary to leave behind the rather scholastic realm occupied by philosophical debates around ontology, epistemology, and theory and to allow for *practical considerations* (Bryman & Bell, 2007). Clarifying practical implications that are associated with answering the research questions and meeting the research objectives is essential (Easterby-Smith et al., 1991), as is defining the character, origin, area and extensiveness of the data sources that are to be researched (Ray, 1994; van Manen, 1990).

To gain insights into the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience and to make apparent its meaning structures, using a variety of textual sources—all incorporating experiential description or yielding experiential data—is supported by a research ontology and epistemology, and encouraged and required by the research questions and objectives (van Manen, 1990).

It is in this context that anything that has appearance or consciousness, that possesses the characteristics under observation, or that can give reliable information on the phenomenon being researched (Husserl, 1922; Sanders, 1982) is an appropriate source to uncover thematic aspects of the experience it describes (Ray, 1994; van Manen, 1978, 1990). This is so, irrespective of its academic or non-academic background and/or its disciplinary provenance (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009; van Manen, 1978).

Notwithstanding this apparent researcher's paradise, research has to restrict the number of sources and to engage in in-depth probing of this defined corpus (Myers, 2009; Cohen et al., 2000; Moustakas, 1994). To do so, Sanders (1982) highlights two critical rules:

1. More sources do not yield more information.
2. Quantity should not be confused with quality.

In this regard, van Manen (1990) proposes one appropriate way to restrict the number of sources, positing that the essence of a phenomenon has been adequately described if the description shows the essential quality and significance of the lived experience in a fuller or deeper manner.

Acknowledging the concern amongst scholars that data saturation might result in the "omission of relevant data, thus limiting the understanding of the phenomenon and the context" (Dixon-Woods, Agarwal, Jones, Young, & Sutton, 2005, p. 52), theoretical saturation (Bryman & Bell, 2007; van Manen, 1990) is one appropriate way to meet Sander's (1982) and van Manen's (1990) claims. Theoretical saturation entails carrying on finding and researching new sources until:

- the meaning/essence is captured;
- the phenomenon is understood;
- no new or relevant insights seem to emerge;
- a theme is well developed in terms of its essential properties/dimensions;
- the relationships among themes are established, validated, and appropriate for transfer into one new substantive *Theory of the Unique*.

Additionally, time-based limitations, as well as topic- and contribution-related parameters can be used to handle data collection, to conquer the trans-disciplinary data universe, and to refine ideas (Hart, 2001).

4. RESEARCH DESIGN ELUCIDATED

4.1 Research Design—General remits introduced

Fitting oneself into a research tradition always entails contributing to this tradition (van Manen, 1990). Benefitting from the fragmented state of management research (Whitley, 1984a), its open research agenda (Denyer & Tranfield, 2006), and its non-restricted methodological repertory that draws from management's fruitful relationship with other social sciences (Aram & Salipante Jr., 2003; Hodgkinson et al., 2001; Tranfield, 2002) is, in this regard, a prerequisite for "experimenting with new methodological approaches" (van Manen, 1990, p. 75). This furthers the management research tradition as such. Dealing with the complex, highly practical international and cross- and inter-cultural managerial issue that motivates this study (Ehrich, 2005; van Manen, 1978, 1990) by making sense of a social phenomenon/human experiences (van Manen, 1978, 1990) necessitates a trans-disciplinary, applied, and creative research design (Starkey & Madan, 2001; van Manen, 2011a).

However, simply carrying forward traditional research designs as applied in management studies has proven to be highly unsatisfactory (Alvesson & Deetz, 2000; Aram & Salipante Jr., 2003; Ehrich, 2005; Pettigrew, 2001; Seymour, 2006). A methodological void is created when deciding the most appropriate research design to make explicit the implicit meaning of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience, and working towards one new substantive *Theory of the Unique* by understanding, describing, and elucidating the true nature of this phenomenon across cultural, historical, and disciplinary boundaries and beyond the limits of apparently well-established theories, constructs, and solutions (Ehrich, 2005). Hermeneutic Phenomenology—as rooted within the Utrecht School and disseminated by Max van Manen—bridges this methodological void (Ehrich, 2005; Ray, 2004; Sanders, 1982; Seymour, 2006; van Manen, 1978).

Avowedly rooted in transcendental Phenomenology and philosophical Hermeneutics, van Manen (1997) clarifies that Hermeneutic Phenomenology leaves "the high road [...] [of] the great scholarly works of Husserl, Heidegger" (p. 350), Gadamer, or Schleiermacher.

By doing so, Hermeneutic Phenomenology reverts and resorts to the basic concepts and ideas that govern and constitute their philosophical universe solely to be acknowledged, understood, and tailored to an engaged research design as conducted by practitioners (van Manen, 1978). To provide further orientation **Table 1** displays and further details those basic concepts and ideas that govern and constitute the theoretical universe of transcendental Phenomenology and philosophical Hermeneutics, which thus become signposts in the chosen research design.

Hermeneutic Phenomenology—theoretical concepts, guiding ideas	
Lived experience	> an aspect of human existence as lived through by the experiencing subject as a conscious act; everyday experience as immediately experienced pre-reflectively and recognized as a particular type of experience; can only be grasped in retrospect; covers an overall subjective situation that is organically connected with the whole life of the experiencing subject and is to be (<i>pre-</i>) <i>understood part to whole/whole to part</i> ; active, creating, and provided with intention and meaning; motivation, source, and object of hermeneutic phenomenological inquiry; starting and end-point of hermeneutic phenomenological research; possesses a (hidden) thematic structure
Inter-subjectivity	> own <i>lived experience</i> includes the lived experience of the Other by analogy et vice versa; lived experience of the Other enlightens own lived experience et vice versa; transferability of own lived experience into the universality of any human experience allows to validate own lived experience in a dialogic relation with the Other; allows for co-constituted meaning via cross-individual fusion of <i>horizons</i> ; implies a non-solipsistic stance that bridges the self and the Other
Noema	> νόημα; the WHAT of the experiencing act; the intentional object/object-correlate/object-pole; gives consciousness direction and ascribes meaning; that which appears and is experienced, hence, the phenomenon; the content and object to which the experiencing subject orients her/himself in the experience, experiencing act, and/or behaviour; manifests itself in the texture of lived experience—the textural account
Noesis	> νόσις; the HOW and WHY of the experiencing act; the intentional subject/subject-correlate/I-pole; the subjective interpretive/reflective act directed to the <i>noema</i> ; that what is invisible as intentional processes per se ipsum; that what accounts for meaning and becomes of interest solely as a medium to understand the phenomenon; manifests itself in the deep (mostly hidden) structure underlying <i>lived experience</i> that account for the manifestations of the phenomenon—the structural account
Intentionality	> the bi-polarity of conscious <i>lived experiences</i> between the experiencing subject and the object as experienced; a synonym for consciousness; a process directed towards the <i>noema</i> in order to come face to face with the <i>essence</i> that makes the object identifiable as a particular <i>lived experience</i> ; the inseparable referentiality/relatedness/connectedness/orientation of the mind to its object; the <i>noema-noesis</i> correlate necessary to achieve a complete interpretation of the <i>lived experience</i> ; the hidden total meaning of the object; necessitates an interpretive stance while going through the <i>Hermeneutic Circle</i>
Epoché and phenomenological reduction	> a new way of looking before judging; catalyse a process of critical reflection; a transitory multi-process; cut off consciousness from its historical and social entanglements that serve as overt/covert operators of understanding; lead towards a state of newness, freshness, and readiness to see while revisiting the <i>lived experience</i> anew; involve raising awareness of pre-conceptions, and suspending them to grasp the true meaning, the uncontested <i>essence</i> of a phenomenon; distinguishable stages of one approach bound together by their underlying philosophical stance; often wrongly seen as one step (bracketing); a process of pre-reflective description and reduction to the primordial, the source of meaning, to what is horizontal and thematic—the hidden <i>eidos</i> of <i>lived experience</i> ; opens out into a complete textual description of <i>lived experience</i> along the non-repetitive constituents of the experience that are linked thematically
Imaginative variation	> leads towards the structural description of <i>lived experience</i> , the underlying, precipitating factors that account for what is being experienced, while discriminating between what is secondary and what is invariant; grasping the structural <i>essence</i> of a concrete lived experience; a reflective phase that starts after <i>epoché</i> and <i>phenomenological reduction</i> to investigate essences; seeking possible meaning through the utilization of free imagination, varying the frames of reference, employing polarities, and approaching the phenomenon from different perspectives; deriving structural themes from the textural description; recognizing the underlying themes that account for the emergence of the phenomenon

Table 1: Hermeneutic Phenomenology—theoretical concepts, guiding ideas (continued)

Hermeneutic Phenomenology—theoretical concepts, guiding ideas	
Essence	<p>> <i>ousia</i>-οὐσία; the inner invariant nature of a thing, the true being of it, that what is naturally there, hence, <i>essence</i>-essentia; that what makes a thing what it is and without it would not be what it is—<i>eidos</i>-εἶδος; that what gives meaning to the objects of consciousness; accessible only to and via phenomenological intuiting—a kind of inner gazing; the invariant core meaning of <i>lived experience</i> arrived at via intuition—<i>Verstehen</i>, <i>epoché</i> and <i>phenomenological reduction</i>, and <i>imaginative variation</i> is accomplished; requires intuitive integration of the fundamental textural and structural descriptions of <i>lived experience</i> into a unified statement of what is common or universal to the <i>lived experience</i> as such</p>
Horizon	<p>> the (individual) context in which/where one experiences; that what can be seen from a particular (individual) vantage point; is grounded in (own) history and time, culture, language, and value system, emits (own) historically conditioned status, and affects (own) pre-understanding and (own) pre-conceptions; manifests itself in the experiencing subject and via her/his actions and artefacts; the individual meaning-field, intrinsic reference system, consciousness/<i>intentionality</i> of the experiencing subject—always containing past, present, and future as indissoluble moments that move with the experiencing subject as it advances through time (fusion of own horizons); possibility to put oneself into the Other's horizon(s) by constantly moving back and forth between the own world and that of the Other (dialogical relationship)—understanding and linking back the unfamiliar reference system into the own and possibly revising, enriching, and/or broadening it (cross-individual fusion of horizons)</p>
Interpretive description	<p>> a process of reflectively re-living <i>lived experience</i> and appropriating, clarifying, and making explicit the structure of meaning; a combined act of thickly describing <i>lived experience</i> and interpreting its various expressions and objectifications to determine the meaning embodied in them along the <i>Hermeneutic Circle</i>; transforms <i>lived experience</i> into a textual expression of its <i>essence</i>; reading meaning out of the text/text-analogue; a combined/reciprocal process of working towards the texture and structure underlying the various manifestations of <i>lived experience</i>; a textual process of constructive reflective distanciation and engagement to make visible the invisible, open up, and see(k) new meaning as embedded within and presaged by the various manifestations of <i>lived experience</i> finally culminating in an act of understanding</p>
Hermeneutic Circle/Spiral	<p>> an on-going, deepening circular/spiral in-spection into the particular lived experience as given via various manifestations (data); a thinking with data where the plurality of interpretations and understandings collide and bring inspiration; enables distance and familiarity; leads analysis outside the context/horizon of a particular text/act, and individual lived experience; dissociates knowledge from an universal claim of undoubted truth, reopens a consideration of its formation that enables creative and fresh new insights to emerge/to become visible; necessitates intuition rather than reasoning, listening rather than scepticism; merges comparative and divinatory methods; is based on an objectivist and alethic hermeneutics; complements understanding text/text-analogue/therein embedded experiential acts as a whole by reference to its individual parts and an understanding of each individual part by reference to the whole of its cultural, historical, literary, and author-related context (objectivist) with a continuous reciprocal/back-and-forth alteration between pre-understanding and understanding—understanding continually referring back to an earlier pre-understanding that serves as the global meaning context of a new and partial understanding of a special issue while simultaneously constituting/disclosing new pre-understanding as a starting point to a more secure understanding (alethic); process of understanding underlying meaning rather than explaining causal connections (objectivist) and revealing hidden structure rather than focusing on correspondence between subjective thinking and objective reality (alethic); on-going movement from earlier pre-understanding to fuller understanding in order to constantly check and review the need for correction/change in preliminary understanding (alethic)—leading to a further process of examining parts and relating them to an understanding of the whole (objectivist)—both enabling renegotiation, reshaping, and correction in the light of the subsequent spiral turn</p>

Table 1: Hermeneutic Phenomenology—theoretical concepts, guiding ideas (continued)

Table 1: Hermeneutic Phenomenology—theoretical concepts, guiding ideas, based on Alvesson and Sköldbberg (2009); Annells (1996); Bauman (1978); Cohen et al. (2000); Drummond (1997); Earle (2010); Ehrich (2003); Flood (2010); Gadamer (2010); Gearing (2004); Gemoll et al. (2010); Heidegger (2006); Holloway and Wheeler (2002); Husserl (1922, 1995); Joisten (2009); Kern (1997); Kersten (1997); Lavery (2003); LeVasseur (2003); Luckner (2001); McConnell-Henry, Chapman, and Francis (2009); McKenna (1997); McNamara (2005); Mohanty (1997); Moustakas (1994); Nicholson (1997); Noorderhaven (2000); Owen (2008); Palmer (1969); Ray (1994); Scanlon (1997); Schleiermacher (1977); Seebom (1997); Standing (2009); Stapelton (1983); Stowasser et al. (2006); Thiselton (2009); van der Zalm and Bergum (2000); van Manen (1978, 1990, 2007, 2011b); Zahavi (2007), compiled by author

Hermeneutic Phenomenology, by aiming to arrive at the *eidōs-εἶδος*; that is, the gestalt, the archetype, the idea, the quality and texture (Gemoll et al., 2010)—hence, the core of meaning of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience in China (Husserl, 1922; van Manen, 1978, 1990)—will produce new insights into the phenomenon in order to approach the existing managerial problem in a fresh, systematic way (Ehrich, 2005).

While grasping the *idio-logical*; that is, the distinctive, aspects of the particular experience that transcend its *nomo-logical* features and factual manifestations (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009; Husserl, 1922; van Manen, 1978, 1990) outside its traditional research environment, hermeneutic-phenomenology inquiry requires a simultaneously creative and pragmatic research approach (Seymour, 2006). This necessitates a combined phenomenological and hermeneutic stance (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009; Bryman & Bell, 2007; Sanders, 1982; van Manen, 1978, 1990) that not only follows research philosophy and mirrors its facets as outlined in *Chapter 3*, but also adheres to those practical considerations that are associated with answering the research questions, meeting the research objectives, and dealing with a wide range of different data sources (Bryman & Bell, 2007; Easterby-Smith et al., 1991; Heyer, 1948; van Manen, 1978, 1990).

Applied to allow “a more direct contact with the experience as lived” (van Manen, 1990, p. 78), Hermeneutic Phenomenology facilitates

- a description of the Accommodation phenomenon along its manifestations in textual sources and from the point of view of those experiencing (Cohen & Omery, 1994; Tufford & Newman, 2010); and
- an interpretation of the expressions and objectifications of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience as well as a creation of signifying relations (Cohen et al., 2000; Moustakas, 1994; van Manen, 1978, 1990).

To do so, the description occurs in an ever-reducing, ever-deepening search for intentionality, essence, and ground (phenomenology) (Husserl, 1922; van Manen, 1978, 2011b, 2011c). The interpretation evolves in a responsive-reflective alternation between part and whole, pre-understanding and understanding (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009) via discursive articulation and theorization (hermeneutics) (Seymour, 2006; van Manen, 2011b).

In such a way, capturing the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience in a linguistic description (Ehrich, 2003; van Manen, 1978, 1990) allows intellect and creativity to holistically and analytically externalize ideas in new and fresh ways (Moon, 1999). This enables the inductive conceptualization of a theoretical position from "capturing the meaning of the human experience as universal" (Ray, 1994, p. 124) while using wider frames of reference.

To such an extent, "contributing to [...] thoughtfulness and [...] [the] ability to act toward others [...] with tact or tactfulness" (van Manen, 1990, p. 7) while relying on Hermeneutic Phenomenology as overarching research design, which also offers respective methodical grounding to guide data generation and analysis (Ehrich, 2005; van Manen, 2011c), opens up one new substantive *Sinicized* approach to guide change in contemporary Chinese organizational settings. In addition, it advances problem-focused, trans-disciplinary, and relevant knowledge in management and for management practitioners *per se ipsum* (Aram & Salipante Jr., 2003; Pettigrew, 2001; Starkey & Madan, 2001).

Figure 3 further details the key features of Hermeneutic Phenomenology in the tradition of the Utrecht School and as propagated by Max van Manen, which makes the chosen research design fit into the context of the study.



Figure 3: Fitting into Utrecht School

Figure 3: Fitting into Utrecht School, based on Ehrlich (2003, 2005); van Manen (1978, 1986, 1990, 1991, 1995, 1997, 2002, 2006, 2007), compiled by author

Additionally, relying on Hermeneutic Phenomenology as an “underutilized, misunderstood, [...] [but] highly relevant research paradigm” (Seymour, 2006, p. 137) will yield “new insights into the uniquely complex processes of [...] managing” (van der Mescht, 2004, p. 1) change within Chinese conditions today. In so doing, Hermeneutic Phenomenology meets the methodological void that prevails in management research (Ehrlich, 2005; Sanders, 1982). It also fills the topic-related void, since management research has not produced creative answers to this kind of apparently well-understood, managerial problem so far (Seymour, 2006). It is in this regard that **Figure 4** highlights the simultaneously creative and pragmatic, practical and scientific fundamentals of Hermeneutic Phenomenology as the chosen research design. It summarizes those features inherent in Hermeneutic Phenomenology in the tradition of Max van Manen that allow the welding together of research and life, knowing and acting, and that reconcile academic and managerial positions and considerations to appropriately deal with the study’s research questions and objectives.

Reconciling management and scholarship

Hermeneutic Phenomenology General Remits	systematic—using practical and scholastic modes of questioning, reflecting, focusing
	explicit—attempting to articulate through the content of the text the structures of meaning embedded in lived experience
	inter-subjective—needing the one in the phenomenon to develop a dialogic relation with the phenomenon
	benefitting—requiring an addressee who is to benefit from the insights
	embedded—fitting into and contributing to human science research tradition
	experimenting—considering and utilising new methodological approaches that further human science tradition
	illuminating—allowing startling new insights into and provoking radical new handling of the uniquely complex processes of managing change
	reconciling—catering to the specification and demands of management practitioners and academics alike

Figure 4: Reconciling management and scholarship, based on Alvesson and Deetz (2000); Aram and Salipante Jr. (2003); Ehrlich (2003, 2005); Hodgkinson et al. (2001); Noorderhaven (2000); Pettigrew (2001); Ray (1994); Sanders (1982); Seymour (2006); Starkey and Madan (2001); Tranfield (2002); van der Mescht (2004); van Manen (1990, 2011a, 2011c), compiled by author

Figure 4: Reconciling management and scholarship

Figure 4: Reconciling management and scholarship, based on Alvesson and Deetz (2000); Aram and Salipante Jr. (2003); Ehrlich (2003, 2005); Hodgkinson et al. (2001); Noorderhaven (2000); Pettigrew (2001); Ray (1994); Sanders (1982); Seymour (2006); Starkey and Madan (2001); Tranfield (2002); van der Mescht (2004); van Manen (1990, 2011a, 2011c), compiled by author

This conceptual introduction notwithstanding, Holloway and Wheeler (2002) allude to the necessity to define clearly the chosen research design and its related methodical constituents “to avoid ‘method-slurring’” (Holloway & Wheeler, 2002, p. 180). Due to Hermeneutic Phenomenology’s distinctive underlying philosophy, stance, and worldview, as well as due to its uncommonness in management research, doing so is of particular importance when choosing it as the guiding research design (Holloway & Wheeler, 2002; Porter, 2008).

Adhering to these recommendations, the subsequent sections will further “justify the type [and constituents] of [the research design’s] theoretical framework [...] and specify and outline the [chosen] approach to data [gathering and] analysis” (Holloway & Wheeler, 2002, p. 179).

4.2 Research Design—Methodology introduced

4.2.1 Hermeneutic-Phenomenology—Aim and Significance

Est autem modus connaturalis hominis, ut per visibilia ad invisibilia ducatur. (Thomas Aquinas, Summa theologiae I, q. 43, art. 7)

Referring to the natural human way of gaining gnosis, knowledge, and understanding, Saint Thomas's quote constitutes the basic aim and significance of hermeneutic-phenomenology research.

Considering its inherent stance and self-concept, *per visibilia ad invisibilia* unequivocally describes the methodological purpose of and impact upon researching the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience outside its traditional research environment. In so doing, Hermeneutic Phenomenology—as understood and applied in the course of this study—makes apparent and elucidates the nature and the inherent meaning structures (Seymour, 2006) that underlie, constitute, and govern the Accommodation phenomenon (Moustakas, 1994; van Manen, 1978, 1990).

With its systematic practice to look for the hidden in the obvious (McNamara, 1995), and to unveil the (at least partially) concealed (Nicholson, 1997) within the experiential accounts and across their textual manifestations (Ayres, Kavanaugh, & Knafl, 2003) “that, upon reflective examination, might yield something of its fundamental nature” (van Manen, 1990, p. 53), Hermeneutic Phenomenology creates “a fullness in understanding [intentionality and] the essence” (Moustakas, 1994, p. 79) of the lived experience under scrutiny. In such a way, capturing the *eidōs* of the Accommodation phenomenon by means of rich/thick, reflective textural and structural descriptions (Geertz, 1973) and a traceable, resounding interpretation (McConnel-Henry et al., 2009; van der Zalm & Bergum, 2000) hermeneutic-phenomenology inquiry permits fresh new insights to emerge (Cohen et al., 2000; van Manen, 1978). It allows for synthesising concepts that finally open into one new substantive *Sinicized* approach (Moustakas, 1994; van Manen, 1990) to enable, implement, and guide change in contemporary Chinese organizational settings.

Thus, transcending the limits of traditional management research (Lavery, 2003; Seymour, 2006), Hermeneutic Phenomenology meets the dialectic between research questions/research objectives and the methodological setting (van der Zalm & Bergum, 2000).

Bringing back the primordial of the experience from the original experience (van Manen, 1990) by seeing anew the (inter-subjective) nature and universal meaning of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience (Standing, 2009; van der Zalm & Bergum, 2000; van Manen, 1978, 1997) in an un-prepossessed way (Husserl, 1922; Johnson, 2007; Moustakas, 1994), hermeneutic-phenomenology inquiry results in "a fuller understanding and [a] more authentic interpretation" (McNamara, 2005, p. 703) of the Accommodation phenomenon itself. This leads to a reflection on practice that

- enlightens (managerial) practice (van Manen, 1978, 1990); and
- modifies actions in comparable cross-cultural (managerial) situations (van der Mescht, 2004; van der Zalm & Bergum, 2000).

This permeating, de-contextualizing, and re-contextualizing (Ayres et al., 2003) the layers of nature and meaning of the Jesuits' concrete, everyday Accommodation experience (van Manen, 1978, 1997) and the appropriating essential experiential qualities of their lived Accommodation endeavour (Sanders, 1982) by means of unearthing something meaningful, something thematic from the interaction with the gathered, collected, and to-be-researched text (van Manen, 1990), can be considered a theory-making procedure (Owen, 2008).

To start this process, hermeneutic-phenomenology inquiry is always rooted in, animated by, and starts with and from a single manifestation of the experience as lived (Ayres et al., 2003; van Manen, 1978, 1991). In so searching "for the universal qualities" (van Manen, 1990, p. 150) within the single lived experience under scrutiny, Hermeneutic Phenomenology enables not only to distance oneself from the single lived experience, but also to better describe and elucidate *invariant constituents* that underlie the entirety of the lived experiences as manifested in the gathered sources (Ehrich, 2003; van Manen, 1978, 1990).

It is in this respect that Hermeneutic Phenomenology has explanatory utility (van der Zalm & Bergum, 2000), which gives way to one new inductively conceptualized, descriptive, and anticipative, substantive *Theory of the Unique* (van der Zalm & Bergum, 2000). This theory—upon subjective generalization of understanding through interpretation (Noorderhaven, 1997)—informs (comparable) practice, enlightens (comparable) practice, and anticipates (comparable) practice (van der Zalm & Bergum, 2000; van Manen, 1990). However, it does not precede (comparable) practice (van Manen, 1990), as “theory can only make room for itself once praxis has settled” (Schleiermacher, 1964, p. 41 as cited in van Manen, 1990). Thus, resulting from a single case for a single case that is nonetheless suitable to appropriately deal with a particular situation, a setting, a person (Ray, 1994; van Manen, 1978, 1990) comparable to the phenomenon from which it is derived, hermeneutic-phenomenology inquiry into the Jesuits’ lived Accommodation experience provides an anticipatory, non-predicting blueprint for future action that reflectively orients the reader to comparable situation(s) (van Manen, 1978, 1997). It offers “an informed point of departure” (van der Zalm & Bergum, 2000, p. 214) that lends the one new substantive *Theory of the Unique* to future scrutiny. Additionally, Hermeneutic Phenomenology’s search for meaning and understanding from bringing together the cognitive, *semantic* manifestations of the Jesuits’ Accommodation experience that are apparent in the chosen texts, and the non-cognitive, *mantic* elements that are invisibly embedded within the respective textual representations (Flood, 2010; van der Zalm & Bergum, 2000; van Manen, 1997) “is part of the search of being and becoming more human” (Ehrich, 2003, p. 65). This “situational perceptiveness, discernment, and depthful understanding” (van Manen, 1990, p. 156) of good examples (van Manen, 1991), their (c)overly driving forces, underlying mind-sets, and triggers (van Manen, 1990) thus incorporates a moral dimension (Ehrich, 2003). It is in this regard that hermeneutic-phenomenology inquiry creates an *eudaemonic* solution (van Manen, 1991) that is able to deal sensitively and thoughtfully with a comparable managerial context (van der Mescht, 2004), and allows one to become more human by/while reforming their own established, taken-for-granted behaviours, activities, and understandings (Flood, 2010).

In so doing, hermeneutic-phenomenology inquiry into the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience and into their everyday (inter-subjective) Accommodation activities uncovers a critical change competence, viz., contributing to attentive thoughtfulness (van Manen, 1978, 1986) and increasing the ability to know "how to act toward others [...] with tact or tactfulness" (van Manen, 1990, p. 7).

The overarching intended purpose of Hermeneutic Phenomenology, as applied in the course of the study, can thus be summarized as forming a pattern of knowing—outlined in **Figure 5**—that finally provides action-sensitive knowledge to enlighten practice (van Manen, 1978, 1990). This links essence and intentionality of the Jesuits' Accommodation experience to the managerial issue of concern.

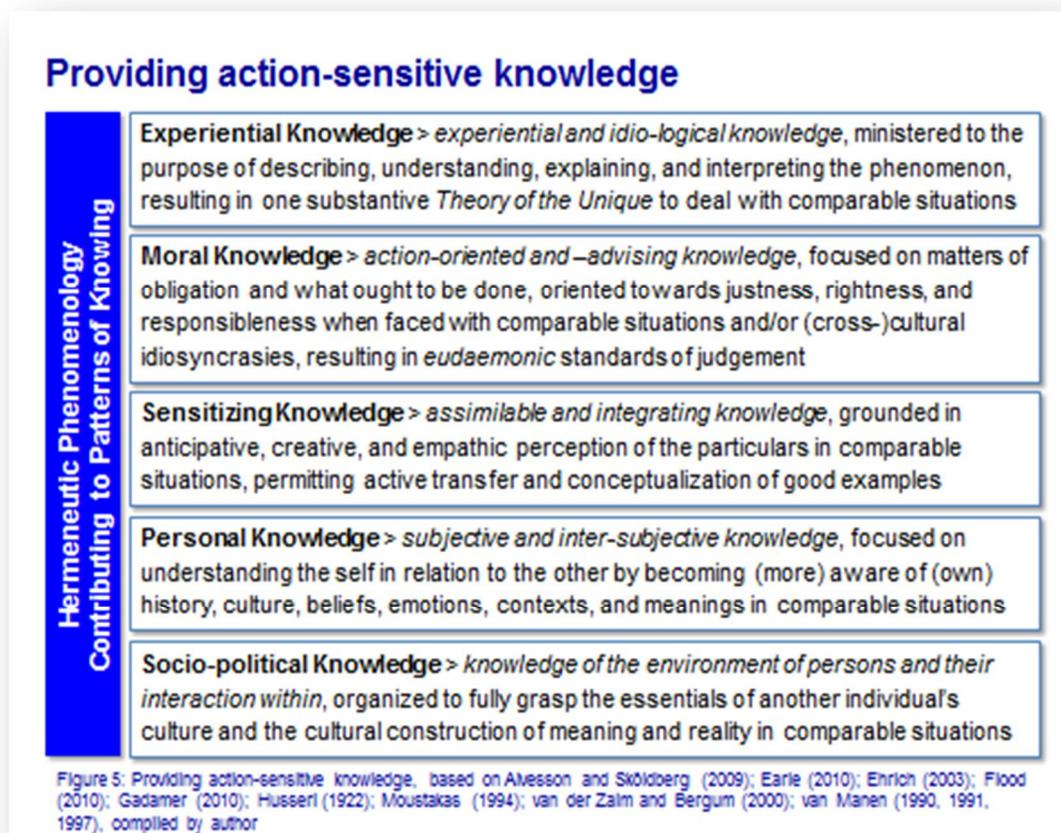


Figure 5: Providing action-sensitive knowledge

Figure 5: Providing action-sensitive knowledge, based on Alvesson and Skoldberg (2009); Earle (2010); Ehrlich (2003); Flood (2010); Gadamer (2010); Husserl (1922); Moustakas (1994); van der Zalm and Bergum (2000); van Manen (1990, 1991, 1997), compiled by author

4.2.2 Hermeneutic Phenomenology—Character

Further abstracting the scope of the chosen research design, Hermeneutic Phenomenology can be characterized as a non-empirical and non-prescriptive inquiry (van Manen, 1978). Being concerned with a non-dehumanized life world (Seymour, 2006) and a human lived experience (Lavery, 2003), hermeneutic-phenomenology inquiry at hand focuses on every-day details and “seemingly trivial aspects within experience” (Lavery, 2003, p. 7) to create meaning and understanding (van Manen, 1978, 1990). To enable “a more direct contact with the experience as lived” (van Manen, 1990, p. 78), understanding intentionality and appropriating essential experiential qualities of the Jesuits’ lived Accommodation experience (Ehrich, 2003; Moustakas, 1994) starts from the particular situation, “which for purpose of analysis, [...] functions as an exemplary nodal point of meanings that are embedded in [...] [the] situation” (van Manen, 1990, p. 18).

In so giving voice to the Jesuits’ lived Accommodation experience “just as it is” (van der Zalm & Bergum, 2000, p. 212), that is, to get to the *eidōs*, the core of meaning (Husserl, 1922), and to later transfer conceptualized insights into a comparable managerial context (van der Mescht, 2004) hence, pursues a descriptive and interpretive endeavour. It involves self-reflective and critical analysis (Flood, 2010; Husserl, 1996; van Manen, 1990) by means of textual activity (Ehrich, 2005). Transforming the Accommodation phenomenon into a textual expression that provides an understanding of its interconnected meanings (Moustakas, 1994; Seymour, 2006), and that enables to see(k) the embedded meaning structures (van Manen, 1990)—rather than to provide causal explanation (van der Zalm & Bergum, 2000)—necessitates careful, thick description (Geertz, 1973). This lets the *noēma*, that is, the What is experienced—object-correlate, texture—and the *noēsis*, that is, the How and Why this What is experienced—subject-correlate, structure—show itself (Husserl, 1922; McConnel-Henry et al., 2009). Doing so, requires attentive, strong interpretation (Cohen et al., 2000) that mediates “between interpreted meanings and the thing toward which the interpretations point” (van Manen, 1990, p. 26), and that relates “the particular to the universal, [the] part to [the] whole, [the] episode to [the] totality” (p. 36) by way of thematised discursive articulation and theorization (Seymour, 2006).

Based on this insightful interpretive description along and into the *noematic-textural* and *noetic-structural* nature of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience, hermeneutic-phenomenology inquiry works towards a *noematic-noetic fusion*—a textural-structural synthesis (Husserl, 1922; Moustakas, 1994; van Manen, 1990).

This conceptualized statement of the essences of the Jesuits' experience of guiding conversion/change in Chinese environments as a whole (Flood, 2010) finally enlightens practice. Transferred into comparable (managerial) settings (van der Mescht, 2004; van der Zalm & Bergum, 2000), it opens out into a guiding concept that

- is eminently suitable to deal with particular, comparable situations|organizational cases (Earle, 2010; Ray, 1994; Sanders, 1982; van der Zalm & Bergum, 2000; van Manen, 1978, 1990) and thus lends itself to further investigation (Moustakas, 1994); and
- leads to more ethically and experientially sensitive (managerial) practice (Earle, 2010).

However, it does not prescribe any action (Flood, 2010; van der Zalm & Bergum, 2000; van Manen, 1978, 1990).

To such an extent, exploring the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience—the essential meaning (Geertz, 1973; van Manen, 1978) in their everyday world of practice (van Manen, 1990), and their experienced communication and interaction with the *Chinese Others* (Standaert, 2002a, 2002b, 2003a)—for the sake of inductively conceptualizing one new substantive *Sinicized* approach to guide change in contemporary Chinese organizational settings (Ehrich, 2005), Hermeneutic Phenomenology is “not amenable to empiricist approaches” (Earle, 2010, p. 291).

Reading and purposefully reflecting on the Jesuits' social actions, and practical, everyday activities (Noorderhaven, 2000); unveiling aspects of their lived Accommodation experience; and thus revealing “a depth and insight into the human condition” (Ehrich, 2003, p. 56), requires a textual endeavour in the form of writing and re-writing (Ehrich, 2003; van Manen, 1990). Doing so necessitates a writing style that is sensitive, reflective, and holistic.

In so combining descriptive phenomenology with the complementary objectivist and alethic hermeneutics (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009), hermeneutic-phenomenology inquiry produces and entails a text

- “that is thoughtful – that reflects on life while reflecting life [...] and where meanings resonate and reverberate” (van Manen, 1997, p. 368); and
- validates comparable experiences and makes the reader think (Ehrlich, 2003; van Manen, 1978, 1997, 2006).

In such a way, integrating the thematic and an expressive dimension of inquiry in order to make intelligible the lived experience under scrutiny “in a ‘feelingly understanding’ manner” (van Manen, 1997, p. 360), hermeneutic-phenomenology text possesses two layers of meaning (Gadamer, 2010; Palmer, 1969; Tietz, 2005; van Manen, 1997):

1. An *elucidating outer meaning*—summarizing information and arguments gathered, analysed, formed, and conceptualized following Hermeneutic Phenomenology’s methodical suggestions; and
2. A *reflective inner meaning*—touching the reader as it appeals to her|his non-cognitive mode of knowing and relates the lived experience under scrutiny to a comparable/similar experience within her|his horizon.

It is in this regard, that hermeneutic-phenomenology research into the various textual manifestations of the Jesuits’ lived Accommodation experience can be considered a poetic activity that establishes an open conversational relation (van Manen, 1990) between the phenomenon, the researcher, and the reader, which is rooted in and brings together cognitive, *semantic* features, and non-cognitive, *mantic* elements (van Manen, 1978, 1997).

Figure 6 further characterizes the cognitive, *semantic* features, and non-cognitive, *mantic* elements.

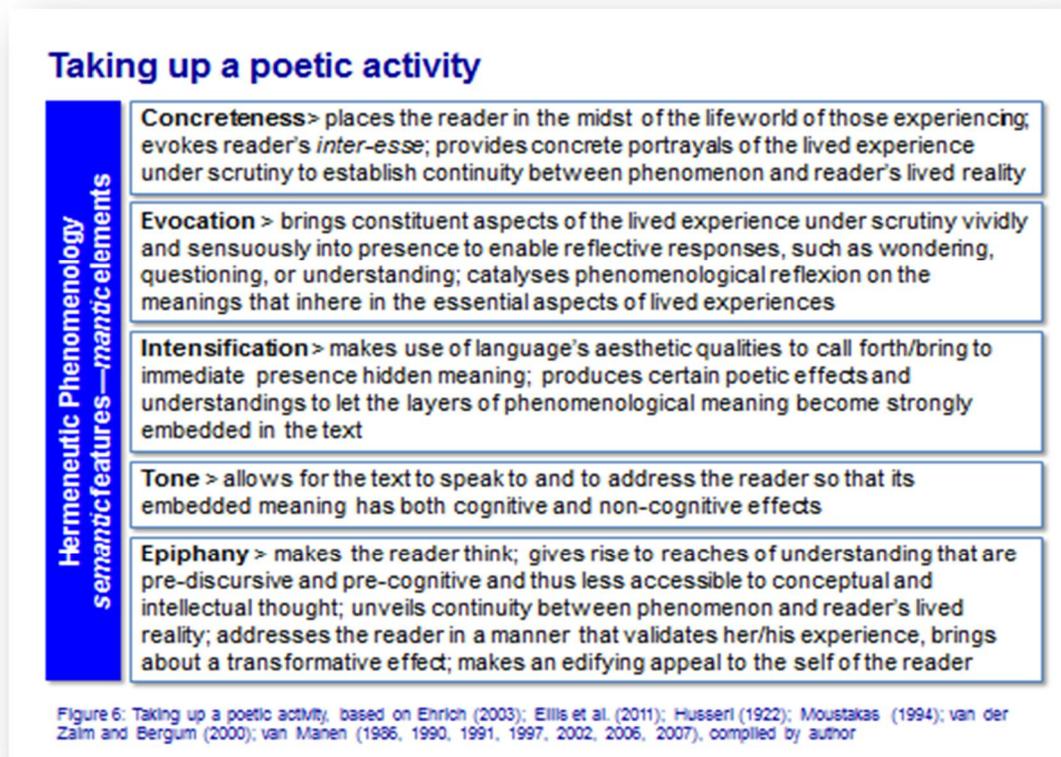


Figure 6: Taking up a poetic activity

Figure 6: Taking up a poetic activity, based on Ehrlich (2003); Ellis et al. (2011); Husserl (1922); Moustakas (1994); van der Zalm and Bergum (2000); van Manen (1986, 1990, 1991, 1997, 2002, 2006, 2007), compiled by author

Hermeneutic Phenomenology proves to be re-search in its proper sense (Stevenson & Pearsall, 2010). Creating a retro-spective, re-collective, and reflective conversational relationship with a lived experience that has already passed and/or lived through (Bauman, 1978; Husserl, 1922; van Manen, 1978, 1990), hermeneutic-phenomenology research works towards an understanding of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience by establishing a process of various kinds of (re-)questioning, re-thinking, and re-cognizing. To such an extent, engaging in constant textual labour of making visible the true meaning of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience along/from its various manifestations in texts distances the research|er from the phenomenon, simultaneously allowing her|him to draw closer to the life-world under scrutiny. This creates depth, signifying (inter-)connections, and patterns of meaningful relations condensed "into a discursive whole [...] [called] 'theory'" (van Manen, 1990, p. 132).

4.2.3 Hermeneutic-Phenomenology—Approach

Avoiding “any predetermined set of fixed procedures and techniques” (van der Zalm & Bergum, 2000, p. 212), step-by-step formula, or prescriptive approaches to data gathering and data analysis (Sanders, 1982)

Hermeneutic Phenomenology in the tradition of the Utrecht School is a methodology without techniques (van Manen, 1978, 1990). Being discovery-oriented (van Manen, 1978, 1990) while pursuing a creative approach to understanding (Lavery, 2003), Hermeneutic Phenomenology merely provides a set of guidelines (Earle, 2010; Ehrich, 2003) to the extent that the methodical underpinning is “to be discovered or invented as a response to the [research] question [and the research objective] at hand” (van Manen, 1990, p. 29).

To conceive a research approach that is ruled by the study (Ehrich, 2005; van der Zalm & Bergum, 2000), and that follows the spirit of the entire inquiry, van Manen (1978, 1990) recommends acknowledging Hermeneutic Phenomenology tradition as a source and methodological grounding to select a path towards seeking knowledge and to fulfil the aim of analysis (Earle, 2010). Therefore, deciding the appropriate components of the hermeneutic-phenomenology inquiry at hand necessitates following van Manen’s methodological variances and adhering to the related methodical eclecticism (Earle, 2010; Lavery, 2003; McConnel-Henry et al., 2009; McNamara, 2005; van Manen, 1978, 2011a) that

- roots in Hermeneutic Phenomenology’s nature not to prescribe, specify, or stipulate research method(s) to be used (Noorderhaven, 2000; Owen, 2008; Seymour, 2006); and
- ranks suitability above obedience (van Manen, 1978, 1990).

The appropriate methodical setting in the context of the study, hence, surfaces from the philosophical implication inherent in the research questions and objectives, and reflects the research philosophy that permeates and continues throughout the study per se (Lavery, 2003; van Manen, 1978, 1990).

In such a way, being “neither [highly] structured nor [excessively] procedural” (Ehrich, 2003, p. 64), but allowing degrees of freedom (Owen, 2008; van Manen, 1978, 1997, 2011a), hermeneutic-phenomenology inquiry into the Jesuits’ lived Accommodation experience opens out into a mode of pursuing such inquiry that adheres to van Manen’s practical guidelines of how to research lived experience in order to provide action-sensitive knowledge (Earle, 2010; Creswell, Hanson, Plano Clark, & Morales, 2007; McNamara, 2005; van der Zalm & Bergum, 2000; van Manen, 1978, 1990).

Thus, identifying and finally putting into practice a way of investigating lived experience “that neither simply rejects or ignores tradition, nor slavishly follows or kneels in front of it” (van Manen, 1990, p. 30) but that elicits “phenomenological moments” (McNamara, 2005, p. 699) “in a deliberate, [...] methodical, [and topic-appropriate] fashion” (Crotty, 1996, p. 170 as cited in McNamara, 2005) requires reflectiveness, sensitivity, attentiveness, and openness (Laverty, 2003) throughout the entire research.

To do so, van Manen (1990) proposes an active, discovery-oriented, rather fluid dynamic but nonetheless structured interplay of six methodological themes and methodical features to pursue an animated, evocative, and interpretive description of the Jesuits’ lived Accommodation experience (Creswell et al., 2007; Earle, 2010; Flood, 2010) which opens out into one new substantive *Theory of the Unique*.

Table 2 summarizes those elemental six methodological themes and methodical features that affect and govern data gathering and data analysis in the course of the study.

Methodological Themes and Methodical Features	
Turning to the nature of lived experience	> enduringly committing researcher to an abiding concern of wider interest; that is, that which makes the research question possible in the first place; confining research to making sense of a particular aspect of human existence
Investigating experience as lived	> retrospectively establishing a renewed contact with the original experience; exploring the categories of lived experience in all its modalities; distancing researcher from the practical immediacy of lived experience to eventually return to it; lived experience as the start, the validation, and the end of the research process; working on a broad array of lived experience material that allows exposing something of its experiential character
Reflecting on essential themes	> thoughtfully grasping of what it is that renders the particular lived experience its special significance; appropriating, clarifying, making explicit, and reflecting on the essential themes, the invariant constituents of the lived experience; interpretively describing the structural features of the phenomenon; bringing into nearness that which tends to be obscure; giving control to research and writing to turn structural features into wider concepts that eventually condense into theory
The art of writing and re-writing	> dialectically going back and forth among the various levels of questioning to establish signifying relations; doing justice to the fullness/ambiguity of the experience as lived; bringing to speech the deeper significance of the lived experience; varying the examples to make visible the hidden nature/the invariant core of the phenomenon; making aspects of the lived experience understandable and intelligible
Maintaining a strong and oriented relation	> constantly remaining oriented to the topic of inquiry in a full and human sense; being animated by the research questions and research objectives; exploring a phenomenon in all its experiential ramifications; striving for rich descriptions that gain a dimension of depth by exploring the meaning structures beyond what is immediately experienced; aiming for the strongest interpretation of the phenomenon; avoiding unrelated theorizing and overhasty abstraction
Balancing the research context by considering parts and whole	> constantly verify the value and significance of each written part in the light of the contextual total et vice versa; always keeping the part-whole / whole-part relation of the study in view; intermittently stepping back from the evolving text at certain neuralgic points to stay focused on the research questions and objectives

Table 2: Methodological Themes and Methodical Features

Table 2: Methodological Themes and Methodical Features, based on Cohen et al. (2000); Creswell et al. (2007); Earle (2010); Ehrich, 2003; Flood (2010); Husserl (1922); Lavery (2003); McNamara (2005); Moustakas (1994); van der Zalm and Bergum (2000); van Manen (1978, 1990), compiled by author

Van Manen's openness, flexibility, and creativity in conceiving a topic-appropriate research approach notwithstanding, its looseness can be problematic. To achieve trustworthiness of the chosen hermeneutic-phenomenology inquiry necessitates that not only the topic be well identified and described, but that also its analysis be embedded in/arise from data, and that the stages and decisions throughout data gathering and data analysis towards the final conceptualization be clearly identified|identifiable and documented (Cohen et al., 2000; Lavery, 2003; McConnel-Henry et al., 2009; van Manen, 1978).

In Hermeneutic Phenomenology lifeworld, that is, the world of lived experience, is both the source and the object of research (van Manen, 1978, 1990). It is in this regard that data analysis begins with and roots within an interdependent data collection (Cohen et al., 2000) that unceasingly goes on until the hermeneutic-interpretive, textual conversation with the lived experience finally lapses into silence (van Manen, 1990).

To gather data, van Manen (1990) proposes “to search everywhere [...] for lived-experience material that, upon reflective [textual] examination, might yield something of its fundamental nature” (van Manen, 1990, p. 53). In so, collecting “multiple accounts of common experience” (Ayres et al., 2003, p. 871) that form the basis for grasping the very nature, the *invariant constituents* of the phenomenon under research, generalizations can be drawn and a conceptualization of the essence can be achieved (Ayres et al., 2003; Creswell et al., 2007; Ehrich, 2003; Husserl, 1922; Moustakas, 1994; van Manen, 1978, 1990).

Not every chosen source possesses the same richness to uncover aspects of the experience as lived (van Manen, 1990), even if any lived experience description of a phenomenon is an appropriate source to

- understand What is experienced—the *object-pole, noema* (Husserl, 1922; Moustakas, 1994; van Manen, 1978, 1990);
- uncover How and Why this What is experienced—the *subject/I-pole, noesis* (Husserl, 1922; Moustakas, 1994; van Manen, 1978, 1990); and
- finally synthesise and integrate both poles “into a unified statement of the essences of the experience of the phenomenon as a whole” (Moustakas, 1994, p. 100),

This conviction notwithstanding, every source possesses the possibility to add to the interpretive description, and it should therefore not be neglected (van Manen, 1978, 1990).

Taking into consideration this stance, data generation in the course of the study relies on a variety of sources that have appearance or consciousness, possess the characteristics under observation, or can give reliable information on the true nature of the Jesuits’ lived Accommodation experience to derive meaning from them (Sanders, 1982).

Being aware that all these experiential accounts “are never identical to lived experience itself” (van Manen, 1990, p. 54) and are already transformations of the Jesuits’ lived experience *per se ipsum* (van Manen, 1990), data collection—and its analysis—is solely rooted within the

- needs of an interpretive objectivist and alethic hermeneutics (Meyers, 2009; Nicholson, 1997); and
- necessity to deal with, to disclose, to describe, to help to understand, and to elucidate the true meaning of the Jesuits’ Accommodation endeavour from the Jesuits’ point of view (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009).

To follow these specifications, van Manen (1990) provides guidelines to finding data sources and proposes five to-be-tailored ways to raise textual material that caters to hermeneutic-phenomenology inquiry in general, as outlined in **Figure 7**.

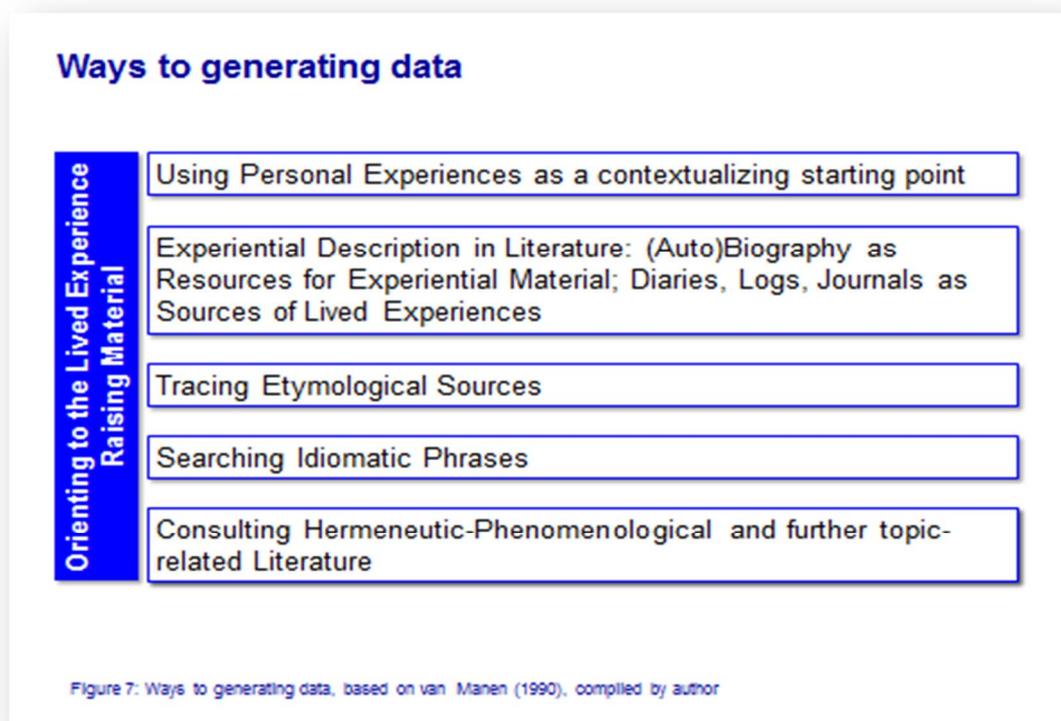


Figure 7: Ways to generating data

Figure 7: Ways to generating data, based on van Manen (1990), compiled by author

In order to focus on quality instead of being overwhelmed by quantity, restricting the number of sources for inclusion in the study is key; choosing approaches that have high practical rigour is therefore necessary.

To terminate data generation, van Manen (1990) suggests that the essence or nature of a phenomenon is adequately described if the description shows the quality and significance of the lived experience in an appropriately full and deep manner. Thus, relying on a saturation approach (Cohen et al., 2000) to accomplish data collection already points towards, prepares, and is linked to data analysis, as it refines ideas rather than inflating the database (Bryman & Bell, 2007).

The respective sub-sections present details on the methodical steps with regard to data gathering.

Concerning data analysis, Hermeneutic Phenomenology—relying on the characteristics of transcendental Phenomenology and the virtues of a complementary objectivist and alethic Hermeneutics—adopts a creative and pragmatic stance (Ehrich, 2005; van Manen, 1990). In its “systematic attempt to uncover and describe [...] the internal meaning structures” (van Manen, 1990, p. 10) as well as the *invariant constituents* that form the essence of the phenomenon under scrutiny, Hermeneutic Phenomenology follows a two-tier approach to reflectively appropriate, clarify, and make explicit visible textural anchors (meaning-units) and the incidental and essential experiential qualities (invisible structural manifestations/themes) of the Jesuits’ lived Accommodation experience (Ehrich, 2005; Holloway & Wheeler, 2002; Husserl, 1922; Ray, 1994; van Manen, 1978, 2011c) from

- interaction with the chosen textual sources (Ehrich, 2005; Sanders, 1982);
- the point of view of those experiencing (Cohen & Omery, 1994; Owen, 2008; Tufford & Newman, 2010).

This “involves a sensitive attunement to opening up to the meaning of experience [...] [in] a combination of description, thematic interpreting and metaphoric insight [...] [with] the product ‘given’ to the researcher by the text” (Ray, 1994, p. 129). However, not being a speculative inquiry (Ehrich, 2005), or a simple mechanic undertaking (van Manen, 1978, 1990), capturing in a linguistic description the *idio-logical*—the distinctive aspect of a phenomenon, is an artistic, creative, analytical, and *general hermeneutic* endeavour (Schleiermacher, 1977; Thiselton, 2009) along the objectivist and alethic turns of the Hermeneutic Circle (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009).

To do so, it is necessary to rely on an understanding of the text as a whole by reference to the individual parts and an understanding of each individual part by reference to the whole of its cultural, historical, and literary context (objectivist Hermeneutics) (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009; Aram & Salipante Jr., 2003; Cohen et al., 2000; Moustakas, 1994; Seebohm, 1997). Reciprocal and continuous alteration between pre-understanding and understanding and vice versa—with an understanding continually referring back to an earlier pre-understanding and pre-understanding being fertilized by the new understanding (alethic Hermeneutics)—is key to externalize and understand the lived structures of meaning, i.e. "the lived quality and significance of the experience" (van Manen, 1990, p. 10), as well as to make explicit the *true* nature of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience in a fuller or deeper manner (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009; Aram & Salipante Jr., 2003; Husserl, 1922; Joisten, 2009; Schleiermacher, 1977; Seebohm, 1997; Thiselton, 2009; van Manen, 1978, 1990, 2007).

Central to these methodological decisions to make visible "that which shines through [but] [...] which tends to hide itself (van Manen, 1990, p. 130), to unravel the "experiential structures" (p. 79) of experience, and to make aspects of the "lived experience reflectively understandable and intelligible" (pp. 125-126), is the need to interpretively enable "a more direct contact with the experience as lived" (p. 78). This captures "*the objective in the subjective*" (McNamara, 2005, p. 700). This dealing can only be facilitated via responsive-reflective, textual activity (Moustakas, 1994; Nicholson, 1997; Ray, 1994; van Manen, 1978, 1990) along the structure of meaning and by fixing the various examples of the lived experience under scrutiny into "as unequivocal a statement of *identification of its fundamental structure as possible*" (Holloway & Wheeler, 2002, p. 181). Thus,

- disclosing signifying correlations;
- creating patterns of meaningful relations; and
- working towards the experiential qualities of the phenomenon;

requires approaching the phenomenon via its visible/textural and invisible/structural features (Moustakas, 1994). This requires thorough interaction with the sources and a reflective analysis of thematic aspects.

Interpreting the phenomenon according to its character (Owen, 2008) and finally getting at the core of the experience as lived (Husserl, 1922) necessitates both a *noematic-textural* and a *noetic-structural* description|elucidation of the experience under scrutiny (Ehrich, 2003; Husserl, 1922; McNamara, 2005; Moustakas, 1994; van Manen, 1990). Having performed this two-tier research approach, a *textural-structural* synthesis fixes the qualities of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience in an interpretive whole by relying on this interpretive description of the

- nature and focus of the lived experience, the What was experienced—*noema* (Husserl, 1922); and
- “dynamics underpinning [...] [the] experience” (McNamara, 2005, p. 700), the How and Why that What was experienced—*noesis* (Husserl, 1922).

This assigns meaning to the phenomenon (van Manen, 1978, 1990), unveils the Jesuits' intentionality from their vantage point (Owen, 2008), and enables the lived Accommodation experience's hidden essence to become visible (Husserl, 1922; McNamara, 2005) in a conceptual whole called theory (Ayres et al., 2003; van Manen, 1990). Therefore, transcending a faithful and comprehensive re-calling of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience these gathered new insights are then finally and in new ways (Moon, 1999)

- transferred into an *idio-graphic* generalization across all sources being researched;
- further conceptualized, abstracted, validated by means of *imaginative variation*, and authenticated by way of *re-integration*; and
- brought together into one new substantive *Theory of the Unique*.

The hermeneutic tools and methodical steps with regard to data analysis, and the related two-tier approach, are detailed in the respective sub-section.

Nonetheless, implementing one validating method(ological) step with regard to data gathering and analysis remains necessary to fully adhere to Hermeneutic Phenomenology's guiding methodological purpose of *per visibilia ad invisibilia* when researching the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience and considering the subliminal issue of this “inquiry [...] [being] not [...] that we know too little about the phenomenon [...], but that we [apparently] know too much” (van Manen, 1990, p. 46).

The corpus of scientific knowledge; previously held beliefs; taken-for-granted, unquestioned, or easily accepted truths; research|er-related values, and (personal) assumptions and/or prevailing (c)overt biases regarding the Jesuits and/or the topic to be researched—hereafter summarised as preconceptions—do not only predispose studying the phenomenon in question (van Manen, 1990). They might additionally have the potential to interfere with, to obfuscate, or to truncate Hermeneutic Phenomenology inquiry (Tufford & Newman, 2010). To thus ensure that these internal and external preconceptions do not contaminate the description of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience and/or obscure its interpretation it is key to, according to Husserl (1922), Gearing (2004), and van Manen (1990),

- acknowledge internal and external preconceptions as they manifest themselves during research and while interacting with the corpus of data; and
- temporarily withhold during the study all judgements which have not been obtained from own active describing and see(k)ing meaning.

Doing so caters to the phenomenological aim of “‘performing’ the epoché [...] [and] working ‘under’ the phenomenological reduction” (McKenna, 1997, p. 178). As a result, research into the chosen phenomenon is made unbiased in its proper sense (Dowling, 2007; Lavery, 2003; Moustakas, 1994; Sanders, 1982; van Manen, 1990). This opening to new/fresh meaning leads “to a fuller understanding and [a] more authentic interpretation of [...] the [lived experience under scrutiny] [...] [and] has the potential to illuminate and clarify the nature of complex concepts of interest” (McNamara, 2005, p. 703).

While being a temporary endeavour, holding in abeyance research|er-related preconceptions “must have an end point” (Hamill & Sinclair, 2010, p. 23).

Stopping the moment research comes to an end re-integrating respective data with the interpretative conclusions turns “knowledge against itself, as it were, thereby exposing its shallow or concealing character” (van Manen, 1990, p. 47). This enables an additional test of authenticity (Bednall, 2006; Cohen et al., 2000; Gearing, 2004; Kahn, 2000).

Marking the final stage in analysis re-integration is thus situated on the threshold of developing a substantive *Theory of the Unique* from the essential qualities of the lived experience under scrutiny.

Table 3 outlines the method(ological) pillars on which data gathering and analysis rests.

Grounding method(ological) pillars	
Texture	> the textural components of a lived experience; the thick, detailed, sensitive, and reflexive interpretive description of the <i>noematic</i> phases; textural portrayal of the phenomenon—de-contextualized from across all textual sources under research; the visible
Structure	> the order embedded in and underlying lived experience; the conscious, re-collective, imaginative, and reflexive interpretive description of the <i>noetic</i> aspects; structural portrayal of the phenomenon—re-contextualization across all textual sources under research; the hidden
Textural-Structural Synthesis	> the intuitive-reflective integration of the fundamental texture and structure into one new substantive <i>Theory of the Unique</i> —that what can be further conceptualized
Meaning Units	> lived experience mined and fixed in a holistic, selective, and/or detailed approach; point at, allude to, or hint at the aspects of the lived experience under research; visible textural anchors
Themes	> that what occurs frequently in the text; the experiential structures of experience; a means to get at the core of the lived experience; gives control and order to research and writing; <i>imaginative variation</i> probes their validity; invisible structural manifestations—either incidental or essential—that can be further conceptualized
Epoché and phenomenological reduction	> setting aside preconceptions to enter anew in the phenomenon and to look at lived experience as if for the first time; giving an original vantage point to study the essential structures of the phenomenon; seeing past the particularity of the lived experience towards the <i>eidós</i> , the essence of the lived meaning under scrutiny
Re-integration	> the end point of <i>epoché</i> and <i>phenomenological reduction</i> ; re-integration of respective data into the wider research context; the litmus test that turns knowledge against itself; test of authenticity

Table 3: Grounding method(ological) pillars

Table 3: Grounding method(ological) pillars, based on Alvesson and Sköldbberg (2009); Aram and Salipante Jr. (2003); Ayres et al. (2003); Bednall (2006); Brett (2004); Cohen and Omery (1994); Cohen et al. (2000); Creswell et al. (2007); Dowling (2007); Ehrich (2003, 2005); Flood (2010); Gearing (2004); Geertz (1973); Hamill and Sinclair (2010); Heidegger (2006); Holloway and Wheeler (2002); Husserl (1922); Kahn (2000); Lavery (2003); Luckner (2001); McNamara (2005); Moustakas (1994); Myers (2009); Nicholson (1997); Owen (2008); Ray (1994); Sanders (1982); Scanlon (1997); Seebohm (1997); Tufford and Newman (2010); van Manen (2011c), compiled by author

4.3 Research Design—Bracketing introduced

4.3.1 Bracketing—Aim and Significance

When researching the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience, preconceptions predispose studying the phenomenon in question (van Manen, 1990). It is necessary to ensure that these preconceptions—having the potential to interfere with, obfuscate, or truncate data collection and its analysis (Tufford & Newman, 2010)—do not contaminate the description of the Jesuits' Accommodation experience and/or obscure its interpretation. To do so, the researcher at least temporarily withholds during the study all judgements which have not been obtained from own active describing and see(k)ing meaning (Gearing, 2004; Husserl, 1922; van Manen, 1990).

In order to achieve this aim, Moustakas (1994) and van Manen (1990), amongst others, propose not to try to simply ignore, negate, or doubt any unchallenged preconceptions, but to name them and to write them down prior to and during research. Thus, becoming an act of ongoing curiosity and critical thinking—facilitated by an alethic and objectivist hermeneutic interaction with the sources (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009; Husserl, 1922)—this intended and structured putting in abeyance disrupts “habitual patterns of thinking” (LeVasseur, 2003, p. 417), and enables the researcher to become constantly more aware of preconceptions that come with or are linked to the phenomenon under research (Kahn, 2000; Moustakas, 1994). To such an extent, avoiding the interpretive influences of unreflective insights “and their implied dogmatic structures” (LeVasseur, 2003, p. 418), a focused attempt at making visible, questioning, and suspending, temporarily silences, that is, neutralizes, the *internal*, researcher-related, and *external*, research-related soundscapes (Gearing, 2004) that affects the entire research by overlaying targeted

- listening to the nuances/subtleties of the true nature of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience (Tufford & Newman, 2010); and
- seeing “through the particularity of [the Jesuits'] lived [Accommodation] experience” (van Manen, 1990, p. 185) towards its various ontic qualities (Husserl, 1922) from the perspective of those experiencing (Cohen & Omery, 1994).

This brings back the primordial idea of the Jesuits' original Accommodation experience with an openness that enables new ideas and understandings to emerge from its appearance and presence only (Moustakas, 1994). It allows fresh perspectives concerning the Jesuits' Accommodation experience and the existing managerial issue that motivates the study to stand out against the totality of the phenomenon as such (Ehrich, 2005; Husserl, 1922; van der Mescht, 2004). Doing so requires to perform the *epoché* and to work "under the phenomenological reduction" (McKenna, 1997, p. 178) in the Husserlian sense (Husserl, 1922).

Considered the entrance to phenomenological research (Zahavi, 2007), *epoché* is but "the first step in coming to know things [...] free of prejudgments and preconceptions" (Moustakas, 1994, p. 90). It is through *epoché* that other procedures are to follow (Ehrich, 2003; Husserl, 1922).

In this context, Husserl defined *phenomenological reduction* as "the goal of phenomenological research" (McKenna, 1997, p. 178) where a sequence "of graded pre-reflection, reflection, and reduction" (Moustakas, 1994, p. 91) leads back to the essential nature|general features, that is, the *qualia*, the immutable essence(s) of the experience under scrutiny (Husserl, 1922). In this regard, *phenomenological reduction* "involves the movement from objects as facts to objects as exemplars" (Ehrich, 2003, p. 50); a movement towards seeing, describing, and interpreting the essence(s) of a lived experience under scrutiny as is (Husserl, 1922; Ray, 1994). It is through *reduction*—as understood/used in the Latin sense of *re-ducere*: to lead back (Stowasser et al., 2006)—that the texture (Moustakas, 1994)—what is characteristic and consistent, hence, thematic of the purified experience (Husserl, 1922)—can be described "in terms valid for every occasion" (Brand, 1967, p. 209 as cited in Moustakas, 1994).

Doing so allows the research|er to substantively theorize (van Manen, 1990) from those features of a phenomenon which show themselves as universal, as immutable (Beyer, 2011; Ehrich, 2003; Husserl, 1922) after "many possibilities are examined and explicated reflectively" (Moustakas, 1994, p. 99).

It is because of and via these universal features of a phenomenon, which remain the same regardless of how many possibilities or variations of the lived experience(s) under scrutiny are considered (Moustakas, 1994), that

- *phenomenological reduction* is linked to *thematic analysis* (Husserl, 1922; van Manen, 1990); and
- the invariant aspects of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience become building blocks of the one new substantive *Theory of the Unique* (Ehrich, 2003).

As “performing’ the epoché [...] [and] working ‘under’ the phenomenological reduction” (McKenna, 1997, p. 178) can be considered an intermediate, mostly inseparable step (Husserl, 1922) in the research at hand, the study adheres to the prevailing trend in literature and uses *bracketing* as the *terminus technicus* that (unfortunately wrongly) treats *epoché* and *phenomenological reduction* as one step (Gearing, 2004) towards finding the *invariant constituents* of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience, and will come back to the distinction between *epoché* and *phenomenological reduction* only if necessary. Considering the insights so far, **Figure 8** further details the aim of *bracketing* in the context of the study.



Figure 8: Bracketing as intended

Figure 8: Bracketing as intended, based on Bauman (1978); Bednall (2006); Cohen and Omery (1994); Cohen et al. (2000); Ehrich (2005); Gearing (2004); Hamill and Sinclair (2010); Husserl (1922); Kahn (2000); LeVasseur (2003); McKenna (1997); Moustakas (1994); Ray (1994); Tufford and Newman (2010); van der Mescht (2004); van Manen, (1990), compiled by author

Considering the study at hand, *bracketing*, being a temporary endeavour, “must have an end point” (Hamill & Sinclair, 2010, p. 23). Even if it should stop the moment research comes to an end, there is no clear allusion to how to proceed with the bracketed data when the experience under scrutiny seems to be comprehensively examined and respectively analysed in its purity. Deciding a research-appropriate approach is thus necessary.

Following Husserl’s mathematics-motivated approach to *bracketing* and to reintegrate, that is, to practically synthesize bracketed data with the interpretative conclusions gathered is suitable (Gearing, 2004). To do so, Bednall (2006) proposes to follow a pair of questions:

1. Does the bracketed data have potential to reduce the significance of the meaning-unit, the theme, the abstracted essence?
2. Does the bracketed data have potential to increase the significance of the meaning-unit, the theme, the abstracted essence?

This re-integration approach turns “knowledge against itself, as it were, thereby exposing its shallow or concealing character” (van Manen, 1990, p. 47). It also enables an additional test of authenticity (Bednall, 2006; Kahn, 2000). Seen as the peak of critical thinking and reflection, this litmus test (Cohen et al., 2000) marks the final stage in analysis. It is situated on the threshold to developing one new substantive *Theory of the Unique* from the essential qualities of the lived experience under scrutiny.

The positive impacts of *bracketing* notwithstanding, the entire process of “performing’ the epoché [...] [,] working ‘under’ the phenomenological reduction [and re-integrating]” (McKenna, 1997, p. 178) has never been completely implemented to date. Running through the entire bracketing circle is thus a novelty with regard to hermeneutic-phenomenological research in general and with respect to managerial research in particular. Generally expected to facilitate “effective [...] qualitative research” (Gearing, 2004, p. 1432) by increasing rigour in and of a study (Tufford & Newman, 2010), realizing the process of bracketing and re-bracketing also provides valuable insights to researchers in the field of Hermeneutic Phenomenology and when dealing with inquiries comparable to the research at hand.

This further highlights both the uniqueness of, and the merits of, the chosen methodological approach for the study in hand.

As there is no shared understanding of the term *bracketing* and the approach as such, it is necessary to be explicit about the essentials of *bracketing* so that others can observe and understand what has been done, and research can legitimately use the word and the concept in hermeneutic-phenomenological research.

4.3.2 Bracketing—Character

Questioning the position of natural sciences as the hotbed of undisputed knowledge, knowledge production, and knowledge dissemination (Easterby-Smith et al., 1991; McKenna, 1997), Husserl asks not to accept “the results of those sciences as something phenomenology can build upon in developing its own results” (McKenna, 1997, p. 177). On the contrary, to enable a knowledge production that caters to the aim of phenomenology, Husserl “required [...] that consciousness cuts itself off from its historical and social entanglements [that serve as overt/covert operators of understanding], and constitutes itself as an absolute” (Bauman, 1978, p. 111). Doing so demands “an initial mental purge of the untutored natural attitude that clutters that actual phenomenon of lived experience with inessential factual assumptions” (Husserl, 1929, p. 54 as cited in LeVasseur, 2003). It expects the knowing and reflecting ego to bracket out/to hold in abeyance one’s preconceptions about the world (Husserl, 1995), and to strive “to attain the genuine and true form of the things themselves” (Ray, 1994, p. 119).

Therefore, becoming capable of grasping the true meaning—the uncontested essence of a phenomenon (Husserl, 1922)—that “is explicable only from itself, and not reducible any more to either tradition, or culture, or society” (Bauman, 1978, p. 121) by suspending the essential thesis of the natural attitude (Husserl, 1922)—the “belief that pervades our consciousness of the world” (McKenna, 1997, p. 177)—necessitates performing the *epoché* and working under a series of *phenomenological reduction* (Husserl, 1922; McKenna, 1997).

In its philosophical usage, *epoché-ἐποχή* stands for retention, refraining, withholding, and suspending (Gemoll et al., 2010). It connotes a fixed point in time, in reference to which positions are defined, or the theoretical moment where all judgements about the existence of the external world are suspended (Beyer, 2011; Gemoll et al., 2010; McKenna, 1997). As a phenomenological activity, *epoché* can be characterized as a method that combines several operations (McKenna, 1997). All of them involve suspending, that is, making “irrelevant to any subsequent quest for secure understanding” (Bauman, 1978, p. 119), preconceptions about the natural world (Husserl, 1922). Thus, “not operating with some [prior, unsubstantiated, self-acquired] belief, so as not to rely on that item in the conduct of research” (McKenna, 1997, p. 177), *epoché* is “a way of making the transition from our [...] normal way of considering [...] the world to the properly phenomenological way of considering [...] [it]” (McKenna, 1997, p. 177-178). Disclosing to the researcher a dimension of a phenomenon that went previously unnoticed, performing the *epoché* is a way of arriving at the subject matter of any research (McKenna, 1997), and the guiding concept to which other steps are geared to (Stapleton, 1983). Based on this, *phenomenological reduction* can be considered as what *epoché* allows a researcher to gain, viz., “reflective awareness of the subject matter in the way the subject matter is to be regarded in the conduct of phenomenological research” (McKenna, 1997, p. 178). It is through that stance that *phenomenological reduction* becomes the goal of phenomenological research (Stapleton, 1983) and the phenomenological device (McKenna, 1997). It thus permits the researcher to discover, to understand, and to finally *return|be lead back* to the *eidos*, that is, the gestalt, the archetype, the idea, the quality and texture (Gemoll et al., 2010), and hence, the essential structure, of an experience under scrutiny (Husserl, 1922; van Manen, 1990). Considering this phenomenological activity and its results (McKenna, 1997)

- *epoché* and *phenomenological reduction* are distinguishable stages of one approach;
- *phenomenological reduction* refers to the outcomes of *epoché*; and
- *epoché* and *phenomenological reduction* aim for epistemological neutralization/non-positing.

Despite this target setting, it is mainly this *epoché*-implicit sense making (Ehrich, 2003), that causes confusion among scholars in the field (LeVasseur, 2003; McKenna, 1997). Using *epoché* and *phenomenological reduction* as distinguishable stages of the same approach, with reduction referring to something achieved by *epoché* (Husserl, 1922), Husserl's writings do not provide easy footholds to smooth out this kind of confusion (Beyer, 2011). They also do not give uniformity of standards and detail to be applied in a research setting (Bednall, 2006).

If the English translation uses *bracketing* as the summarizing concept, this wording can be considered wrong and correct at the same time. It is wrong as the stages within the phenomenological activity are indeed distinguishable (Husserl, 1922). It is also correct, as *epoché* and *phenomenological reduction* are bound together by their underlying philosophical stance (Zahavi, 2007) while catering to the overarching goal of explicating the essential nature of a phenomenon (Moustakas, 1994; Stapleton, 1983).

Despite the prevailing uncertainty of what *bracketing* finally and in its essence is, it is nonetheless an important endeavour to be pursued to give credibility and validity to inductive qualitative research (LeVasseur, 2003; Tufford & Newman, 2010). To therefore, cope with the ambiguity in the phenomenological activity while striving to use it in their study, many phenomenologists have developed their own ideas of and approaches to *bracketing* that individually fit with their research (Bednall, 2006; Tufford & Newman, 2010). As a result, diverse forms of *bracketing* have evolved from Husserl's ideal transcendental phenomenology (Gearing, 2004). This has led to a broad typology of *bracketing* and a certain looseness of rules for its implementation alongside researchers' philosophical stances (Gearing, 2004; Tufford & Newman, 2010).

Considering *bracketing's* fitness for the current inductive research into the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience, the main necessity for a successful application of *bracketing* is to decide how and when to use it (Tufford & Newman, 2010). Having the clarity on where to locate oneself as a researcher on what, in effect, can be considered a continuum of *bracketing* approaches (Gearing, 2004) is therefore, important.

Relying on Hermeneutic Phenomenology in the tradition of the Utrecht School and as propagated by van Manen, the *bracketing* approach used in the study at hand mirrors the research philosophy and value stance as outlined above. As a non-singular approach to *bracketing* is considered an advantage to tailor research to its aim (Tufford & Newman, 2010), the chosen approach combines elements of ideal, descriptive, existential, and reflexive phenomenology (Gearing, 2004) as conceived by Husserl, advanced by Heidegger, Merleau-Ponty, Gadamer, Ricoeur, and consolidated by van Manen. To allow a better conceptualization, **Table 4** characterizes the *bracketing* approach applied to research the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience.

Bracketing as applied	
Bracketing can be characterized as a(n) ...	
>	... facilitator to understand and decode the phenomenon from the perspective of those experiencing.
>	... etic approach.
>	... means to study the essential structures, the texture, the <i>qualia</i> of phenomenon.
>	... instrument to establish the horizon of meaning.
>	... catalyst to educe new perspectives and fresh insights.
>	... way to cultivate persistent curiosity.
>	... approach to disrupt habitual patterns of thinking.
>	... impetus to on-going critical reflection.
>	... protection against the temptation to foreground certain insights while relegating others to a background position, particularly as these insights may confirm or not external and/or internal preconceptions about the phenomenon
>	... the first step to turn knowledge against itself while exposing its shallow or concealing character.
>	... channelling of the researcher's energy, attention, and work towards self-reflection and self-dialogue.
>	... stance to overcome the constraints of egocentrism and ethnocentrism.
>	... initial step in the inquiry and an on-going process alongside the entire research.
>	... device to avoid diversion while gathering/analysing data.
>	... driver of the objectivist and alethic Hermeneutic Circle.
>	... reinforcement of an iterative qualitative research, whereby emerging data collection may raise additional questions to be pursued.
>	... aid to maintain focus on the research questions, while using emerging cues during data collection to augment questions for further data collection.
>	... guide during the writing stage to how the insights gathered are portrayed in the process of writing and how their depths are captured.

Table 4: Bracketing as applied

Table 4: Bracketing as applied, based on Cohen and Omery (1994); Cohen et al. (2000); Ehrich (2003); Hamill and Sinclair (2010); Husserl (1922, 2002); Ihde (1971); LeVasseur (2003); Moustakas (1994); Tufford and Newman (2010); van Manen (1990), compiled by author

Even if *bracketing* is difficult to achieve and the steps involved are challenging, Hamill and Sinclair (2010) highlight that being aware of the process enhances the ability to remain true to the approach.

To legitimately use *bracketing* in the iterative research process at hand, making transparent the constituent elements, process, and contribution of *epoché* and *phenomenological reduction* is necessary (Tufford & Newman, 2010). This adequately positions *bracketing* “between the researcher and the research project as a mechanism to both protect and enhance the research process” (Tufford & Newman, 2010, p. 8).

4.3.3 Bracketing—Approach

Despite *bracketing* being a fundamental term in phenomenological research, and notwithstanding its elaborateness, the technique remains somehow perplexing (LeVasseur, 2003) and its methodical implementation vague (Gearing, 2004). The disjunction of *bracketing* practice from its origins in phenomenology, and from Husserl’s work in particular, at best have resulted in an unquestioned reduction of the endeavour to a “formless [research] technique” (Gearing, 2004, p. 1429) or means that already acquires research-related significance only by being mentioned (Gearing, 2004). Considering this situation, simply mentioning that *bracketing* has been/will be done, without being explicit and traceable about the constituent elements and components, could negatively affect or weaken the value of the investigation and its outcomes (Tufford & Newman, 2010).

Giving credibility and affirmation to the research at hand (Aram & Salipante, 2003; Denyer & Tranfield, 2006; Gearing, 2004; Pettigrew, 2001; Ray, 1994; Tufford & Newman, 2010; Whitley, 1984b) necessitates explicitness “about the process of *bracketing* so that others can observe and understand the process” (Beech, 1999, p. 44 as cited in Gearing, 2004). This will further provide valuable insights to researchers in the field of Hermeneutic Phenomenology in general and when dealing with inquiries that are comparable to the research at hand.

In so adhering to Gearing's (2004) recommendation to follow an own conceptualization of *bracketing* that facilitates effective hermeneutic-phenomenological investigation with regard to the research design and the purpose of the study, *bracketing*, as operationalized in the paper, aligns itself with the three phases as stated in **Table 5**.

Phases and components of bracketing introduced	
1	Abstract Formulation
<p>This initial phase of bracketing establishes the researcher's entrance into the study. Clear methodological and methodical forethought is not only pivotal to guide the study's research design but also directly affects the bracketing approach to be employed.</p>	
a	Orientation Standpoint > the researcher's philosophical stance
b	Theoretical Framework > the qualitative theory/research concept guiding the researcher
2	Research Praxis
<p>This main phase brings together the five core elements of bracketing. These components need to be clarified, decided, implemented, and realized while performing the <i>epoché</i> and working under <i>phenomenological reduction</i>.</p>	
a	Foundational Focus > the foundation and focus of bracketing; that is, the making explicit, the setting aside, and the holding in abeyance of preconceptions, as well as the approach of doing so
b	Internal Supposition > the preconceptions based on the <u>researcher's</u> personal knowledge, experiences, culture, faith, values, history, assumptions, as well as educational and academic orientation(s) and background
c	External Supposition > the preconceptions linked to the <u>phenomenon</u> under scrutiny, and/or its broader (research) environment, its research history, and its research community, as well as in relation to its sources in general and the sources to be researched in particular
d	Temporal Structure > the duration of bracketing, viz., its start- and endpoint
e	Boundaries > the composition of brackets, their strictness, quality, and character with regard to degree and possibility of bracketing virtually all (ideal bracketing), or specific, clearly stated (designed bracketing) preconceptions
3	Reintegration
<p>This final phase of bracketing is the culmination of <i>epoché</i> and <i>phenomenological reduction</i>. It involves the reintegration of bracketed data into the larger investigation and interpretation, and can be considered the test of authenticity of the essential qualities of the lived experience under scrutiny.</p>	
a	Unbracketing > the folding of the bracketing technique back into the wider research, and the turning of knowledge against itself

Table 5: Phases and components of bracketing introduced

Table 5: Phases and components of bracketing introduced, based on Bednall (2006); Cohen and Omery (1994); Cohen et al. (2000); Ehrich (2003); Gearing (2004); Hamill and Sinclair (2010); Husserl (1922); Kahn (2000); LeVasseur (2003); McKenna (1997); Moustakas (1994); Tufford and Newman (2010); van Manen (1990), compiled by author

4.4 Research Design—Method introduced

4.4.1 Thematic Analysis—Aim and Significance

The research at hand “involves a process of reflectively appropriating, of clarifying, and of making explicit the structure of meaning” (van Manen, 1990, p. 77) of the Jesuits’ lived Accommodation experience outside its traditional research environment. Conducting thematic analysis (Husserl, 1922) is necessary to capture “the underlying and precipitating factors that account for what is being experienced” (Moustakas, 1994, p. 98) while teleologically contemplating the multi-dimensional and multi-layered phenomenon under scrutiny (Husserl, 1922) as dealt with in an abundance of sources that incorporate experiential observation, description, or to otherwise yield experiential data, or allow experiential data to be contextualized (Granot, 2011; Husserl, 1922; van Manen, 1990). Being grounded in/carrying forward the achievements of temporarily *bracketing* (Moustakas, 1994; Ray, 1994), it is the guiding methodological phrase *per visibilia ad invisibilia* that transfers into the realm of data gathering and analysis the critical synthesizing of themes.

Emerging from hermeneutic and interpretive interaction with the textual sources (Granot, 2011; van Manen, 1990), themes are of heuristic importance to

- illuminate the true nature of the Jesuits’ experience as lived (Ray, 1994; van Manen, 2011c); and
- provide the ultimate thick description (Geertz, 1973; Ratner, 2001) of what it is that renders the particular experience significant (van Manen, 1990), viz., the “intentions, expectations, circumstances, [and] settings [...] that give [the Jesuits’] actions their meanings” (Greenblatt, 1999, p. 16 as cited in Ratner, 2001).

Thus, bringing into nearness that which tends to be obscure, themes disclose the invariant *qualia* of the phenomenon under scrutiny (Moustakas, 1994; Ray, 1994; van Manen, 1990). They allow the development of a theoretical position from a thoughtful reflective insight into the Jesuits’ lived Accommodation experiences during their stay in China (Ray, 1994).

It is in this context that those themes

- have a high level of explanatory rigour (Dixon-Woods et al., 2005) and phenomenological descriptive guiding power (Geertz, 1973; Holloway & Wheeler, 2002; Ratner, 2001; van Manen, 1990) (*noema*);
- integrate structures into the lived experience to arrive at its *eidōs*, its core of meaning (Granot, 2011; Moustakas, 1994) (*noesis*); and
- enable the generation of theoretical ideas about the essential qualities of the phenomenon under scrutiny (Ehrich, 2003) (*noematic-noetic fusion*).

Doing so “involves the movement from objects as facts to objects as exemplars” (Ehrich, 2003, p. 50) in a hermeneutic, free, and creative act of see(k)ing meaning (van Manen, 2011c) by text (Ray, 1994).

Committed to a hermeneutic-interpretive, textual conversation that finally lapses into silence (van Manen, 1990), this textual recognizing of important but hidden moments in the Jesuits’ lived Accommodation experience “as something” (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006, p. 4) not only gives shape to the shapeless (van Manen, 1990), but first and foremost creates a fullness in understanding the essences of the respective phenomenon as is (Moustakas, 1994). In so following a non-rule bound, creative textual process (van Manen, 2011c) of insightful discovery, disclosure, invention, and abstraction (Moustakas, 1994) along thematic manifestations (van Manen, 1990) doing so

- effects a more direct, ever-deepening contact with the experience as lived (Holloway & Wheeler, 2002; Moustakas, 1994);
- links the clear, undisturbed experiential insights into the textural sources to the managerial issue of concern (Ehrich, 2005; van Manen, 1990); and
- communicates the essential qualities that constitute the lived experience under scrutiny as a theoretical position (Cohen & Omery, 1994; Husserl, 1922; Sanders, 1982) necessary to approach the managerial problem in a fresh and systematic way (Ehrich, 2005; van der Mescht, 2004).

Table 6 brings together those aspects that qualify the aim (1-7) and way (8-10) thematic analysis pursues in the course of the study to carve out the *invariant constituents* of the Jesuits’ lived Accommodation experience to be finally transferred into one new substantive *Sinicized* approach to guide change in contemporary Chinese organizational settings.

Give shape to the shapeless	
A theme in the hermeneutic-phenomenological research on hand ...	
1	... provides a measure of control and a sense of order in research and writing
2	... captures the <i>qualia</i> , the qualitative richness of the phenomenon in a simultaneous objectivist and alethic heuristic attempt
3	... gives shape to the shapeless as it sees an important but hidden moment as something
4	... allows an understanding of the underlying, non-repetitive constituent of the lived experience
5	... illuminates meaning of experience as lived
6	... communicates the human experience represented in the text as a theoretical position
7	... describes the structure of the lived experience
8	... is pattern recognition within the data
9	... is the questioning, the laying open, the placing in the open the subject matter
10	... is the hermeneutic-phenomenological means to get at the meaning of the experience and to touch its core

Table 6: Give shape to the shapeless

Table 6: Give shape to the shapeless, based on Cohen and Omery (1994); Ehrich (2003, 2005); Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006); Granot (2011); Husserl (1922); Holloway and Wheeler (2002); Moustakas (1994); Ratner (2001); Ray (1994); Sanders (1982); van Manen (1990, 2011c), compiled by author

4.4.2 Thematic Analysis—Character

Considering the trans-disciplinarity of the research topic, thematic analysis—as realized in the current study—“holds its own integrity [...] to facilitate the flow of the investigation and the collection of data” (Moustakas, 1994, p. 104). Even if thematic analysis into the Jesuits’ lived Accommodation experience first of all aims at giving control while moving research into direction (van Manen, 2011c), its systematic, disciplined, rigorous way to deal with the textual sources is still open ended (Moustakas, 1994).

It has to be tailored to match the particularities and idiosyncrasies of the entire research endeavour (van Manen, 2011c). To hence, decide the most appropriate research approach is not only necessary (van Manen, 2011c), it gives the study its novelty and originality, which enable fresh “new insights into the uniquely complex processes of [...] managing” (van der Mescht, 2004, p. 1) change within Chinese conditions to emerge (Ehrich, 2005; Holloway & Wheeler, 2002). **Table 7** highlights the characteristics that govern thematic analysis as applied in the course of the study and its related themes; **Appendix I** provides further details with regard to the characteristics.

A knot in the web of experience	
<i>Characteristics of Thematic Analysis</i>	
1	Not static, develops and deepens during the course of the study
2	Free, intuitive act of see(k)ing meaning; gives shape to the idiosyncratic and invariant, but hidden core of the experience as lived; touching the core of the experience
3	Complex and creative data-inductive process of insightful discovery, disclosure, invention, and abstraction into the structure and complexity of human world; creates a fullness in understanding the essence of the phenomenon; allows themes to a) emerge directly from data, b) stand out against the totality of the phenomenon as such
4	Pattern recognition
5	Fixing or expressing the ineffable essence of the notion in a temporary and exemplary form
6	Understanding what is the significance of the experience in the context where the experience is embedded
7	The researcher’s personal approximation towards the experiential meaning of the phenomenon
8	Opening up to the lived experience of others and recognizing it as inter-subjective
<i>Characteristics of Themes</i>	
1	The form of capturing the phenomenon one tries to understand
2	The faithful reflection of the linguistic, historical, and cultural context where the experience is embedded, i.e., intentions, expectations, circumstances, settings, and purposes that give actions and interactions their meanings
3	The means to get at the meaning of the experience and to describe an aspect of its incidental or essential structure and content; a medium to get at the phenomenon; provides patterns
4	The experience of focus, of meaning, of point
5	The knot in the web of our experiences, around which certain lived experiences are spun and thus, lived through as meaningful wholes
6	Emerging not imposed, intuited and derived not assumed/presupposed
7	The approximation to the deep meaning, the full mystery, the enigmatic aspects of the experiential meaning of an experience; provide a fuller description of the nuances, subtleties, inter-subjective qualities, conceptual similarities of/within the phenomenon
8	Simplification of the essence in terms valid for every occasion but no categorical statements, one-size-fits-all objects of generalizations

Table 7: A knot in the web of experience

Table 7: A knot in the web of experience, based on Alvesson and Sköldbberg, 2009; Cohen et al. (2000); Ehrich (2003, 2005); Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006); Holloway and Wheeler (2002); Husserl (1922); Moustakas (1994); Nicholson (1997); Ratner (2001); Ray (1994); Tufford and Newman (2010); van Manen (1990, 2007, 2011c), compiled by author

4.4.3 Thematic Analysis—Approach

Data gathering

To approach the research questions and to cater to the research objectives, gathering lived-experience material of different forms primarily orients the generation of data to the following questions:

- Which source is appropriate to uncover thematic aspects of the phenomenon it describes?
- Where can this source be found?

Responding to this overarching concern, an appropriate source to uncover thematic aspects of the experience it describes (Sanders, 1982; van Manen, 1978, 1990)—irrespective of its academic or non-academic background and/or its disciplinary provenance (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009)—would be anything that

- has appearance or consciousness;
- possesses the characteristics under observation; and/or
- can give reliable information on the phenomenon under research.

With the life-world of the Jesuits in China being the source and the object of research, searching “everywhere [...] for lived-experience material that, upon reflective [textual] examination, might yield something of its fundamental nature” (van Manen, 1990, p. 53) is thus, necessary and appropriate (Hart, 2001); honouring the integrity of the chosen sources is compulsory.

Being expected to incorporate experiential observation, or description, or to otherwise yield experiential data, or to allow experiential data to be contextualized, trans-disciplinary and trans-cultural, historic and contemporary primary, secondary, and supporting texts are considered, further trawled, and respectively mined (Hart, 2001).

As this graded characterization of sources as well as the extensive usage of historical method in the consideration and the use of the original (primary) textual sources is somehow alien to management research, the *Standards of the American Historical Association* (2011)—detailed by those guidelines and insights given in Eckermann et al. (1978) and Spalding and Parker (2007)—further clarify that

- *Primary sources* are all forms of evidence—not just written texts, but artefacts, images, statistics, oral recollections, the built and natural environment—that have survived as records of former times.
- *Secondary sources* are all subsequent interpretations of those former times based on the evidence contained in primary documents.
- *Supporting sources* are all additional aids that further contextualize, and/or deal with the primary and secondary sources, or help to do so.

Taking into consideration both these source-related requirements and the research questions/objectives, the textual sources *re-searched* in the course of the study are précised as follows:

- Experiential descriptions in literature of Accommodation as lived
- Etymological clarifications
- Idiomatic words/phrases
- Hermeneutic-phenomenological and further topic-related literature

The textual sources considered in the study are written in Chinese, Dutch, English, French, German, Ancient Greek, Italian, Latin, Portuguese, or Spanish. Following this general classification, **Appendix II** further details the choice of textual sources and their characteristics.

Due to the abundance of sources, restricting the number for inclusion is essential. Choosing approaches and criteria that have high practical rigour to include and exclude texts is necessary (Tranfield et al., 2003), as data collection—and its subsequent analysis—is rooted within the double need of:

- an interpretive double hermeneutics (Meyers, 2009; Nicholson, 1997); and
- a necessity to get at the meaning of the experience and to touch the core, the essence (Bauman, 1978; Cohen et al., 2000; Husserl, 1922; van Manen, 1978 1990) of the Jesuits' Accommodation endeavour, from the Jesuits' point of view (Cohen & Omery, 1994; Tufford & Newman, 2010).

In so following Bryman and Bell (2007) and Hart (1998, 2001), time-based limitations, topic- and contribution-related parameters, and data and theoretical saturation are used to handle data-generation, to conquer the trans-disciplinary data universe and to refine ideas without boosting sample-size.

Table 8 outlines the parameters for inclusion/exclusion of sources.

Parameters for inclusion/exclusion outlined		
General Source	Parameter for Inclusion	Parameter for Exclusion
Books	no time limit acknowledged publications amongst scholars—counter-checked in respective bibliographies strong citation nodes—starting points dealing with or allowing valuable insights into Jesuits' Accommodation Methodology/Experience	receiving citations—only summarising and/or repacking core texts not dealing with or only giving non-substantiated or superficial or too general insights into Jesuits' Accommodation Methodology/Experience
Theses	no time limit acknowledged theses amongst scholars—counter-checked in respective bibliographies strong citation nodes—starting points dealing with or allowing valuable insights into Jesuits' Accommodation Methodology/Experience	not dealing with or only allowing too narrow insights into Jesuits' Accommodation Methodology/Experience
Monographs	no time limit published in acknowledged sources strong citation nodes—starting points dealing with or allowing valuable insights into Jesuits' Accommodation Methodology/Experience	receiving citations—only summarising and/or repacking core texts not dealing with or only giving non-substantiated or superficial or too general insights into Jesuits' Accommodation Methodology/Experience
Journals	no time limit dealing with or allowing valuable insights into Jesuits' Accommodation Methodology/Experience	not dealing with or only giving non-substantiated or superficial or too general insights into Jesuits' Accommodation Methodology/Experience
Grey Literature	no time limit dealing with or allowing valuable insights into Jesuits' Accommodation Methodology/Experience	not dealing with or only giving non-substantiated or superficial or too general insights into Jesuits' Accommodation Methodology/Experience
Primary Source	on availability dealing with or allowing valuable insights into Jesuits' Accommodation Methodology/Experience	not dealing with or only allowing too narrow insights into Jesuits' Accommodation Methodology/Experience

Table 8: Parameters for inclusion/exclusion outlined

Table 8: Parameters for inclusion/exclusion outlined, compiled by author

To terminate data generation, quality and essence of the lived experience must be described in an *appropriately* comprehensive, full and deep manner (van Manen, 1990). In this regard, accomplishing data gathering is linked to data analysis as a simultaneous and interdependent process (Bryman & Bell, 2007) that focuses on quality instead of quantity. As data gathering so extends into data analysis and the dissemination of its results (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009), it is mainly this data and theoretical saturation that assumes an important part both in “analysis driven purposeful sampling” (Holloway & Wheeler, 2002, p. 125) and while data analysis progresses. However, doing so requires theoretical sensitivity on the researcher’s side, which—supported and fuelled by the virtues of alethic hermeneutics—allows to, according to Holloway and Wheeler (2002),

- consider data from multiple perspectives rather than being distracted by the obvious or traditional;
- discriminate between essential and incidental insights; and
- understand when no new ideas arise that are of value to develop a substantive theoretical concept that is qualitatively sound and well developed.

Data analysis

Making something of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience by interpreting its meaning is a process of insightful invention, imagination, discovery, and disclosure (Ehrich, 2003, 2005). Being a reflective process, it "involves a sensitive attunement to opening up to the meaning of experience [...] [in] a combination of description, thematic interpreting and metaphoric insight [...] [with] the product 'given' to the researcher by the text" (Ray, 1994, p. 129). This requires thorough interaction with the sources and a reflective analysis of thematic aspects. To do so, a close connection between data and its thematic conceptualization is key (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). The chosen sources must thus be approached in an integral, sensitive, and reflective textual way (Ehrich, 2005; van Manen, 1990) if research aims to synthesize experiential meaning-units which have a high level of explanatory rigour (Dixon-Woods et al., 2005) and descriptive guiding power (van Manen, 1990) (*noema*), thematise upon these experiential qualities-*in|variant constituents* (Husserl, 1922; Moustakas; 1994, van Manen, 1978, 1990), and theorize about the essence of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience (Ehrich, 2005; van Manen, 1990). This enables an oriented, strong, and meaningful understanding, description, and elucidation of the phenomenon under scrutiny. As there is no one correct approach to thematic data analysis (Holloway & Wheeler, 2002), demonstrating transparency of how themes are recovered (van Manen, 1990) in the course of the study is necessary. The following considerations are to serve as guidelines in the study at hand:

- Unravelling the experiential structures of an experience occurs iteratively, with repetitive interplay between collection and analysis (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006), and the implications of the analysis shaping the next steps in data generation.
- Calling for on-going "dialogic-dialectic interpretive encounter with the [...] [sources] by reflecting on the parts [...] and moving to the meaning of the whole in relation to the [...] [parts]" (Ray, 1994, p. 125) generates data that have to be placed in context—recognizing that meaning-units, themes, and the theoretical level of analysis emerge from the researcher's interaction within the field and questions about the data (Dowling, 2007).

The process of reflectively making explicit the true nature of a lived experience and revealing the embedded meaning structures (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006) necessitates extensive active reading. Adhering to the implications embedded within the complementary objectivist (part-whole) and alethic (pre-understanding-understanding) Hermeneutic Circles (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009), this “immersing oneself in the data” (Cohen et al., 2000, p. 76) de-contextualizes (Ehrich, 2003; van Manen, 1978, 1990) from every single textual source units of meaning (Ayres et al., 2003) that point at, allude to, or hint at the aspects of the lived experience under scrutiny (van Manen, 1990). This grasping of what the Jesuits’ first-hand experience might (have) be(en) (Owen, 2008) first allows the synthesis of anchors|meaning-units to which the Jesuits’ lived Accommodation experiences are fastened, and secondly around which an informed analysis through phenomenological reflection and writing can be woven (van Manen, 1990), until the core meaning, the essence, the *eidos*, is unveiled (Ehrich, 2003; van Manen, 1978). Doing it in this manner can be considered a two-tier research approach to capture the *eidos* of the Accommodation phenomenon.

Being embedded within the sources, meaning-units can be defined as variant with regard to their occurrence/specificity, repetitive but nonetheless non-overlapping constituents that are coherent and distinctive from other ideas (Cohen et al., 2000; Moustakas, 1994; Ratner, 2001), and that—while being abstracted—“preserve the [...] integrity” (Ratner, 2001, p. 2) of the lived experience under scrutiny to guide textural description (Moustakas, 1994).

In such a way unravelling these “experiential structures” (van Manen, 1990, p. 79) of experience requires either a holistic or selective approach to, and interaction with, the source (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009; van Manen, 1978, 1990) and across the sources (Granot, 2011).

The holistic (sententious) approach requires attending to the text as a whole, asking, according to Ehrich (2003) and van Manen (1978, 1990), the following questions:

- How does this source speak to the meaning of the phenomenon?
- What sententious phrase may capture the fundamental meaning or main significance of the text as a whole?

Based on this macro-thematic reflection (van Manen, 2011d), the core of the experience, which is reflected and truly represented in the source (Ratner, 2001), is expressed in one statement or phrase (Holloway & Wheeler, 2002).

As the essence of a phenomenon is multi-dimensional and multi-layered (van Manen, 1990), expressing the fundamental or overall meaning of a text is an interpretive act. To this effect, van Manen (2011d) reminds the researcher that different readers may discern different meaning-units from the same text that all possess equal value.

The selective (highlighting) approach—on the other hand—exhaustively asks, according to Ehrich (2003) and van Manen (1978, 1990), the following questions:

- What statement(s) or phrase(s) seem particularly essential or revealing about the phenomenon or experience being described?
- Which phrases stand out that can be selected as thematic of the phenomenon under study?

Doing so, this micro-thematic reflection enables a statement or multiple statements to highlight what seems experientially essential or revealing in the gathered text (van Manen, 1978, 2011e).

In any case, Cohen et al. (2000) caution the researcher from being “overly reductionistic and losing sight of the meaning of the whole encounter” (p. 77) when deciding what is relevant in the sources, and what is not.

Having thus captured “the communalities of experience” (Ayres et al., 2003, p. 873) across the various sources under re-search, a detailed, sensitive, and reflexive *textural* portrayal of the Accommodation phenomenon (Geertz, 1973; Moustakas, 1994) within its given context, and “as close to the lived experience as possible” (Lavery, 2003, p. 19) along the emerging meaning-units can be compiled (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006; van Manen, 1990). Doing so re-contextualizes the meaning-units into thematic clusters (Ayres et al., 2003). It leads to a thematic understanding of the lived experience under scrutiny. Therefore, constructing a textural fore-structure enables to discover, disclose, and analyse the *structural* aspects of the phenomenon (van Manen, 1990); in so, bringing the How and Why to the fore also “gives control and order to [...] [further] research and [subsequent] writing” (p. 79).

Figure 9 further details the methodical prerequisites that guide the interaction with the textual sources to see(k) meaning that is idiosyncratic.

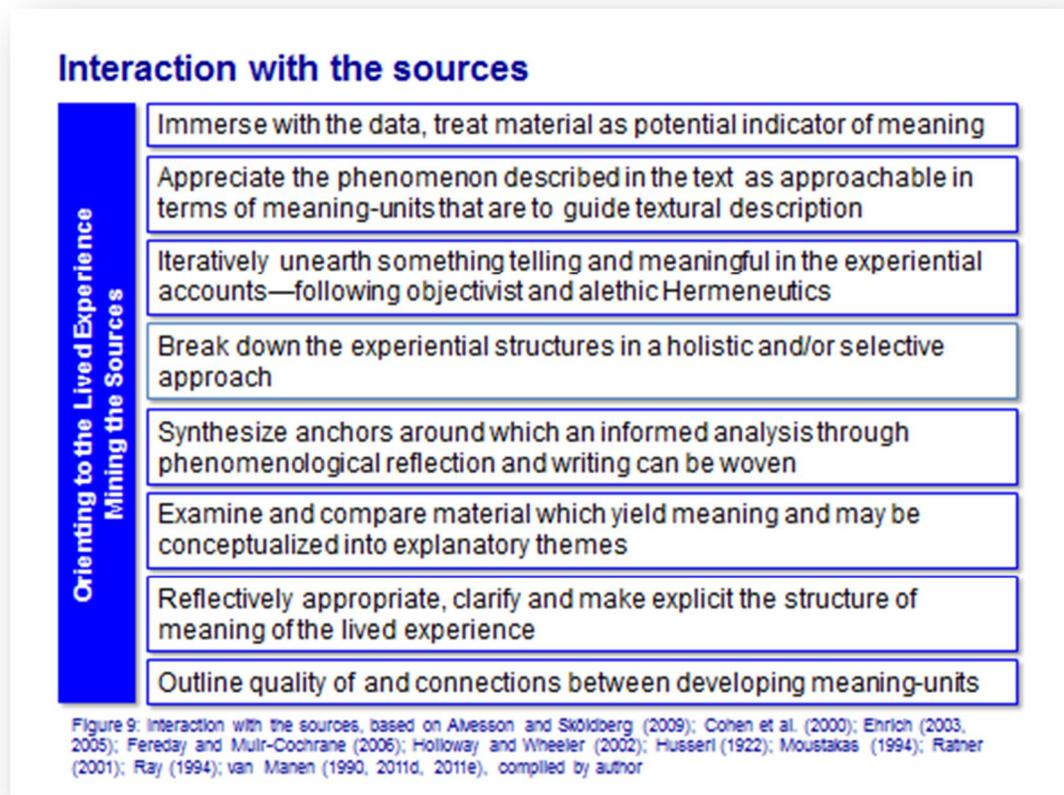


Figure 9: Interaction with the sources

Figure 9: Interaction with the sources, based on Alvesson and Skoldberg (2009); Cohen et al. (2000); Ehrlich (2003, 2005); Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006); Holloway and Wheeler (2002); Husserl (1922); Moustakas (1994); Ratner (2001); Ray (1994); van Manen (1990, 2011d, 2011e), compiled by author

Arriving at the essential structure of a lived experience, and explaining and describing “the underlying and precipitating factors that account for what is being experienced” (Moustakas, 1994, p. 98)—How and Why the Jesuits’ lived Accommodation experience come to What it is (*noesis*) (Husserl, 1922)—requires thinking of the phenomenon under scrutiny in terms of themes (van Manen, 1990).

Being grounded in the exhaustive, un-prepossessed description of the phenomenon under scrutiny along its meaning-units (Holloway & Wheeler, 2002; Moustakas, 1994), this reflective analysis into its structural, thematic aspects requires interpretively (Ratner, 2001) fixing the various examples of the Jesuits’ lived Accommodation experience into “as unequivocal a statement of *identification of its fundamental structure as possible*” (Holloway & Wheeler, 2002, p. 181).

Thus, imaginatively connecting and turning similar meaning-units into themes (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006; Holloway & Wheeler, 2002; van Manen, 1990) is an act of opening up “a deepened and more reflective understanding” (van Manen, 1990, p. 86) of the Accommodation experience as lived along the clues in the textural description (Moustakas, 1994).

To imaginatively vary and reflectively thematise data while describing the Hermeneutic Circles, Ehrich (2003), Moustakas (1994), and Sanders (1982) propose three characteristics of phenomenological research as guiding questions:

1. What are the themes that emerge from textural description after preconceptions are reflectively suspended?
2. How can the total meaning, the intentionality of the experience in question be abstracted/labelled?
3. What is the pure essence/the true meaning of the experience—that, what makes it what it is, which is constant?

Following this creative, hermeneutic process, the research|er stays “oriented to the [invariant] substance of the [...] [phenomenon] being questioned” (van Manen, 1990, p. 98) until the conversation lapses into silence. It is in this regard that writing simultaneously abstracts the Jesuits’ Accommodation experience and concretizes it, as it allows the research|er to return to the thing itself (Husserl, 1922).

Having discerned themes that emerge as (possible) communality in the gathered textual description, probing the invariant substance of the phenomenon in question is a necessary step to discriminate between incidental and essential themes (van Manen, 1978, 1990). As not all thematic aspects of the Jesuits’ lived Accommodation experience “are unique to that phenomenon” (van Manen, 1990, p. 106), differentiation within the *constituents*, and hence, between essential themes and themes that are more incidentally related to the phenomenon is necessary. To understand which “*aspects or qualities [...] make a phenomenon what it is and without which [it] [...] could not be what it is*” (van Manen, 1990, p. 107), Husserl (1922) clarifies, that probing the validity requires *imaginative variation* to reflect on what is essential/unchangeable and what is secondary/incidental.

To do so, van Manen (1990) proposes

- establishing a hermeneutic conversation between the Jesuits as the experiencing subjects and the researcher; and
- “interpret[ing] the significance of the preliminary themes in the light of the original” (p. 99) lived Accommodation experience as manifested in the textual data.

“[V]arying the examples [of the experience/phenomenon under scrutiny] is the way [...to] address the phenomenological themes of a phenomenon so that the 'invariant' aspect(s) of the phenomenon[—the *eidos*] itself [...] comes [*sic*] into view” (van Manen, 1990, p. 122).

To verify whether a theme belongs to a phenomenon essentially, and thus is an *invariant constituent*, van Manen (1990) proposes following two questions:

1. Is this phenomenon still the same if we change or delete this theme from the phenomenon?
2. Does the phenomenon without this theme lose its fundamental meaning?

In such a way “varying the frames of reference, employing polarities and reversals, and approaching the phenomenon from divergent perspectives” (Moustakas, 1994, p. 97) probes the trueness of the theme. Doing so also assists in seeing the phenomenon in another way than it has been seen before and integrates these fresh new insights into a new semantic context (Lavery, 2003).

This free act of see(k)ing the universal, essential qualities of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience (along the circle of reading/conversing, reflective writing, and interpretation [Lavery, 2003]) in an ever-reducing, ever-deepening search for intentionality, essence, and ground (Ehrich, 2005; Husserl, 1922; van Manen, 1978, 1990), makes possible the thematic clustering of the essential aspects of the Accommodation phenomenon across the various textual manifestations.

In so explaining how the general structures are interrelated (Ratner, 2001), further generalizing and abstracting the *invariant constituents* (Ayres et al., 2003; Flood, 2010)

- enables the generation of theoretical ideas about the Accommodation phenomenon in relation to its essential themes (Ehrich, 2005); and
- allows to finally synthesize the essential themes into building blocks of the one new substantive *Theory of the Unique*, which—in a conceptualized form—becomes eminently suitable to deal with a particular setting (Ray, 1994; van Manen, 1978, 1990), or a comparable managerial concern (van der Mescht, 2004), and which lends itself to further investigation.

However, as a theme is expected to embrace, express, and elucidate the specific qualities of the respectively abstracted meaning-unit(s), correctly naming it is of utmost importance (Ratner, 2001). Thus, accurately reflecting upon (only but also comprehensively) the *invariant constituents* of What the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience makes it what it is (Husserl, 1922), requires a terminology that gives credit to the specific psychological and cultural character of the phenomenon under scrutiny (Cohen et al., 2000; Ratner, 2001). This allows themes to become parts of an explanatory framework (Ratner, 2001).

5. RESEARCH DESIGN REALIZED

The adequate positioning of bracketing “between the researcher and the research project” (Tufford & Newman, 2010, p. 8), and the decision and accomplishment of necessary manual and mental activities to perform the *epoché* and to work “‘under’ the phenomenological reduction” (McKenna, 1997, p. 178) is the individual/sole responsibility of the researcher (McNamara, 2005; Moustakas, 1994).

To take a distinct, research|er-related specific personal “reflective distance” (McGuirk, 2008, p. 107) from the experience under scrutiny requires the researcher to decide, individualize, and prioritize appropriate bracketing elements and to later approach towards the chosen bracketing activities on her|his own (Gearing, 2004; McNamara, 2005; Moustakas, 1994).

To make visible the Accommodation phenomenon’s uncontested essence (Bednall, 2006; Hamill & Sinclair, 2010; Husserl, 1922; LeVasseur, 2003; Moustakas, 1994) in an effective, credible, affirmative, and traceable way (Ray, 1994), the legitimate use of bracketing (Tufford & Newman, 2010) in the research at hand as a “means of properly engaging with [...] [the] experience [under scrutiny] reflectively and in its entirety for the first time” (McGuirk, 2008, p. 109) thus necessitates

- explicitness regarding the phases and components of *bracketing* as introduced in *Section 4.3*; and
- further individualization and prioritization to be exercised in the course of the study (Gearing, 2004).

To do so, **Table 9** individualizes and prioritizes the phases of *bracketing* and its components as exercised in the light of the chosen research design. Additionally, **Appendix III** further contains details about these phases and components.

Phases and components of bracketing adapted	
1	Abstract Formulation
<p>This initial phase of bracketing establishes the researcher's entrance into the study. Clear methodological and methodical forethought is not only pivotal to guide the study's research design but also directly affects the bracketing approach to be employed.</p>	
a Orientation Standpoint	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > Interpretivist research philosophy, cultural relativist value stance, inductively conceived <i>Theory of the Unique</i>
b Theoretical Framework	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > Hermeneutic Phenomenology in the tradition of the Dutch/Utrecht School and as propagated by Max van Manen
2	Research Praxis
<p>This main phase brings together the five core elements of bracketing. These components need to be clarified, decided, implemented, and realized while performing the <i>epoché</i> and working under <i>phenomenological reduction</i>.</p>	
a Foundational Focus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > Naming and writing down personally cognoscible internal and external preconceptions that might have the potential to interfere with, to obfuscate, or to truncate data collection and its analysis
b Internal Supposition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > Preconceptions based on the researcher's; that is, <u>my</u> personal knowledge, experiences, culture, faith, values, history, assumptions, as well as educational and academic orientation(s) and background—stated in Section 5.1.1
c External Supposition	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > Preconceptions linked to the phenomenon; that is, the <u>Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience</u>, and its broader (research) environment, to its research history, its research community, as well as to its sources in general and the sources to be researched in particular—stated in Section 5.1.2
d Temporal Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > Started prior to the research and ends with writing down the results
e Boundaries	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > Naming and writing down specific, clearly stated preconceptions, viz., personally cognoscible internal and external preconceptions as stated in Sections 5.1.1 and 5.1.2, alludes to designed bracketing
3	Reintegration
<p>This final phase of bracketing is the culmination of <i>epoché</i> and <i>phenomenological reduction</i>. It involves the reintegration of bracketed data into the larger investigation and interpretation, and can be considered the test of authenticity of the essential qualities of the lived experience under scrutiny.</p>	
a Unbracketing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > The folding back of bracketed data into the wider research context—as accomplished in <i>Section 7.3</i>—is situated on the threshold to developing one new substantive <i>Theory of the Unique</i> from the essential qualities of the lived experience under scrutiny

Table 9: Phases and components of bracketing adapted

Table 9: Phases and components of bracketing adapted, based on Bednall (2006); Cohen and Omery (1994); Cohen et al. (2000); Ehrich (2003); Gearing (2004); Hamill and Sinclair (2010); Husserl (1922); Kahn (2000); LeVasseur (2003); McKenna (1997); Moustakas (1994); Tufford and Newman (2010); van Manen (1990), compiled by author

Based on this classification, the following two sub-sections detail those internal and external preconceptions personally identified to potentially

- interfere with, obfuscate, or truncate research-related activities (Bednall, 2006; LeVasseur, 2003; Tufford & Newman, 2010; van Manen, 1990); and
- prejudice the study, that is, contaminate the description and/or obscure the interpretation of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience as such (Bednall, 2006; Hamill & Sinclair, 2010; LeVasseur, 2003; Moustakas, 1994; Tufford & Newman, 2010; van Manen, 1990).

Internal suppositions are by nature individual and unique to the researcher, and the definition of external suppositions first of all depends on the researcher's interaction with the sources and her|his understanding of the topic as such.

Naming and writing these internal and external suppositions down will therefore require the detailing sub-sections to be compiled in the authentic first person.

To such an extent, setting aside and suspending my personally identified internal and external preconceptions makes my research into the chosen phenomenon unbiased in its proper sense (van Manen, 1990) and disrupts "habitual patterns of thinking" (LeVasseur, 2003, p. 417). This

- fuels my constant reflective-meditative endeavour, fosters my on-going curiosity, and supports related critical thinking (Bednall, 2006; LeVasseur, 2003; Moustakas, 1994);
- encourages me to further question findings, lines of arguments, and conclusions (Bednall, 2006; Gearing, 2004; LeVasseur, 2003); and
- enables me to become constantly more aware of subtle and/or taken-for-granted preconceptions that come with or are linked to the Accommodation phenomenon under research (Kahn, 2000; Moustakas, 1994; van Manen, 1990).

As internal and external suppositions may overlap, the study nonetheless strives to cluster detected preconceptions either as internal or external—depending on how personally close/related they are to me or to the phenomenon.

Internal Suppositions

The following internal suppositions centre on my

1. Personal knowledge, history, culture, experiences
2. Academic orientation and theory
3. Faith and Values

They are expected *ab initio* to feed into and/or potentially affect my engagement with, research into, and later conceptualization of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience in China.

Concerning the first area, living and working in different places, within different cultures, and under different political systems regularly challenged and constantly diminished my acquired/internalized ethnocentric Western mind-set and related patterns of behaviour. Thus, limiting my ethnocentric bias has continually helped and still helps me to

- transcend the simple, ostensible tolerance of diverse cultural practices;
- avoid seeing these cultural practices as manifestations of some picturesque survivals of customs that are to lose importance in a globalized homogenization towards apparently dominant Western culture(s) and ideas;
- question and understand myself in critically and reflexively studying the *Other*; and
- confirm both the necessity and the indispensability and instinctiveness of a/my culture relativistic value stance.

It was especially during my stay in China that I had to cope with change- and culture-related issues, and to try to understand Chinese idiosyncrasies and oddities not as incivilities or as a Chinese inability to change/adapt, but as passed down reactions to deep-rooted cultural demands or short-cuts to respective requirements. Even if an objectification of idiosyncrasies and oddities was not always possible, the aim to do so, however, helped to

- change perspective;
- avoid overhasty, unconsidered judgments of the other's actions, thoughts, and/or stances being right or wrong, good or bad; and
- accept that change is a mutual and ongoing endeavour.

Concerning the second area, holding a diploma and a master's degree in business administration, I am aware of the discipline's need and predilection for models and its inclination towards simplification. This awareness notwithstanding, the temptation to comply with this attitude is still present, and is in particular reinforced, as the thesis at hand has been compiled to be awarded a Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Business, Education and Professional Studies—resulting in an applicable guideline to deal with the general problem that led to this study.

As my research into the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience in China opens out into a *Sinicized* concept to enable, implement, and guide change in a contemporary Chinese organizational context, it is necessary to constantly recognize the goal of the research as follows:

The provision of one new substantive *Theory of the Unique* that serves as a means of mutual understanding; that modifies mind-sets and attitudes—*mutatis mutandis*—; and that not simply conceptualizes or models the Jesuits' proselytization approach in China to offer oversimplifying generalizations and/or to present one-size-fits all recipes 'to enable change in China'.

Concerning the third area, as a Catholic, my worldview and respective value-canon is deeply ingrained with the underlying religious requirements and their resulting parameters. Hence, my faith affects and quasi-automatically guides

- my understanding of the religious content, context, and course of the Jesuits' Accommodation approach; and
- the assessment of opinions, evaluations, and (re)actions regarding the Jesuits' Accommodation endeavour, and those concerning its reflexion in contemporary (non-)academic publications and academic research.

External Suppositions

The following external suppositions that centre on the traditional, pre-determined, and long unquestioned (research) history and existing definition(s) (Brockey, 2007) as well as related larger environmental factors of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience in China, are expected to feed into or potentially affect my engagement with and research into the Accommodation phenomenon. It is in this regard that external suppositions have mainly manifested and further manifest themselves into three areas:

1. The Jesuits' Accommodation endeavour in China (1583-1742)
2. Existent research into the Jesuits' Accommodation experience in China (1583-1742)
3. The Jesuit order in general and its missionizing activities in China (1583-1742) in particular

Concerning the first area, the Jesuits' Accommodation approach was and still is to a high degree unvaryingly recognized and represented in past and contemporary research as

- a) being grounded in an understanding of Western cultural and—to a certain degree—religious superiority at that time (Brockey, 2007); and
- b) predominantly aimed at indirectly propagating the Gospel by transmitting Western sciences/arts principally amongst a Chinese literary elite and—with regard to its individual members—from the top-down while adopting an openness to, and by adapting/using, their elite culture, customs, and values (Bettray, 1955; Standaert, 1997; Standaert, Franke, Spuler, & Altenmüller, 2001; Thaurén, 1927; von Collani, 2000a, 2012b).

It is in this regard that the Jesuits' Accommodation procedure as applied in China was and still is mostly rated as

- c) “a teleologically conceived” (Brockey, 2007 p. 17), focused, proactive way of proceeding (Bettray, 1955; Standaert, 1997; Vatican, 2001), which mainly followed a preset, well-defined, comprehensive, broadly acknowledged, target-oriented three to four-faceted process of missionizing China (Bettray, 1955; Standaert et al., 2001; von Collani, 2000a, 2012b).

As such a well laid out approach, the Jesuits' Accommodation method of spreading the Gospel in China was and still is

d) mainly credited to Matteo Ricci (1552-1610), who—as the *Übervater*, that is, the dominant father figure and undisputed role model of the Jesuits' *China Mission*—not only invented and successfully-“creatively put into practice” (Standaert, 2008b, p. 172) the Accommodation approach amongst the Chinese (Bernard-Maitre, 1937; Bettray, 1955; Bortone, 1969; Cristin, 2005, 2007; Cronin, 1984; Harris, 1966; Hartmann, 2008; Haub, 2010; Hoffmann-Herreros, 1990; Mertes, 2007; Mignini, 2007; Radio Vaticana, 2010; Rowbotham, 1966; Rüegg, 1963; Schüller, 1936; Standaert, 1991a; Vatican, 2001; von Collani, 1993; Wardega, 2012), but also handed on the later acclaimed, unquestioned, undisputed *Li Madou fangfa*-利玛窦方法-Ricci Method to his approach-adopting successors and method-loyal confreres (Bettray, 1955; Bortone, 1969; Dunne, 1962; Latourette, 1929; Ryden, 2010b)—thus already preparing the ground for its failure (Cummins, 1993; Ho, 2009; Mignini, 2007; Oehler, 1925; Poser, 2007; Ross, 1994; Rosso, 1948; Sievernich, 2006; Young, 1983).

It is in this context that the downfall of the Jesuits' *modus procedendi* of accommodating themselves and the Gospel to the Chinese environment was and still is generally accepted to originate from

e) numerous liberties taken by the Jesuits and their syncretic concessions made to Chinese culture right from the beginning (Wright, 2008; Rosso, 1948), and, due to it, associated intrigues, conflicts, and disputes on the side of the Church (Burgaleta, 1999; Cummins, 1993; Franke, 1967; Hsü, 2000; Ross, 1994; Rosso, 1948; Ticozzi, 2009; Young, 1983), and related misunderstandings, provoked disaccords, and un-removable intolerance on the Chinese side (Camps, 2000; Ho, 2009; Franke, 1967; Rosso, 1948; Ticozzi, 2009; Young, 1983).

Following the alphabetic order introduced above, **Table 10** allows a further detailed overview of those external suppositions that manifest or have manifested themselves while gathering data and interacting with the respective sources on the level of the Jesuits' Accommodation endeavour in China (1583-1742).

The Jesuits' Accommodation endeavour in China	
a) Jesuits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > are bearers of superior technological, scientific, and/or artistic skills and progressive knowledge > are heroic, unselfish catalysts for modernization in and modernizing China > transmit a comprehensive range of modern European science, technology, and art to an underdeveloped, backward, and ignorant, but highly receptive, appreciative, and rewarding Chinese audience > receive Chinese's undivided attention regarding, common consent to, and easy acceptance of transmitted European technology and religion > position Catholic faith as i) superior to other indigenous creeds, ii) the completion of Confucianism, and/or iii) naturally rooted in as well as historically related to China
b) Jesuits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > propagate the Gospel via philosophical discussions and through the back door of the printing press > are nonetheless noticed, recognized, and accepted by their Chinese equivalents as missionaries > deal most- and exclusively with Chinese intellectuals, high officials, and other like-minded persons > share their knowledge among a receptive, eagerly requesting, and voluntarily accepting progressive Chinese audience > are at least at eye level with their Chinese literate, well-educated, and cultured counterparts > work together with and are widely supported by a sound number of supportive Chinese intellectuals, officials, and disposed, proselytized, deeply convinced converts > are eager and able to understand, tolerate, and accept completely Chinese culture, customs, and values, > are versed and deeply embedded in, and interpenetrate Chinese culture, customs, and values
c) Jesuits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > have a clear strategic understanding of how to spread Christianity in China—already prior to their entering the country > intentions and motivations are clear from the beginning and are unambiguously mirrored in their Accommodation method > impose their approach on the Chinese > keep the missionizing approach generally unaltered during their entire stay in China—notwithstanding the active change of audience and Chinese interaction > remain unaltered while originating a dialogue with and bringing change to China > only modify on their own account and individual decision
d) Matteo Ricci	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > is seen as the epicentre, originator, founder, innovator, provider, and the undisputed personification of the Jesuit China mission and its related missionizing approach—notwithstanding the activities and inputs of other Jesuit confreres in China both during his life time and particularly after his death > provides an archetype of a workable missionizing strategy to be applied by every other Jesuit in China during the 17th—18th century > serves as reference point with regard to the Accommodation process and policy at that time and for generations of missionaries who solely (!) succeeded > is acknowledged for his heroic, superhuman talents and achievements—a praise already showing hagiographic tendencies
e) Root cause	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > Jesuits' apparent craving for admiration to please a like-minded audience and/or their worldly flattery and celebration of their education/raison d'être > too many unauthorized liberties and syncretic concessions to Chinese culture > ignorance and an uncompromising attitude of the Holy See, other mendicant orders, and secular clergy vis-à-vis the Middle Kingdom in general—further fuelled by the European feeling of cultural and religious superiority at that time, and the fear of the opposing parties for their position and benefices > intransigent positions of the Holy See, other mendicant orders, and secular clergy regarding certain aspects of the Jesuits' Accommodation approach that is feared to dangerously soften Catholic orthodoxy and orthopraxy > inner-order dispute about the right way to inculturate oneself and the Gospel, and intrigues, and on-going discussions with other missionaries active in China > un-removable intolerance and repudiation of the entire missionizing endeavour on the Chinese side—leading to an immediate, irrevocable extinction of Catholic life and missionizing activities

Table 10: The Jesuits' Accommodation endeavour in China

Table 10: The Jesuits' Accommodation endeavour in China, based on Attwater (1963); Barthel (1982); Battaglini (2005); Bernard-Maitre (1933, 1937); Bettray (1955); Bortone (1969); Brockey (2007); Brook (2005); Burgaleta (1999); Cary-Elwes (1957); Chang (1997); Cohen (2008); Corradini (1997); Cristin (2005, 2007); Criveller (2010); Cronin (1984); Cummins (1993); Didier (2011); Ducornet (1992); Dunne (1962); Fontana (2011, 2012); Franke (1967); Galliano (2005); Benedictus PP. XIV (11 iul. 1742) in Gasparri (1947); Clemens PP. XI (19 mart. 1715) in Gasparri (1947); Harris (1966); Haub (2002, 2010); Ho (2009); Hoffmann-Herrerros (1990); Hosne (2013); Hsia (2010a, 2010b); Jami (2005); Jenkins (1894/2005); Johns (2016); Kolvenbach (1998); Latourette (1929); Laven (2011); Law (2009); Lazzarotto (1998); Lin, (1997); Lu (1998); Mangani (2005); Marcocchi (1997); Merstes (2007); Mignini (2005, 2007); Minamiki (1985); Muller (2016); Mungello (2005); Oehler (1925); Poser (2007); Radio Vaticana (2010); Raguin (1972); Ripa (1844); Rocha Pino (2010); Ross (1999); Rosso (1948); Rowbotham (1966); Rubiés (2005); Rüegg (1963); Ryden (2010a, 2010b); Sachsenmaier (2001); Schatz (2000b); Schüller (1936); Shelke (2010); Sievernich (2006, 2009); Smith (1903); Spence (1980, 1984); Standaert (1991a, 1997, 2000, 2001a, 2003b, 2008a, 2010a, 2010b); Standaert et al. (2001); Stürmer (1978); Switek (1990); Thaurén (1927); Ticozzi (2009); Truchet (2011); Vatican (2001); Vermander (2012); von Collani (2000a, 2012b); Walravens (2005); Wang (2007); Wiest (2005); Wu (1990); Young (1983); Zhang (2014), compiled by author

Concerning the second area, it was not until the second half of the twentieth century that a significant paradigm shift in the study of Christian proselytization approaches in China, and a reconceptualization of the Jesuits and their role in Chinese history in the late *Mingchao*-明朝-Ming Dynasty (1368-1644)—between 1579 and 1644—and the early *Qingchao*-清朝-Qing Dynasty (1644-1911)—between 1644 and 1742—became noticeable (Brockey, 2007; Standaert, 2005a; Standaert et al., 2001).

Being first studied as religious phenomenon only by members of orders (Standaert, 1997; Standaert et al., 2001) to be presented mainly to “a theologically minded audience” (Brockey, 2007, p. 15), research primarily was and is often still today conducted

a) to outline the overall success of the missionaries, “to celebrate missionary triumphs, [or] to provide apologetics for the perceived failures” (Brockey, 2007, p. 13) by mainly following, and often simply re-telling brushed up, dusted earlier seminal findings that add little to the topic per se.

It is in this context that regaining missionary zeal to “enlarge the place of thy tent, and [...] [to] stretch forth the curtains of thine habitations” (Is. 54:2) in the wake of the Encyclical Letter *Sancta Dei Civitas* (Leo PP. XIII, 1880)—further detailed in the Apostolic Letter *Maximum Illud* (Benedictus PP. XV, 1919)—and the establishment of missiology|missiological studies in the academic curriculum in the 1920s and 1930s, led to an early solidified—and to a certain degree still lasting—commitment regarding the term *accommodation*, its respective connotation, and its defining facets in the *Catholic* church in general and regarding the *China Mission* in particular (Bettray, 1955; Thaurén, 1927). Resuming the call for strengthening missionary activities *Ad Gentes* (Rahner & Vorgrimler, 2008), the Second Vatican Council (1962-65)—in this context incorporating the preceding Papal Encyclical *Princeps Pastorum* (Ioannes PP. XXIII, 1959)—and the subsequent Apostolic Exhortation *Evangelii Nuntiandi* (Paulus PP. VI, 1975) as well as the Encyclical Letter *Redemptoris Missio* (Ioannes Paulus PP. II, 1990) not only gave fresh impetus to spreading the faith among the heathen (Ticozzi, 2009), but also re-confirmed the respectively established accommodation approach (Chupungco, 1982).

As a result, the generally acknowledged, conceptualized *Catholic* tool-kit to enable cultural adaptation of the mission subject to the mission object (Thauren, 1927) in the Jesuits' *China Mission* became and is still today *sacrosanct*.

In spite of the increased availability of Chinese documents dealing with the Jesuits' Accommodation endeavour; official publications appearing more regularly around certain landmark events since the quatercentenary of Matteo Ricci's arrival in China in 1982 (Radio Vaticana, 2010; Vatican, 2001); and Sinology and further (un-)related disciplines entering the research arena to a much greater extent (Standaert, 1997; Standaert et al., 2001; von Mende, 2007), main contributors to the topic still come from a theological, Western background—often yet pursuing their traditional (partial) research agenda (Brockey, 2007). Due to this,

b) an analysis of other facets of the Mission (Brockey, 2007), the discovery of a wider variety of cultural elements which came along with Christian faith and practice (Corsi, 2005), a further scrutiny of both religious and non-religious interactions with the *Chinese Others* (Standaert, 2003a) as well as the character of their response to the missionaries and their writings (Standaert, 2008b, 2010a; Poser, 2007; von Mende, 2007; Young, 1983 Yu, 2008) and/or a more sustained discussion of the then existing mutual Sino-Western exchange (Corsi, 2005; von Collani, 2012b), was and still is neglected, or at least under-represented.

In addition to that

c) the traditional use of Western primary and secondary sources—often being written in languages less frequent in the global scholarly world (Brockey, 2007; Standaert et al., 2001), or, when relying on the sources at that time, being carefully edited and smoothed prior to being published (Brockey, 2007; Haub, 2002; Sievernich, 2006)—and the small number of globally published (and accurately translated) Chinese research, prevent fresh, new (Chinese) insights from reaching a broad(er) audience, and/or restrict a more comprehensive/correct understanding of the multiple (non-religious) facets of the Jesuits' Accommodation endeavour as well as of the (re-)actions of the *Chinese Others* in the respective context.

It is in this regard that

- d) “attempts to explain China [...] exclusively in relation to the West [...] [,] to Christianity” (Brockey, 2007, p. 16), or to its over-idealized social system and artistic accomplishments, were and often are still (willingly) carried forward in the respective Eurocentric sources, and related, partial research.

Considering the two observations above, it is necessary to point out here that the also existing adoption of a respectively opposing China-centred approach—a position assumed mainly in Western research—also carries the risk of underestimating or neglecting the role of the Western *Other*, and/or of constituting a now likewise biased *Sinocentrism* (Standaert, 1997). This approach

- uses Chinese primary and secondary sources only; and
- explains the Jesuits Accommodation approach and their time and activities from an exclusive Sino-centric point of view.

Following the alphabetic order introduced above, **Table 11** allows a classification of those external suppositions that were and are related to the existent research into the Jesuits' Accommodation experience in China (1583-1742), and that manifested and manifest themselves while gathering data and interacting with the respective sources.

Research into the Jesuits' Accommodation experience in China	
a) Research	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > aims at proving the Jesuits' Accommodation approach in China to be in line with and to generally and exclusively rest on the Roman Catholic Church's classical steps to missionize amongst the heathen > is bent on following the early conceptualized and (often tacitly) officially and academically approved/re-confirmed Christian proselytization approaches in China > is anxious to show that the Jesuits' Accommodation approach in China (only) comprises—dependent on the level of research and the degree of abstraction—three to four traditional themes; that is, openness, tolerance, and adaption to Chinese culture and values—including learning the language, indirect apostolate via science and arts, evangelization from the top down > is keen to present the Jesuits' Accommodation approach in China to be solely a religious phenomenon and, hence, to be argued to a like-minded western audience only
b) Research	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > centres the religious phenomenon and—while being argued to a like-minded western audience—traces the acknowledged/accepted, three to four-faceted process of missionizing China by using confirming Western and few Chinese sources to emphasize (hitherto undisputed) findings > forms a conception of an unidirectional and unilateral Sino-Western exchange/interaction implemented and fuelled by the Jesuits > positions the Jesuits' mission as being directed solely to the Chinese elite > describes China and Chinese intellectuals as in need for and requesting Western knowledge > focuses on/emphasizes the technological and industrial Sino-Western divide
c)	<p>European (primary) sources</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> > are mainly sought in ecclesiastic European archives > are carefully edited prior to being published and, hence, convey a far too idealistic picture and message > carry forward an Eurocentric viewpoint and confirm Western Eurocentrism > that are less frequent in the global scholarly world, such as, Portuguese, Italian, French, Dutch, or German, are read by European researchers, other scholars have mainly to rely on—often inaccurate/incomplete—translations <p>Chinese (primary) sources</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> > are seldom globally published > that are globally published are often inaccurately translated > that are globally published are only read by a small number of Chinese speaking scholars > carry with them the danger of becoming sinocentric
d) Research	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > positions China/Chinese intellectuals on the receptive end of this exchange only while picturing them as i) immediately recognizing the inherent superiority of Western philosophy, technology, and religion, ii) directly opposing Western input as dangerous and wrong, or as simply ignorant regarding the foreign blessings > that makes concessions of a bi-lateral Sino-Western exchange often limits its topic of concern to artistic artefacts, gardening, and/or to skills that strengthen the European view on China as being picturesque or somehow Arcadia by over-idealizing Chinese social system and its underlying philosophy as transmitted to Europe and manufactured by the Jesuits

Table 11: Research into the Jesuits' Accommodation experience in China

Table 11: Research into the Jesuits' Accommodation experience in China, based on Attwater (1963); Bernard-Maitre (1933, 1937); Bettray (1955); Bortone (1969); Boxer (2004); Brockey (2007); Burgaleta (1999); Cary-Elwes (1957); Chen (2011); Chupungco (1982); Corsi (2005); Coulon (2011); Criveller (2010); Cronin (1984); D'Elia (1942, 1949); Didier (2011); Ducornet (1992); Duteil (1994); Dunne (1962); Fontana (2011, 2012); Franke (1967); Gallagher (1953); Harris (1966); Hart (2013); Hartmann (2008); Haub (2010); Ho (2009); Hoffmann-Herreros (1990); Hsia (2010a, 2010b); Jami (2005); Jensen (2003); Kolvenbach (1998); Latourette (1929); Laven (2011); Leibniz (2006, 1715/2002, 1990); Li (1996); Lin (1990); Mangani (2005); Masson (2011); Mignini (2005); Mungello (2005, 2012); Oberholzer (2010); Oehler (1925); Poser (2007); Ricci (2001, 2010a, 2010b); Rienstra (1986); Rocha Pino (2010); Ross (1999); Rubiés (2005); Sachsenmaier (2001); Schüller (1936); Shelke (2010); Shen (2005); Sievernich (2009); Spence (1980); Standaert (1991a, 1997, 2001a, 2005a, 2008a, 2010a, 2010b); Standaert et al. (2001); Stürmer (1978); Thauron (1927); Truchet (2011); Vāth (1933/1991); von Collani (1985, 2000a, 2000b, 2012b); von Mende (2007); Wang (2007); Wiest (2005); Yu (2008); Young (1983), compiled by author

Concerning the third area, presentation of the Jesuits' Accommodation approach in China in general, and of certain aspects of the chosen missionizing approach in particular, were and sometimes still are to some account directly related to

a) the traditional, often highly inconsistent image of the Jesuit order on the whole (Brockey, 2007; Hartmann, 2008; Vogel, 2010; Wright, 2008).

Hence, historical prejudices that come with the order itself further extend into

b) the society's reputation of being pragmatically wily, and making "too many syncretic concessions to local cultures" (Wright, 2008, p. 264) while conceiving and putting into practice their missionizing activities for and in China (Oehler, 1925).

It is in this context that the Jesuits' apparently subtle Accommodation approach was and is still often regarded—by Western and Chinese sources alike—as simply being the Jesuits' diversionary tactic or a kind of *smoke grenade* to

c) silently and secretly pursue a hidden (non-religious) agenda while entering China, missionizing among the pagans, and proselytizing the heathen (Franke, 1967; Young, 1983).

To further put into perspective the aforementioned points, **Table 12** allows a more detailed overview of those external suppositions that emerged while gathering data and interacting with the respective sources on the level of the Jesuit order and its missionizing activities in China (1583-1742) in particular. To do so, the representation follows the alphabetic order describing the third area.

The Jesuits and their missionizing activities in China	
a) The Jesuit Order	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > exhibits a sanguine attitude, pursues and supports a misleading lax moral and theological teaching, is over-adaptive while adopting a casuistic-probabilistic mind-set, and exhibits all too often an ambivalence in its dealings—all fuelled by an inherent disinclination for and repudiation of rulers and authority <i>extra societatis</i> > is a refuge of outmoded thinkers who—being stubbornly obscurantist—are the natural adversaries of the Enlightenment and spread outmoded scientific insights > is a despotic, militaristic organization, and an insidious threat to political life—building up a state within the state(s), manipulating political decisions, encouraging revolution > is the “shock troops [<i>sic</i>] of the Counter Reformation” (Brockey, 2007, p. 8) > possesses too much influence through its role in education and its position as confessors to the great and the good within and outside the church > is a “mire of avarice” (Wright, 2008, p. 270), and a hoard of boundless profiteering
b) Jesuits in China	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > have grown wary of any interference of the Roman Curia > obscure and/or soften crucial Catholic doctrinal theology and related concepts > prove their subtle, cunning, devious character by forbidding intent but not act > crave for admiration of or are eager to please a like-minded audience while embarking “on a vain search for parallels between Chinese antiquity and Christian revelation” (Brockey, 2007, p. 14) > celebrate their education/<i>raison d’être</i>, indulge in their passion for learning/intellect, an see China as their play ground—neglecting pastoral duties and responsibilities > are primarily <i>metropolitan</i> with little interest for the poor and the commoners
c) The Jesuit Order	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> > —mainly in the eyes of the Chinese—infiltrates court and country, influences Chinese decision makers, controls political decisions, encourages revolution, and prepares to finally take over China

Table 12: The Jesuits and their missionizing activities in China

Table 12: The Jesuits and their missionizing activities in China, based on Barthel (1982); Brockey (2007); Brook (2005); Burgaleta (1999); Clemens PP. XIV (21 iul. 1773) (1773); Fülöp-Miller (1929/1996); Hartmann (2008); Ho (2009); Jami (2005); Lazzarotto (1998); Murphy (2008); Nevius (1869/2013); Nicolini (1854/2012); Oehler (1925); Ripa (1844); Romano (2011); Rubiés (2005); Schmitz (1990); Vogel (2010); Wiest (2005); Wright (2006, 2008); Young (1983); Yu (2014), compiled by author

These preconceptions held in abeyance, the following section puts into action the method(ological) specifications/the two-tier research approach as detailed in *Sections 4.2 and 4.4*.

6. RESEARCH DESIGN APPLIED

Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves: be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves. (Mt. 10:16)

To get at the core of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience (in order to finally theorize upon the phenomenon's experiential qualities) the historical development and occurrences that account for the Accommodation experience are elaborated in all its thick, *noematic* facets:

- Chronologically between 1579 and 1742
- Locally between Macao and Beijing
- Experientially between entrance and expulsion

In so following this particular *via experientiae*, the evolving, strong, and meaningful *noematic*-textural description/elucidation, as explained in this chapter, makes visible the invisible texture that underlies the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience. It also highlights the order's persistence in accommodating the Gospel to a Chinese environment—to enable, implement, and guide conversion/change in the Chinese context. In retracing the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience during their stay in China (1583-1742) and relating the evolvment, refinement, and history of the Accommodation approach in China permits the discernment and synthesis of meaning-units/thematic clusters. To and around these anchors, a strong, meaningful, and informed thematic analysis using a reflective phenomenological approach can be woven. Unravelling the “experiential structures” (van Manen, 1990, p. 79) enables hermeneutic interpretation to capture “the communalities of experience” (Ayres et al., 2003, p. 873) across the various sources under re-search. By perambulating through the stations of the Accommodation experience, it becomes possible to analyse the *noetic-structural* aspects of the phenomenon to arrive at its *eidōs*, its core of meaning. The invariant substance of the phenomenon can then be tested via *imaginative variation*—as done in *Chapter 7*—in order to finally enable the generation of theoretical ideas about the *essential qualities* of the phenomenon under scrutiny—as developed in the next but one section.

To achieve this identification of the *essential qualities*, the two-tier approach (detailed in *Chapter 4*) is applied, while the preconceptions (outlined in *Chapter 5*) are held in abeyance.

As the Jesuits' entire experiential journey spans over 160 years, seven stations, and three phases, the comprehensive and substantial process of thematic analysis will be exemplified only by way of the first station: *Traffic and Travail* (1579-1583). It comprises the initial part of the first phase: *Concentration*.

The meaning-units/thematic clusters of the six other stations and remaining phases are only briefly introduced/contextualized in the main text and summarized in tabular form. They include the following phases:

1. *Gaining Footholds* (1583-1595), *Change of Ends* (1585-1595)—both parts of the *Concentration* phase
2. *Amongst Equals* (1595-1601), *Heaven and Earth* (1599-1644)—both parts of the *Conduct* phase
3. *E pluribus unum* (1610-1702), *Paradise Lost* (1702-1742)—both parts of the *Consolidation* phase

In the tabular form, the *variant constituents* are

- added as they emerge, form, and build up along the chronological, local, and experiential journey towards *winning China for Christ*;
- classified as belonging to either the traditional or to the further (new) classification of Accommodation; and
- already assigned to the *eight essential themes/invariant constituents* as finally isolated and validated in *Chapter 7*.

The broad and detailed process of thematic analysis with regard to both the single stations|stages and phases is given in its entirety in **Appendices V-X**.

However, to allow further contextualization and provide a convenient overview, *Table 20* summarizes the attendant discussions as they feed into the *Tables 13-19*.

The *Missionary Commission*, outlined at the beginning of this chapter and originally referring to Jesus sending out his disciples to heal and preach among a less receptive audience (Frankemölle, 1997; Gnilka, 1986; Grilli & Langner, 2010), can also be applied to the Jesuits' lived experience in accommodating themselves and the Gospel to an unknowing, at the worst, hostile Chinese environment (Spence, 1988).

Even if China at that time did not have foreign missionaries face perilous dangers or present manifold possibilities to gain the crown of martyrdom (Brockey, 2007), the Mission Discourse's underlying understanding of the following realities runs like a thread through the Jesuits' *via experientiae*:

- Duty of accommodating missionaries and Gospel to every prevailing situation (Thauren, 1927)
- Focus on a receptive, or Laodicean, or deprecative audience, or on each group at once (Frankemölle, 1997; Grilli & Langner, 2010)
- Difficulty of the enterprise, the imponderability of its development, and the frustrations of its day-to-day business (Brockey, 2007)
- Steps to be taken, decisions to be made, talents to be developed/applied, attitudes to be retained, and opportunities to be seized (Gnilka, 1986)

It pervades the Fathers' chronological, local, and experiential journey towards *winning China for Christ* (Rienstra, 1986), and thus allows meaning-units/thematic clusters (hereafter accented by underlining) to shine through. However, unlike various impressions the groundwork of the Jesuits' journey was established long before the Order gained foothold in China. To thus uncouple the missionaries' personal attributes and actions from a later imposed teleological superstructure and any form of unjustified personification (Winston & Bane, 2010), but first of all to

- assist in understanding the (timeless) distinctiveness of the Fathers' Accommodation approach in China;
- appreciate the (future) significance of their pro-active and re-active adaptation to the Chinese environment; and
- acknowledge the (lasting) transferable practicality of its essential qualities, knowing *Precursors and Preliminaries* to this approach is helpful.

Details of *Precursors and Preliminaries* are given in **Appendix IV**.

Traffic and Travails (1579-1583)

As every journey to be travelled begins with a foot placed down, Laozi's quote of *qianlizhixing, shiyuzuxia*-千里之行，始于足下 (Daodejing 64:11-12), applies to the Jesuits lived Accommodation experience accordingly.

To start the missionizing enterprise of *winning China for Christ* (Rienstra, 1986), Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606)—since September 1573 appointed plenipotentiary Visitor to all Jesuit Missions and for all Jesuit activities east of the Cape of Good Hope (von Collani, 2012b)—took this initial step into nearly 200 years of journey in 1579. Benefitting from his brief look behind the Chinese face, Valignano was convinced that capitalizing on Chinese respect for erudition and knowledge (Ricci, 2010a; Schütte, 1951; Sebes, 1988) and profiting from Chinese curiosity and desire for practical learning (Brockey, 2007; Flichy, 2012; Gallagher, 1953; Lewis, 1988; Ricci, 2010a; Rowbotham, 1966; Standaert, 1991a, 2008b) would open the Chinese doors and minds to everything presented in a refined, civilized, and hence, Chinese way (Bond, 1991; Brockey, 2007; Leys, 1987; Zürcher, 1994).

To counteract Chinese resentment and to ward off any form of Chinese xenophobic attitude (Bertuccioli, 1997; Brockey, 2007; Oberholzer, 2010; Rowbotham, 1966; von Collani; 2000a; Wang, 1991b), avoiding any references towards a—in fairness, unsubstantiated—European cultural superiority at that time was necessary (Leys, 1987; Rienstra, 1986; Sebes, 1988).

Capitalizing on a comprehensive rear cover—presented in *Precursors and Preliminaries*—Valignano's first policy decision on the following exceeded any form of simple, superficial social mimicry:

- Differentiating Jesuit missionaries from the faceless, often uncivilized horde of traders that populated the semi-annual trade fairs in mainland China (Brockey, 2007, Franke, 1967; Hsü, 2000)
- Permanently getting beyond the apparently impenetrable “bamboo curtain” (Charbonnier, 2007, p. 139)
- Positioning missionaries and Christianity as a leaven (Mt. 13:33) to guide conversion and change from within (Hsü, 2000)

His procedure stated “that all who were assigned to missionary work in China must, as a necessary preliminary, learn to read, write, and speak” (Sebes, 1988, p. 33) quanhua-官话-Mandarin-the Nanjing dialect of the erudite class, the Literati, and officials, and the Chinese *lingua franca* of the day (Boxer, 2004; Brockey, 2007; D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:144 N. 204; Marcocchi, 1997; Ricci, 2010a; Wang, 1991e)—to understand and be likewise understood; hence, “haque quisque instruendus est ut intelligat” (Thauren, 1927, p. 132).

Additionally, to later better blend in the new, receiving environment and to be invited into Chinese huts and hearts, Valignano ordered all missionaries to become familiar with Chinese culture, customs, and etiquette (Brockey, 2007; Hsü, 2000; Marcocchi, 1997; Peterson, 1994; Raguin, 1990; Ricci, 2010a; Sebes, 1988; Zürcher, 1994), thus aiming to

- win respect, esteem, and confidence of the Chinese of all ranks (Chan, 1988; Leys, 1987); and
- cease to be strangers to (future) Christian converts (Hoey, 2010).

Valignano’s policy of internal and external adaptation to and congruity with the Chinese cultural imperative (Standaert, 1997, 2008b; Zürcher, 1994) and his willingness to establish a bridging project to accomplish equilibrium via a religio-cultural relationship already planted the seed of mutuality in the Jesuits’ *Chinese way of proceeding*.

To later harvest on mutual respect and mutual cultural accommodation, Valignano’s *modo soave cinese* (Ross, 1999) acted as a powerful catalyst for missionary success (Hoey, 2010). It pioneered a “civilizing project [underlined by author]” (Standaert, 1997, p. 610) that first of all grew from Chinese soil but in retrospect positively affected and transformed both parties involved.

However, prior to any harvest there is planting, and prior to planting there is staffing. Having his tool kit compiled and in place, Valignano’s main concerns nonetheless came in pairs: the apparent shortfalls in his local religious workforce that ministered to the Macanese parish and the general reluctance among his confreres to be sent into the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord* (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:146 N. 204; Sebes, 1988).

Thus, appealed to come to terms with the intellectual and personal shortcomings at hand, Valignano turned to Rodrigo Vicente (1523-1587), Jesuit provincial in Goa, to ask for a religiously, personally, and intellectually suitable priest to be sent to Macao to start *winning China for Christ* (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:146 N. 204; Rienstra, 1986; Sebes, 1988). But instead of being resourced with his first choice Bernardino de Ferrariis (1537-1584)—at that time headmaster of the Jesuit College in Cochin (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:148 N. 205)—Vicente sent Michele Ruggieri (1543-1607)—at that time already well advanced in years—from the College of Goa (Bettray, 1955; D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:147 N. 205; Harris, 1966). In all ranks not being second best, Ruggieri perfectly matched Valignano's spiritual and personal job description of a *uomo universale* (Modras, 2004) necessary to bring the Gospel to and implement it in China. The messenger virtually melted into the message (McLuhan, 1964). Furthermore, Ruggieri was also known for his gift for language, which he had already proven in Cochin by quickly learning the indigenous tongue of the Malabar Coast, where he was able to hear confessions after six months of study (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:148 N. 205).

Equipped with maturity, virtue, and flawlessness—a highly appreciated talent—a special renown for venturesomeness, and voluntarily giving up to gain, as well as his superior's trust in his success in promoting conversion in the Chinese Empire, Ruggieri took leave from Goa—the “Jesuit intellectual gateway to the East” (Üçerler, 2008, p. 155)—on 3 May 1579 to arrive in Macao on 20 July 1579 (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:148 N. 205).

Here, instead of finding Valignano, he only found a letter from Valignano who had left for Japan and a minute instruction to his white hope (Schütte, 1951; Sebes, 1988). Seemingly from afar, Valignano ordered his *proto*-missionary to stretch his talents, to delve into learning to read, speak, and write *mandarina* (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:154 N. 207; Dunne, 1962; Raguin, 1990; Sebes, 1988), and to become acquainted with Chinese customs. To grant the largest possible intellectual space for this enterprise of achieving external adaptation and congruity and learning *quanhua*, Valignano dispensed Ruggieri—much to the displeasure of the Jesuit clergy in Macao (Bernard-Maitre, 1933; Dunne, 1962; Sebes, 1988)—from all ministry and parish work (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:147 N. 204).

This free space was further extended locally in 1580. Apparently, due to a monetary donation, Ruggieri was able to build and then move into a separate house within the compound of the Jesuit Residence (Bernard-Maitre, 1933; Brockey, 2007; Gallagher, 1953; Ricci, 2010a). Here, in this house dedicated to St. Martin (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:166 N. 219), he could avoid any outer distraction and fully dedicate himself to his Chinese studies (Bernard-Maitre, 1933; Brockey, 2007; Gallagher, 1953; Ricci, 2000). Despite this free space, learning “the Chinese language of the court” (Brockey, 2007, p. 246) outside China was a difficult affair, even for someone as gifted as him.

On the one hand, Ruggieri had to understand that Chinese was not comparable to any Western language (Bettray, 1955; Brockey, 2007; Gallagher, 1953; Letter of Matteo Ricci to Martino de Fornari—13.02.1583 in Ricci, 2001). Having no alphabet but tones, and even more signs than words, while learning the new tongue, Ruggieri could in fact and fortunately, follow “the techniques of grammatical analysis often used for teaching Latin and Greek” (Brockey, 2007, p. 244). But to make accessible the entire universe of the Chinese language, langue, and parole (Jäger, 2010), a different way of de facto incarnating guanhua was required than he was used to during his years of study (Brockey, 2007; Letter of Matteo Ricci to Martino de Fornari—13.02.1583 in Ricci, 2001).

On the other hand, Ruggieri had soon to realize that learning the Nanjing dialect rather than fangyan-方言-Local Vernacular—Cantonese (Brockey, 2007) in a place far away from the court or any other administrative or academic locality was practically impossible (Bettray, 1955; Gallagher, 1953). With no Chinese teaching tools and/or tutors available in Macao to teach guanhua to a foreigner—not to mention someone versed or something compiled in both Mandarin and Portuguese—Ruggieri took to a painter who knew some Portuguese to do the job (Bettray, 1955; Gallagher, 1953). The apparent act of desperation turned out to be a happy fortune.

With the help of the “cinese pintore” (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:155 N. 207) who virtually became one of the first Chinese facilitator and catalyst of the Jesuits’ Accommodation approach, Ruggieri willingly started a “civilizing project [underlined by author]” (Standaert, 1997, p. 610) of a special kind.

In fact, this approach turned out to be a useful method to quickly learn the basics of spoken and literary *guanhua*. Additionally, it enabled Ruggieri to simultaneously refer to and benefit from mutual experiences and similarities as well as to acquire “awareness of the modes of thought [...] inherent in Chinese [...] tradition” (Brockey, 2007, p. 249). Precisely, the latter approach of understanding, then later referring to, and finally (over)emphasizing similarities became fundamental to the Jesuits’ approach to convert China. It merged the aspired aim of striving for an internal—intellectual and emotional—adaptation to, and congruity with the culture, education, and learning of the receiving Chinese environment with the possibility of achieving future internal and external (religious/ethical) alignment.

Together with his particular tutor, Ruggieri worked through some schoolbooks to learn Chinese like a Chinese child, viz., recognizing Chinese characters by his teacher drawing pictures together with related characters, and the pupil writing the pronunciation above the sign (Bettray, 1955; Brockey, 2007; D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:155 N. 207). What took the form of a slow, arduous, and at first view, barely rewarding undertaking that focused more on speaking than writing (Brockey, 2007; Gallagher, 1953; Witek, 1988) nonetheless became the starting signal for Ruggieri’s stepping into Chinese limelight, the foundation of the *Romanization* of the Chinese language, and later—between 1583 and 1588—for the first Chinese/foreign language dictionary (Brockey, 2007; Masini, 2005; Wendt, 2000).

In contrast to the linguistic travail, Ruggieri—mainly by the facilitating and catalysing help of some Chinese friends—made faster progresses in becoming acquainted with Chinese formalities, culture, and customs (Sebes, 1988). On the whole, his progress in playing down his European background to become Chinese on the level of *wenhua*-文化-culture, and *wenming*-文明-language (Wang, 1991b, 1991c) seemed to him fast enough to ask Valignano for his allowance to be sent *in the midst of wolves* (Sebes, 1988). As a result, in November 1580 Ruggieri ventured into the Chinese Empire with the first step: he accompanied Portuguese merchants on their regular semi-annual trade trip to Guangzhou (Dunne, 1962; Gallagher, 1953; Rienstra, 1986; Sebes, 1988).

There, Ruggieri not only attracted broad attention, but also displayed necessary prudence. He was immediately recognized by the Chinese and singled out from amongst the amorphous group of foreign traders, as his curiosity, awareness of everything Chinese, effort to carefully follow Chinese etiquette (Witek, 1988), and his supposedly broken but nonetheless already spoken *guanhua* gained the respect of the local official environment (Gallagher, 1953; Sebes, 1988). Thus, starting in a positive sense “to ingratiate himself with the Chinese authorities” (Rienstra, 1986, p. 11), he was soon rewarded for his zeal to become Chinese to the Chinese (Sebes, 1988). After the first meeting with Chinese officials, Ruggieri was invited to attend all audiences granted to foreigners until the non-Chinese merchants had to return behind the solid wall at the end of the trade fair (Dunne, 1962; Gallagher, 1953; Sebes, 1988). Even if Ruggieri had to follow accepted customs, commercial practices, and his fellow countrymen back to Macao, his first tentative proof of external adaptation and congruity heralded a seismic shift.

Already during the second visit in April 1581, the Chinese mark of respect towards the curious and apparently harmless Jesuit had grown significantly (Dunne, 1962; Sebes, 1988). In consonance with his certainly increasing linguistic abilities and his mastery of Chinese customs, culture, and etiquette Ruggieri’s “civilizing project [underlined by author]” (Standaert, 1997, p. 610) towards a higher “social visibility” (Brockey, 2007, p. 244) redounded to his advantage. Present at all audiences, Ruggieri was now “recognized [...] as a foreign scholar” (Sebes, 1988, p. 35)—a role that implied a constitutive, far-reaching, and groundbreaking change in position (Leys, 1987)—and was allowed to stand instead of being required to kneel like his, in the Chinese eyes uncivilized, compatriots (Doré, 1987; Dunne, 1962; Ricci, 2010a).

Also regarding the question of lodging, Ruggieri experienced special treatment. Other than the Macanese merchants, the Father was not obliged to stay aboard the ships during the evening and nights (Brockey, 2007; Gallagher, 1953). Instead, he was granted by official order (Ricci, 2010a) the privilege to reside onshore in a building that was normally used to lodge the triennial Siamese and Tonkinese tributary embassies to the Dragon Throne (Dunne, 1962; Gallagher, 1953; Ricci, 2010a).

To set at ease his fellow countrymen and, adhering to his vow of poverty, to indirectly recompensate (Mt. 10:8) the Chinese facilitators and catalysts for the special treatment, Ruggieri showed his unselfishness and serviceability to both parties involved (O'Malley, 1993; Ricci, 2010a) free of charge (1 Cor. 9:18). Doing so, he not only turned a part of his temporary dwelling into a chapel to celebrate a daily mass, but also took up the role of an eager intermediary between foreign merchants and the local Chinese (Brockey, 2007; Ricci, 2010a)—a role Ruggieri would soon adopt to his own end to boost his reputation and, in so doing, would make acceptable for the greater good of the (future) *China Mission*.

When he returned during the autumn trade fair in the same year, the level of courtesy shown towards Ruggieri further increased. Already a constant in the mercantile-diplomatic network, his previously established *guanxi*-关系-relationship (Bond, 1991; Flichy, 2012; Standaert, 1997) with important Mandarins (Gallagher, 1953; Ricci, 2010a), such as Guo Yingpin-郭应聘 (1520-1586) “[G]overnor of Guangdong-广东 Province (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:156 N. 209), the chief naval mandarin[-*Haidao*-海道], a [high-ranking] military mandarin[-*Wuguan*-武官], and several retired officials” (Brockey, 2007, p. 32) bore fruit (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:156 N. 209).

As these and other high-ranking scholar-officials started to visit Ruggieri in his house, to attend mass, and to accept presents (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:156 N. 210; Gallagher, 1953; Sebes, 1988), such as “un Horiuolo di rote” (Ricci, 2010a, p. 115), and prisms, Ruggieri not only piqued and satisfied their curiosity but also initiated a lasting strategy to protect the *China Mission* (Brockey, 2007; Gallagher, 1953).

By gaining friendship and currying favour with those scholar-officials in good season, Ruggieri established a symbiotic *guanxi*-relationship (Flichy, 2012; Standaert, 1997) characterised by mutual (scientific) curiosity and (fruitful) exchange with a particular high-ranking circle of addressees. This gave his endeavours to gain foothold in China a first constitutive, strategic boost.

In seeking protection and validation by *hiding himself under the shadow of the wings* (Ps. 17:8) of some high(er)-ranking local Chinese patrons and protectors, he did not only (in)voluntarily mirror St. Francis Xavier's approach of the Japan Mission (Fischer-Brunkow, 2002; Haub, 2002; Raguin, 1990; Sievernich, 2006), but was also able to fend off any xenophobic assaults. This laid the groundwork for the Jesuits' *Sinicized* "apostolate of influence" (de Saldanha, 2012, p. 157). As a result, Ruggieri could soon work slowly and undisturbed by open violence and hostility towards

- preparing the enterprise of conversion *zishangerxia*-自上而下-top down (Brockey, 2007); and
- winning "for Christianity an accepted place in Chinese life" (Leys, 1987, p. 39) from within the flourishing *guanxi*-relationship (personally) inside out.

Also during his third visit to the spring trade fair of 1582, fortune favoured the brave. In lockstep with his efforts to become Chinese, signs of benevolence, courtesy, and friendliness from the Chinese side further multiplied (Dunne, 1962; Ricci, 2010a). Due "to the gentle pressure of sympathetic understanding" (Dunne, 1962, p. 19), the wall, which for so many years had remained impenetrable, was about to become permeable.

This was the state of affairs Valignano encountered on his return to Macao from his first visit to Japan in March 1582 (Schütte, 1958; Sebes, 1988). He soon learned that Ruggieri, while being *sent forth in the midst of wolves* to do his missionizing job, had proven his talents and started to live up to expectations. However, despite Ruggieri's efforts regarding internal and external adaptation and congruity, and his hobnobbing with the Chinese local elite, a permanent residence in mainland China was still to be achieved.

To allow the intellectual and pecuniary investments to finally pay off, Valignano had to dare to advance further. Convinced by what already happened under the *aegis* of Ruggieri during his regular visits to Guangdong Province, to that day, Valignano carried forth the experiences of the Japan Mission and took decisive action (Schütte, 1951; Sebes, 1988).

The modifications to come were not far from the earth-shaking reforms Pope Gregory XIII (1502-1585) introduced in his Papal Bull *Inter Gravissimas* in the same year on 24 February 1582 (Ott, 1910).

Somehow comparable to the implementation of the Gregorian calendar on 15 October 1582, Valignano ordered Ruggieri to opt out of the traditional, *Europeanizing tabula rasa* approach to conversion and follow a cultural sensitive method of proselytization (Dunne, 1962; Leys, 1987; Marcocchi, 1997; Peterson, 1994; Raguin, 1990). In so daring to recognize Chinese Christians as Chinese and striving for an internal and external adaptation and congruity with *wenhua* and *wenming* (Wang, 1991c) as comprehensively as possible, the missionaries' own readiness to give up to gain—hence, to become and later to be each other's mutual civilizer and civilizee (Standaert, 1997)—pushed the *China Mission* into a new era.

This daring change in missionizing policy/stance put the entire endeavour to convert China on a new but solid, namely Chinese ground (Sebes, 1988). Unfortunately, the negative attitude amongst the Macanese clergy towards Valignano's Chinese undertaking still persisted (Dunne, 1962). Complaisant support or even voluntary participation in the *China Mission* was not expected out of this group. However, to increase the number of labourers in the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord*, Valignano once again turned to Rome and Goa to secure help from afar (Brockey, 2007; D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:157 N. 211; Dunne, 1962). On Ruggieri's suggestion (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:157 N. 211; Sebes, 1988; Spence, 1988) Francesco Pasio (1554-1612) and Matteo Ricci were ordered to come to Macao to support Ruggieri in carrying forward the business of *winning China for Christ* (Rienstra, 1986). But prior to Pasio's and Ricci's arrival on 7 August 1582 in Macao (Ricci, 2010a), Ruggieri had to produce his masterpiece on his own. The opportunity to do so came in the persons of some overanxious Spanish priests from the Philippines who in April/May 1582—by striving to do their bit in missionizing China—violated Ming rules and were captured as spies as they entered the Empire via the Fujian-福建 Province, thus bypassing Macao (Dunne, 1962; Peterson, 1994; Sebes, 1988). To give an account of this unwarranted intrusion, Chen Rui-陈瑞 (1513-?), *Taishou*-太守-Viceroy of the twin-province Guangdong-Guangxi-广西 officially ordered Aires Gonçaves de Miranda, Mayor of Macao, and Leonardo Fernandes de Sá (?–1597), Macao's newly appointed Bishop, whom *Taishou* considered *yimu*-夷目 (Franke, 1967)-the “directors and the

managers of the foreign merchants” (Gallagher, 1953, p. 136), to appear before him (Dunne, 1962; Ricci, 2010a).

Even if this complied with the Chinese understanding of the foreigners’ legal position (Franke, 1967; Hsü, 2000), in the eyes of the Portuguese, this order was not only beneath them, but it was also considered contrary to their self-image and own legal understanding (Ricci, 2010a). Hence, instead of going in person, an adequate|acceptable substitute had to be sent (Ricci, 2010a). The duty to disentangle looming diplomatic entanglements and to free the wrongdoers fell on Matteo de Penella—magistrate/judge of Macao—representing the Mayor, and Ruggieri representing the Bishop (Bernard-Maitre, 1937; Dunne, 1962; Harris, 1966; Ricci, 2010a; Sebes, 1988).

The abundance of luxury goods offered as gifts and Ruggieri’s already achieved and displayed external adaptation and congruity to Chinese culture, customs, and etiquette made a favourable impression on *Taishou* (Brockey, 2007; Sebes, 1988; Ricci, 2010a). He not only released the culprits, but also re-confirmed the traditional position of Macao and the city’s inhabitants vis-à-vis Chinese suzerainty (Ricci, 2010a). Incomprehensibly, the implication of the latter went widely unnoticed and fundamentally misunderstood (Gallagher, 1953). Even if the gifts gave reason for some awkward manoeuvres on the Chinese side (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:162 N. 215), Ruggieri’s suavity and Chineseness (Wang, 1991a, 1991b) further pushed open the door to China. Seizing the opportunity, Ruggieri—still talking via an interpreter—informed Taishou about his ongoing effort to learn quanhua, his incessant perseverance towards internal and external adaptation and congruity with Chinese wenhua, and his desire to take up residence in China to deepen and refine both (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:162 N. 215; Ricci, 2010a). He sweetened this request with the promise of a further gift if and when he would be able to return to China (Ricci, 2010a).

In general, the whole rescue expedition was a striking success. Shortly after his return to Macao with the now-released spies, Ruggieri received *Taishou’s* invitation to “by all means come and see him [in Zhaoqing], [...] and to bring along the wonderful gadget” (Gallagher, 1953, p. 138)—a clock never seen in China before (Ricci, 2010a; Rowbotham, 1966).

In truth, the invitation turned out to be a residence permit—at least for the coastal region—granting the Jesuits public authority to build a house and a church (Gallagher, 1953; Ricci, 2010a).

Quite overwhelmed by the lucky coincidence, Valignano hesitated to send, in his view, a still unprepared missionary; and Ruggieri, knowing of the erratic caprice of the Chinese, became suspicious of the trustworthiness of this offer (Brockey, 2007; Ricci, 2010a). But that much depended on this move that a make-or-break mentality was needed. Valignano convinced himself and Ruggieri not to lose this good occasion and to tempt fate (Gallagher, 1953). Thus, equipped with all the hope one could raise, the particular clock, a prism from Venice, and some smaller gifts, Ruggieri and the newly arrived and immediately appointed Pasio set out for the *commodo luogo* to take up residence (Murphy, 2008; Ricci, 2010a). Ricci, on the other hand, had to stay behind, recover from a rough sea voyage from Goa to Macao (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Martino de Fornari—13.02.1583 in Ricci, 2001), and cure his lasting Indian depression (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Gian Pietro Maffei—30.11.1580 in Ricci, 2001). In doing so, he cared for the Jesuit Residence (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:166 N. 219), started to learn *guanhua* (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Martino de Fornari – 13.02.1583 in Ricci, 2001) while freeing himself from the unloved Greek (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Gian Pietro Maffei—30.11.1580 in Ricci, 2001), and practiced patience—not the worst thing to do while waiting for one’s chance to come. In the meantime, on 27 December 1582, Ruggieri and Pasio (again) arrived in *the midst of wolves* (Rienstra, 1986). Here, in the face of the promised luxury goods, Chen Rui delivered on his promise (Brockey, 2007). He ceded *Tianningsi*-天宁寺, a laid down Buddhist temple near his own palace, to the Jesuits to become their living quarters, a location to immerse themselves in language and cultural studies, and a place to receive the incessant stream of high-, low-, and non-ranking visitors (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:166 N. 219; Ricci, 2010a).

Taishou continued rewarding good conduct, and on 5 February 1583, he allowed Ruggieri to send for Ricci to join Pasio and him (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Claudio Acquaviva—13.02.1583 in Ricci, 2001, 2010a; Letter of Michele Ruggieri – 07.02.1583 in Rienstra, 1986) in their “civilizing project [underlined by author]” (Standaert, 1997, p. 610).

In the same one go, as hope for a secured stay in China increased, Ruggieri made his desperate leap. To conform to Valignano's *modo soave cinese* (Ross, 1999), he raised his ambition to blend in with his Chinese environment on a higher level. In the Fathers' attempt to seek transition towards a new, unaccustomed frozen moment (Standaert, 2005, 2006), hence, to finally become "vassalli del re della Cina" (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Claudio Acquaviva—13.02.1583 in Ricci, 2001, p. 51) Ruggieri proved the Fathers' readiness to *gain China for Christ* (Harris, 1966; Rienstra, 1986). He proposed to *Taishou* to change the mode of dress (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Claudio Acquaviva—13.02.1583 in Ricci, 2001).

Taking up the missionaries' willingness to carry forward their "civilizing project [underlined by author]" (Standaert, 1997, p. 610) by giving up their traditional garb to gain a new one and an entrance to China, *Taishou* decided how the external adaptation and congruity to Chinese *wenhua* was to be achieved. Even if the desire to become a civilizee (Standaert, 1997) to attain "high social visibility" (Brockey, 2007, p. 244) was on the side of the Jesuits (Harris, 1966; Peterson, 1994), its realisation was all along with the *Chinese Other* (Wang, 1991b, 1991c). Following *Taishou's* governing suggestion, the new vassals shaved their hair and beard, and put on, in *Taishou's* understanding, the most honoured garb of priests of Beijing (Harris, 1966; Letter of Ricci to Claudio Acquaviva—13.02.1583 in Ricci, 2001; Rienstra, 1986). In so dressing like *chanzong heshang*-禅宗和尚-Zen Buddhist monks (Ross, 1994; Wong, 1990), Ruggieri followed the example of St. Francis Xavier in Japan, simultaneously adhering to Valignano's specifications for the Japan Mission (Peterson, 1994; Schütte, 1946/2011, 1951, 1958).

Ignorant of the consequences of (over)emphasizing similarities with any clerical status, implication on the missionaries' image, and zoning of their sphere of influence (Brockey, 2007; Harris, 1966), the Padre praised the visible effect of this merely external (religious/ethical) alignment as it manifested itself in the (first) change of dress as (an expected last) step towards becoming Chinese in order to

- "win [...] an accepted place in Chinese life" (Leys, 1987, p. 39);
- enable conversion top down and *zixiaershang*-自下而上-bottom up; and

- finally *gain China* and the Chinese *for Christ* (personally and locally) inside out—"ci siamo fatti Cini [*sic*], ut Christo Sinas lucrifaciamus" (Peterson, 1994, p. 409).

Besides this attempt to become wolves amongst the wolves by means of external adaptation and congruity, Ruggieri and Pasio, to gain patrons and protectors from within the pack and to nourish their "apostolate of influence" (de Saldanha, 2012, p. 157), further capitalized on Ruggieri's well-established moves that followed Valignano's policy decision to differentiate oneself from the horde of traders, which to date, was the Chinese benchmark for any contact with the uncivilized Europeans (Franke, 1967; Leys, 1987).

The Fathers continued to display and prove their unselfishness and serviceability to their Chinese hosts (Letter of Michele Ruggieri—07.02.1583 in Rienstra, 1986). Always referring to and freely applying their erudition, European knowledge, and related practical learning—mainly in mathematics and astronomy by constructing "sun clocks and other things having to do with the sphere" (Letter of Michele Ruggieri—07.02.1583 in Rienstra, 1986, p. 19)—the Jesuits continued to satisfy the (scientific) curiosity of their Chinese environment (Hsü, 2000). Doing so proved their readiness to behave as vassals of China (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Claudio Acquaviva—13.02.1583, in Ricci, 2001) by means of a (fruitful) exchange of knowledge, talents, and skills for China's welfare (Letter of Michele Ruggieri—07.02.1583 in Rienstra, 1986). Seen from a missionizing perspective, this exchange was no one-way road. In return for their dissemination of Western practical learning, the Fathers also profited from Chinese knowledge (Wang, 1991b). As their reading comprehension increased they, further immersed themselves in Chinese teachings and thinking. Thus, striving for "better [...] [understanding the Chinese] [...] books in order to refute their [religious/spiritual] errors" (Letter of Michele Ruggieri—07.02.1583 in Rienstra, 1986, p. 19) (scientific) curiosity and (fruitful) exchange turned out to be a synallagmatic relationship and hence, became mutuality. However, due this mutuality, the Fathers' serviceability was no longer free of charge.

As the Jesuits' internal adaptation and congruity with Chinese *wenhua* and *wenming* (Wang, 1991c) assumed the shape of a "civilizing project [underlined by author]" (Standaert, 1997, p. 610) with every party involved voluntarily becoming each other's mutual civilizer and civilizee, each party's pursuit of their (hidden) agendas came at a price. The *Heavenly Peace*, high-ranking patronage and protection, and the groundwork of the Chinese facilitator and catalyst to enable the Fathers to later establish a successful *commerce of conversion* did not last long.

Chen Rui, accused of *ultra vires* action, was withdrawn from office and had to present himself before the Dragon Throne to face his charge (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:167 N. 219; Letter of Francesco Pasio—June 1583 in Rienstra, 1986). To avert possible accusations of being too close to foreigners, his last act of gratitude was to send back the missionaries to Guangzhou where they should stay under the protection of local officials (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:168 N. 220; Letter of Francesco Pasio—June 1583 in Rienstra, 1986). However, orders of Mandarins fallen from grace are seldom adhered to. The Fathers—unexpected and unattended in the coastal city—felt the fragility of the missionizing business and left for Macao in March 1583 (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:168 N. 220).

Back and safe in the Jesuit Residence, the Flock was scattered. Pasio, adhering to Valignano's contingency plan as drafted prior to the Fathers entering China, embarked to Nagasaki (Bernard-Maitre, 1937; D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:168 N. 220; Raguin, 1990). Ruggieri however—convinced of the value of Chen Rui's official admission to remain in China—continued to claim the Fathers' official rights. During July/August 1583, Ruggieri and Ricci appealed in writing and person to a number of minor officials to be allowed to return to China, to build a house and church to serve *Tiandi*-天帝-King of Heaven (an ambiguous word|concept wrongly borrowed from Chinese religion [D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:108 N. 170]) and that would give rise to difficulties), and to go on doing this in China without causing any trouble until they die (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:168-175 N. 221-228; Raguin, 1990).

Despite the Fathers' promise to stay in the country, to keep a low profile, to comply with Chinese law, and to not give any cause for distrust, the Chinese officials' fear of foreigners and seditious ideas prevailed (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:173 N. 226). As apparently no one below *Taishou* could take a final decision, Ruggieri and Ricci finally left for Macao (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:175 N. 228). Still trusting in "the experience [...] acquired in the land, [...] [in the] familiarity and acceptance by the Gentiles" (Letter of Francesco Pasio—June 1583 in Rienstra, 1986, pp. 19-20), Ruggieri's hope to "obtain a license [from the new *Taishou*] to return" (p. 20) still remained. But hope that is seen is not hope. Hence, Ruggieri and Ricci patiently waited for what is not seen (Rom. 8:24-25), and for their investments into Ruggieri's earlier fruitful and friendly relationship with Chinese supporters to pay off (Letter of Francesco Pasio—June 1583 in Rienstra, 1986).

The reward for perseverance, persistence, and early hobnobbing came by messenger and letter on 15 August 1583 (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:176 N. 229). By the medium of a simple watchman who praised the missionaries' suitability in the context of spreading practical learning, that is, their "bontà et scienza di matematica, come di sfere, mappe, horologi et simili ingegni" (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:177 N. 230) vis-à-vis Guo Yingpin, the now new *Taishou* of the two Guangs—Guangdong and Guangxi—and due to the support of Wang Pan-王泮 (1539-?), *Zhifu*-知府-circuit official for Guangdong and Jiangxi-江西 Province, *Taishou* finally changed his mind (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:178 N. 230).

Re-enacting former orders and overriding earlier rejections, Guo Yingpin renewed the Fathers' licence for China and the invitation to settle in Zhaoqing (Ricci, 2010a). The "bamboo curtain" (Charbonnier, 2007, p. 139) was once again pushed aside (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:177 N. 230) due to the

- Fathers' good reputation under the former *Taishou*;
- Padres' outstanding erudition and acknowledged serviceability for China; and
- intervention of well-meaning facilitators and catalysts.

Ruggieri and Ricci were able to re-start the missionizing endeavour—this time to last (Letter of Francesco Cabral—20.11.1583 in Rienstra, 1986).

Even if the Fathers had not achieved any conversion until they set out for Zhaoqing the second time, they definitely had not whiled away their time. In keeping the disastrous conversion attempt of 1576 in the back of their mind (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:155 N. 209)—a Buddhist disciple secretly left China to follow a Jesuit priest to Macao to be christened; after heavy Chinese complaints and official interventions he was brought back to China, to his master of novices, and to the temple by force—their main focus during their remaining time of *Traffic and Travails* (1579-1583) was on

- avoiding earlier mistakes;
- considering Valignano’s orders of how to implement his *modo soave cinese* (Ross, 1999) simultaneously listening to one’s own gut feeling when implementing the Chinese *modus procedendi* in an appropriate|d trial-and-error style;
- following the suggestions and advice of their Chinese hosts (of how) to “win [...] an accepted place in Chinese life” (Leys, 1987, p. 39); and
- preparing their “apostolate of influence” (de Saldanha, 2012, p. 157) “prudentermente e con poco rumore” (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Francesco Pasio – 15.02.1609 in Ricci, 2001, p. 514).

By doing so, the Padres took into consideration “time, place, and persons” (Letter of Ignatius Loyola to Those sent to the Missions – 08.10.1552 in Young, 1959, p. 269) when deciding missionary activities and approaches, adhered to one’s own decision (SE No. 170), and orientated themselves towards the *Chinese Others* to first of all

- secure a permanent foothold in China;
- establish a basis for future missionizing efforts; and
- prepare both the *China Mission* and oneself for time and work to come.

This was more important to Ruggieri and his confreres than to achieve and trumpet some dubious quick-wins—in Ricci’s words “pochi e buoni, anziché molti, meno rispondenti al nome cristiano” (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Girolamo Costa—06.03.1608 in Ricci, 2001, p. 455). Hence, preparatory efforts and advance performance “to win [...] an accepted place in Chinese life” (Leys, 1987, p. 39) were necessary to enable, and to later successfully implement and guide conversion in China.

It is on this basis that the next chapter of the Jesuits' experience to ***Gain Footholds*** in and *China for Christ* can be opened. However, prior to this, it is necessary to pause on the Fathers' *via experientiae* and to consolidate the meaning-units/thematic clusters that until now

- constitute the anchors to which the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience are fastened; and
- summarize the Padres' preparatory work to *concentrate* their efforts and approaches in order to finally bring change to China.

Table 13 outlines the tactical aspects (Thauren, 1927)—variant constituents—of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience that became apparent during the 1st Station of the *via experientiae*. They will be further completed along the journey towards *winning China for Christ*.

Sinicization	Language	Usefulness	Audience	Establishing Similarities	Allies	Empowerment	Preparedness
variant constituents - meaning-units							
internal adaptation and congruity - becoming civilizee to high social visibility	spoken and literary	mutual (scientific) curiosity and (fruitful) exchange	top down-自上而下 Literati and Elite	(Over) Emphasizing Similarities			desperate leap - giving up to gain
external adaptation and congruity - becoming civilizee to high social visibility	Local Vernacular (<i>fangyan</i> - 方言); Mandarin (<i>guanhua</i> - 普通话)	pursuing (hidden) agendas	bottom up-自下而上 the Commoners		facilitators and catalysts		
	language, langue, parole		inside out - from within the target audience/within the <i>guanxi</i> - 关系-relationship (personally), from the established areas towards the exposed nearby, previously untouched areas (locally)	(religious/ethical) alignment			seeking transition - striving for the frozen moment
		unselfishness and serviceability		accomplishing equilibrium via religio-cultural relationship - a bridging project	patrons and protectors		civilizing project - being each other's mutual civilizer and civilizees
		practical learning					
traditional classification of Accommodation				further (new) classification of Accommodation			
The thick noematic description and reflexion of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience processes along the stations of the <i>via experientiae</i> :							
Traffic and travails > 1579-1583							
I							

Table 13: 1st Station—Traffic and Travails

Table 13: 1st Station—Traffic and Travails, compiled by author

Gaining Footholds (1583-1595)

“FROM THE VERY depths of discouragement there suddenly appeared a new ray of hope” (Gallagher, 1953, p. 144). A change in official Chinese attitude towards the Jesuits opened the closed door to spread Christianity within the needy Chinese Empire (Bernard-Maitre, 1937; Ricci, 2010a).

After *Jingjiao*-景教-Nestorian Mission/Luminous Religion of the Eastern Syriac Church of the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries (Criveller, 2003; Kim, 2004; Smith, 1903; von Collani, 2012b), and the missionizing achievements of Giovanni di Montecorvino O.F.M. (1247-1328), Odoric di Pordenone O.F.M. (c.1286-1331), and James of Ireland O.F.M. (?-1330), during the Mongolian Yuanchao-元朝-Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368) (Criveller, 1997, 2003; Hsü, 2000; Kim, 2004; Rosso, 1948; Smith, 1903; Tiedemann, 2009a), the Jesuits’ attempt to gain permanent footholds *in the midst of wolves* opened a new phase to *win China for Christ* (Rienstra, 1986). It is from this day on in autumn 1583 (10. September 1583) that the next step on the Jesuits’ *via experientiae* was taken forward.

Capitalizing on their achievements and insights acquired during *Traffic and Travails*, the Fathers’ efforts to gain footholds in China brought to the fore new experiences and covered a range of helpful set-backs, welcomed stand-stills, and often *Chinese Others*-made advances.

Towards stabilizing status and standing, the Padres learned to appreciate and deal with the dangers and expediency of homonymy and pragmatic appropriation of terms and tropes. With growing *guanxi*-relationships amongst persons of trust (personally) outside in, they stressed their congruity and complementarity as they likewise enlarged their missionizing tool-kit by including practical morality and the use of natural reason. In so doing, their *commerce of conversion* gradually moved from popularizing basic religious practices to introducing more sophisticated forms to follow *Tianzhu zhidao*-天主之道-*Way of the Lord* (religiously/intellectually) inside out and towards disclosing the kernel of disputed problems (religiously/philosophically) outside in.

To such an extent, offering means to deal with the Chinese counterparts' personal and social crises won new comrades and converts amongst Chinese of every rank and status. It also allowed for the neophytes' broader involvement, collaboration, and assistance, implementation and accomplishment, and emancipation and delegation. This increased co-optation and cohesion amongst the new Chinese Christians. While the experiential journey carried the missionaries further into the country and towards Beijing (locally) outside in, it also safeguarded Fathers and Faith against the emergence and propaganda of Chinese foes, competitors, and rivals.

These achievements notwithstanding, the missionaries' position and status in the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord* remained fragile (Brockey, 2007). Their foothold hitherto gained was still infirm. Nothing could be achieved but everything could be lost “che non facciamo stanza in Pachino o vero in Nanchino” (Letter of Matteo Ricci to N.N.—28.10.1595 in Ricci, 2001, p. 277). Durability of protection and validation as well as sustainability of their initiated “apostolate of influence” (de Saldanha, 2012, p. 157) was the need of the hour, permanence its outcome, a clear positioning of Fathers and Faith with regard to the only social class and value-canon that could enable the desired effect, the way (Peterson, 1994).

On this basis, the ***Change of Ends*** in the Jesuits' experience can be understood. However, prior to this, it is necessary to pause on the *via experientiae* and consolidate the meaning-units/thematic clusters that—detailed in their emergence in **Appendix V**—until now

- constitute the anchors to which the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience are fastened; and
- summarize the Fathers' securing and stabilizing work to *concentrate* their *modus procedendi sinensis* in order to finally bring change to China.

Table 14 outlines the tactical aspects (Thauren, 1927)—variant constituents: meaning-units/thematic clusters—of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience that became apparent until the 2nd Station of the *via experientiae*.

Sinicization	Language	Usefulness	Audience	Establishing Similarities	Allies	Empowerment	Preparedness
variant constituents - meaning-units							
internal adaptation and congruity - becoming civilizee to high social visibility	spoken and literary	mutual (scientific) curiosity and (fruitful) exchange	top down-自上而下 Literati and Elite	(Over) Emphasizing Similarities	foes, competitors, and rivals	involvement, collaboration and assistance	desperate leap - giving up to gain
	external adaptation and congruity - becoming civilizee to high social visibility	Local Vernacular (<i>fanyan</i> -方言), Mandarin (<i>guanhua</i> -官话)	pursuing (hidden) agendas congruity and complementarity	bottom up-自下而上 the Commoners	Stressing/over-emphasizing differences - setting boundaries		
	language, langue, parole - homonymy	unselfishness and serviceability	inside out - from within the target audience/within the <i>guanxi</i> -关系 - relationship (personally), from basic religious practices to more sophisticated forms (religious/intellectual), from the established areas towards the exposed nearby, previously untouched areas (locally)	(religious/ethical) alignment	comrades and converts	implementation and accomplishment	seeking transition - striving for the frozen moment
		pragmatic appropriation	practical morality, practical learning and the use of natural reason	outside in - moving towards persons of trust (personally), moving towards the kernel of disputed problems (religiously/philosophically), moving towards faith of families (pastorally), and moving towards Beijing (locally)	patrons and protectors	emancipation, and delegation	civilizing project - being each other's mutual civilizer and civilizees
traditional classification of Accommodation							
further (new) classification of Accommodation							
The thick noematic description and reflexion of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience processes along the stations of the <i>via experientiae</i> :							
Traffic and travails > 1579-1583							
Gaining footholds > 1583-1595							
concentration							

Table 14: 2nd Station—Gaining Footholds

Table 14: 2nd Station—Gaining Footholds, compiled by author

Change of Ends (1585-1595)

The shift in the Fathers' *modus procedendi sinensis* came on silent feed—it largely depended on the *Chinese Other's* influence (Ricci, 2010a). Getting behind “the imposing gates of social legitimacy” (Brockey, 2007, p. 243) required a clear positioning of the Fathers along with their (final) turning to the only social class and value-canon that could enable the desired effect (Peterson, 1994). It was in this regard that taking comprehensive, daring steps to establish similarities with *Rujiao*-儒教-Confucianism and towards “claiming proximate status” (Peterson, 1994, p. 420) to the ruling class secured Mission, missionaries, and message a permanent foothold in China. It guaranteed a necessary free space to undertake an undisturbed *commerce of conversion* from within. However, the “attempt to put [...] [themselves] fully into a Chinese frame of reference” (Brockey, 2007, p. 44), to seek out “the highest level of political patronage possible” (p. 42), and to achieve acceptance of *Tianzhu jiao* as marginal religion that is reputed *zhengtong*-正统-*orthodox/orthoprax* was a process rather than a single encounter. It had an undramatic, pragmatic origin.

Profiting from those experiences acquired to ***Gain Footholds***, the Fathers started their *metamorphosis* by phoneticizing their *Ximing/Shengming*-洗名/圣名-Christian names and by creating *haoming*-号名-adult's names (Doré, 1987; Ricci, 2010a). Doing so became an audible sign of the Padres' proximate status and rapprochement towards the reigning Chinese value-canon. By choosing an unencumbered cross-fertilizing neologism to assume the titles *shenfu*-神父-Padres of the Spirit|Priest, and *siduo*-司铎-Padre (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:335 N. 429), the missionaries shook off an earlier acquired misleading Buddhist image. To further distance the Jesuits from their Buddhist heritage and to set efficient boundaries, doffing the Buddhist robes and donning a new social skin *à la chinoise erudite* allowed the Padres to become a kind of “*ersatz literati* [emphasis added]” (Brockey, 2007, p. 257) who now represented “what their mission already was, a mission that aimed at entering Chinese society through the intellectual world of the Confucian literati [top down and (personally) inside out]” (Ross, 1994, p. 126).

Having left behind the old image to put on a new (Gal. 3:27), the missionaries could now converse with all *Chinese Others* on all social levels following “la cortesia degli [...] [*Xiuca*] e letterati” (Ricci, 2010a, p. 231). The Fathers’ external adaptation and congruity with *Guanfu* did the job. Being made “equal of a Magistrate or even of one of the educated class” (Gallagher, 1953, p. 259), the Padres assumed immediate authority (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Claudio Acquaviva—04.11.1595 in Ricci, 2001) both amongst *shenshi* and *baixing* alike. As a result, the foreign clerics became socially acceptable amongst those who stood before the imposing gates of social legitimacy in China. Further deepening their linguistic skills and learning to think, write, and publicize like their Chinese role models stabilized, strengthened, and safeguarded rank and status. To this end, the Padres compiled a lasting *ratio studiorum sinensis* that merged the Order’s *ratio studiorum* with Chinese teaching tradition and that fully relied on a Confucian content. As a result, the *Chinese Others* simply wondered “come può un forestiero saper più che noi altri?” (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Girolamo Costa – 28.10.1595, in Ricci, 2001, p. 286). The Fathers “were [finally fully] identified with the class of the learned” (Gallagher, 1953, p. 260). This made the “atmosphere increasingly favorable to [spread] Christianity” (Dunne, 1962, p. 43). Despite the all-embracing *Change of Ends*, the new status was still infirm. The new image had to be constantly proven and vindicated—and by no means made every road into the preferred Chinese huts and hearts flat and even (Is 40:3).

On this basis, the time ***Amongst Equals*** in the Jesuits’ experience can be understood. However, prior to this, it is necessary to pause on the *via experientiae* and consolidate the meaning-units/thematic clusters—detailed in their emergence in **Appendix VI**—that until now

- constitute the anchors to which the Jesuits’ lived Accommodation experience are fastened; and
- summarize the Fathers’ transformative work to further *concentrate* their *modus procedendi sinensis* in order to finally bring change to China.

Table 15 outlines the tactical aspects (Thauren, 1927)—variant constituents: meaning-units/thematic clusters—of the Jesuits’ lived Accommodation experience that became apparent until the 3rd Station of the *via experientiae*.

Sinicization	Language	Usefulness	Audience	Establishing Similarities	Allies	Empowerment	Preparedness
variant constituents - meaning-units							
internal adaptation and congruity - becoming civilizee to high social visibility	spoken and literary	mutual (scientific) curiosity and (fruitful) exchange	top down-自上而下 Literati and Elite	(Over) Emphasizing Similarities	foes, competitors, and rivals	involvement, collaboration and assistance	desperate leap - giving up to gain
external adaptation and congruity - becoming civilizee to high social visibility	Local Vernacular (<i>fanyan</i> - 方言), Mandarin (<i>guanhua</i> - 官话)	pursuing (hidden) agendas	bottom up-自下而上 the Commoners	Stressing/over-emphasizing differences - setting boundaries	facilitators and catalysts	implementation and accomplishment	self-realization and self-diagnosing - overcoming personal and social crises
	language, langue, parole - phoneticization, acquirivotic, and homonymy	congruity and complementarity	inside out - from within the target audience/within the <i>guanxi</i> -关系-relationship (personally), from basic religious practices to more sophisticated forms (religious/intellectually), from the established areas towards the exposed nearby, previously untouched areas (locally)	(religious/ethical) alignment	comrades and converts	emancipation, and delegation	seeking transition - striving for the frozen moment
	pragmatic appropriation and cross-fertilizing neologisms	unselfishness and serviceability	outside in - moving towards persons of trust (personally), kernel of disputed problems (religious/philosophical), moving towards faith of families (pastorally), and moving towards Beijing (locally)	accomplishing equilibrium via religio-cultural relationship - a bridging project	patrons and protectors	co-optation and cohesion	civilizing project - being each other's mutual civilizer and civilizees
	<i>ratio studiorum sinensis</i> - here and there and everywhere	practical morality, practical learning and the use of natural reason					
tactical aspects of the Jesuits' Accommodation experience as lived							
traditional classification of Accommodation							
further (new) classification of Accommodation							
The thick poematic description and reflexion of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience processes along the stations of the <i>via experientiae</i> :							
Traffic and travels > 1579-1583							
Gaining footholds > 1583-1595							
Change of Ends > 1585-1595							
I	concentration						
II							
III							

Table 15: 3rd Station—Change of Ends

Table 15: 3rd Station—Change of Ends, compiled by author

Amongst Equals (1595-1601)

The Fathers' Change of Ends had substantiated and shaped their undisputed, peer-assessed "high social visibility" (Brockey, 2007, p. 244). Further armed with the appropriate lexical ammunition and a particular knowledge of Chinese Classics—all crowned with a new name and appearance—the Padres were finally established amongst those "from whom [...] greater fruit [could be expected]" (Letter of Ignatius Loyola to Those sent to the Missions—08.10.1552 in Young, 1959, p. 268), and "who exert an influence" (p. 268).

However, to reach the Commoners "on any significant scale the Society had to establish itself as part of Chinese society" (Ross, 1994, p. 132) outside the provincial cities and secluded regions far away from the two metropolitan centres of the time. Establishing Residences in Beijing and Nanjing was necessary; securing "at least the acquiescence, if not the active support" (p. 132) of the Emperor was vital. To accomplish both, the Fathers had to first of all keep high-ranking China at it. This required them to continue applying their *Chinese Others'* shaped *modus procedendi sinensis passivus* amongst erudite equals. Doing so brought some high-ranking Chinese to Faith and Font, some of whom, over the time, became indispensable, forming companions and confreres who actively assisted the Padres in

- building up and perpetuating an attractive image of Fathers and Faith;
- promoting *Tianxue*-天学-amalgam of European scientific/technical, moral, and religious teachings and its relation with *original Confucianism*; and
- warding off xenophobic attacks that came with the Fathers choice of taking sides with political groups and religious/philosophical currents.

However, preaching the Gospel to the Commoners, outside the *colloquia*, away from the city's abounding competing religious currents, and *extra muros* was a different affair. Turning towards milieus "different from [...] [the missionaries'] urban haunts" (Brockey, 2007, p. 293) required tactical modulations of the established *modus procedendi sinensis*. Complementing the established strategic *modo soave cinese passivo* necessitated including new perspectives, a shifting focus, an altered image, and more spiritual approaches to *win common China for Christ*.

Despite the necessary expansions, the permanent foothold still rested on feet of clay. Any change in power-structures, political atmosphere, or *guanxi*-relationships as well as every deviation that went too far from the *modo soave cinese passivo* put at risk the Fathers' fragile status (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Francesco Pasio—15.02.1609 in Ricci, 2001) and their endeavour of bringing *Tianzhu jiao* to China.

On this basis, the time of **Heaven and Earth** in the Jesuits' experience can be understood. However, prior to this, it is necessary to pause on the *via experientiae* and consolidate the meaning-units/thematic clusters that—detailed in their emergence in **Appendix VII**—until now

- constitute the anchors to which the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience are fastened; and
- summarize the Fathers' validating work to *conduct* their *modus procedendi sinensis* in order to finally bring change to China.

Table 16 outlines the tactical aspects (Thauren, 1927)—variant constituents: meaning-units/thematic clusters—of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience that became apparent until the 4th Station of the *via experientiae*.

Sinicization	Language	Usefulness	Audience	Establishing Similarities	Allies	Empowerment	Preparedness
internal adaptation and congruity - becoming civilizee to high social visibility	spoken and literary	mutual (scientific) curiosity and (fruitful) exchange	top down-自上而下 Literati and Elite	(Over) Emphasizing Similarities	foes, competitors, and rivals	involvement, collaboration and assistance	desperate leap - giving up to gain
	external adaptation and congruity - becoming civilizee to high social visibility	Local Vernacular (fangyan-方言), Mandarin (guanhua-官话)	bottom up-自下而上 the Commoners				
	language, langue, parole - phoneticization, aequivotic, and homonymy	taking sides and pursuing (hidden) agendas	inside out - from within the target audience/within the <i>guanxi</i> -关系- relationship (personally), from basic religious practices to more sophisticated forms (religiously/intellectually), from the established areas towards the exposed nearby, previously untouched areas (locally)	(religious/ethical) alignment	comrades and converts	implementation and accomplishment	seeking transition - striving for the frozen moment
	pragmatic appropriation and cross-fertilizing neologisms	congruity and complementarity	religious practices to more sophisticated forms	accomplishing equilibrium via religio-cultural relationship - a bridging project	companions and confreeres	emancipation, and delegation	civilizing project - being each other's mutual civilizer and civilizees
	practical morality, practical learning and the use of natural reason	unselfishness and serviceability	outside in - moving towards persons of trust (personally), moving towards the kernel of disputed problems (religiously/philosophically), moving towards faith of families (pastorally), and moving towards Beijing (locally)		patrons and protectors	co-optation and cohesion	
	<i>ratio studiorum sinensis</i> - here and there and everywhere						
traditional classification of Accommodation							
The thick noematic description and reflexion of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience processes along the stations of the <i>via experientiae</i> :							
I	Traffic and travails > 1579-1583						
II	Gaining footholds > 1583-1595						
III	Change of Ends > 1585-1595						
IV	Amongst Equals > 1595-1601						
concentration							
conduct							

variant constituents - meaning-units

tactical aspects of the Jesuits' Accommodation experience as lived

Table 16: 4th Station—Amongst Equals

Table 16: 4th Station—Amongst Equals, compiled by author

Heaven and Earth (1599-1644)

Being tacitly but effectively protected and validated by Wanli-万历 Emperor (1563-1620) destigmatized the Jesuits. As soon as their legal status became clear, earlier *Guanfu*-官府-officials of all sort-acquaintances re-emerged and “many more [new] distinguished scholars and administrators flocked to visit [...] the Jesuit [R]esidence” (Ross, 1994, p. 145). Once more melting into the message and blending into their Chinese background, the missionaries took up their *Guanfu*-proof *modo soave cinese passivo* (Ricci, 2010a). In so re-exerting themselves for perpetuating an attractive image of themselves and *Tianzhu jiao*, for promoting *Tianxue* to the high(est)-ranking interlocuteurs (Brockey, 2007), and for *winning* new high-ranking Chinese converts *for Christ*, they refined their *modus procedendi sinensis* and its various, already established, field-tested constituents.

Despite working towards achieving *una religio in rituum varietate* (Cusanus, 1453/1943, p. 93) and assuming non-pastoral duties to strengthen the “apostolate of influence’ [from within]” (de Saldanha, 2012, p. 157) conversion amongst *shenshi* remained a scarce event. This situation notwithstanding, the Fathers managed to cultivate the church in the shadow and with the help of their *Guanfu*-interlocuteurs and high-ranking converts (Brockey, 2007). This allowed them to diversify their proselytization efforts beyond Residences and *colloquia* and to turn towards the souls in need *extra muros*. Heading to the countryside the missionaries drew “converts [...] from the three classes into which the vast majority of the Chinese population fell” (Ross, 1994, p. 166). To sell their spiritual message to Commoners in previously untouched areas and lower social settings, the Padres capitalized on status and importance that came with their outward appearance. Marketing their *soteriological promises* and anchoring the message amongst *baixing*, however, required applying a *modus procedendi sinensis activus* which was targeted, straightforward, and *Tianzhu jiao*-focused. To do so, the Fathers tailored their *modus procedendi sinensis* and its various, established, field-tested constituents to Commoners’ requirements, (pre-)disposition, and to those multi-faceted motives, motivators, and benefits-sought that prevailed amongst individuals, groups/families, and/or entire hamlets.

This evolved the *modus procedendi sinensis* into a *modo soave cinese completo*—a fully-fledged Chinese Accommodation approach that could be attuned to the opportunity as it presented itself, the prevailing intricacies, and multiple audiences, their disposition, requirements, and skills.

The spiritual gains notwithstanding, the missionaries had to build the entire *commerce of conversion* upon a lasting rock (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Duarte de Sande – 29.08.1595 in Ricci, 2001). To do so, they implemented a fallback system that synchronized Catholic tradition with Chinese local requirements. As a result, *emancipatio religiosa sinensis* was further fostered and the *China Mission's* future course chartered as Chinese converts started to *win China for Christ* on their own authority. This increased tallies of baptism and helped the Fathers to ride out impacts of expulsion, upheaval, and dynastic change.

Accepting a new Dynasty in Beijing, the Padres—relying on practical learning and *Guanfu*-support—were able to re-confirm their position in Court. However, the status thus re-strengthened, the consolidation of spiritual gains, and own interpretation of *Tianzhu jiao* amongst their Chinese converts posed a new challenge to the *China Mission*; avoiding Faith and Flock to religiously fray and spiritually frazzle became its daily business.

The firmness in Faith and consistency in applying/adhering to its rites was still unstable, as the step between superstition and Christianity was equally small. Keeping an eye on *Tianzhu jiao* and how it was (to be) sowed in the Empire necessitated keeping Flock and Faith together. This held particular truth, as

- persecutions frequently flared up (Brockey, 2007);
- new generations of Jesuits took up their missionizing and pastoral employment (Dunne, 1962);
- tallies of baptism and need for providing second-generation converts with more elaborated forms of piety and religious devotion increased while the numbers of missionaries remained low (Brockey, 2007);
- mendicant orders entered China (von Collani, 2012b); and
- new anti-Jesuit-*China-Mission*-coalitions formed up at the Holy See (Brockey, 2007).

Seen from the Jesuit perspective, this was at best, a challenge, and at worst a severe threat to the all-Jesuit goal of enabling *Tianzhu jiao* to strike deeper roots in Chinese soil, and of developing a Roman Catholic Church with Chinese Characteristics.

On this basis, the time of *E pluribus unum* in the Jesuits' experience can be understood. However, prior to this, it is necessary to pause on the *via experientiae* and consolidate meaning-units/thematic clusters that—detailed in their emergence in **Appendix VIII**—until now

- constitute the anchors to which the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience are fastened; and
- summarize the Fathers' work on multi-fronts to *conduct* their *modus procedendi sinensis* in order to finally bring change to China.

Table 17 outlines the tactical aspects (Thauren, 1927)—variant constituents: meaning-units/thematic clusters—of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience that became apparent until the 5th Station of the *via experientiae*.

Simicization	Language	Usefulness	Audience	Establishing Similarities	Allies	Empowerment	Preparedness
variant constituents - meaning-units							
internal adaptation and congruity - becoming civilizee to high social visibility	spoken and literary	mutual (scientific) curiosity and (fruitful) exchange	top down-自上而下 Literati and Elite	(Over) Emphasizing Similarities	foes, competitors, and rivals	involvement, collaboration and assistance	desperate leap - giving up to gain
external adaptation and congruity - becoming civilizee to high social visibility	Local Vernacular (<i>fāngyán</i> - 方言), Mandarin (<i>guānhuà</i> - 官话)	taking sides and pursuing (hidden) agendas	bottom up-自下而上 the Commoners	Stressing/over-emphasizing differences - setting boundaries	facilitators and catalysts	self-realization and self-diagnosing - overcoming personal and social crises	
	language, langue, parole - phoneticization, aequivocic, and homonymy	congruity and complementarity	inside out - from within the target audience/within the <i>guanxi</i> - 关系 - relationship (personally), from basic religious practices to more sophisticated forms (religious/intellectually), from the established areas towards the exposed nearby, previously (locally)	(religious/ethical) alignment	comrades and converts	implementation and accomplishment	seeking transition - striving for the frozen moment
	pragmatic appropriation and cross-fertilizing neologisms	unselfishness and serviceability	untouched areas (locally)	accomplishing equilibrium via religio-cultural relationship - a bridging project	companions and confreeres	emancipation, and delegation	
	<i>ratio studiorum sinensis</i> - here and there and everywhere	practical morality, practical learning and the use of natural reason	outside in - moving towards persons of trust (personally), moving towards the kernel of disputed problems (religiously/philosophically), moving towards faith of families (pastorally), and moving towards Beijing (locally)		patrons and protectors	co-optation and cohesion	civilizing project - being each other's mutual civilizer and civilizees
tactical aspects of the Jesuits' Accommodation experience as lived							
traditional classification of Accommodation							
further (new) classification of Accommodation							
The thick noematic description and reflexion of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience processes along the stations of the <i>via experientiae</i> :							
I	Traffic and travails > 1579-1583						
II	Gaining footholds > 1583-1595						
III	Change of Ends > 1585-1595						
IV	Amongst Equals > 1595-1601						
V	Heaven and Earth > 1599-1644						
	concentration						
	conduct						

Table 17: 5th Station—Heaven and Earth

Table 17: 5th Station—Heaven and Earth, compiled by author

E pluribus unum (1610-1702)

Applying the *modo soave cinese completo* had led the *China Mission* to new pastures. As a result, expanding Christian communities *extra muros* and in the Provinces became the Jesuits' foremost concern. The necessities to close ranks, to keep Flock and Faith together, and to unify the *China Mission* and its Christians behind the Padres and in one Faith became paramount for survival.

Aggressively exposing the *Chinese Others* to Christianity kindled new xenophobic attacks. This led to an Imperial Edict that—whilst decreeing the Jesuits to be expelled from the Empire (Dudink, 2001b)—only forced the missionaries into hiding at their high-ranking converts' places until they were allowed to return to their Flocks. Back in the Provinces, the Padres further tailored their *modus procedendi sinensis* and its various, already established field-tested constituents to the new situation. As a result, the *Chinese Christian Church* increased in followers and in territory.

Confronted with the *China Mission's* self-made problem of success, the growing numbers of neophytes became a pastoral burden to the low number of Fathers (Brockey, 2007). A move towards a non-missionary-dependent, self-sustaining, self-expanding *Chinese Christian Church* was agreed to become the sole remedy. To do so, parishes had to be endowed with a strong element of *emancipatio religiosa sinensis*. This became the *condicio sine qua non* for survival, growth, and spiritual maturity without constant priestly care. By institutionalizing the confraternity model—which had become “the dominant form of communal piety” (Brockey, 2007, p. 337), spiritual/religious supervision, a way to “improving personal and public morality [...] [, and an approach to channel] moral activism” (Zürcher, 2000, p. 280)—all could be achieved.

Relying on *hui*-会-Confraternity that (over)emphasized similarities with an existent form of Chinese socio-religious organization allowed the Padres to minister difficult/complex forms of Faith, share *Missionary Commission* with the locals and keep China and Chinese converts with *Tianzhu jiao* on own Chinese authority.

Rededicating traditional Chinese festivals of the lunisolar calendar to become Christian feasts accomplished equilibrium via religio-cultural levelling and respective alignment. As a result, this bridging project further turned Christianity and Chinese Christians into valuable, integrated parts of the Chinese religio-ethical value-canon.

Having finally solved those problems that came with conceding *licit* ritual powers to Christian laymen, unity was created from plurality. Unfortunately, unity was threatened by dynastic cataclysm on the one hand and by the appearance of new missionizing orders as well as by Jesuit confreres who were not in line with the established *modus procedendi sinensis* (Standaert et al., 2001) on the other hand.

Re-establishing the Jesuits as the new dynasty's compliant servants solved the first problem (Ross, 1994). The Padres strengthened *guanxi*-relationship by deliberately

- putting into service transdisciplinarity and preparedness for crossing boundaries to support imperial claim to power (Kessler, 1976);
- performing “a remarkable role of cultural transmission[, diplomacy; mediation] and interpretation” (Perdue, 2012, p. 505) to provide assistance in intermediation and reconciliation (Myasnikov, 2012); and
- turning Western (scientific/artistic) works into Manchu language (Ku, 2012).

However, they once again shackled their fate to a Chinese Emperor. The resulting success of this time-proven approach notwithstanding, treading this path was a risky business. The *China Mission* became vulnerable to intrigues amongst Chinese *Guanfu*-officials/courtiers and Roman centralism.

Concerning the second problem, the situation remained infectious. *China Mission's* denationalization created a lasting inter-Order dissent on the validity of the Jesuits' *modo soave cinese completo*. While all Jesuit Fathers finally accepted the Order's missionizing approach as valid for their purposes, members of mendicant orders and secular clergies constantly campaigned against the *China Mission* of Jesuit character.

Even if imperial benevolence led to an *Edict of Toleration* with regard to *Tianzhu jiao* disunity amongst the clerics and before the *Holy See* prevailed.

However, capitalizing on apparent religious upgrading, the number and influence of Chinese Christians and Jesuits steadily grew (Lach & van Kley, 1998).

While the Jesuit *China Mission* seemed well-organized, wanted, and protected, and Christianity on the verge of becoming “a [...] native religion” (Rule, 1986, p. 129), decisions in Rome against the toleration of the *Chinese Rites* threatened the deceptive peace (Minamiki, 1985).

To settle the issues that had infected the entire Asian region and that prevailed amongst the different Orders, a Papal Legate was sent to the East (Metzler, 1980).

On this basis, the time of ***Paradise Lost*** in the Jesuits’ experience can be understood. However, prior to this, it is necessary to pause on the *via experientiae* and consolidate the meaning-units/thematic clusters that—detailed in their emergence in **Appendix IX**—until now

- constitute the anchors to which the Jesuits’ lived Accommodation experience are fastened; and
- summarize the Fathers’ efforts at harmonizing, standardizing and streamlining their multi-generational, multi-needs Flock to finally bring change to China and to *consolidate* the accomplished in the face of/despite upheaval, broadsides, and challenges.

Table 18 outlines the tactical aspects (Thauren, 1927)—variant constituents: meaning-units/thematic clusters—of the Jesuits’ lived Accommodation experience that became apparent until the 6th Station of the *via experientiae*.

Sinicization	Language	Usefulness	Audience	Establishing Similarities	Allies	Empowerment	Preparedness
internal adaptation and congruity - becoming civilizee to high social visibility	spoken and literary	mutual (scientific) curiosity and (fruitful) exchange	top down-自上而下 Literati and Elite	(Over) Emphasizing Similarities	foes, competitors, and rivals	involvement, collaboration and assistance	desperate leap - giving up to gain self-realization and self-diagnosing - overcoming personal and social crises
	external adaptation and congruity - becoming civilizee to high social visibility	taking sides and pursuing (hidden) agendas	bottom up-自下而上 the Commoners	Stressing/over-emphasizing differences - setting boundaries	facilitators and catalysts		
internal adaptation and congruity - becoming civilizee to high social visibility	Local Vernacular (<i>fanyan</i> -方言), Mandarin (<i>guanhua</i> -官话), Manchu (<i>manju gisun</i> - ^{ᡤᡠᡵᡠᠨ})	congruity and complementarity	inside out - from within the target audience/within the <i>guanxi</i> - 关系 - relationship (personally), from basic religious practices to more sophisticated forms (religiously/intellectually), from the established areas towards the exposed nearby, previously untouched areas (locally)	(religious/ethical) alignment	comrades and converts	implementation and accomplishment	seeking transition - striving for the frozen moment
	language, langue, parole - phoneticization, aequivoc, and homonymy	unselfishness and serviceability	outside in - moving towards persons of trust (personally), moving towards the kernel of disputed problems (religiously/philosophically), moving towards faith of families (pastorally), and moving towards Beijing (locally)	accomplishing equilibrium via religio-cultural relationship - a bridging project	companions and conferes	emancipation, and delegation	
	pragmatic appropriation and cross-fertilizing neologisms	intermediation and reconciliation			patrons and protectors	co-optation and cohesion	
	<i>ratio studiorum sinensis</i> - here and there and everywhere	transdisciplinarity and crossing boundaries					
		practical morality, practical learning and the use of natural reason					
further (new) classification of Accommodation							
The thick noematic description and reflexion of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience processes along the stations of the <i>via experientiae</i> :							
I	Traffic and travails > 1579-1583						
II	Gaining footholds > 1583-1595						
III	Change of Ends > 1585-1595						
IV	Amongst Equals > 1595-1601						
V	Heaven and Earth > 1599-1644						
VI	E pluribus unum > 1610-1702						
further (new) classification of Accommodation							

Table 18: 6th Station—E pluribus unum

Table 18: 6th Station—E pluribus unum, compiled by author

Paradise Lost (1702-1742)

The *Edict of Toleration* had re-secured *Tianzhu jiao*'s status and the Jesuits' position in China. However, the *Hallelujah* that came with the *Edict's* promulgation was disturbed by a cacophony of "controversy and constant disappointment, claims and counter-claims" (Spence, 1994, p. 15). The logical battlefield became the *Chinese Rites* with their true nature/character, their integratability into the Catholic orthodox value-canon, and their importance in the context of the nascent *Chinese Christian Church* forming its branches (Brockey, 2007; Minamiki, 1985).

To settle the dispute, the Pope approved the universal condemnation of the *Chinese Rites*, enlarged his *Regula* by a form of oath enjoined on all missionaries to follow his decisions (Witek, 2011), and sent out a first official Papal Legation to East-Asia to enforce both (Jenkins, 1894/2005; Rosso, 1948). Kangxi-康熙 Emperor's (1654-1722) answer came in form of *piao*-票-licence, which ordered all missionaries to be questioned about their orthodoxy and their desire to follow the *modo soave cinese* of Jesuit character (von Collani, 2014; Witek, 2011).

As those unwilling to follow the *modus procedendi sinensis* were exiled, the *China Mission* was drained of the majority of its pastors. Those who took *piao* received the impression that imperial favour and official validation of Fathers and Faith waned (Brockey, 2007). Stigmatized with papal disapprobation and fearing further restrictions and/or expulsion from the Chinese side the missionaries were forced into the defensive.

The seismic shift in imperial position towards the Fathers and the decline in missionaries' prestige and status, however, came with two more Papal Legations. As a result, the "apostolate of influence" (de Saldanha, 2012, p. 157) finally lost its radiance and protective character. "*Tianzhu jiao* was included among the "perverse sects and sinister doctrines" (Brockey, 2007, p. 199). The Fathers were once again forced into exile and the visible manifestations of *Tianzhu jiao* were confiscated, turned into public places, or offered to non-Christian villagers for their use. The spiritual components of Christianity were classified as foreign and qualified as *xie* "in a religious, ritual, social, and political sense" (Standaert, 2008b, p. 174).

Fortunately, the rigour of imperial crackdown, however harmful regarding the missionaries, did not hit the Jesuits' Chinese Christians (Brockey, 2007).

In fact, clandestine missionary work, by following the *modo soave cinese* and by adhering to its field-tested components, was still possible (Menegon, 2009). Despite the difficulties, the *clockwork missionary* was working unharmed (Menegon, 2009). In fact, “local people were quite willing to stick to their Christian teachings in the face of imperial prohibitions” (p. 124). Christianity had become a family tradition that was “deeply integrated within local society” (Menegon, 2009, p. 125). However, outside Christian homes and hamlets, conversions had become scarce commodities.

With Fathers and Faith being finally pushed into the shadows, the Jesuits' missionary enterprise “had ceased to exist” (Brockey, 2007, p. 203). Caught between Emperor and Pope, the song of the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord* so fervently intoned and successfully sung by at least three generations of missionaries fell silent—until Pope Pius XII (1876-1958) promulgated *Plane compertum est* on 8 December 1939 (Law, 2009; Raguin, 1990; Ticozzi, 2009).

On this basis, the time of *the entire* Jesuits Accommodation experience can be understood and the *invariant constituents*, the *eidos*, the underlying structures can become visible.

However, prior to this it is necessary to pause once again on the *via experientiae* and consolidate the meaning-units/thematic clusters that—detailed in their emergence in **Appendix X**—until now

- constitute the anchors to which the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience are fastened; and
- summarize the Fathers' last efforts to finally bring change to China and to *consolidate* the accomplished in the face of diminution and despite the challenges.

Table 19 outlines the tactical aspects (Thauren, 1927)—variant constituents: meaning-units/thematic clusters—of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience that became apparent until the 7th Station of the *via experientiae*.

Sinicization	Language	Usefulness	Audience	Establishing Similarities	Allies	Empowerment	Preparedness
internal adaptation and congruity - becoming civilizee to high social visibility	spoken and literary	mutual (scientific) curiosity and (fruitful) exchange	top down-自上而下 Literati and Elite	(Over) Emphasizing Similarities	foes, competitors, and rivals	involvement, collaboration and assistance	desperate leap - giving up to gain
	external adaptation and congruity - becoming civilizee to high social visibility	Local Vernacular (<i>fangyan</i> -方言), Mandarin (<i>guanhua</i> -官话), Manchu (<i>manju gisun</i> - ^{ᠮᠠᠨᠴᡠ} ᠮᠠᠨᠵᡠ)	taking sides and pursuing (hidden) agendas	bottom up-自下而上 the Commoners	facilitators and catalysts		
	language, langae, parole - phoneticization, aequivotic, and homonymy	congruity and complementarity	inside out - from within the target audience/within the <i>guanxi</i> -关系 - relationship (personally), from basic religious practices to more sophisticated forms (religiously/intellectually), from the established areas towards the exposed nearby, previously untouched areas (locally)	(religious/ethical) alignment	comrades and converts	emancipation, and delegation	seeking transition - striving for the frozen moment
	pragmatic appropriation and cross-fertilizing neologisms	unselfishness and serviceability	transdisciplinary and crossing boundaries	accomplishing equilibrium via religio-cultural relationship - a bridging project	companions and conferes	co-optation and cohesion	civilizing project - being each other's mutual civilizer and civilizees
<i>ratio studiorum sinensis</i> - here and there and everywhere	practical morality, practical learning and the use of natural reason	intermediation and reconciliation	outside in - moving towards persons of trust (personally), moving towards the kernel of disputed problems (religiously/philosophically), moving towards faith of families (pastorally), and moving towards Beijing (locally)		patrons and protectors		
variant constituents - meaning-units							
traditional classification of Accommodation							
further (new) classification of Accommodation							
The thick noematic description and reflexion of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience processes along the stations of the <i>via experientiae</i> :							
I	Traffic and travails > 1579-1583						
II	Gaining footholds > 1583-1595						
III	Change of Ends > 1585-1595						
IV	Amongst equals > 1595-1601						
V	Heaven and Earth > 1599-1644						
VI	E pluribus unum > 1610-1702						
VII	Paradise lost > 1702-1742						

tactical aspects of the Jesuits' Accommodation experience as lived

Table 19: 7th Station—Paradise Lost

Table 19: 7th Station—Paradise Lost, compiled by author

Table 20 summarizes the variant constituents that route the Jesuits' *via experientiae* from 1579 to 1742, as built up in the preceding sections. By this means, the first stage of the two-tier research approach is accomplished.

Sinicization	Language	Usefulness	Audience	Establishing Similarities	Allies	Empowerment	Preparedness
internal adaptation and congruity - becoming civilizee to high social visibility	spoken and literary	mutual (scientific) curiosity and (fruitful) exchange	top down-自上而下 Literati and Elite	(Over) Emphasizing Similarities	foes, competitors, and rivals	involvement, collaboration and assistance	desperate leap - giving up to gain
	Local Vernacular (<i>fāngyán</i> -方言), Mandarin (<i>guānhuà</i> -官话), Manchu (<i>manju gisun</i> - ^{ᠮᠠᠨᠵᠤ} ^{ᠵᠢᠰᠦᠨ})	taking sides and pursuing (hidden) agendas	bottom up-自下而上 the Commoners	Stressing/over-emphasizing differences - setting boundaries	facilitators and catalysts	implementation and accomplishment	self-realization and self-diagnosing - overcoming personal and social crises
external adaptation and congruity - becoming civilizee to high social visibility	language, langue, parole - phoneticization, aequivoc, and homonymy	congruity and complementarity	inside out - from within the target audience/within the <i>guanxi</i> -关系- relationship (personally), from basic religious practices to more sophisticated forms (religiously/intellectually), from the established areas towards the exposed nearby, previously untouched areas (locally)	(religious/ethical) alignment	comrades and converts	emancipation, and delegation	seeking transition - striving for the frozen moment
		unselfishness and serviceability	intermediation and reconciliation	accomplishing equilibrium via religio-cultural relationship - a bridging project	companions and confreres	co-optation and cohesion	civilizing project - being each other's mutual civilizer and civilizees
	pragmatic appropriation and cross-fertilizing neologisms	transdisciplinarity and crossing boundaries	outside in - moving towards persons of trust (personally), moving towards the kernel of disputed problems (religiously/philosophically) moving towards faith of families (pastorally), and moving towards Beijing (locally)		patrons and protectors		
		practical morality, practical learning and the use of natural reason					
	<i>ratio studiorum sinensis</i> - here and there and everywhere						
variant constituents - meaning-units							
tactical aspects of the Jesuits' Accommodation experience as lived				further (new) classification of Accommodation			
traditional classification of Accommodation				further (new) classification of Accommodation			

Table 20: Variant Constituents completed

Table 20: Variant Constituents completed, compiled by author

7. RESEARCH OUTCOMES DISCUSSED

7.1 Imaginative Variation—Eight essential themes introduced

I am made all things to all *men*, that I might by all means save some.
(1 Cor. 9:22)

Describing St. Paul's missionary acquaintance with the Greek and his effort towards establishing a common ground with the pagans to reduce their resistance to convert (von Collani, 2000a), the programmatic lines perfectly summarize the Jesuits' endeavour to accommodate both missionaries and the Gospel to every prevailing situation (Thauren, 1927). These lines also characterize the stance necessary to perform the second step of the two-tier research approach that guides the study at hand while *bracketing* is performed: *imaginative variation* with regard to the *variant constituents* as derived from *thematic analysis* (conducted in *Chapter 6*). As a result, the "noetic line of inquiry" (Kersten, 1997, p. 352) must be followed towards

- a clear grasp of the eidetic features and precipitating structures of the Accommodation phenomenon, hence, the *idio-logical* that transcends the *nomo-logical* (Scanlon, 1997; Schleiermacher, 1977; van Manen, 1978);
- the structural descriptions of the *noetic* HOW/WHY that account for WHAT (*noema*) is being experienced (Moustakas, 1994); and
- a reflective understanding of the Accommodation experience aimed at imaginatively integrating what is common to the manifestations already condensed and captured in the *variant constituents* (Moustakas, 1994).

This requires *imaginative variation* to focus on two questions (van Manen, 1990):

1. Is this phenomenon still the same if we change or delete this theme from the phenomenon?
2. Does the phenomenon without this theme lose its fundamental meaning?

These questions lead towards a

- systematic explication and reflexion on the interpretation (Standaert, 1997) of "the possible structural meanings that underlie the textural meanings" (Moustakas, 1994, p. 99);

- reflective understanding of underlying, structural, invariant, hence, essential themes that account for the (emergence of the) Accommodation phenomenon and the related lived experience(s) (p. 99);
- creative consideration of the universal structures that precipitate stance and activities with regard to the Accommodation phenomenon (p. 99); and
- illustrative structural description of both how the general structures are interrelated and the Accommodation phenomenon per se with a simultaneous reference to its concept-related character and its theory-related features (Ehrich, 2005; Moustakas, 1994; Ratner, 2001).

Applying this approach on the *variant constituents* formed in *Chapter 6*, eight *invariant constituents* come into view:

*SINICIZATION, LANGUAGE, USEFULNESS,
AUDIENCE, ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES, ALLIES,
EMPOWERMENT, PREPAREDNESS*

Underlying the entirety of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience (van Manen, 1990), these *invariant constituents* eventually provide the building blocks of the one new substantive *Theory of the Unique* and thus the foundation for *The Chinese Change Concept—The 3C-Approach*.

Considering the practical effort/experience of isolating eight essential themes via *imaginative variation*, it is necessary to highlight the following:

First, the sources that have already been applied in the preceding sections (and related Appendices) are not repeated. This avoids both marring the creative act of see(k)ing the essential qualities that make the Accommodation phenomenon what it in its essence is, and disrupting the holistic act of communicating the *eidos* as a theoretical position (Husserl, 1922).

Second, the terminology to cover the *invariant constituents* elucidates the specific qualities of the respectively abstracted meaning-units (Ratner, 2001) in all the Accommodation phenomenon's specific psychological and cultural facets. This provides for an "interpretative scheme" (Standaert, 1997, pp. 585-586) along which *imaginative variation* sustains/nuances the reflective understanding of what the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience makes it what it is.

It allows expressing in a composite structural description the precipitating structure that permeates the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience in its concentrated entirety (Moustakas, 1994). Doing so both individualizes and universalizes the eight essential themes in question. Understanding HOW and WHY the Jesuits as a group experience WHAT they experience with regard to the Accommodation phenomenon is finally possible.

Third, the composite structural description of the inner invariant nature/core meaning of the Accommodation experience brings "to life the universal character and dynamics" (Moustakas, 1994, p. 143) of the phenomenon from the vantage point of the Padres as a group. Imaginatively varied and differentiated by each of the eight *invariant constituents*—further emphasized and confirmed via the inter-connectedness of the essential qualities, and arranged along the stages of both the *via experientiae* and the Jesuits' persistence towards concentration, conduct, and/or consolidation with regard to their *commerce of conversion*—the portrayal evolves along the triple cluster of Context, Course, and Content. This clarifies

- Where/In which setting (Context) the particular occurrence/specification of the *eidōs* of the Accommodation phenomenon comes into view;
- How (Course) the particular occurrence/specification of the *eidōs* of the Accommodation phenomenon comes into view; and
- What is necessary/to be done (Content) to allow the particular occurrence/specification of the *eidōs* of the Accommodation phenomenon to come into view.

This allows for theorizable abstraction with regard to the following in a Chinese environment:

- Context—Where/in which setting conversion/change is (to be) enabled, implemented, and guided;
- Course—How conversion/change is (to be) enabled, implemented, and guided; and
- Content—What is necessary/to be done to enable, implement, and guide conversion/change.

Further conceptualized and *Sinicized*, these abstractions finally open out into *The Chinese Change Concept—The 3C-Approach*.

7.2 Imaginative Variation—Eight essential themes isolated

SINICIZATION

Ruxiang suisu-入乡随俗—*Si fueris Romae, Romano vivito more; si fueris alibi, vivito sicut ibi!* (St. Ambrose)

The Fathers' enduring willingness and fitted approach(es) to concentrate themselves and their missionary/pastoral activities on becoming civilizees to high social visibility point towards the first (noematic) cluster of eidetic features that permeate the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience. Centring external and internal adaptation to/congruity with the indigenous requirements/parameters as follows:

- aesthetic, formal, social, and legal (external),
- intellectual, ethical, and emotional (internal),

hence, the cultural *datum-wenhua* (literally: that what has the power to transform man while giving stability), provide the indispensable background to the Padres' efforts towards *winning China for Christ*.

Reflecting on the kernel of the Fathers' stance and activities to obey or when obeying the Chinese cultural imperative points towards *SINICIZATION* as

- one particular occurrence/specification with regard to the *eidōs* of the concrete lived Accommodation experiences;
- the underlying theme that account for (the emergence of) the phenomenon per se; and
- pertaining to Context, Course, and Content of developing and applying a China-appropriate *modus procedendi to win China for Christ*.

While the need and determination for *SINICIZATION* accompanies the Jesuits on their entire *via experientiae* and so affects every individual lived Accommodation experience at one point or another during the maturing approach to enable, implement, and guide conversion, the basic principles are mainly established at the beginning of the missionaries' *via experientiae* into/through China.

Together with *LANGUAGE* and primarily focused on kindling *PREPAREDNESS* amongst *ALLIES* and *AUDIENCE* to accept clerics and Christ on Chinese soil, *SINICIZATION*—mainly at the beginning of the *China Mission* actively precipitated by the *Chinese Other* and so aimed at *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* with regard to *wenhua*, availing of an appropriate(d) *USEFULNESS*, and taking advantage of extensive yet given forms of *EMPOWERMENT*—can be considered the fundamental for the to-be-decided and creatively to-be-put into practice, constantly to-be-refined *modus procedendi sinensis*.

In the Ignatian way taking into consideration time, place, and persons while allowing for concentration, conduct, and/or consolidation with regard to the Jesuits' *commerce of conversion*, *SINICIZATION* and its eidetic manifestations thus introduce the first structural, essential element into the Accommodation phenomenon.

Along the first three stages of the Jesuits' *via experientiae*—concentration phase—*SINICIZATION* is tantamount to fulfilling the spadework of (re-)actively modelling an effective accommodation approach that avoids any form of ostensible, empty cultural mimicry. *SINICIZATION* allows for proactive and reactive as well as continuous adjustment of missionary and pastoral activities to the Chinese environment, cultural imperative, and the *Chinese Other* of all ranks, and does not compromise *Tianzhu jiao* as the new Faith. Winning respect, esteem, and confidence of the Chinese, and ceasing to be strangers to the Chinese and (future) Chinese Christian converts characterizes the Fathers' Accommodation experience in/throughout the beginning of their trial-and-error, often *Chinese Other*-directed endeavour to understand, attune to, and to fill in the Context where/in which conversion was (to be) enabled, implemented, and guided.

To comply with the at first only visible Chinese value-canon dedicating themselves to learn Chinese *mores* and exerting themselves to overcome their own European ethnocentrism shape the Jesuits' Accommodation experience(s) of being tolerated in/admitted into an obstructed China; of feeling widely accepted amongst the Chinese; and of becoming to the greatest extent a part of Chinese culture.

Shortly after they set foot on Chinese soil, the need, awareness, and desire for adaptation to the Chinese (culture-related) environment became apparent. The first signs of a growing ability to master Chinese customs and *LANGUAGE* already assured a high(er) social visibility. This resulted in a civilizing project that in its early stages of ***Traffic and Travails*** allowed the Fathers to differentiate themselves from the European traders that were the Chinese benchmark for any contact with uncivilized, non-Asian foreigners.

Already due to the first, tentative, still limited but successful attempts to become familiar with, observe, and finally adhere to Chinese habits and customs, the image of the Jesuits underwent a dramatic change, as did their role in the *Chinese Others'* eyes and the Chinese Context. They were soon

- recognized as foreign scholars, instead of being despised as *Fangui*-番鬼 -foreign devils; and
- rewarded/awarded with the initial tokens of respect, esteem, and confidence for their efforts to fully submit themselves to the Chinese cultural imperative, instead of being treated as associated vassals.

Having thus ceased to be strangers to the Chinese (culture-related) environment and achieved an initial degree of high(er) social visibility, lived Accommodation is experienced as

- an upgrade in position regarding the social fabric vis-à-vis the Chinese;
- a useful means to advance the *Europeanizing tabula rasa* approach towards a more culturally sensitive method of proselytization vis-à-vis both their own, ecclesiastic hierarchies and the Chinese.

Even if the latter added a new facet to the Accommodation experience—generally affecting the Course of how conversion was (to be) enabled implemented, and guided and that will come into operation after the Fathers had finally ***Gained*** firmer ***Foothold*** in China—the emerging (intellectual and concrete) change in missionizing policy/stance and the newly acquired Jesuit self-image neither fully mitigated the still prevailing inconsistency nor assured comprehensive integration. To fully match the Chinese Context, acquired cultural suavity and instilled *Chineseness* had to further extend to the outward appearance.

Prepared to change the mode of dress in order to carry forward the civilizing project until its end, the Fathers not only followed the acknowledged Jesuit *modus procedendi*, but also acted upon the *Chinese Others'* position-approving recommendations. Thus, following the serious suggestion of an unfortunately uninformed, high-ranking Chinese official, the Padres became visibly Chinese—at least as it was possible for a European—and reconciled their European priestly status and job-description with those of their Buddhist counterparts.

Even if the decisions to *ESTABLISH SIMILARITIES* were based on misunderstandings, which soon contested the Fathers' image and sphere of influence and later needed corrective action, concrete effects of this change of dress were as expected. Playing down their European background to become Chinese to the Chinese won the Padres an accepted (later undesired) place in Chinese life. As a result, acquaintance with the Chinese environment became more and more regular, broader, official, and Chinese. Finally allowing for a status-appropriate social intercourse, naming the already *Chinese Other*-clothed *heshang|seng* became important and unavoidable. Ignorant of the Chinese onomastic tradition of *mingmingfa*-命名法-naming, for the time being not versed in the subtleties of Chinese *LANGUAGE*, and mindless of any ambiguities with regard to Chinese name bestowed on the Fathers by the *Chinese Others*, the Padres nonetheless adapted to/achieved congruity with the Chinese Context. In this regard, lived Accommodation is experienced as

- coming into being/acquirement of a non-barbarous, civilized, hence, Chinese existence and social visibility;
- allocation/confirmation of position with regard to the social fabric vis-à-vis the sophisticated/refined Chinese (culture-related) environment; and
- a means of/necessity for characterization and localization.

The initial results of the Jesuits' *siamo fatti Cini* in looks and sound were generally positive, even if the current

- high(er) social visibility gave the Fathers' image a misleading twist;

- moves not only effected the Course but already allowed the *Chinese Other* to (wrongly) anticipate the Content of the Padres' *commerce of conversion*; and
- place and image turned out to be prejudicial to *win entire China for Christ*.

The Jesuits, having pulled off their *Europeanness* to become civilizee to a particular Chinese high(er) social visibility, put the entire endeavour to convert China on a more lasting, hence, Chinese ground. Thus confronted with the first results of an unprepossessed, comprehensive adaptation to the Chinese cultural imperative, lived Accommodation is experienced as a facilitating and sustainability-enabling

- willingness to acknowledge cultural parameters as equal or at least as overriding;
- readiness to trust, accept, and put into practice advices; and
- mobility to yield to a differences-reducing, pragmatic necessity.

However, despite the *PREPAREDNESS* to open-mindedly embark on a civilizing project and in face of the first signs of successful adaptation to/congruity with a specific, *Chinese Other*-imposed facet of the Chinese cultural imperative—or even because of both—the Fathers found themselves merely tolerated near the bottom of the Chinese social hierarchy.

While a gradually refined display of Chinese culture, customs and etiquette, a good behaviour, name and title *secondo il costume di questa nazione*, and further manifestations of the Fathers' harmlessness, trustworthiness, and *LANGUAGE* eventually allowed for simultaneously **Gaining** permanent **Foothold** and blending in the *Chinese Other*-determined Context, the Padres continued to remain strangers to their Chinese environment. The actual level/degree of *SINICIZATION* paired with visible and audible results of prematurely *ESTABLISHED SIMILARITIES* could not avoid being considered and treated *come spazzatura del mondo*.

Against the Fathers' and the *Chinese Others'* expectation, hope, and (joint) efforts, ambiguity in the Jesuits' image, status, position, and religious self-concept prevailed. The medium was still inconsistent with the message. The circumstances forfeited respect and esteem, kindled xenophobia, and eventually gave rise to alienation, assaults, and apprehension across every

social stratum. As a result, the current *status quo* ill-effected the Context and burdened the Course of how conversion was (to be) enabled, implemented, and guided. In the face of setbacks lived Accommodation is experienced as

- a fragile process that requires informed emancipation instead of naïve overreliance;
- a far-reaching activity that does not allow for short-cuts; and
- an ambitious programme/effort that does not happen out of the blue.

To move beyond the stalemate, a re-orientation was necessary. At that time finally convinced of the adequateness, sustainability, capacity, and acceptance of an adaptation to/congruity with

- the Literati and Elite in their demeanour, clothing, positioning, and learning/basic intellectual formation; and
- *Rujiao* with regard to its philosophical stance and linguistic idiosyncrasies

and aware of the respective implication a dramatic, comprehensive makeover became indispensable. Doing so offered the desired way out. Following the suggestions of cooperative, well-meaning, and well-informed *Chinese Other* made it possible to

- mirror the most potent and recognized social class in China;
- fit the Gospel, Mission and Fathers into the Confucian value-canon; and
- learn to read, think, and write in accordance with the *Guanfu*-style.

While the first steps into the *ratio studiorum sinensis* paved the way into mastering the desired *LANGUAGE* and *Rujiao* simultaneously triggering a metamorphosis in the Padres' philosophical and linguistic understanding, the need to comply with *fushi*-服飾-adornments nonetheless hampered a complete adaptation to/congruity with the *Guanfu*-role model. It forced the Fathers to compromise on the patterns of using robes and other adornments to denote their new social status. As the Padres were not allowed to assume an official Chinese title to mirror their European academic status or talents, choosing an unambiguous title further posed a challenge.

Despite culture-related limitations to a complete adaptation to the erudite value-canon and the desired high social visibility, the ***Change of Ends*** was successful.

By donning a new social skin *à la chinoise erudite*, changing the Buddhist *nome di bonzo molto bassa* into an unencumbered neologism, and adhering to the Confucian *ratio studiorum*, an undisputed, peer-assessed high social visibility could be assured. Having so won the right *AUDIENCE* to *ESTABLISH SIMILARITIES* and make *ALLIES* finally allowed for

- getting beyond the imposing gates of social legitimacy in China;
- penetrating (into) the world of Chinese scholarship; and
- entering Chinese society through the world of the Confucian Literati.

It affected Context and Content and already (pre-)defined the Course of how conversion was (to be) enabled, implemented, and guided. Considering the ***Change of Ends*** and its implication, lived Accommodation is experienced as

- an enduring, comprehensive strategic commitment to a mode of being;
- a metamorphosing self-indoctrination; and
- a set of consequential, often externally triggered, moves and decisions.

At the end of the concentration phase and with the basics to enable, implement, and guide conversion in place, *SINICIZATION* had already created an atmosphere receptive to *Tianzhu jiao*'s Jesuit representatives and the Christian leaven. The extent and reason of the Fathers' lived Accommodation experiences that came with their preparatory efforts and advance performances to decide, find, and win an accepted place in Chinese life, and that often resulted from a Chinese stimulus, finally gave a *Chinese Others'*-validated direction to the missionaries' *commerce of conversion*. Having established themselves amongst those from whom greater fruit could be expected and who exert an influence by mirroring the respective *AUDIENCE* and winning *ALLIES*, the Fathers had finally defined and for now secured the Context where/in which setting conversion could be possible.

During the following two stages of the Jesuits' *via experientiae*—conduct phase—*SINICIZATION* mainly shifted towards defining and refining the Course and Content of a widely to-be-implemented proselytization approach. Validated by an undisputed, peer-assessed high social visibility, and protected by the growing, high-ranking *guanxi*-relationships from within, the Fathers went on capitalizing on their self-appropriated outward status and

their European-acquired and Chinese-valued but mutually serviceable inward talents. Submitting themselves to the time-consuming process of

- securing position and enhancing status ***Amongst Equals***;
- winning support, protection and validation from (within) the *Guanfu-Elite*;
- carrying on an exchange of mutual insights into the respectively Other's customs, scientific progress, philosophy, law, and Faith; and
- fitting the Gospel, Mission, and Fathers into *Rujiao*,

thus became the most appropriate, successful, sustainable, and Chinese approach to win an accepted|acceptable place in China's religious life.

Entering through the intellectual world of the Confucian Literati to eventually cast their spiritual nets amongst the Chinese of all ranks became more important than focusing on dubious conversion-related quick-wins by attracting *molti, meno rispondenti al nome cristiano*. In so fanning out European practical morality, practical learning, and natural reason both in private and during official occasions, and matching European insights with the respective Chinese understanding and *wenhua*—offering it with a high level of *guanhua*—not only curried favour with the erudite **AUDIENCE**, but also **ESTABLISHED** desired **SIMILARITIES** and won new/more **ALLIES**.

Shared philosophical, practical, and religious **USEFULNESS** matched with a high level of adaptation to/congruity with the erudite Chinese value-canon, Chinese (religious/ethical) practice, and **LANGUAGE**, softened Elite-hearts and impressed Literati-interlocuteurs.

Mirroring the Empire's most potent, recognized class in demeanour, clothing, learning, vernacular, positioning, and mode of living, which extended into every facet of their ethical, quasi-religious, societal, and emotional lives, the Fathers created an attractive image of themselves, and of Europe and *Tianxue* in general.

At the instigation of high-ranking **ALLIES**, being declared Chinese by status and complementing accordance with *original Confucianism*, the Fathers had finally achieved high social visibility. Unconditional, and with regard to a European priestly image, unexpected **SINICIZATION** in all its facets had shed the Padres' foreignness, allowed them to acquire a status within Chinese society that no other foreigners had yet achieved, and eventually

increased the reputation of *Tianzhu jiao* and its representatives while establishing an atmosphere receptive to Christianity. The Content and Course—at least with regard to the erudite *AUDIENCE*—was set. Lived accommodation ***Amongst Equals*** is thus experienced as

- a time-consuming schedule of upgrading work, image, and *guanxi*-relationships at the cost of neglecting preaching the Gospel;
- necessarily basking in high social visibility and parading sameness;
- continuously preparing the ground for the future commerce of conversion;
- a search for accord by means of a targeted approach; and
- presenting *la civiltà cristiana* by way of own example, conversation, and *Guanfu*-focused, real-life analogies.

Despite the exhaustive schedule and strenuous effort of working ***Amongst Equals***, conversion at the top of the social ladder was and remained a rare event. Even if the practical and philosophical *USEFULNESS* that came with *Tianzhu jiao* and its representatives had its attractive effect on the Literati and Elite, their *PREPAREDNESS* to convert, however, was often abated by a careful, career-conductive attention to the Confucian value-canon. Most of the time, it failed due to the irreconcilability of certain but important rules of conduct. No *SINICIZATION* could fully remove the respective (ethical/religious) barriers. However, later combined with *ESTABLISHED SIMILARITIES* between *Rujiao* and *Tianzhu jiao* the barriers could at least be lowered.

Although the catch of fish in the Literati pond remained moderate, adaptation to/congruity with the Literati-role model was—at least during the initial conduct phase and *intra muros*—an important foundation to *win China for Christ*. Successfully aligning medium and message with the high-ranking *AUDIENCE* facilitated and catalysed the spread of the Gospel from ***Amongst Equals***, as it re-strengthened the Context, and re-confirmed both Course and Content.

This assured and secured protection and validation of Faith and Fathers when and where necessary—mainly when time was rough and (re-)gaining entrance into capitals, villages, and hearts was much needed.

In this regard lived Accommodation is experienced as providing

- a means to an end;
- an entrance-ticket to whole China *zishangerxia*; and
- a special endorsement from amongst established *guanxi*-relationships.

The Padres thus successfully civilized to high social visibility was of utmost importance to ensure essential freedom of action to sell the spiritual message to *baixing* and to sow the spiritual grain more vigorously/consistently to the Commoners *in-* and *extra muros*. Once established amongst the rural *AUDIENCE*, *SINICIZATION* to the idiosyncrasies of *baixing* enabled the Fathers to further customize the Course and Content of their *commerce of conversion* to the most promising group of lower-class soon-to-be-neophytes.

Always focused on the sociological and religious susceptibility of their chosen *AUDIENCE* the Padres capitalized on the authoritative status that came with their pseudo-*Guanfu*-robe to successfully cast the spiritual net. Wearing the almost-vestment of a scholar-official amongst the rural population created a helpful hierarchical distance. This allowed the Fathers to cash in on the symbolic gravity of their public image as authority figures, and on the to-be-expected obedience as rooted in a comparable ruler-subject relationship as based on *wulun*. Thus, capitalizing on *SINICIZATION* and *ESTABLISHED SIMILARITIES* by means of appearance, articulation, and accoutrement, upgrading the religious message and singling out *Tianzhu jiao* and its proponents from amongst other religious teachings and teachers became both possible and the chosen approach to *win Common China for Christ*. The Context thus further validated lived Accommodation is experienced as

- establishing advancing respect and fruitful hierarchical distance;
- distinguishing and accentuating the medium and message; and
- catalysing acceptance/receptiveness.

Adapting Christian devotional works, Catholic approaches to catechizing the heathen, and the licit forms of worship to the Chinese understanding finally melted *Tianzhu jiao* into the message. Congruity with the respective Chinese approaches and norms simultaneously acting upon the social taboos when enabling, implementing, and guiding conversion blended Fathers and Faith into the Chinese background.

As a result, *Tianzhu jiao* was further anchored in the family-networks. The numbers of baptism significantly increased as *SINICIZATION* extended into

- studied Chinese-style gravitas;
- the visible and audible political power of a *Guanfu*;
- the spiritual power and *soteriological promises* of a wandering Holy Man;
- the apparent sameness in spiritual processes and religious procedures.

This successful turning towards the group, needs, and behaviour patterns of the Commoners simultaneously convincing the rural rustics of the potency of the Christian God and the attractiveness of *Tianzhu jiao* provided the Context in which conversion was (to be) enabled, implemented, and guided. It defined its Course and even determined the *baixing*-appropriate(d) Content.

This evolved the prevailing Jesuits' *modus procedendi* into a *modo soave cinese completo*. Being able to focus missionary efforts on the desired/chosen *AUDIENCE* in each case, the special requirements of the particular social stratum, and the requested/expected outcome eventually allowed the Padres to profit from *kairos*-καίρος and to make the respectively targeted Chinese profit from it likewise (Mk. 1:15). In this regard, lived Accommodation is experienced as

- an unprepossessed commitment to the target(ed) audience;
- requiring far-reaching and informed adaptation, as well as intellectual and personal flexibility;
- based on borrowed reputation, status, and position; and
- a fragile *commerce of conversion* mainly dependent on protection and validation *zishangerxia*.

With the conduct phase progressing, *SINICIZATION* to high social visibility finally took its basic shape. Being officially adjudicated in its standardized form by the Jesuit Order and taken as a given by the Chinese *AUDIENCE* throughout China/across all social strata, adaptation to/congruity with the Chinese value-canon became a matter of course and the unique features of the *Predicatori Letterati*, who were eager to strategically side with the Literati and Elite to tactically *win* entire *China for Christ zixiaershang*.

Despite an increasingly backed and secured positioning of Fathers and Faith in the Empire, holding sway in Chinese ***Heaven and Earth*** also rose the stakes and competition in the battle for souls as it did in/regarding non-religious places. Stemming the wall build from an omnium-gatherum of Buddhist-Daoist-Confucianist-Shenist salvationism generally bore many forms of frustration. However, sparing Buddhism and its representatives became the most challenging part in the missionaries' apostolic endeavour to *win rural China for Christ*.

Successfully banking on their level of *SINICIZATION* adaptation to/congruity with *wenhua* nonetheless allowed the Padres to repel broadsides and aided the missionaries to emerge victorious in intellectual battles with their numerous rivals regarding souls and status. Unfortunately, the high level of social visibility, so hard acquired, standardized, and secured, bred dangerous downside risks. Comprehensive adaptation to/congruity with the Chinese cultural imperative was—at least to a certain degree—responsible for the *China Mission's* downfall.

On the one hand, *SINICIZATION* backfired on the Fathers, as it facilitated permanent establishment in political and cult-related places as well as the assumption of ranks and duties in the past bestowed on the Chinese only. Seen from a Chinese (xenophobic) perspective, any form of foreign adaptation to/congruity with *wenhua* could mean nothing less than pretension and a manifestation of hubris of those *vassalli del re della Cina* who dared to rise above a status assigned by nature and Chinese self-image to Chinese only.

On the other hand, *SINICIZATION* became the stumbling block for the Roman Curia, church dignitaries in- and outside China, and those non-Jesuit confreres, mendicants, and secular priests active on Chinese soil. For them, the Jesuits' efforts towards adaptation to/congruity with the Chinese cultural imperative were at best adulteration and at worst plain heresy—but always a needless effort and a defect that needed amendment or proscription.

The most dangerous impact of *SINICIZATION* however, was due to its scope and complexity.

Unable to cherry-pick from the *China Mission's* early days, the Padres had to fully submit themselves to Chinese expectation regarding good conduct, and/or follow socio-religious rules that came with the desired high social visibility.

Committed to adhere to the consequential effects of adaptation to *wenhua* finally proved the fragility of the entire business of conversion from within. Even if problematic or unbefitting cultural norms and rules of conduct could, to a certain degree, either be circumnavigated without annoying the *Chinese Others* or linked to a European equivalent without losing the acquired image when *ESTABLISH SIMILARITIES*, the pragmatic appropriation of certain *Chinese Rites* and related *EMPOWERMENT* to spread the Gospel while availing of *Chinese Others'* direct responsibility moved the *commerce of conversion* alarmingly close to (Catholic) heterodoxy. Convinced of the correctness of their approach, unperturbed by Chinese hostilities, and for a while ignorant of European broadsides, the Fathers went on adhering to their *modus procedendi sinensis*—eager to not betray their religious heritage and its canonical basics. This eventually confirmed the Course and Content of the Jesuits' approach to convert China. In this respect, lived Accommodation is experienced as

- walking on eggshells to simultaneously toe the Chinese and Catholic line;
- exercising casuistry; and
- breeding conflict and misunderstanding—mainly from (the) outside.

Unfortunately, the latter became the dominant factor during the last two stages of the Jesuits' *via experientiae*—consolidation phase. Due to their successful adaptation to/congruity with the Chinese value-canon, the Padres had always recovered from exiles, successfully endured Chinese broadsides and hostilities, and without severe casualties survived the Ming-Qing turnover. So toughened in position and understanding, Fathers and Faith had eventually taken deep root in the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord*.

Backed by a high social visibility that became more and more natural vis-à-vis the Chinese, *Tianzhu jiao* had reached the status of a religious alternative for a growing number of Chinese from all ranks.

Validated by imperial toleration and carried from one generation to the other, the *China Mission* experienced one of its steadiest periods of expansion. Having developed into a multigenerational body ***E pluribus unum Tianzhu jiao*** evolved into an identifiable, established, and accepted feature on the religious landscape.

While the Fathers continued to celebrate the power of *SINICIZATION* and religious upgrading, the *China Mission* became increasingly disputed and challenged both from outside China and by non-Chinese, non-Jesuit forces active on Chinese ground. This unfortunate, limiting development affected the Context where/in which setting conversion was (to be) enabled, implemented, and guided. It slowly narrowed the Course of the Fathers' successful, self-supporting *commerce of conversion*.

With regard to the paradox situation lived Accommodation is experienced as

- an unquestioned necessity and matter of course amongst the Chinese;
- a danger to Christian orthodoxy and dogmatic amongst the non-Chinese forces that had not underwent the process of *SINICIZATION* and/or learned about its necessity to *win China for Christ*.

Finally worn down in internal and external disputes over the *Chinese Rites*; abandoned by their Chinese principal *ALLIES*; disallowed their proselytization approach by Papal Bulls; and at the end, driven out of the country, the *commerce of conversion* was doomed to fail. Deprived of the possibilities to show their high social visibility outside *Zijincheng*-紫禁城-Forbidden City, and forced into invisibility vis-à-vis Chinese authority, the Padres' missionizing endeavour was eventually deprived of its most important currency.

Being unable to bank on *SINICIZATION* the missionaries and *Tianzhu jiao* were both relegated to the ranks of *xiejiao*-邪教-heterodoxy and eventually pushed into the shadows. The streams of conversions slowly died away. Religiously invisible and dubious, the Jesuits' missionary enterprise had ceased to exist. The ***Paradise*** was finally ***Lost***.

If the successes in conversion were not proof for the need for successful and correct *SINICIZATION*, their lack eventually was. *SINICIZATION* can thus be considered one structural essence/*eidōs* of the concrete lived Accommodation experiences. Essential to the experience, its absence would not only modify the fundamental meaning of the phenomenon as such, but also change it completely. Considering its structurality and invariant core meaning, *SINICIZATION* is communality to the textural meanings already condensed/captured in the respective thematic cluster.

It precipitates the Jesuits' stance and their activities with regard to the Accommodation phenomenon and thus, allows the WHAT and its many manifestations to emerge and develop, thus making it what it is.

The first step towards theorizing upon the Accommodation phenomenon's essential qualities in order to offer an appropriate guide to effective change management in Chinese organizational settings today is taken. Due to the abstraction of *SINICIZATION* as the first of eight essential themes, the substantive *Theory of the Unique*, which summarizes all requirements reflected in, and/or concern Context, Course, Content of *The Chinese Change Concept—The 3C-Approach* already begins to show.

LANGUAGE

Let the words of my mouth, and the meditation of my heart, be acceptable in thy sight [...] (Ps. 19:14)

The Fathers' creative, fitted approach(es) and enduring willingness to learn to read, write, and speak, as well as to eventually master the Nanjing dialect of the erudite class, the Literati, and officials

- prior to starting their *via experientiae* onshore in the less conductive Macanese environment;
- to safeguard/secure the permanent stay in the Empire; and
- during their *commerce of conversion intra and extra muros*,

point towards the second (noematic) cluster of eidetic features that permeate the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience. Centring all requirements and efforts to comply with, as well as to employ the Chinese linguistic *datum-wenming* (literally: that what provides clarity and civil wholeness while giving stability) provides the indispensable backing and groundwork as well as the necessary leeway and leverage to the Padres' strive for *winning* Literati and Common *China for Christ*. To thus understand/be understood at any level of the social ladder it is necessary to

- linguistically interact with Literati and Commoners, master spoken and literary *guanhua*, and (sufficiently) handle *fangyan* and later Manchu;
- decode Chinese language, langue, and parole to allow for pragmatic appropriation and coining cross-fertilizing neologisms; and
- constitute a productive timeless *ratio studiorum sinensis*.

Reflecting on the kernel of the Padres' stance and activities when obeying/to obey the Chinese linguistic imperative thus points towards *LANGUAGE* as

- one particular occurrence/specification with regard to the *eidōs* of the lived Accommodation experiences;
- underlying theme that account for both emergence and consistency of the Accommodation phenomenon per se, and
- pertaining to Context, Course, and Content of developing and applying a China- and Chinese-appropriate *modus procedendi*.

While an increasing proficiency and level of sophistication regarding *LANGUAGE* accompanies the Jesuits on their entire *via experientiae* and so affects every individual lived Accommodation experience at one point or another during the maturing approach to enable, implement, and guide conversion, the basic principles are already and mainly established at the beginning of the Jesuit Fathers' *via experientiae* into/through China.

In a cross-fertilizing, non-interdependent alliance with *SINICIZATION*, oriented towards *AUDIENCE* and *ALLIES*, further indispensable to *ESTABLISH SIMILARITIES*, kindle *PREPAREDNESS*, foster *EMPOWERMENT*, and to market own *USEFULNESS* amongst the *Chinese Others* of all ranks complying with *wenming* can be considered fundamental to the to-be-decided and creatively to-be-put into practice, constantly to-be-refined *modus procedendi sinensis*. In the Ignatian way taking into consideration time, place, and persons while allowing for concentration, conduct, and/or consolidation with regard to the Jesuits' *commerce of conversion*, *LANGUAGE* and its eidetic manifestations introduce the second structural, essential element into the Accommodation phenomenon.

Compared to the bumpy road to(wards) becoming civilizee to (the most instrumental) high social visibility, *LANGUAGE* did not undergo dramatic twists on the Jesuits' *via experientiae* to find its orientation. Earlier (mission|ary-related) experience, gut instinct, and farsightedness of the *China Mission's* founding father(s) charted the *LANGUAGE* course already along the first three stages of the Jesuits' *via experientiae*—concentration phase.

Already at an early stage of the Jesuits' ***Traffic and Travails*** and prior to setting foot on Chinese soil, the basics concerning *LANGUAGE* were decided, formulated, and projected. Striving to *win* entire *China for Christ* required every Father who wanted to permanently stay beyond the bamboo curtain, cultivate the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord*, and guide conversion as a leaven from within as a preliminary, to learn the Chinese *lingua franca*. It was in this regard that learning *fangyan* to better interact with the local population and mastering the local vernacular remained only a by-product to the Fathers' linguistic endeavour.

Precedents were created based on the policy decision of how to

- differentiate Jesuit missionaries from the faceless, often uncivilized horde of traders that flooded mainland China during the semi-annual trade fairs;
- understand and be understood at any social stratum; and
- spread the Gospel amongst Literati and Commoners alike.

Already from the beginning of the *China Mission*, the lasting decision to align Fathers and the *commerce of conversion* with the official Chinese *LANGUAGE* canon took into consideration the possibility to reach nearly every Chinese at every step of the social ladder in every corner of the Empire. This allowed for the broadest Context possible. Early linguistic commitment also (pre-)defined the Course of how conversion was (to be) enabled, implemented, and guided.

As the Fathers left the trodden paths of *Europeanizing* the Chinese by means of the traditional European *tabula rasa* to turn to becoming Chinese by learning *guanhua*, they embarked on a civilizing project to side with the most powerful group of the Empire and so pre-acquired the most suitable *LANGUAGE* and image. Doing so, they unknowingly adopted the Chinese strategy of spreading Chinese ideas amongst foreign cultures. Thus, simultaneously *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES*—at an early stage paving the way towards winning the right *ALLIES* amongst the entrance-enabling *AUDIENCE* at the right time—and showing quasi-natural *SINICIZATION* by adopting a Chinese competitive advantage as one's own, created a lasting unique feature and planted the seed of mutuality in the Fathers' *modus procedendi sinensis*. To such an extent, exceeding simple socio-cultural mimicry, the Padres' *PREPAREDNESS* to attune themselves to the Chinese linguistic and cultural imperative allowed for pro-active and re-active, as well as for continuous adjustment of future missionary and pastoral activities to the Chinese environment and the *Chinese Others* of all ranks. Context and Course of the soon to-be-realized *commerce of conversion* thus set lived Accommodation is experienced as

- integrating and necessitating a leading decision;
- orienting and facilitating social affiliation; and
- differentiating and providing competitive advantage.

Even if the ground-breaking decision regarding *LANGUAGE* was easily taken, learning spoken and literary *guanhua* in a non-supportive, non-erudite environment far away from the Court or any academic localities, and applying, refining, and mastering it in a Sino-Western social intercourse at eye level was a different, hence, difficult affair. With no bi-lingual teaching tools available and unable to apply European teaching methods to demystify/unlock the Chinese language, *langue*, and *parole* by oneself, the support of some cooperative, well-meaning *Chinese Other*, and the application of unconventional/improvised teaching methods was much needed and sought-after. Remedy was eventually secured in the person of a *chinese pintore* and by following the Chinese *ratio studiorum* applied to teach Chinese characters, and *fayin*-*发音*-pronunciation, to Chinese children. In fact following art-classes instead of drill, self-applying the Chinese *ratio studiorum*, and adhering to the same teacher-pupil relationship a Chinese schoolboy had to live through, successfully demystified the *LANGUAGE*. It further provided valuable mutuality and relatedness between Fathers and the *Chinese Others* of rank and erudition.

Unfortunately, decoding *wenming* and the Chinese mode of thinking did not bar the Padres from prematurely looking for analogies in word and thought. This led to overhastily drawing conclusions that found no corrective in the *Chinese Other*. Even if this situation soon backfired on the missionaries, later needed remedy, and to a certain degree haunted the *China Mission* until its inglorious end, the *LANGUAGE* process/chosen approach did the job. The Fathers' *PREPAREDNESS* to internalize *wenming* and to acquire awareness of the modes of (religious) thinking inherent in Chinese tradition laid the groundwork to later

- bank on and emphasize similarities between *Rujiao* and *Tianzhu jiao*;
- detect, name/dispute, and refute errors in Chinese thinking and religion; and
- compile and apply the Jesuits' own *ratio studiorum sinensis*.

In so *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* and fostering *SINICIZATION* by means of *LANGUAGE* further played down the Fathers' European background at the right time to become Chinese to the Chinese.

While setting the Context, further defining the Course, and already letting appear the Content of what would be (come) necessary/was to be done to enable, implement, and guide conversion from within, applying the learned *in situ sinensis* was only a question of time, perseverance, and luck. It only necessitated the support of well-meaning, broad-minded, curious *Chinese Others* to eventually push away the apparently impenetrable bamboo curtain. In times of **Traffic and Travail** and on the eve of **Gaining** permanent **Footholds** onshore, lived Accommodation is experienced as

- a means to affiliation and establishing sameness;
- ongoing deepening self-indoctrination; and
- demanding pragmatism, patience and the talents of an *uomo universale*.

The Padres feeling sufficiently trained to test the acquired talents, their baptism of fire amongst *Guanfu* eventually won respect and confidence of the Chinese interlocuteurs. Immediately singled out by level of *wenming* and *wenhua*, the Fathers started their *commerce of conversion* by ceasing to be strangers to the Chinese and (future) Chinese Christian converts.

In consonance with the increasing linguistic abilities and the level of *SINICIZATION*, the Padres' *PREPAREDNESS* to embrace the foundations of Chinese *LANGUAGE* and thought, as well as to understand and to attune to *wenhua* redounded to their advantage. Being recognized as foreign scholars and invited to stay on Chinese ground, the Context where/in which setting conversion was (to be) enabled, implemented, and guided was set, as was the Course defined. The new missionizing policy/stance was rewarded and put the entire endeavour to convert China on a solid, namely Chinese ground. Having **Gained Footholds** lived Accommodation is experienced as

- positive differentiation;
- conductive positioning; and
- appropriate means to an end.

However, entering China to stay permanently onshore was but the prelude to the *commerce of conversion*. While the Fathers' level of *wenming* increased, the(ir) focus shifted from learning *guanhua* meant to open the *porta sì serrata ai predicatori del Santo evangelio* to mastering *wenming* as a tool actively applied to *win* entire *China for Christ*.

To this extent, determining/confirming the Course of how conversion was (to be) enabled, implemented, and guided, the Fathers readily accepted both Chinese religious appearance and linguistic concepts/wording that apparently seemed in line with their religious self-concept as (wrongly) understood by the Chinese and Catholic orthodoxy. This facilitating positioning notwithstanding, proving *SINICIZATION* and *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* by using Chinese religious concepts as a shortcut to deal with related challenges carried the seed of misunderstanding and disaster. For the time being, however, problems that might have resulted from *Sinicizing* Latin words were avoided by pragmatically appropriating Chinese religious concepts, which

- equated the *analogia fra il termine Tianzhu e Shangdi* as found in the classical Chinese texts with the meaning of the Christian God;
- linked *Rujiao* and *Tianzhu jiao* in an Eusebian logic of *Praeparatio Evangelica*; and
- headed towards a particular *communicatio in sacris* with the natural religion of the Chinese.

Thus, applying *LANGUAGE* in the creative, pragmatic way

- strengthened *SINICIZATION* to win (more/new) *ALLIES*;
- established an atmosphere receptive to Fathers and Christian leaven; and
- fostered Chinese *PREPAREDNESS* to convert.

In such a way, further defining the missionizing Context, Course, and Content, lived Accommodation is experienced as

- safeguard and mediator;
- flexibilizer and equalizer; and
- facilitator and catalyst.

Despite visible and audible efforts to match their hosts, Fathers and Gospel remained strangers in a strange land. The fragility of situation and endeavour went on. Keen to merge medium and message, the Padres had readily obeyed the Chinese cultural imperative. To do so, they had followed the well-meaning recommendations of some cooperative but unfortunately unaware *Chinese Others*; overeagerly appropriated linguistic concepts; and accepted

titles, names, and dedicatory plaques whose deep-rooting meaning and far-reaching externalities were unclear to them.

Resulting from a mixture of premature *SINICIZATION*, unformed *LANGUAGE*, fervent *PREPAREDNESS*, and the need for discretion, Padres and Gospel were gradually pushed in an unintended, misleading direction. Both moved away from the(ir) actual target *AUDIENCE*. The inability to

- explain their (religious) message to a larger percentage of the population in correct Chinese; and
- detect errors, remedy wrong interpretations, and counter assumptions

eventually settled the situation, as it affected the Content and hampered the Course of any (un)intended missionizing. The unnoticed, non-corrected shortcomings in *wenming* and *wenhua* backfired on the Fathers and burdened the *commerce of conversion*—at least reduced the scale of conversion. Being finally advised of shortcomings and possible corrective actions by more involved, better-informed *ALLIES*, the need became clear to

- talk on their own instead of via interpreters; and
- permeate *wenming* in its totality instead of simply mastering parlance.

A ***Change of Ends*** foreshadowed. Thus, affecting Context, Course, and Content, lived Accommodation is experienced as

- highly ambiguous and unpredictably fragile;
- non-easily completed and constant refinement, and
- avoiding precipitation and active listening.

The Padres understood that *la reputazione della legge dipende dal credito e dalla reputatione dei predicatori* flanking and fostering the *commerce of conversion*, as well as reaching and winning favour with the chosen/to-be-targeted *AUDIENCE* by means of the most appropriate linguistic channel necessitated turning energy to applying *LANGUAGE* in all its *Guanfu*-facets. To do so, the Fathers' capitalized on their already

- acquired rudimental insights into Chinese education tradition, teaching and learning methods, as well as *sishuwujing*-四书五经—the authoritative books of Confucianism; and

- proven accord with *raggione e legge naturale* by compiling translations of Christian prayers and publishing books in Chinese.

As a result, they emulated the basic intellectual *Guanfu*-formation, immersed themselves in the standard(ized) academic curriculum enjoined on those Chinese who were to sit *Keju*-科举-imperial examination, and went on publishing (non-)religious tracts. In so attuning *SINICIZATION* to *LANGUAGE* et vice versa, the missionaries

- proved their *USEFULNESS* to a receptive, often surprised, *AUDIENCE*;
- made *ALLIES* amongst members of the *Guanfu*-Elite, and
- eventually got Literati-appraisal of the Christian religious teaching/law.

Thus, influencing Context, Course and Content the importance of *wenming* as a catalyser in a bibliophile environment became clear. Lived Accommodation is experienced as

- attuning/calibrating and reconciliation;
- orienting and referencing;
- capitalizing and profiting.

The *Chinese Other*-initiated **Change of Ends** in the missionaries' *modus procedendi sinensis* finally bore fruit. Allowed to permanently stay and proselytize in China, the Fathers were able to use *LANGUAGE* in a culturally acceptable way and on a larger scale. However, internalizing the canonical texts of *original Confucianism* and mastering *guanhua* did not prevent the Fathers from falling prey to the power of assimilation displayed in Chinese civilization. Pragmatically appropriating Chinese vocabulary to express non-Chinese concepts and filling them with Christian meaning blurred the lines between *Tianzhu jiao* and *Rujiao*. Despite its far-reaching, and to a certain degree undesired-unforeseeable impact, the inclusivistic linguistic concessions suggested to the educated Chinese that Chinese traditions were at least congenial to Christian teachings (Brook, 1993) and the Fathers were in line with the Chinese cultural, religious, and linguistic value-canon. To this extent, *ESTABLISHING* arguable syncretic-ecumenical *SIMILARITIES*, *LANGUAGE*

- integrated *Tianzhu jiao* into the context of the Chinese (religious/ritual, social, and political) dominating value-canon;
- set the social-ranks'-independent groundwork/blueprints for all the (non-)religious tracts, exhortations, and books to come; and
- provided a means to profit from the *guanxi*-relationships of their *ALLIES*.

Having traded off their Buddhist image against a Literati image, overcome their foreign origins, and positioned *Tianzhu jiao* as *religio licita sinensis*—as marginal religion that is reputed *zhengtong*—the Fathers cemented the Context, defined the Course, and set the Content to successfully enable, implement, and guide conversion form within the Empire inside out.

From the time of their arrival in other Provinces, the Fathers were simply identified with the class of the learned. Those treated *come spazzatura del mondo* had eventually metamorphosed into loyal subjects of the Emperor. Despite still prevailing and lasting Chinese xenophobia towards the self-declared *vassalli del re della Cina*, the atmosphere had finally become favourable to spread *Tianzhu jiao*. The concentration effort thus confirmed/rounded off, lived Accommodation is experienced as inclusivistic and an exacting, tempting, and validating movement. Thus, the *China Mission* finally got out of the provincial backwaters by taking root amongst those who exerted an influence in

- mirroring the respective erudite *AUDIENCE* in look, name/title, and *LANGUAGE*; and
- having the linguistic and philosophical tool kit ready.

It established the Fathers at the *commodo luogo* and *inter pares* both *intra* and *extra muros*. Enabled, allowed, and versed to simultaneously reach, impress, ingratiate with, seduce, and eventually convert an individual *Chinese Other*, a group of well-meaning, like-minded *shenshi*, and an assemblage of *baixing*, the Fathers had finally defined and secured *LANGUAGE* as one additional means to eventually cast their spiritual nets amongst the Chinese of all ranks.

During the following two stages of the Jesuits' *via experientiae*—conduct phase—*LANGUAGE* mainly focused on refining and further customizing Context, Course and Content of a widely to-be-implemented proselytization

approach that differed regarding *AUDIENCE* but nonetheless had its seeds in the requirements, and specifications of the Literati and Elite.

Validated by a peer-assessed *SINICIZATION* and protected by growing, high-ranking *guanxi*-relationships, the Fathers applied *LANGUAGE* to strengthen and capitalize on their self-appropriated outward status and European-acquired, Chinese-valued, mutually serviceable inward talents.

In so securing position and enhancing status ***Amongst*** erudite ***Equals*** became the most appropriate, Chinese approach to win a mutually accepted|acceptable place in China's religious life. Even if conversion rate amongst the great and the good remained relatively low throughout the entire *commerce of conversion*, the Fathers' effort to attune European insights to the Chinese understanding in private, during official occasions, and through (non-)religious books by means of an erudite-appropriate(d) *LANGUAGE* became the *sound gambit to win entire China for Christ*.

Shared philosophical, scientific, practical, and *prima facie* secular *USEFULNESS* matched with Chinese (religious/ethical) practice and "intellectually flavoured Christianity" (Mungello, 1985, p. 73), as well as with impeccable *SINICIZATION* and *LANGUAGE*, softened Elite-hearts and impressed Literati-interlocuteurs. Currying favour with the erudite *AUDIENCE*, winning high(er)-ranking *ALLIES*, and *ESTABLISHING* desired/necessary *SIMILARITIES* with the learned milieu created an attractive image of the Fathers, Europe, and *Tianxue* in general. This secured protection and validation from within the growing *guanxi*-relationship inside out. It guaranteed *Guanfu*-backing to proselytize amongst the Commoners. Thus, setting Context and Content, lived Accommodation with regard to *LANGUAGE Amongst Equals* *intra muros* is experienced as a ground-preparing pragmatism in action.

Preaching the Gospel in the not-so-fancy parts of the Jesuit Residences, *extra muros*, and in milieus different from the missionaries' urban haunts and/or amongst the three classes into which the vast majority of the Chinese population fell was a different affair. To consolidate literati ***Heaven and*** common ***Earth***, and to cater to the potential *baixing*-converts' eclectic religious consciousness additions to the *modo soave cinese passivo* were

needed. In order to get access to the hamlets and pagan huts, the Fathers first of all capitalized on *wenhua* and their acquired status of respect. This created a helpful hierarchical distance between the Father and (possible) rural converts. However, capitalizing on *ESTABLISHED SIMILARITIES* and cashing in on symbolic gravity/legitimation that came with their level of *SINICIZATION*, to-be-expected obedience that rooted in *wulun*, and *LANGUAGE* which mirrored their learned role-models, was only half the battle.

Lofty philosophical, scientific, and/or religious discussions; an apostolate carried out *prudentermente e con poco rumore*; and fanning out European *USEFULNESS* in word and print, *con buoni libri e ragioni*, did not foster *PREPAREDNESS* amongst the targeted common *AUDIENCE*. To get into the hearts of the future neophytes and to permanently stay there, other tactics had to be developed/applied. To deal with *baixing* and anchor *Tianzhu jiao* in common hearts and their daily rural religious practice, it was necessary to

- enter into a vivid dialogue by using both appropriate(d) *wenming*, and analogies drawn from the peasants' daily (religious) experience; and
- embed *Tianzhu jiao* into the Commoners' religious pragmatism, Chinese cultural precepts, and related semantics.

Availing themselves of their *LANGUAGE*-abilities and profiting from Chinese bibliophily anchored the *commerce of conversion* in villages, the confines of houses, and *en famille*. Christianity was finally integrated into the cultural categories, religious environment, and *lexis* of the growing numbers of *baixing*-converts in the villages and within the now-Christian houses by means of

- *easy-to-read-and-to-understand* doctrine pamphlets for future converts' own spiritual formation, possible home-schooling, and further spreading; and
- simple religious tracts, catechisms, and *raccolte di preghiere cattoliche* to enable, implement, and guide conversion *in situ* from within.

To this end, having *ESTABLISHED SIMILARITIES* resulted in the origin of a pragmatically appropriated religious *LANGUAGE* and turned domestic

settings into the nucleus of spreading and anchoring *Tianzhu jiao emancipatio religiosa sinensis*. This won necessary, well-meaning *ALLIES*, provided the blueprint to *EMPOWERMENT* at the grass root, hence, parish level, and so strengthened Chinese *PREPAREDNESS* to convert.

In so adhering to a China-appropriate *divide et impera*, the clockwork mission could be sustained and perpetuated, while the Fathers were either spreading the Gospel *per pedes apostolorum* in other villages or confined to exile.

Therefore, in setting Context, Course, and Content to (when) enable, implement, and guide conversion amongst *baixing* with or without the Fathers but always on Chinese account, lived Accommodation is experienced as

- customized and targeted;
- far-sighted and prospective; and
- expedient and lasting.

However, all the following aspects—caught legibly between book covers and visibly on dedicatory plates—backfired on the Fathers despite the increasing success of the *China Mission*:

- earlier neglectfulness regarding Chinese religious concepts;
- linguistic misguidance of the *Chinese Others*; and
- the all-too-willing pragmatic appropriation of the (linguistic) concept of *original Confucianism*.

This fuelled the *animus* of the xenophobic Chinese, drove the Padres into exile, and burdened intra-Jesuit and inter-Order relationships. Fortunately, *LANGUAGE* as applied by the Fathers presented the possibility for self-adjustment and a linguistic self-healing power.

During their exiles, the Padres finally managed to both solve the over-boiling intra-Jesuit term-disputes and consolidate the rank growth of phoneticization and neologisms. By means of binding sets of intra-Order regulations, the

- linguistic division lines between *Tianzhu jiao* and *Sanjiaoheyi*-三教合一- Three Teachings harmonious as One and *Rujiao* were sharpened;
- use of Chinese language, *langue* and *parole* as well as religious books/tracts in pastoral care was standardized; and
- *ratio studiorum sinensis* was enlarged and further normalized.

Thus, providing unity and strength to the nascent *Chinese Christian Church* by way of appropriate(d) *LANGUAGE*, Fathers and Flocks were enabled to cope with day-to-day pastoral/mission-related challenges, external Chinese and non-Chinese threats, and dynastic turnover and related disasters.

The *LANGUAGE*-related Context and Course for the *China Mission's* future was finally chartered with the missionaries having emancipated themselves from *Guanfu*-protection and validation as well as positioned *Tianzhu jiao* as

- identifiable and accepted feature on the Chinese religious landscape;
- adoptable religious alternative amongst the rural population; and
- easy to spread/share literary denomination.

Lived Accommodation is in this regard experienced as

- ongoing self-realization/-diagnosing and bringing about binding decisions;
- advancing towards the greater good and working towards securing the *yidongbudong*-一动不动-frozen moment; and
- assuring protection/validation and welding together Padres and Parishes.

The last two stages of the Jesuits' *via experientiae*—consolidation phase—developed along an axis of paradoxes, having finally committed themselves to Order-internally binding rules and regulations and closed ranks vis-à-vis other mendicant Orders entering the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord*, and backed their *commerce of conversion* by

- self-dependent Chinese presbyters, catechists, doctrine teaching groups, and confraternities/sodalities; and
- circulating religious writings, catechisms, and missionizing handbooks.

Having successfully survived the Ming-Qing cataclysm, the Fathers soon understood that against all odds, *Tianzhu jiao* was still a religious factor in the Chinese pantheon as was their own position still unchallenged vis-à-vis the Qing. *EMPOWERMENT*, an appropriate(d) *LANGUAGE*, and the circulating religious writings had made *Tianzhu jiao* take deep root in the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord*. *SINICIZATION*, *USEFULNESS*, and learning the *LANGUAGE* of the Manchu secured new *ALLIES* amongst the great and the good, and re-established/re-secured the support of the right *AUDIENCE*. In so being validated by imperial toleration and carried from one generation to

the other, the *China Mission* experienced one of its steadiest periods of expansion. Unfortunately, both became increasingly challenged from outside China and by non-Chinese, non-Jesuit forces active on Chinese ground.

The prevailing syncretic-inclusivistic tendency (Brook, 1993) regarding *LANGUAGE* in general and Chinese terms in particular rekindled these broadsides. However, the spectre of misusing all-too-pragmatically appropriated religious concepts sneaked into the Fathers' daily routine through the back door of sponsored funerals, imperial calligraphies, and honorific inscription despite the care taken to ***E pluribus unum***

- streamline the *ratio studiorum sinensis* to teach newcomers the correct use of Chinese *wenming* and Chinese teachings and thinking; and
- avoid burdened, misleading religious concepts.

Eager to comply with the Chinese cultural imperative and willing to ensure that *Tianzhu jiao* was further accepted as marginal religion that is reputed *zhengtong*, *SINICIZATION* finally trumped *LANGUAGE*. Compromising for the greater good of the *China Mission* and their Chinese Christians burdened the Course of how conversion was (to be) enabled, implemented, and guided. The *Conflict of Rites* foreshadowed. With regard to the paradox situation, lived Accommodation is experienced as a(n)

- unquestioned necessity and matter of course amongst the Chinese in general and the Manchu in particular; and
- danger to Christian orthodoxy amongst the non-Chinese forces.

Despite the increasing tallies of baptism, the fragility of the Fathers' position in China and that of *Tianzhu jiao* increased. Eager to display an at least external image of unity vis-à-vis the Emperor ***E pluribus unum*** and anxious to gloss over the struggle regarding the authority of interpretation relating to *Chinese Terms* and *Rites* between Rome and China the Fathers ended up in external and internal narrow-minded battles over power and meaning. This dangerously narrowed the Context and Content of the Fathers' *commerce of conversion*. Sticking all too close to securing earlier gains and long-term established *LANGUAGE*-related concepts, the *Conflict of Terms* eventually grew into a dogmatic battle between the Holy See and the Dragon Throne—with the Fathers and their Flocks caught in between.

Having by and by gambled away imperial protection, patronage, patience, as well as position, possibilities, and power, the **Paradise** was finally **Lost**.

Relegated into the shadow and deprived of their visibility, unable to muster forces, and their linguistic talents curtailed to the confines of scientific *USEFULNESS*, the Fathers were reduced to a marginalia, as was *Tianzhu jiao* delisted from the tolerated congeries of marginal religions. Fortunately, bibliophily amongst the Chinese prevented religious writings, tracts, and books from suffering any form of *biblioclasm*. Planted in amongst Chinese Christians by means of books and long-term appropriate(d) *SIMILARITIES ESTABLISHING LANGUAGE* *Tianzhu jiao* could not be rooted out. As the Chinese ranked books before personal interaction, the Padres were still able to enable, implement, and guide conversion through their writings.

The entire development along the *via experientiae* and the importance to enable, implement, and guide conversion on intellectual, eye, and ear level validates the need for mastering *LANGUAGE* in a Chinese environment in general as well as for applying appropriate(d) semantics and *lexis* in particular. In this regard, *LANGUAGE* can be considered one structural essence/*eidōs* of the concrete Accommodation experiences as lived.

Essential to the Accommodation phenomenon, its absence would not only modify the fundamental meaning of the phenomenon as such but also change it completely. Considering its structurality and invariant core meaning, *LANGUAGE* is communality to the textural meanings already condensed/captured in the respective thematic cluster. It precipitates the Jesuits' stance and their activities with regard to the Accommodation phenomenon and so allows the *WHAT* and its many manifestations to emerge and develop, and makes it what it is.

Another step towards theorizing upon the essential qualities of the Accommodation phenomenon in order to offer an appropriate guide to effective change management in Chinese organizational settings today is taken. Due to the abstraction of *LANGUAGE* as the second of eight essential themes, the substantive *Theory of the Unique* that summarizes all requirements reflected in, and/or concerns Context, Course, Content of *The Chinese Change Concept—The 3C-Approach* is about to show.

USEFULNESS

The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me; because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek. (Is. 61:1)

The Fathers' unbiasedness/impartiality towards using their (non-)religious talents during the *commerce of conversion*, paired with their enduring readiness to make themselves and their competences servant unto the Chinese to by all means save some (1 Cor. 9: 19-23), point towards the third cluster of eidetic features that permeate the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience. The highly customizable background to the Padres' effort towards *winning China for Christ* is provided by the lived Accommodation experience's manifold (noematic) manifestations that centre upon

- piquing and assuaging (scientific) curiosity and establishing a (fruitful) exchange to eventually soften hearts and heads of the Chinese;
- offering practical morality and practical learning, using natural reason and so stressing congruity and complementarity to support the learned *Chinese Others* in their quest for solidity and in their pursuit of *gewuqiongli*-格物穷理-fathoming principles (Standaert, 1991a);
- chancing transdisciplinarity and crossing boundaries as well as taking sides and pursuing (hidden) agendas to achieve a win-win situation;
- proving own unselfishness and serviceability vis-à-vis the *Chinese Others* of all ranks and needs to prepare the way and to make straight a highway for the Lord (Is 40:3; Mk 1:1-3) into China.

Thus, reflecting upon the kernel of the Fathers' stance and activities of unselfishly offering and creatively sharing a wide range of *shiyongxue*-实用学 (literally: that what is concrete and can offer solidity and a practical way to fathom principles) to guide, enable, and implement conversion from within points towards *USEFULNESS* as

- one particular occurrence/specification with regard to the *eidōs* of the concrete lived Accommodation experiences;
- the underlying theme that account for (the emergence of) the phenomenon; and

- pertaining to Context, Course, and Content of developing and applying a China-appropriate(d) *modus procedendi* to *win* entire *China for Christ*.

While demand, need, and determination for *USEFULNESS* accompanies the Jesuits on their entire *via experientiae* and so affects every individual lived Accommodation experience at one point or another during the maturing approach to missionize in China/amongst the Chinese, the basic principles of *USEFULNESS*—as understood, routed, required, and eventually absorbed by the *Chinese Other*—were already established at the beginning of the Jesuits' experiential journey into/through China. In the Ignatian way taking into consideration time, place, and persons, *USEFULNESS*—while being mainly categorized with regard to *AUDIENCE* and *ALLIES*, backed by *LANGUAGE*, *SINICIZED* to *ESTABLISH SIMILARITIES* and applied to both kindle *PREPAREDNESS* and allow for *EMPOWERMENT*—can be considered a further fundamental for the to-be-decided, creatively to-be-put into practice, and constantly to-be-refined *modus procedendi sinensis*.

Along the first three stages of the Padres' *via experientiae*—concentration phase—*USEFULNESS* is tantamount to

- opening Chinese doors and minds to Fathers and, as a by-product, to Christianity;
- preparing the enterprise of conversion prudentermente e con poco rumore;
- winning for Padres and Christianity an accepted place in Chinese life.

To do so, the Fathers willingly complied with the Chinese cultural imperative and followed suggestions of well-meaning *Chinese Others*. Thus, being at the same time steered towards, prepared, and eager to:

- profit from Chinese curiosity and enthusiasm vis-à-vis the unusual/exotic,
- capitalize on Chinese respect for erudition and knowledge,
- satisfy Chinese requirements for exchanging status-bearing/-enhancing gifts to establish, validate, and up-grade supportive *guanxi*-relationships,
- cater to the learned Chinese's strive for everything concrete, practical, and un-unwordly

eventually presented Fathers and European *scientia* in a civilized, hence, Chinese way.

This synallagmatic relationship constituted the Context where/in which setting *USEFULNESS* was displayed. It pre-defined the

- Course of how/by which means *USEFULNESS* was re-actively/passively introduced and shared; and
- Content of what kind of *USEFULNESS* was wanted and to be offered.

With regard to the alignment of *USEFULNESS* to the ulterior motive of spreading the Gospel in China, the Fathers willingly and without much differentiation accepted the *Chinese Others*' pre-defined/initiated 'where', 'how', and 'what' was to be done so that conversion was eventually (to be) enabled, implemented, and guided. To such an extent, stressing their own *USEFULNESS* in consonance with both increasing *LANGUAGE*-related abilities and first, mainly visible successes in *SINICIZATION*

- differentiated the missionaries from the European traders;
- increased the Fathers' social visibility, status, and position vis-à-vis the *Chinese Others* and their fellow European citizens; and
- boosted the Padres' reputation amongst the Chinese and Europeans.

In such a way, the Context and Course of the Padres' to-be-applied *commerce of conversion* was set by applying, proving, and parading *USEFULNESS* to

- win respect, esteem, and confidence;
- establish supportive *guanxi*-relationships;
- fend off xenophobic prejudices and/or attacks; and
- be finally invited to stay permanently on Chinese soil.

These elements characterize the Fathers' lived Accommodation experience during ***Traffic and Travails***.

Gradually endowed with higher social visibility, the missionaries soon found themselves participating in all audiences between Chinese officials and foreign merchants, working as intermediaries between Chinese and Europeans, and exchanging knowledge and gadgets of foreign scholars with Chinese curiosity-seekers of rank and status.

Having in such a way

- accepted their role as vassals of China for the Mission's greater good;

- started to spread *la bontà et scienza di matematica et simili ingegni* for China's (practical) welfare; and
- engaged in diplomacy to not only prove European peaceableness and civilization, but also to avoid unrest for their own and their European compatriots' safety,

sanitized the missionaries' public image and—as a result—their Faith. In so accepting the *USEFULNESS*-related Context, Course, and Content that shaped the Padres' *Chinese Other*-enabled *commerce of conversion* during the entire concentration phase lived Accommodation is experienced as

- Chinese-defined charm offensive;
- re-active trial-and-error; and
- intended self-restriction.

This apparent bold, un-religious venture and unidirectional affair redounded to the Fathers' advantage. Getting into sharing their Chinese-required European *scientia* and so offering their foreign *USEFULNESS* to the disposition of the *Chinese Others* gradually created an unobtrusive gateway and interface. Doing so, the Fathers started to introduce *shiyongxue* as

- tangible attractants that could be linked to Gospel, Faith, and God; and
- *semio*-artefacts and/or *semio*-knowledge to start *kerygmatic* discussions.

This catered to the Padres' dual ultimate ambition/aim of gaining friendship and currying favour to **Gain Foothold** in China, fending off any xenophobic assault, open violence, and hostility, AND silently preparing the enterprise of conversion, winning for Christianity an accepted place in Chinese life.

To such an extent, pursuing their *USEFULNESS*-backed hidden agenda

- defined the learned or at least the curiosity-arousing Context;
- established the Course to enable, implement, and guide conversion amongst the learned *AUDIENCE*; and
- set the Content of what was supplied/provided, shown, and shared out of the Fathers' treasure as things new and old (Mt. 13:52) to enable, implement, and guide conversion from within.

To both gradually end their **Traffic and Travail** and start **Gaining Footholds** in *the Chinese vineyard of the Lord*, lived Accommodation is hence, experienced as

- adjusting a suitable means to an end;
- applying a focused pragmatism; and
- exhibiting a projected and conversion-related unselectivity.

Thus, the Padres pushed away the bamboo curtain by capitalizing on their

- already acquired higher social visibility;
- good reputation for erudition and virtue;
- acknowledged serviceability for China in general and for a high(er)-ranking Chinese *AUDIENCE* in particular; and
- well-meaning Chinese *ALLIES*.

As a result, *USEFULNESS*—rooted in a particular *do ut des* and paired with an already achieved/internalized level of *SINICIZATION* and respective mastery in *LANGUAGE*—opened *la porta sì serrata ai predicatori del Santo evagelio* and kept it open until the end of the *China Mission* in 1742.

With permanent **Footholds Gained** in costal China, the need, approach, and strategy of freely but still re-actively applying *USEFULNESS* to

- impress, support, and upgrade official China; and
- involve the educated *AUDIENCE* in religious conversations

in order to secure the captured, acceptable place in Chinese life and to position missionaries and Christianity as a leaven to guide conversion from within did not change. However, further sophistication and targeting was necessitated to comply with the missionaries' primary aim of

- getting appraisal of both the Gospel and Christian religious teaching/law from those men who stood before the imposing gates of social legitimacy;
- putting the future undertaking of spreading the Gospel on solid ground.

Matching the *Chinese Others*-expected/given Context and Content with an appropriate Course to enable, implement, and guide conversion at a slow but sustainable path refined the Padres' passive, unobtrusive *commerce of conversion* that came with sharing *USEFULNESS* with the learned and curious Chinese hosts.

Even if this approach only attracted *pochi e buoni, anziché molti, meno rispondenti al nome cristiano* things worked out as expected in terms of

- fostering exchange with the high(er)-ranking *AUDIENCE* at eye level;
- convincing learned Chinese to accept European *scientia* as an alternate form of *gewuqiongli* and confirmation of *fugu*-复古-(antique) Chinese knowledge;
- de-emphasizing the mystical aspects of Catholic doctrine; and
- spreading Christian idea(l)s through widening circles of contacts.

This particular focus on quality shapes the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience of

- being tolerated in/wholeheartedly admitted into an obstructed China;
- feeling accepted amongst learned and official Chinese;
- preparing a common ground and *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* with their educated visitors; and
- being taken advantage of by the *Chinese Others* and simultaneously taking advantage of their *AUDIENCE* and *ALLIES*.

Sharing their own *USEFULNESS* with the incessant stream of curiosity seekers and capitalizing on their visitors' mouth-to-mouth advertising went on much to the pleasure of the *Chinese Others* and the Jesuits. Having *shiyongxue* on display and its practical manifestations on disposal, the *semio*-artefacts and *semio*-knowledge could become *kerygmatic* or at least market the Fathers' *USEFULNESS* throughout China and amongst the great and the good. Passively applying the subject of religion to a receptive *AUDIENCE* by way of promoting own *USEFULNESS* became the

- entrance card to the illustrious social stratum of late Ming Literati; and
- discreet entrance into/effective impetus towards Catholic doctrine.

This fostered exchange at eye level with the right, i.e. supportive, *AUDIENCE*; confirmed the Fathers' trustworthiness and learning; and so strengthened *guanxi*-relationships. It further shaped/confirmed the Context and Course of enabling, implementing, and guiding conversion from within.

Thanks to the increasing level of *SINICIZATION*, a growing fluency in *LANGUAGE*, a widening network of a receptive *AUDIENCE*, and a growing number of supportive *ALLIES*, lived Accommodation—reflected in *USEFULNESS* and manifested in its *shiyongxue*—is experienced as

- time-consuming but nonetheless no loss of time;
- a detour but nonetheless not a blind alley;
- calculating but nonetheless non-threatening; and
- a tacit endeavour but nonetheless discernable to those disposed.

As a result, *USEFULNESS* became synallagmatic. It gradually established a balanced communion of Faith and culture. Being finally reputed *zhengtong* in the context of the Chinese dominating value-canon rounded off the Fathers' lived Accommodation experience of ***Gaining Footholds*** by means of sharing *USEFULNESS* with their Chinese interlocuteurs. It is in this regard that the printing endeavour—initiated by the *Chinese Others*, required by all parties as an indirect means to mirror the Padres' achieved level of *SINICIZATION* and *LANGUAGE*, and accepted to market *ESTABLISHED SIMILARITIES* with Chinese civilization, *wenming*, and *wenhua*—further added to the Jesuits' *modo soave cinese*. It complemented the missionizing toolbox to *gain entire China for Christ*. By the help of tracts, books, and scholarly pieces of multiple provenance, the Fathers were able to spread their own *Chineseness*, *USEFULNESS*, and Gospel

- to a broader, less learned *AUDIENCE zishangerxia* and *zixiaershang*;
- into China's remotest corners inside out; and
- with increasing complexity and sophistication outside in.

This moved the Content and Course of the still evolving *commerce of conversion* towards a more social rank-independent, *USEFULNESS*-related groundwork. It shaped the Padres' lived Accommodation experience of *winning entire China for Christ* by

- adhering to the Chinese value-canon;
- obeying the Chinese cultural imperative; and
- living up to Chinese idiosyncrasies as ingrained in *wenming* and *wenhua*.

The Fathers' entire commitment, their side taking, and pursuing (hidden) agendas notwithstanding, conversion amongst the great and good remained a side effect, as did the spiritual harvest amongst the society's lower levels. Sharing their own *USEFULNESS* with a receptive *AUDIENCE* did not attract enough *pochi e buoni* to Gospel and Church. Despite being

- admired for their learning and Western *shiyongxue*; and
- praised for their level of *SINICIZATION* and *LANGUAGE*

using *USEFULNESS* to *win China for Christ* became stuck somewhere between a fun fair attraction and a self-service shop for *Guanfu*-officials.

At best, *USEFULNESS*-inherent *do ut des* secured protection and validation as provided by a widening circle of well-meaning *ALLIES*. At worst, it elicited profiteers; put the Fathers on a continuum somewhere between scientist and shamans; and consumed time, resources, and energy to no religious avail.

The *commerce of conversion's* Context, Course, and Content thus blurred, a daring ***Change of Ends*** changed this particular out-of-hand-getting lived Accommodation experience of

- arousing and assuaging curiosity at random;
- being taken advantage of and being misread; and
- apparently frittering away valuable assets.

With courage born from necessity and pragmatism, the Fathers followed far-sighted *Chinese Others'* impetus and suggestions. For the greater good of missionaries and the *China Mission*, the Padres carved out the complexity of their to-be-offered *USEFULNESS*, refined the way *USEFULNESS* was applied, clarified which facets of *USEFULNESS* were used when/where, and decided to whom *USEFULNESS* would be targeted and how. Thus, being on the watershed between the concentration endeavours to missionize China and the definite will to conduct the proselytization efforts towards *winning* entire *China for Christ* lived Accommodation with regard to a changing Context, Course, and Content is experienced as

- giving up to gain by leaving apparently trodden paths; and
- reinventing oneself by following the Order's idiosyncratic intrepidity and learning aptitude *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*.

Thus, customizing their *USEFULNESS* towards proselytizing and reaching the right *AUDIENCE* at their particular level, Context, Course, and Content was set. Resulting from this **Change of Ends** the Fathers decided a make-over and a restart. Capitalizing on their **Change of Ends**, the next two stages of the *via experientiae*—conduct phase—lead the Fathers off towards a more focused application of their *USEFULNESS*. To farm the entire *Chinese vineyard of the Lord*, the missionaries desisted from being all things to all men. Following own assessments and Chinese recommendations, the Padres refined their *USEFULNESS* to either appeal to the learned heads or to the rustic hearts in order to *ESTABLISH SIMILARITIES* and win *ALLIES* at the right time.

At the beginning of the conduct phase, however, the fragility of foothold and position in China still necessitated applying their own *USEFULNESS* in a passivo-strategic way **Amongst Equals**. On the face of it, the Fathers marketed *shiyongxue* and their talents to

- win further support from *potente mandarini*;
- make contact with the Emperor and court circles; and
- gain some form of imperial permission for Order and the *China Mission*.

Only upon a closer look were *USEFULNESS* and its practico-intellectual manifestations explicitly found to be used to convince educated Chinese that

- Chinese traditions were at least congenial to Christian teachings;
- Christian law was in accord with the innate light of conscience; and
- the Gospel was adding the lacking supernatural as taught by God.

As a result, sharing European *scientia* was focused towards introducing *Tianxue* to a receptive *AUDIENCE*. Own *USEFULNESS* was no longer applied in a trial-and-error fashion. Instead, the Fathers promoted *Tianxue* with a clear teleological-theological focus. This attracted the Literati and Elite to the Fathers as *Tianxue* became the bait to create an attractive image of *Tianzhu jiao*. The Content and Course of the refined, adjusted, and adjustable *commerce of conversion* thus set lived Accommodation is experienced as a

- need to target that needs giving up to gain; and
- constant civilizing project that constantly reconciles itself.

While the *semio*-artefacts and *semio*-knowledge still provided the entrée to the erudite curiosity seekers, the Padres nonetheless capitalized on their level of *SINICIZATION*, *LANGUAGE*, and the input of their *ALLIES*. Doing so, they further streamlined their passivo-strategic, *USEFULNESS*-related and -based *modus procedendi sinensis*. As a result, they

- operationalized the Confucian learning to convince the Literati of *Rujiao*'s nearness to the Gospel;
- started to align Christian Works of Mercy with the works and duties of Chinese Benevolent Societies of Confucian-Buddhist inspiration; and
- garnished their non-religious writings with religious insights and/or related its content to Christianity.

Due to this target-oriented, *AUDIENCE*-appropriate(d), and *SIMILARITIES ESTABLISHING* application of *USEFULNESS Amongst Equals*, the Fathers were able to

- easily weave Christian teachings into learned conversations;
- make Christianity an ultimate object of their interaction and relationship; and
- present *la civiltà cristiana* as manifestations of Chinese practice, good conduct, and Chinese cultural imperative.

Even if the trias of Context, Course, and Content of the Fathers' *commerce of conversion* was formally kept unmodified and seemed unchanged when judged from the outside, at the end of this particular focusing process, all three conceptualizations were further targeted towards establishing a synallagmatic exchange and sowing *Tianzhu jiao* amongst a receptive *AUDIENCE*. In this regard, lived Accommodation *Amongst Equals* is experienced as

- impressing *Guanfu*-officials to create an attractive image of Fathers and *Tianzhu jiao*; and
- establishing a receptive atmosphere to the Christian leaven to harvest the pacific, culturally adaptive, virtuous, and learned religious sowing.

In so preparing the ground and marketing their *USEFULNESS* in the Provinces and *Amongst Equals*, the Fathers were finally carried to Beijing and in front of the Dragon Throne.

Even if converting the Emperor to Catholicism was always at the back of the Fathers' mind, securing the highest validation and support possible for their *commerce of conversion* became the primary aim of applying the European *scientia*-related aspects of *USEFULNESS* in Court. Playing on the image of *vassalli del re della Cina*, and offering geographical, astronomical, and mathematical talents to the disposition of Emperor and Court finally secured the most powerful *ALLIES* and the most desired permanent Residence in the country's heart. Supported by imperial treasury, backed by some high-ranking Chinese benefactors, and tacitly tolerated by the Emperor who apparently put *USEFULNESS* above administrative trivia, this particular move towards *do ut des* was only *prima facie* a step backwards into times of concentration and the reactive application of *shiyongxue*.

Securing foothold and future of the *China Mission* and its Fathers outside the Beijing City Wall, spanning a network of protecting and validating *ALLIES* across the Empire—all paired with reaching and proselytize amongst the desired *AUDIENCE intra and extra muros*—, and providing a means to guide conversion from within rather formed the twin-approach of applying *USEFULNESS* in a targeted fashion. Context, Content, and Course of a successfully to-be-appropriated *commerce of conversion* was fathomed. Lived Accommodation is thus experienced as

- pragmatic flexibility,
- necessarily playing to the rules; and
- backing win-win situation.

While applying *USEFULNESS* to the Dragon Throne worked out as expected, outside the crimson gates of *Zijincheng* and ***Amongst*** learned ***Equals***, the conversion rate remained low. Finally established and accepted in the Empire, backed by imperial toleration and a growing number of *ALLIES*, and profiting from an increasing level of *SINICIZATION* and *LANGUAGE*, the Fathers' focus on

- those who labour and are spiritually heavy laden amongst *baixing*; and
- an expanding movement of conversions by means of shifting the locus of proselytization away from the religiously low-yielding, mainly elitist Capital nonetheless became the fruitful way to *win* entire *China for Christ*.

This evolved the prevailing passivo-strategic *modus procedendi sinensis* into a *modo soave cinese completo* while applying *USEFULNESS* in an active-tactical way to cater to the hearts of those seeking salvation and transition *intra* and *extra muros* completed the Context, Course, and Content to convert amongst the Chinese *zishangerxia* and *zixiaershang*. The Fathers' ability to attune themselves and their *USEFULNESS* to

- opportunities as they presented themselves;
 - prevailing intricacies; and
 - multiple *AUDIENCES* and their disposition, requirements, and skills,
- further clarified their lived Accommodation experience.

In times of **Heaven and Earth**, trying to convert a manageable but nonetheless important number of *shenshi* still followed the traditional, passivo-strategic *modus catechizandi*. With regard to applying *USEFULNESS* for the greater good of the *China Mission*, the Fathers carried forward and refined *in processu* their *Guanfu*-proof *modo soave cinese passivo* in general, and their line of argument that science leads to God and God is the foundation of all science in particular. However, missionizing *baixing* in the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord's* more rewarding/fruitful common, down-to-earth parts necessitated sharing another kind of *USEFULNESS* in an activo-tactical, customized way. Still profiting from their high level of *SINICIZATION*, *LANGUAGE*, and supporting *ALLIES*, the Fathers primarily

- capitalized on their symbolic legitimacy to light spiritual fires; and
- cashed in on *baixing's PREPAREDNESS* to seek transition/give up to gain in time of social, personal or spiritual crises.

In so offering a particular *USEFULNESS*, they

- allowed the rustics to side with a more powerful/protective deity by profiting from strong rituals, and
- provided for *EMPOWERMENT* by making passing the Faith a family business and administering the Church a confirmation of the villages' social hierarchies.

Becoming a merchant of *soteriological promises* and salvation vis-à-vis the Commoners necessitated playing down the *shenshi*-appropriate *Xiru*-(西儒-Confucian Scholar of the West)image, and emphasizing the *baixing*-adequate image of a wandering holy man. To such an extent, replenishing the Commoners with *Tianzhu jiao* and targeting the needs of *baixing* by adding further appropriate(d) religious facets to the *Guanfu*-proof *modus procedendi* rounded off the Context, Course and Content to convert entire China. Thus, enabling, implementing, and guiding conversion at *baixing*-level and by means of customizing and instrumentalizing a heart-appealing, less intellectual form of *USEFULNESS* shapes the missionaries' lived Accommodation experience.

This rewarding shift of locus and focus notwithstanding, the Fathers did not abstain from *fare molto frutto per via de libri e de scientie*. They kept in mind the ulterior motive of applying secular *USEFULNESS* in a passivo-strategic, secular-synallagmatic way to secure the *China Mission* in Literati **Heaven** and on Commoners' **Earth**.

Despite all the care taken, instrumentalization of *ALLIES*, and propaganda campaigns fought by *Chinese Others* in favour of the missionaries, the *China Mission*, Fathers, and their *USEFULNESS* were not immune to challenges at both ends of the social ladder. However, Padres and the *China Mission* always recovered from set-backs and the overthrow of a reigning Dynasty, as they capitalized on both a well-accepted, well-calculated, well-set win-win situation and the two-faceted, secular and spiritual character of *USEFULNESS*, thus benefitting from

- patronage and protection of those *Guanfu-ALLIES* who likewise profited from the Fathers mainly in a secular way; and
- *EMPOWERMENT* of those Commoners and converts who likewise profited from the Fathers in a religious way.

The Fathers were finally able to walk outside the shadows of their *Guanfu-ALLIES* and reach the rustics on their own account by means of *EMPOWERMENT* and *baixing-ALLIES' USEFULNESS* in all its secular and religious facets.

This won new *ALLIES* and met the religious and secular *PREPAREDNESS* at the right time. It also secured survival, acceptance, formation, and growth of Fathers, Flocks, and Faith.

The moment the focus had shifted towards increasing proselytizing efforts and a targeted *commerce of conversion* by means of a growing spiritual instrumentalization of *USEFULNESS*, the Fathers were rewarded by surging tallies of baptism and a firmer foothold. The Context and Course thus set, lived Accommodation experience in the most successful times of ***Heaven and Earth*** is shaped accordingly.

The Fathers' approach to using *USEFULNESS* and their understanding of its breadth and depth, however, was questioned and challenged more and more by non-Chinese forces even though the rising numbers of converts confirmed the rightness of further—in a nonetheless changed/changing Context—

- targeting the Course towards the needs of those who showed the necessary *PREPAREDNESS* to convert at the right time; and
- keeping the Content unchallenged and unchanged.

During the last two phases of the *via experientiae*—consolidation phase—applying *USEFULNESS* in the tried-and-tested, Chinese-appropriate(d), synallagmatic, twin fashion gradually became a double-edged sword. The weapon successfully applied in the Jesuits' manifold battles for souls lost its sharpness the moment the entire Accommodation approach was challenged in its fundamentals from the outside. Having always relied on *USEFULNESS* to (re-)consolidate the missionizing gains and to (re-)gain the status of Fathers and Faith, the change in dynastic Chinese goodwill and in ecclesiastic Roman tolerance became the stumbling block that brought about the *China Mission's* downfall. Unaware of the conflict that was built into the Jesuits' *USEFULNESS*, the Fathers were caught off guard when the carefully erected edifice of spreading *Tianxue* in an *AUDIENCE*-appropriate(d) way perished. Finally re-reduced to a non-religious, knowledge-sharing status of *vassalli del re della Cina*, the Padres once again applied the numerous mundane proves of their *USEFULNESS* in the service of the Dragon Throne to at least secure themselves and their foothold in China.

This particular, regressing *do ut des* shapes the lived Accommodation experience at the end of the China endeavour.

During the Qing Dynasty's first decades, however, *SINICIZATION* and *LANGUAGE* helped the Fathers to recover from exiles, dynastic cataclysm, and Chinese broadsides. Further backed by its proponents' high social visibility and *USEFULNESS*-related efforts of persuasion *Tianzhu jiao* had

- reached the status of a *religio licita* on the Chinese religious landscape; and
- turned into a religious alternative for a growing number of Chinese.

Being handed down in Chinese Christian families from one generation to the other and along *wulun*, the application of the activo-tactical facets of *USEFULNESS* amongst *baixing* in the above-mentioned Context remained a success story. It was nearly unquestioned from the new missionizing non-Jesuit forces that came to China in the lee of *Onerosa pastoralis officio* and *Ex debito pastoralis*, as well as from Chinese authorities alike. Using *shiyongxue* amongst *baixing* in a Commoners-appropriate(d) way became a clockwork that did not necessitate constant priestly presence, but profited by comprehensive, self-winding *EMPOWERMENT*, as a result of the Fathers having standardized the

- Course how to apply *USEFULNESS* to enable, implement, and guide conversion from within, and
- Content what to apply with regard to the many facets of *USEFULNESS*.

Relying on the joining character of *USEFULNESS* as the activo-tactical means to enable, implement, and guide conversion at Flock-level, the *Chinese Christian Church* was finally created ***E pluribus unum*** by help of *hui*, books, and *ALLIES*. The Context and Course thus linked to *USEFULNESS*'s spiritual facets and so aligned with the *baixing*-focused *commerce of conversion*, lived Accommodation is experienced as a harvesting from

- guided co-optation and cohesion;
- focused emancipation and delegation; and
- controlled involvement, collaboration, and assistance.

With new missionizing forces joining the Fathers applying the secular facets of *USEFULNESS* amongst *shenshi* united the missionizing forces *E pluribus unum* behind the triple goal of securing the *Chinese Christian Church*; (re-)gaining footholds and status; and (re-)creating an atmosphere receptive to the presence of the Jesuits and *Tianxue*.

Despite setbacks, applying the secular facets of *USEFULNESS* secured the Fathers' status amongst the Qing. To nonetheless cope with the fragility of their position in the Empire and to nip broadsides in the bud, the Fathers further accepted even the most transdisciplinary project to

- prove their applicableness as a foreign silver bullet for nearly all purpose;
- back their Padres and Parishes; and
- carry forth their *commerce of conversion* in the tried-and-tested active-tactical fashion.

This ambiguity shaped the Context at the end of the Jesuits' *via experientiae*. As a result, lived Accommodation is experienced as

- an act of desperate pragmatism;
- dancing on egg-shells; and a
- constant striving for stability.

Despite new proof of imperial benevolence and legal acceptance, external forces and internal coalitions challenged the entire *China Mission*. With a new Emperor doubting Christianity's orthodoxy and Christians' loyalty, the days of the *China Mission* were numbered. The *commerce of conversion* was doomed to failure. Annoyed by external meddling and internal disturbance, the Dragon Throne finally lost its patience with Fathers and the foreign Faith. The apostolate of influence cultivated to mutual benefit in the shadow of the Dragon Throne and by means of sharing *shiyongxue* eventually lost its protective character. The double-edged sword that *USEFULNESS* so masterfully swayed became edgeless on the religious side. Being finally reduced to the role of foreign experts, the Padres were expected to share their secular *USEFULNESS* as artists and technical specialists only. Imperial favour won by foreign *USEFULNESS* no longer secured *Tianzhu jiao* and its followers.

At the end, only allowed to establish a fruitful exchange between Europe and China, and to offer European practical learning and transdisciplinarity in a reactive way for the greater good of the Empire, the Fathers had come back to the beginning of their *via experientiae*. Unable to bank on visibility, relegated to the rank of *xiejiao*, and forced to focus their *USEFULNESS* on assuaging the Dragon Throne's scientific/academic, artistic, and military requirements, the **Paradise** was finally **Lost**. Confined to imperial studies, artist's workshops, and observatories sharing *shiyongxue* only secured the *Predicatori Letterati's* position at Court. Outside *Zijincheng* invisible, clandestine, and dubious, the Jesuits had ceased to exit. Fortunately, *USEFULNESS* as ingrained in religious books and tracts and applied through fervent *ALLIES* and by means of *EMPOWERMENT* enabled *Tianzhu jiao* to survive the slender times—at least in Christian families.

Understanding *shiyongxue* as one necessity to enable a new religious idea and its proponents to enter and to take deep roots in China, as well as to enable, guide, and implement conversion from within allows *USEFULNESS* to be considered one structural essence/*eidos* of the Jesuits' concrete lived Accommodation experiences. Being essential to the phenomenon, its absence would not only modify its fundamental meaning as such, but also change it significantly. Taking into account its structurality and invariant core meaning, *USEFULNESS* is communality to the textural meanings already summarized/capture in the respective thematic clusters. It precipitates the Jesuits' stance and their activities with regard to the Accommodation phenomenon. Doing so allows the *WHAT* and its many manifestations to emerge and develop, and makes it what it is.

A further step into theorizing upon the essential qualities of the Accommodation phenomenon in order to offer an appropriate guide to effective change management in a Chinese organizational setting today, while acting towards the *Chinese Others* with thoughtfulness and tact, is taken. Due to the abstraction of *USEFULNESS* as the third of eight essential themes the substantive *Theory of the Unique* that summarizes all requirements reflected in, and/or concern Context, Course, Content of *The Chinese Change Concept—The 3C-Approach* takes further shape.

AUDIENCE

Yincai shijiao-因材施教-teach students in accordance with their aptitude (Zhu Xi-comments on *sishuwujing*; Gardner, 2007)

A further (noematic) cluster of eidetic features that permeate the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience is highlighted by the Fathers' enduring willingness and the progressively customized approach(es) to target their missionary/pastoral activities towards

- establishing a common ground with the Chinese throughout all social strata top down and bottom up—addressing and reducing idiosyncratic resistance to convert;
- accommodating missionaries and Gospel to particular situations and chosen/receptive addressees (religiously/intellectually) inside out and (religiously/philosophically) outside in—tailoring the foreign, religious message to capacity, tolerance, and to its possible recipients' level of sophistication and spiritual development;
- promoting/carrying forward Fathers and Faith (personally and locally) inside out and outside in—positioning Christianity and Clerics as a leaven to enable, implement, and guide conversion from within; and
- anchoring the new teaching amongst its adherents/proponents and within Chinese society (pastorally) outside in—turning catechism into a family business and sharing the new Faith a lasting matter of course.

Centring the Fathers' need and effort towards

- reaching the potential/desired indigenous acceptors of the new, foreign religious message and advancing and keeping them with(in) the teaching;
- planting/grounding a growing, lasting, supportive/work-sharing, multiplying, and resilient secular and spiritual relationship to achieve this goal

at any level of the social ladder, hence, to animate *guanxi* (literally: referring to/establishing a system, connectivity, and/or relatedness), provides the further basic principle to the Padres' effort towards *winning* entire *China for Christ* and for developing a distinctive, targeted *modus procedendi sinensis* to do so.

Reflecting on the kernel of the Fathers' stance and activities when enabling, implementing, and guiding conversion in accordance with the Chinese (cultural) idiosyncrasies and the aptitude of potential converts points towards *AUDIENCE* as

- one particular occurrence/specification with regard to the *eidos* of the concrete lived Accommodation experiences;
- the underlying theme that accounts for (the emergence of) the phenomenon per se; and
- pertaining to Context, Course, and Content of developing and applying a China-appropriate *modus procedendi*.

Establishing a forming/lasting relationship with *SINICIZATION*, *LANGUAGE*, and *ESTABLISHED SIMILARITIES* in order to profit from the diverse religious and secular manifestations of *USEFULNESS*, the particularly expedient intermediation of valuable *ALLIES* won, while the Fathers perambulate their respective *viae experientiae*, and the positive impact of *PREPAREDNESS* as well as the driving power of *EMPOWERMENT*, *AUDIENCE* can be considered a further constitutive fundamental for the to-be-decided, creatively to-be-put into practice, and constantly to-be-refined *modus procedendi sinensis*. In the Ignatian way taking into consideration time, place, and persons while allowing for concentration, conduct, and/or consolidation with regard to the Jesuits' *commerce of conversion*, *AUDIENCE* and its eidetic manifestations introduces the fourth structural, essential element into the Accommodation phenomenon. While the different ways and approaches to target and eventually *win* the respectively chosen *AUDIENCE for Christ* accompanies the Jesuits on their entire *via experientiae* and so affects every individual lived Accommodation experience at one point or another during the maturing approach to enable, implement, and guide conversion, the basic principles have already been established at the beginning of the Jesuit Fathers' Accommodation experience.

Along the first three stages of the Jesuits' *via experientiae*—concentration phase—*AUDIENCE* is tantamount to first of all

- winning respect, esteem, and confidence of the powerful and/or the learned Chinese;

- convincing the official environment of their harmlessness, serviceability, virtue, and righteousness; and
- establishing/securing a permanent (personal and local) basis for future missionizing efforts;

instead of

- parading a false sense of European (cultural) chauvinism without any insights into Chinese cultural idiosyncrasies;
- rushing into the *commerce of conversion* without any preparation and backing; and
- achieving some conversion-related quick-wins without sustainable relation and contextualization, and so risking jeopardizing rank, reputation, residence, and *perdersi tutta la missione della Cina* if all fails.

It is in this regard that the Padres' lived Accommodation experience during the entire concentration phase can be characterized as a constant but successful need for patience, staying power, far-sightedness, and acquiescence to openly promote Fathers and to prudently further Faith. Walking on eggshells, dealing with fragility and uncertainty, keeping a low profile, playing down their own European background without compromising on their basic message, and willingly applying all kinds of *charismata* (Weber, 1972; 1 Cor. 12: 4-11) to take advantage of changing, contingent circumstances further specify the experiences and characterize the Accommodation phenomenon.

From the early days of **Traffic and Travail** reactively following, proactively anticipating, and unintentionally-intentionally satisfying/meeting their hosts' sophisticated preferences and penchants, as well as China's sophisticated cultural imperative on the level of *SINICIZATION*, *LANGUAGE*, and *USEFULNESS* oriented Padres, their actions and inactions towards the high and higher-ranking *AUDIENCE* in a nonetheless trial-and-error way. Being well aware of earlier failures when missionizing in China, profiting from the Japan Mission-related best-practices that suggested the need to both mirror the most potent *Guanfu-AUDIENCE* regarding *wenhua* and *wenming*, and establishing a system, connectivity, and/or relatedness with those at the top of the social ladder first formed the Fathers' game-changing contacts with the

determinative/decisive *Chinese Others*. In such a way, for the Padres, eager to prepare a common ground with the circle of powerful addressees, gaining friendship and favour with the most powerful *AUDIENCE* in good season became the perfect foil to establish symbiotic *guanxi*-relationships that rooted in *USEFULNESS*, grew from *SINICIZATION* and *LANGUAGE*, and later anchored in *ESTABLISHED SIMILARITIES*; and win supportive-protecting *ALLIES*.

While venturing the first steps into the Empire, the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience was characterized by their attempt to no longer be regarded as

- strangers to the Chinese, but aimed to by-and-by become Chinese to the Chinese and (possible) converts on the level of *wenhua* and *wenming*;
- uncivilized and unserviceable, but aimed to by-and-by be(come) useful on the level of exchanging practical learning; and
- a threat to public order and state orthodoxy, but aimed to by-and-by edify the Chinese by good example and establish a mutuality on the level of the Chinese cultural imperative.

Constantly striving towards securing a permanent foothold in China for future missionizing efforts and preparing both Mission and oneself for the time and work to come from within a growing system of working relationships, defines the *AUDIENCE*-related Context where/in which conversion was later (to be) enabled, implemented, and guided. Being gradually woven into the mercantile-diplomatic network and finally integrated into the activities that characterize the inner life of high-ranking *guanxi*-relationships redounded to the Fathers' advantage. Without reserve

- adhering to the partially self-imposed civilizing project to achieve higher social visibility on the level of *SINICIZATION* and *LANGUAGE*;
- meeting and outstripping the *Guanfu-AUDIENCE*'s expectations by sharing Western *USEFULNESS*; and
- following well-meant but uninformed suggestions of *Chinese Others* to blend in the indigenous background by *ESTABLISHING* misleading *SIMILARITIES* with other religious currents

won the Padres an accepted place in Chinese life.

Thus, referring to the Course of how conversion was later (to be) enabled, implemented, and guided by help and guidance of the *Chinese Others*, as well as from within and vis-à-vis the *Guanfu-AUDIENCE*, lived Accommodation experience at the end of **Traffic and Travail** is characterized as a detour that turned out to be a simultaneously dangerous and effective shortcut in need of correction. However, due to the preparatory efforts **Gaining** permanent **Footholds** not only became possible, but also was within reach. Their own reputation, erudition, acknowledged serviceability, and well-meaning *ALLIES* finally yielded a permanent stay for the Fathers in China.

Even if the missionaries' primary aim of *stabilire la stata* by proceeding with great adroitness and suavity, and hobnobbing with Chinese high-ranking *AUDIENCE* did not yield conversions amongst the great and the good, the restrained behaviour of not wishing to baptize even the several who sought it, and not giving offence to the Chinese of all ranks, strengthened the Fathers' accepted place in Chinese life. It ramped up the seely edifice of *guanxi*-relationships. This confirmed the importance of setting an appropriate Context to implement and guide conversion from within. It is in this regard, that lived Accommodation shortly after having **Gained** permanent **Footholds** is experienced as a short cutting long way round and a pre-investment that necessitated

- adhering to a tentatively formed, religiously unintrusive *modo soave cinese*; and
- following suggestions of their high-ranking *AUDIENCE* and *ALLIES*.

However, fostering the apostolate of influence and spreading the Gospel with the aid of the learned and powerful *AUDIENCE* and the intercession of well-disposed *ALLIES* from within required the Fathers to expose themselves and their new teaching more with regard to their *Guanfu-AUDIENCE*. To fathom a *Guanfu-AUDIENCE* appropriate(d) missionizing Course, the Fathers took to their learned, novelty-seeking *AUDIENCE*'s recommendations and to the constructive-productive suggestions of well-meaning *ALLIES* and future Chinese Christian converts. Piquing and satisfying curiosity of their Chinese environment; referring to/freely applying own erudition, European *scientia*,

and related practical learning; and further proving their own unselfishness and serviceability to their currently favoured target *AUDIENCE*, had the Padres win the heads of the high-ranking interlocuteurs.

In a passivo-strategic way, impressing the Chinese with learning and sophistication, fostering exchange with Chinese scholar officials at eye level, and convincing the learned Chinese to accept *Xixue*-西学-Western learning as an alternate form of the investigation of things and a confirmation of *fugu* allowed the *shenshi-AUDIENCE* to grow in knowledge and desire of the things Divine. This baited the Literati and Elite-*AUDIENCE*, gained new *ALLIES*, convinced the intrigued *Chinese Others* of the Padres' harmlessness and *USEFULNESS*, and won the first high-ranking Chinese for Christ. Confronting the learned *AUDIENCE* with the fundamentals of Christianity as manifested in the European curiosities on display hence,

- de-emphasized the mystical aspects of Catholic doctrine; and
- paved the way towards *winning* learned *China for Christ* without giving suspicion to the target *AUDIENCE* by talking directly about religion.

As a result, emerging pre-evangelical dialogues and *kerygmatic* conversations confirmed the chosen, erudite *AUDIENCE*-appropriate(d) Context. It fixed the practicality of the established Course, and outlined the first Content-related building blocks of what was necessary/to be done and shared to enable, implement, and guide conversion from within the growing *guanxi*-relationships. *ESTABLISHING* cultural-philosophical *SIMILARITIES* with their learned environment became the entrance card to the illustrious social stratum of late Ming Literati.

Only when asked (1 Petr. 3:15), relating the secular to the spiritual by following a fundamental theological line of argument established a balanced, intellectual, non-status-quo-challenging communion of Faith and culture. Further relying on the *Guanfu-AUDIENCE* to spread these news and insights within their own ranks fostered the apostolate of influence and secured an accepted place in Chinese life. The Context, Course, and Content regarding an effective, sophisticated *AUDIENCE*-appropriate(d) *commerce of conversion* thus set, targeted, and confirmed *in processu*, lived Accommodation while **Gaining Footholds** and preparing a common ground

between Fathers and *Guanfu-AUDIENCE*, China and Europe, Christian law and Chinese *legge naturale*, is experienced as an unconditional persistence towards advancement that capitalized on

- an Elite-*AUDIENCE*-appropriate(d) line of action; and
- eagerness to enter through Chinese back-doors to step out of the Christian main gate.

Besides targeting a learned *AUDIENCE* in pre-evangelical dialogues one-to-one and during private *kerygmatic* conversations, compiling, printing, and circulating printed books further helped to rationalize the Fathers' thinking and to spread the Gospel openly vis-à-vis/amongst the literate *AUDIENCE* throughout the Empire. Thus, applying a means of communication that *per definitionem sinensis* carried truth amongst the Chinese allowed

- reaching a larger literate *AUDIENCE*;
- diversifying the means of marketing themselves amongst *shenshi*; and
- reclaiming the authority of interpretation regarding the religious message from their Chinese interlocuteurs.

In so following the demands of their learned Chinese *AUDIENCE* and supporting *ALLIES*, the Fathers further customized Course and Context. Thus, proving their level of *SINICIZATION* and *LANGUAGE* while simultaneously stressing already *ESTABLISHED SIMILARITIES* with their erudite *AUDIENCE*, blurred existing boundaries with the primary addressees. However, matching the sophistication of the Faith with the sophistication of how to present it, up-graded the Fathers and Faith in the eyes of the Chinese readers. Therefore, availing themselves of an expedient, successful, impersonal-personal means to take sides, and to directly convince a literate *AUDIENCE* of the Padres' harmlessness and *USEFULNESS*, *SINICIZATION*, and *LANGUAGE* confirmed the missionaries' adherence to the Chinese cultural imperative. It likewise fostered the apostolate of influence.

As a desired side-effect, activating the xylographic line of attack lowered barriers to seek transition. This enabled conversion amongst the *Guanfu-AUDIENCE* as a rational-intellectual business.

Ongoing nearness with the Fathers and an encounter with the missionaries incarnating their holy message further

- fostered self-realization and self-diagnosing; and/or
- created admiration/affinity for the missionaries and congeniality of souls.

This confirmed the erudite Context and refined the Course of enabling, implementing, and finally guiding conversion *ad personam eruditus*. Chinese predisposition, *PREPAREDNESS*, and/or time led to conversions amongst the male and female *AUDIENCE* of rank and status. To such an extent, profiting from the neophytes' *PREPAREDNESS* to take up the task of a missionary her|himself simultaneously broadened the *AUDIENCE-base* and added a new facet to the Jesuits' *commerce of conversion*.

Allowing for *EMPOWERMENT* when spreading the Gospel without the Padres' direct interaction/involvement and control, and delegating missionizing power towards the *Chinese Others* became a new step towards indirectly winning converts, reaching families as a new target *AUDIENCE*, and *EMPOWERING* parental converts to become *ALLIES* in missionizing. This expanded the Context of the Fathers' maturing *commerce of conversion*. It perfected its Elite-*AUDIENCE*-appropriate(d), *ALLIES*-focused Course. Lived Accommodation at this point in time is experienced as a

- load relieving, room allowing joint venture with asymmetric risk distribution; and
- *condicio sine qua non* and prototype to finally *win* entire *China for Christ*.

Having so **Gained** increasingly stable **Footholds**, the missionaries were able to turn towards the lower-ranking *AUDIENCE* to target the mass of commoners on a more significant scale. This necessitated further upgrading of both the religious message and the messengers. Attuning own *SINICIZATION* and *LANGUAGE-abilities*, and *USEFULNESS* to spreading the Gospel in an orthodox, culturally appropriate form freed the message of any heretic connotation, and backed the messengers' apostolate of influence.

Cultural rapprochement and own disposition to *ESTABLISH SIMILARITIES* with *Rujiao* and its exponents finally tipped the scales. Following the *Chinese Others'* suggestions visible and audible dissonances between medium and message were smoothed out.

Having put on the new image and the robes of Confucian Literati, the missionaries assumed immediate authority amongst *shenshi*- and *baixing*-*AUDIENCE*. Now made equal to the Literati *AUDIENCE*, the Padres were able to

- secure/foster the apostolate of influence by means of establishing fruitful *guanxi*-relationships with the high(est) *ALLIES*;
- reach the desired high(er)- and lower-level *AUDIENCE*; and
- *win* entire *China for Christ* by means of carrying forward catechetical work and/or marketing Fathers and Faith to a receptive *AUDIENCE* of all ranks.

Gospel, Mission, and missionaries attuned to *Rujiao* and Catholicism adapted to Chinese mentality confirmed the comprehensive Course and Context. It clarified the Content of what was necessary and expected to meet the Fathers' missionizing aim. Enduring far-reaching strategic commitment to a mode of being; metamorphosing self-indoctrination; and performing consequential, often externally triggered moves and decisions summarize steps and manifestations of the Fathers' ultimate deeds and transitions towards *winning* entire *China for Christ*. These steps shape the Padres' lived Accommodation experience. Finally set to serve as a rule, the results of the *Chinese-Others'* initiated, all-*AUDIENCE*-appropriate(d), Padres-refined ***Change of Ends*** précis the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience by the end of the concentration phase. With the basics of enabling, implementing, and guiding conversion/change from within in place, the Context was set, as was the Course dimensioned, and the Content pre-focused. *SINICIZATION*, *LANGUAGE*, first *ESTABLISHED SIMILARITIES* with the high-ranking *AUDIENCE* and its overarching value-canon, as well as support and intercession of well-meaning, influential *ALLIES* had already created an atmosphere receptive to the Jesuit representatives of *Tianzhu jiao* and their Christian message in all social strata, and kindled *PREPAREDNESS* to follow *Tianzhu zhidao*. Having established themselves amongst influential *Guanfu-ALLIES*, for the Padres, getting out of the provincial back waters to position oneself in the metropolitan centres in order to reach a broader *AUDIENCE* on a significant scale locally and personally became a matter of course and their future course of action.

During the following two stages of the Jesuits' *via experientiae*—conduct phase—dealing with different Chinese target *AUDIENCES* divided out into non-missionizing and missionizing work. To finally *win* entire *China for Christ* developing, applying, and constantly refining the related, complex agenda

- re(de)fining the *AUDIENCE*-related Context;
- affected the respective *AUDIENCE*-based, outcome-decisive Content;
- specified the *AUDIENCE*-appropriated Course.

The significant turn towards the mass of Commoners who developed into the most receptive and de facto exclusive *AUDIENCE* to the Christian message accelerated this development. It is in this regard that the Fathers' growing independence of a *shenshi-AUDIENCE*'s intercession/support, and a secured positioning and acknowledgment as a religious alternative in China confirmed the Context and completed the customizing process regarding Course and Content. Being able to apply an *AUDIENCE*-appropriated and validated approach on their own accord successfully increased the tallies of baptism amongst/from within both a manageably low but highly important number of upper-class Chinese and a growing number of middle- and lower-class Chinese. This characterizes the *commerce of conversion* at the end of the conduct phase.

The successes and secured status at the end of the conduct phase notwithstanding, seen from the phases' beginning, further ad hoc orientation, far-sighted preparations, and unemotional re-orientations remained high on the Jesuits' missionizing agenda. It is in this regard that the need to go on preparing themselves and the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord* in the orbit and by the help of the *shenshi-AUDIENCE*; and at the neglect of direct missionizing amongst the *baixing-AUDIENCE* in an observant, discreet, but nonetheless goal-oriented fashion, shaped Context, Course, and Content of the defining *commerce of conversion*. It also characterizes the Padres' decisive lived Accommodation experience ***Amongst Equals***.

Even if the Commoners gradually attracted the missionaries' pastoral notice, upgrading Fathers and Faith still consumed most of the Padres' time, energy, and their practico-intellectual resources.

Taking into consideration that “la reputazione della [...] legge dipende [...] dal credito e dalla reputazione dei predicatori”, the Padres went on dedicating themselves towards seeking

- integration into the high-ranking *guanxi*-network;
- attunement to the Chinese (religious/ritual, social, and political) value-canon of the conversion-facilitating *shenshi*-AUDIENCE.

This confirms the Context, where/in which setting conversion was (to be) quietly enabled, implemented without hindrance, and un-obtrusively guided. It further grounds the Course in the missionizing-constitutive *Guanfu*-world, and gradually links the Content to the spiritual/religious-dominating Chinese cultural imperative.

To allow their *commerce of conversion* to radiate from ***Amongst Equals*** and to likewise reverberate to them, the Fathers capitalized on their own high level of *SINICIZATION*, and *LANGUAGE*, as well as on their Chinese *ALLIES*' well-meaning, missionizing-changing advices. Entering Chinese society and religion through the intellectual door of *original Confucianism* to position Catholicism as *zhengtong* became a matter of religious course. To do so, the labelled *Predicatori Letterati*—freed of a misleading image and declared *SINICIZED* by status and sojourn—patiently, advisably, and determinedly *ESTABLISHED SIMILARITIES* between *Tianxue* and *Rujiao* to create a *SINICIZED, PREPAREDNESS*-to-convert-fostering religious message. Eager to enlarge their *AUDIENCE*-base in an acceptable|accepted, Chinese way in order to simultaneously reduce the target surface for xenophobic attacks, the Fathers continued to *ESTABLISHING* more *SIMILARITIES* with their learned role model. Fostering *SINICIZATION* beyond religious-ethical alignment, the Padres followed the suggestions of their well-meaning *ALLIES*. Thus, successfully merging medium and message, the missionaries integrated Fathers and Faith into the Chinese value-canon, practice, and country. As a result, winning hearts and minds of their metropolitan *AUDIENCE*, attunement to their needs and customs, and parading sameness regarding *SINICIZATION, LANGUAGE*, and ***USEFULNESS Amongst Equals*** assured the Chinese *AUDIENCE* and *ALLIES* of the Padres' *USEFULNESS*. It also won more helping hands to

farm the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord*. To such an extent, applying the *modo soave cinese passivo* merged the Fathers into a total work of missionary art. It strengthened the Padres' apostolate of influence and prepared the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord* for planting and harvesting *intra* and *extra muros*. In so confirming Context, Course, and Content of a still Elite-centred *commerce of conversion*, non-openly spreading the Gospel to a receptive or at least curiosity-seeking, urban *AUDIENCE* is experienced as a lived Accommodation that requires

- full dedication and commitment;
- accepting fragility and making detours;
- a result-focused view on the missionizing business; and
- creativity and a hefty dose of pragmatism.

Even if the high-involvement missionizing approach (Dewey, 1919/2010; Kotler, 2002) and the discussion ***Amongst Equals*** on eye level convinced official China of the Fathers' *USEFULNESS*, validated their impeccable *SINICIZATION* and *LANGUAGE*, secured the desired stable place in the Empire, and *ESTABLISHED* mutually acceptable, digestible *SIMILARITIES* with *Rujiao*, conversion at the top remained a rare event. However, those from amongst the *Guanfu-AUDIENCE* who were baited by the Fathers and netted by their *soteriological promises* became *Tianzhu jiao's* fervent followers. Willingly marketing Fathers and Faith ***Amongst*** their ***Equals***, in their villages, and in the Northern Capital, they turned into role-modelling *ALLIES* who turned conversion into a self-supporting family business. To such an extent, firmly established ***Amongst*** scholar-official ***Equals*** in the major cities and Beijing, the passive *modus procedendi sinensis* of *winning China for Christ*—at least winning over official China for the Christian missionaries—was laid out.

Staying the course to successfully establish the high-involvement missionizing approach to reach a learned and high-ranking *AUDIENCE* confirms the Elite Context, targeted Course, and related Content of the Fathers' entire apostolate of influence. Being rewarded for the great staying power characterizes the Fathers' lived Accommodation experience on the eve of a self-supporting *China Mission*.

Having won a firm/stable place in Beijing, the Fathers continued to profit from the intercession of well-meaning *ALLIES*. Still capitalizing on established/establishing *guanxi*-relationships; on their own status; and on *Tianxue*, acquiescence if not the active support of the highest political *AUDIENCE* was secured. Having convinced *shenshi-AUDIENCE* of their law-abiding character and of their sophistication regarding *SINICIZATION*, *LANGUAGE*, and *USEFULNESS* further stabilized the missionaries' status in China. It secured reputation, situation, and survival of the nascent *Chinese Christian Church*. Being firmly woven into the net of facilitating and catalysing, protecting and validating *guanxi*-relationships using the particular *pochi e buoni* to win the *molti* became possible. As a result, the Fathers deliberately turned the missionizing fervency towards more fruitful milieus *extra muros*. However, succeeding amongst *baixing-AUDIENCE* and *winning rural China for Christ* at the grass-root level required tactical modulations of the *modus procedendi sinensis*. Creatively modifying the *shenshi-AUDIENCE*-applied high-involvement approach necessitated complementing the strategic *modo soave cinese passivo* with occurrences of a direct apostolate, and rationalizing missionizing towards a low-involvement approach (Kotler, 2002). Profiting from their knowledge of *sishuwujing* and *Rujiao*, as well as from rank and reputation that came with mirroring the *shenshi-AUDIENCE*, the Padres created and constantly re-fined a *baixing-AUDIENCE* appropriate(d) *modo soave cinese attivo*. Having gained entrance into the villages by means of *SINICIZATION* and fluency of standard *LANGUAGE*, the Fathers' application of the methods of the early Church, emphasis on catechetical work, and propagation of tangible devotion amongst the *baixing-AUDIENCE* paved the way into rural hearts. It is in this regard that the Fathers' *scholar-official*-way of talking, clothing, and appearance paired with their divine mission that touched the five senses of their rural *AUDIENCE*

- *ESTABLISHED SIMILARITIES* with both the official power of a *Guanfu* and the spiritual power of a wandering holy man;
- lowered barriers of change/conversion and reduced fear of contact/reservation; and
- kindled *PREPAREDNESS* to seek transition towards God (Zech. 8:23).

This validated the pagan Context where/in which setting conversion was (to be) enabled, implemented, and guided. It also shapes the lived Accommodation experience of necessitating a detouring spadework to straightforwardly succeed.

However, successful interaction with the *baixing-AUDIENCE* necessitated further customization. Marketing the Faith *ad personam rudibus* required acknowledging and correctly dealing with rural idiosyncrasies, social impediments, and local peculiarities. To target the proselytization approach towards *baixing-AUDIENCE* of all gender, ranks, and erudition, the Fathers relied on their own pragmatism, the *Catechismus Romanus*, and *ALLIES'* recommendations. The resulting cascading approach to spread *Tianzhu jiao* in the villages—increasing in sophistication to bait the marvelling crowd, single out well-disposed, interested, useful groups, and to convert fervent individuals—linked the Course of how conversion was (to be) enabled, implemented, and guided amongst the *baxing-AUDIENCE* to the

- visible hierarchical status and invisible cultural taboos; and
- learning aptitude, level of education, reading capability, and spiritual formation/theological sophistication.

It is in this regard that deciding and applying the low-involvement missionizing approach in the rural environment expanded into a civilizing project that anchored and authenticated the Padres **Amongst** rural **Equals**. This characterizes the Fathers' lived Accommodation experience. Over time, the Padres' patience, plainness, power of persuasion, and pragmatism won the *baixing-AUDIENCE*'s hearts for **Heaven** while simultaneously keeping their feet firmly on the **Earth**.

With the Course to *win* entire *China for Christ* fixed, deciding the Content of what was necessary to carry forward the *commerce of conversion* from within required further customization.

Getting more knowledgeable, involved, and accepted with regard to the rural milieu made it more necessary for the Padres to cater to the different motives, motivators, and benefits-sought of the different rural addressees of the Fathers' message in a differentiated, increasingly complex, hierarchical-intellectual appropriated way.

To lighten new spiritual fires, the Fathers first of all capitalized on *baixing-AUDIENCE*'s innate inclination to adore some kind of higher being, and to be provided with simple answers for complex problems. *ESTABLISHING* an acceptable degree of *SIMILARITIES* with the given Chinese religious traditions charted the path. As a result, the Fathers became active traders in *Tianzhu jiao*'s besting spiritual blessings, religious advantage, and *soteriological promises*—at the risk of emphasizing intriguing religious brand recognition close to syncretism. Thus, further detailing Course and Content of a *baixing-AUDIENCE*-appropriate(d) *commerce of conversion*, lived Accommodation amongst rural pagans is experienced as a particular marketing campaign rooted in a baiting pull-strategy; and a me-too but better effect.

However, further securing the support of the rural Elite, meeting their idiosyncratic motives, motivators, and benefits-sought, and winning their hearts for Christ necessitated enlarging the Content beyond

- guaranteeing rudimentary indoctrination;
- marketing folk piety; and
- keeping religiousness and catechizing power *en famille*.

Doing so, the Padres put the erudite few close to their *Guanfu*-counterparts in the cities. Avoiding any form of egalitarianism, the Fathers

- confirmed their higher-ranking *baixing-AUDIENCE*'s hierarchical status;
- followed a *baixing-AUDIENCE* appropriated theological line of argument;
- sanitized the self-image/importance of the villages' leading class by assigning Church-related tasks that mirrored a secular position/qualification.

With the *baixing*-appropriated Context, the respective involved Course, and the particularly customized Content in place, *winning* all rural *China for Christ* became possible. Active fishing in the rural tarn and successful establishment of a new, intriguing, and lasting form of Catholic identity amongst the *baixing-AUDIENCE* completed the Jesuits' *modus procedendi sinensis*. With the means to reach and convert those for **Heaven** who populate the not so fancy parts of the **Earth** in place, the Fathers were able to interact with the *shenshi*- and *baixing-AUDIENCE* on par.

This confirmed the comprehensive, all-*AUDIENCE*-appropriate(d) Context, Course, and Content to enable, implement, and guide conversion from within. It is in this regard that the universal parameters of the Jesuits' *modus procedendi sinensis* became the fundamentals for their entire *commerce of conversion*. The missionizing approach, successfully attuned to teleologically dealing with

- opportunities as they presented themselves;
- prevailing intricacies; and
- multiple *AUDIENCES*' need for high- and low-involvement, their disposition, requirements, and skills,

characterizes the lived Accommodation experience in ***Heaven and Earth***.

Having endured broadsides and exiles, and rode out cataclysm alongside their *AUDIENCE* Fathers and Faith had become an identifiable feature on the Chinese religious landscape. Owing to their high level of *SINICIZATION* and *LANGUAGE*, their *USEFULNESS* and *ESTABLISHED SIMILARITIES*, and thanks to their supportive *ALLIES* and their positioning amongst their receptive-receiving *AUDIENCE*, Church and clerics were finally integrated into the canon of religious alternatives and awarded with a tacit *immunità ecclesiastica*. Having completely left the shadow of their *Guanfu-ALLIES*, the missionaries were able to secure their status and position, and to build, cultivate, and protect the growing *Chinese Christian Church* on their own account. The need to keep a lobbying party in the orbit of the Dragon Throne, to court Mandarins, and to hobnob with the respective *shenshi-AUDIENCE* only, remained a largely de-missionized occupation of selected few.

At the end of the conduct phase, the Fathers had mostly abandoned the highly concentrated, personalistic, time-, money-, and intellect-consuming approach to possibly win *shenshi-AUDIENCE*'s souls for Christ. Considering the increasing tallies of baptism the missionaries finally turned towards the more fruitful pastures *extra muros*. As a result, winning the *baixing-AUDIENCE*, achieving *emancipatio religiosa sinensis*, and consolidating spiritual gains by following the systems-oriented, literally catholic, equally time-consuming but quantitatively more rewarding missionizing endeavour became the Fathers' main occupation until the *China Mission*'s end.

The last two stages of the Jesuits' *via experientiae*—consolidation phase—brought about further refinements to the given/established *modo soave cinese completo* and customization to the receptive *AUDIENCE*. Within a progressively shifting, increasingly insecure, and incrementally challenged Context, Course and Content underwent necessary modulations.

During the time of upheaval, the Fathers had profited from the *AUDIENCE*'s *PREPAREDNESS* to follow *Tianzhu zhidao*. Carrying forward the Course and going on applying the Content to market Christianity's *soteriological promises* to the receptive *AUDIENCE* of all ranks had kindled the *PREPAREDNESS* to convert. Having survived the Ming-Qing cataclysm, the Fathers soon understood that *Tianzhu jiao* was a religious factor in the Chinese pantheon, as was their position unchallenged vis-à-vis the Qing. *EMPOWERMENT* and religious writings had made *Tianzhu jiao* take deep root in the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord*. *SINICIZATION*, *USEFULNESS*, re-enacting earlier effective behavioural patterns vis-à-vis the (non)-converted *shenshi-AUDIENCE* in Beijing, and learning the *LANGUAGE* of the Manchu had won new *ALLIES* amongst the great and the good. It further helped to re-value the features and forces of the apostolate of influence. This ensured Christianity's reputation and continuation in China. As a result, the Jesuits were able to refocus on their core business of spreading the Gospel amongst their Chinese *AUDIENCE* of all ranks *intra* and *extra muros*. However, the Padres' feeling of once again being well-established in the Empire, consolidating spiritual gains, securing their own interpretation of *Tianzhu jiao*, and avoiding Faith and Flock to religiously fray and spiritually frazzle, posed new challenges to the *China Mission*.

Forging one Faith ***E pluribus unum*** became the Fathers' main concern when interacting with the Chinese non-, to-be- and already-converted *AUDIENCE*. With missionary focus shifted towards the Commoners, winning new converts for Christ and economizing/streamlining Chinese religious life in the different parishes followed the already well-proven *baixing-AUDIENCE-appropriate(d) commerce of conversion*. Despite the fundamentals in place, missionizing on a larger scale and assuring religious follow-up and appropriate spiritual formation of the converted *AUDIENCE* pushed the Fathers' personal, temporal, and local possibilities to the limits.

Considering the altered Context, developing Course, and advancing Content towards a self-regulatory, integrated and integrating, Chinese Converts-centred, religio-spiritual autopilot became necessary. Further *EMPOWERMENT* and a role reversal that made the converted *AUDIENCE* finally become the main *sender*, translator, controller, and defender/apologist of the given, unchangeable spiritual message offered the respective solution. Seen from the inside, enabling the self-directed *AUDIENCE* to maintain the devotional schedules as instituted by the missionaries and to closely adhere to long-time established and widely accepted pre-set rules kept the Chinese Christians, their spiritual development, and any form of local appropriation of *Tianzhu jiao* within the limits of religious orthodoxy.

Seen from the outside, admonishing the faithful *AUDIENCE* to adhere to the approach further guaranteed the integration of the Parishes into the Chinese socio-political setting and assured being reputed *zhengtong* (Acts 20:17-35). Relying on the unifying power of *hui*-organization to carry forward the Fathers' spiritual messages and pastoral work, the *AUDIENCE* gradually became responsible for their own religious well-being, status, reputation, and future. This guaranteed a/the recognizable Chinese Christian identity and development towards a Chinese *ekklesia* on own authority. The survival of the *Chinese Christian Church* and a continuance of religious life without the Fathers' direct involvement were possible. The Context and Course thus set and secured, lived Accommodation is experienced as

- guided maturing;
- controlled growing-up; and
- self-regulatory advancement.

Unfortunately, sharing *Missionary Commission* with the *Chinese Christian Church's* local representatives, amongst numerous *hui*, and with the help of a widely *EMPOWERED AUDIENCE*, blurred the boundaries between the role of the clergy and that of ordinary Christians. The lack of direct pastoral surveillance prepared the ground for apostasy, segregation, and heresy.

While these developments challenged the Parishes from within, the emergence of other Orders added an external threat.

Their appearance confused the *AUDIENCE* of the correctness of the Fathers' teachings, and casted doubt on the Orders', the *Chinese Christian Church's*, and on *Tianzhu jiao's* orthodoxy. The clockwork missionary—largely on religious autopilot and mainly accounted for by a self-sufficient *baixing-AUDIENCE*—was slipping from the Fathers' grasp. Confronted with the excrescences of a nascent Church and unexpectedly facing unsupportive coalitions in Rome and Beijing, the *Chinese Christian Church*—forged ***E pluribus*** to become ***unum***—was called into question. Unable to overcome its own differences and overstrained to be everything to everyone to at least save itself, the *China Mission* was pushed to its end. The Context to enable, implement, and guide conversion challenged characterizes the lived Accommodation experience in the face of the greatest geographical spread and emerging disintegration, as well as in times when Chinese and non-Chinese opponents were banding.

Unable to read the signs, the Fathers ministered to their *AUDIENCE* in the false sense of security. The cosy atmosphere was soon destroyed by a cannonade of controversy and disappointment, claims and counter-claims. Worn down in internal and external disputes over the *Chinese Rites*, abandoned by their Chinese principal *ALLIES*, and unable to bank on their apostolate of influence to safeguard their pastoral work and parishes, the *commerce of conversion* was doomed to failure. Being put on par with Buddhism and Daoism, both *Tianzhu jiao's* religious status and the missionaries' ***Paradise*** was ***Lost***. Subordinated to the Confucian state orthodoxy following *Tianzhu zhidao* was no longer an acceptable|accepted alternative for the *shenshi-AUDIENCE*. It gradually became a dubious affair for *baixing-AUDIENCE*. Being reduced to the *China Mission's* early period, the missionaries were forced into the defensive and the traditional non-religious role of proving Western *USEFULNESS* to a profiting *AUDIENCE*. Eager to at least tighten the bonds of solidarity that held the Flocks together and to keep existing spiritual fires burning, the Padres limited themselves to

- travelling to mission circuits and ministering to Chinese Christians of a mainly *baixing-AUDIENCE* background; and
- encouraging their *AUDIENCE* to pass along the Faith at least within the confines of the families and to preserving the Church they had built.

Considering the altered Context, the reduced Course, and the limited Content, the capacity to attract new *AUDIENCE* from areas without established Christian communities converged to zero. Moreover, the glare of official attention accelerated the apostasy of those recently converted. While the clockwork missionary remained intact in the established Christian communities and amongst an *AUDIENCE* that was willing to stick to their Christian teachings, the ***Paradise*** was nonetheless ***Lost***.

Considering the self-evident importance of an interested, disposed, and/or accessible addressee, receiving party, and counterpart of a particular message to enable, implement, and finally guide change/conversion *ad personam*, *AUDIENCE* is one structural essence/*eidōs* of the concrete lived Accommodation experience. Essential to the Accommodation phenomenon, its absence would not only modify the fundamental meaning of the phenomenon as such but also change it considerably. Given its structurality and invariant core meaning, *AUDIENCE* is hence, to be seen as communality to the textural meanings already condensed/captured in the respective thematic cluster. It precipitates the Jesuits' stance and their activities with regard to the Accommodation phenomenon and thus allows the WHAT and its many manifestations to emerge and develop. It makes it what it is.

The next step into theorizing upon the essential qualities of the Accommodation phenomenon in order to offer an appropriate guide to effective change management in Chinese organization settings today is taken. Due to the abstraction of *AUDIENCE* as the fourth of eight essential themes the substantive *Theory of the Unique* that summarize all requirements reflected in, and/or concern Context, Course, Content of *The Chinese Change Concept—The 3C-Approach* assumes further shape.

ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES

BuRu YiFo-补儒移佛-complement Confucianism, displace/correct Buddhism (Xu Guangqi in a preface on *Taixi shuifa*-泰西水法-a Jesuits' work on hydraulics as cited in Rule, 2001, p. 366)

The fifth (noematic) cluster of eidetic features that permeate the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience is characterized by the Fathers' enduring willingness and fitted approach(es) to concentrate themselves and their missionary/pastoral activities on accomplishing equilibrium via religio-cultural relationship by means of

- (over)emphasizing similarities with and (religious/ethical) alignment to the most expedient/equivalent indigenous religious (value) canon and its manifestations while simultaneously
- (over)emphasizing differences/setting boundaries vis-à-vis those ideas/approaches that could not be interpreted/adopted in a Jesuit favour and for their missionizing purpose.

The manifold manifestations of a bridging project that rests upon requirements/parameters, stance, and impartiality to seek, accentuate, construe, and profit from

- high social visibility of messenger and message; and
- similarity in (religio-cultural) character, hence, *xiangsixing*-相似性,

provide the indispensable background to the Padres' *commerce of conversion*.

Reflecting on the kernel of the Fathers' stance and activities when enabling, implementing, and/or guiding conversion therefore points towards

ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES as

- one particular occurrence/specification with regard to the *eidōs* of the concrete lived Accommodation experiences;
- the underlying theme that account for (the emergence of) the phenomenon per se; and
- pertaining to Context, Course, and Content of developing and applying a China-appropriate *modus procedendi* to finally *win* entire *China for Christ* in a centrifugal and centripetal movement both top down and bottom up.

The need and determination for *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* accompanies the Jesuits on their entire *via experientiae* and so affects every individual lived Accommodation experience at one point or another during the maturing approach to enable, implement, and guide conversion from within. However, the basic principles already take shape

- prior to the Fathers' permanent admittance to the secluded/self-contained Empire; and
- during the early stages of their experiential journey into/through China.

Often *AUDIENCE*-dependent and *ALLIES*-motivated—in lockstep with *LANGUAGE*, *SINICIZATION*, and comprehensive *EMPOWERMENT* profiting from own and Chinese *PREPAREDNESS* to embark on a mutually transforming civilizing project while catering to a mainly *Chinese Others*-required/shaped *USEFULNESS*—*ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* becomes fundamental for the to-be-decided and creatively to-be-put into practice, constantly to-be-refined, and carefully to-be-defended *modus procedendi sinensis*.

In the Ignatian way taking into consideration time, place, and persons while allowing for concentration, conduct, and/or consolidation with regard to the Jesuits' *commerce of conversion*, *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* introduces the fifth structural, essential element into the Accommodation phenomenon.

Along the first three stages of the Jesuits' *via experientiae*—concentration phase—*ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* with regard to the dominant religio-cultural realm as it manifested itself in the respectively guiding indigenous stance, ideas, and approaches is tantamount to (re-)actively modelling an effective accommodation approach that

- avoids any form of shallow levelling and empty religio-cultural mimicry;
- allows for pro-, re-active, and continuous adjustment of pastoral activities to the prevailing Chinese religio-cultural environment and the related benefits-sought of the *Chinese Others* of different ranks; and
- fits into a larger religio-cultural framework actively created/formulated by the Fathers to not compromise *Tianzhu jiao* as a new Faith.

At the very beginning of the missionizing endeavour, only equipped with second-hand knowledge and backed by imprecise historical best-practices, *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* started as a *Chinese Others*-driven affair. To get the messenger and message beyond the impenetrable bamboo curtain and to later establish both on Chinese ground required the Fathers to at first

- win respect, esteem, and confidence of the Chinese of all ranks; and
- cease to be strangers to the (future) Chinese Christian converts.

Looking for respective starting points to kick off a fruitful bridging project and to position Faith and Fathers as a potent leaven to work from within soon turned out to be a basic necessity and major challenge. By all means willing to fit messenger and message into a *Chinese Other*-accepted religio-cultural framework, adhering to the Chinese *AUDIENCE*'s recommendations, and following the premature, sometimes self-interested suggestions of well-meaning *ALLIES* became a must. Doing so, *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* came on silent feet and through the back door of piquing curiosity, offering *shiyongxue*, mirroring Chinese *mores*, and learning *guanhua*. Based on *SINICIZATION*, *LANGUAGE*, and *USEFULNESS* this indirect/subtle apostolate characterizes the initial, still unstable Context, in which conversion was (to be) enabled, later implemented, and finally guided. Considering fragility, broadness, and openness of the *Chinese Others*-shaped and – recognized *commerce of conversion*, lived Accommodation is experienced as *una strada spianata* where detours finally turn out to be shortcuts.

The Order's idiosyncratic eagerness to achieve a facilitating social visibility and to understand and likewise be understood when missionizing further kindled the Fathers' *PREPAREDNESS* to kick off a mutual civilizing project and their intention to search for linguistic religio-cultural toeholds that could be turned around and used in the Order's favour. While awareness of the modes of thought inherent in Chinese tradition grew, its premature results created a lasting modus to understand, to refer to, and to finally *ESTABLISH SIMILARITIES* to *win China for Christ*. This shaped the Content of what was necessary/to be done to enable, implement, and later guide conversion *in situ sinensis*. Seeking, accentuating, and construing similarity in (religio-cultural) character to eventually profit from it defined the Course.

Unfortunately, improvidently *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* had its downsides too. Rashly accepting unconsidered religio-cultural concepts to fit the *Chinese Other*-appropriated image gave the to-be-initiated *commerce of conversion* a misleading twist. Unaware of nuances in *LANGUAGE*, dependent on the well-intentioned but nonetheless misleading help of interceding *ALLIES*, and so identified as merchants in *shiyongxue* and bringers of all sorts of irrational salvation, the missionaries, their image, and the *commerce of conversion* was heading towards the wrong direction. This afflicted the Fathers as it narrowed the Context, predefined the Content, and so hampered the entire Course of the missionizing endeavour to gain ground. For the time being, however, the Padres gladly

- followed their Chinese *AUDIENCE*'s Context-bearing suggestions; and
- willingly complied with *ALLIES*' Content-setting, Course-initiating recommendations.

It is in this regard, that lived Accommodation is experienced as an act of

- tentativeness that did not lead to losing track, ground, and/or patience;
- gullibility that roots in readiness to please and eagerness to achieve; and
- premature enthusiasm that comes with some early quick wins.

Even if the Fathers had not achieved any conversion in times of ***Traffic and Travail*** and certain decisions needed corrective action, their advance performance won them an accepted place in Chinese life.

The Context—still burdened by earlier *ESTABLISHED SIMILARITIES* that in word and deeds seemed to be in line with Chinese tradition and becoming to the Chinese in general and to (future) Chinese Christian converts in particular—finally ***Gained*** the Padres the much desired stable ***Footholds***. As a result, the crystallizing missionizing approach's Content and Course was further specified. With good conscience accepting *ALLIES*-provided religio-cultural shortcuts, lived Accommodation is positively experienced as:

- other-directed and other-validated;
- expedient and pragmatic; and
- undisputed and promising.

Actively looking for and pragmatically appropriating analogies in Chinese religio-cultural concepts became a matter of course. Further rationalizing these analogies vis-à-vis the *Chinese Others* through works and in words provided a discreet entrance into Chinese hearts and heads. It enabled both parties to reach a balanced communion of Faith and culture. To such an extent *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* with the apparently self-evident reduced barriers of change. This highly successful approach further detailed the Content of the Fathers' *modus procedendi sinensis* as it determined the Course towards a now completed greater religious harmony. It is in this regard that lived Accommodation is experienced as a fruitful civilizing project *ad gentes* that emphasizes inter-culturality, a pragmatic nearness, and a safeguarding of the religio-cultural given—or at least of the common denominators.

The intent to use Chinese ideas and to turn them to one's own purpose in order to *ESTABLISH SIMILARITIES* in the religio-cultural realm defended the **Gained Footholds**. Stressing those points of Catholicism *che si potevano più facilmente intendere col lume naturale*, highlighting *la falsità delle sette degli idoli*, and openly setting boundaries with competing, non-integrable religio-cultural currents moved *Tianzhu jiao* into the limelight of broader Chinese attention. As a result, probing questions and broadsides became the

- challenging side effects of *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES*; and
- Context's constitutive criteria.

Being prepared to stay one's ground when being asked about the Faith and reputed *zhengtong* seemed to be the answer/defence to the respective challenges. To this end, considering the reactions of their antagonists and following the suggestions of well-meaning *ALLIES* prepared a shift in the Fathers' *commerce of conversion*. Spreading the Gospel in a secure(d), spatial, and/or personal but simultaneously inclusive and comprehensive way meant *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* with *Rujiao* and its adherents.

Gearing the Context towards the social class that could enable the desired effect became necessary; willingly mirroring the *Guanfu-AUDIENCES* mode of living shaped Course and Content of the targeted *commerce of conversion*.

On the threshold to a trendsetting **Change of Ends**, lived Accommodation is thus experienced as a strategic commitment and a *condicio sine qua non*, but first of all as a ground-breaking shift where setback became growth and any advancement a duty. In spite of ongoing *SINICIZATION*, a sounder knowledge in *LANGUAGE*, and the propagation of *USEFULNESS*, the visible dissonance between medium and message still prevailed and grew. Some visible/audible amendments of their own accord notwithstanding, constantly putting themselves into the wrong visible frame of reference and observably *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* with a religio-cultural current of ill-repute forfeited respect and esteem on all social strata. The *commerce of conversion* moved into a blind alley. Remedy came by advice and suggestion of well-meaning *ALLIES*. Resulting from a comprehensive **Change of Ends**, the Fathers were able to shake off the misleading image and to rise above *la spazzatura del mondo* into which their own naïvety and Chinese nescience had manoeuvred them.

Learning that *la reputazione della legge dipende dal credito e dalla reputazione dei predicatori* made it indispensable to put oneself completely into the most appropriate, conversion-enabling Confucian-Context, to take additional steps to increase the reputation of the non-Chinese religious teaching, to consider Course-modifying steps and preparation to enter with the more reputable Chinese religio-cultural laws and customs to finally come out with those of the missionaries, and to further *SINICIZE* the religio-cultural Content. *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* to pragmatically fit the Gospel, Mission, and Fathers into the most expedient value-canon shapes the lived Accommodation experience of willingly giving up to gain, and leaving own trodden paths to seek transition towards a new *yidongbudong*. As a result, with the *importanti cambiamenti* implemented, the **Change of Ends** flattened *la strada spianata* into all Chinese huts and hearts.

Resulting from this Context-setting, Content-defining move towards *ESTABLISHING* catalyzing, baiting, and netting *SIMILARITIES* with the canonical texts of Confucianism, pragmatically suggesting equalness between Christian and Confucian law nonetheless became a double edged sword.

In spite of the bridging effects, *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* further burdened the Course and Content of the Fathers' *commerce of conversion* to-be-rolled out throughout China. Facing this fragile situation lived Accommodation is experienced as a daring but nonetheless necessary strategic move with numerous tactical imponderabilities. Future developments and current uncertainties notwithstanding, at the end of the concentration phase and with the basics of enabling, implementing, and guiding conversion in place the Padres' following actions/activities already dimensioned the Context, (pre-)defined the Content, and grounded the Course of the future successful proselytization approach:

- Turning towards the most expedient/equivalent indigenous religious (value) canon and its orthodox manifestations.
- Readiness/disposition to capitalize on a teleological utilitarianism that seeks, accentuates, and construes from similarity in (religio-cultural) character.

During the following two stages of the Jesuits' *via experientiae*—conduct phase—*ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* carried forward the *modus procedendi sinensis* towards a complete *commerce of conversion*. To do so, defining and refining Content and Course of a widely to-be-implemented missionizing approach also meant pushing the borders of the missionizing Context beyond the initially targeted high-ranking *AUDIENCE*, and the simultaneously difficult and fruitless cities. Thus, targeting a new *AUDIENCE* and winning new *ALLIES* necessitated

- *ESTABLISHING* new *SIMILARITIES* to cater to new religio-cultural benefits-sought;
- actively calling into question, undervaluing, and/or discarding earlier *ESTABLISHED SIMILARITIES*; and
- defending already *ESTABLISHED SIMILARITIES* fundamental to the Jesuits' *modus procedendi sinensis* vis-à-vis Chinese antagonists and non-Chinese opponents.

Backed, flanked, and supported by *SINICIZATION*, still increasing *LANGUAGE*-abilities, a growing number of well-disposed *ALLIES*, and a widely-acknowledged *USEFULNESS*, the Padres profited from time and *PREPAREDNESS* to *win* entire *China for Christ*.

At the beginning of the conduct phase, however, Course and Content of the missionaries' apostolate seemed to be unaltered, un-widened, and focused on baiting a *Guanfu-AUDIENCE* and winning powerful *ALLIES*. Still moving in the established Context, validated by a peer-assessed high social visibility, and protected by/from within the high-ranking, growing *guanxi*-relationships, the Fathers continued to collateralize *ESTABLISHED SIMILARITIES* with their favourite *shenshi-AUDIENCE*.

Thus, clothing major Christian messages in Chinese robes, avoiding openly addressing any religio-cultural dissonances, and rather accentuating *ESTABLISHED SIMILARITIES*, secured Fathers, the *China Mission*, and European philosophical knowledge a reputed, intellectually challenging, but highly acceptable and stable place ***Amongst Equals***. Deliberately using their position of strength and the intriguing effect of *ESTABLISHED SIMILARITIES*, the Padres eventually upgraded respect, reverence, and reputation for both clerics and Christianity. Being finally accepted as Chinese ***Amongst Chinese Equals***, the Context was set and stayed unchanged and unchallenged—at least from the Chinese side.

The Padres' religio-cultural project of *xiangsixing* was carried forward by dealing with a likeminded *AUDIENCE* that

- was open to fresh thinking within the parameters of Confucianism;
- possessed the necessary *PREPAREDNESS* to fill in their own quasi-philosophical void in an orthodox way; and
- became useful *ALLIES* to provide protection, and inspiring impulses.

In so working towards alignment with the reigning Chinese value-canon settled Course and Content of a mainly elitist missionizing approach. By means of a pre-evangelical dialogue that presented la civiltà cristiana by way of own example, and Christianity as a Faith that could be adopted by Confucian *Guanfu-AUDIENCE*, the Fathers prudently carried on with their pacific, culturally adaptive, virtuous, and learned indirect apostolate on high social visibility. In so locating the Context, further settling the Content, and measuring the Course lived Accommodation ***Amongst learned Equals*** is experienced as a merely intellectual game, a waltz, and an assignment located in a clean room environment.

The apparent selective perception notwithstanding, continuously basking in high social visibility, parading sameness regarding *wenhua* and *wenming*, and exercising own *USEFULNESS* cleared the soil for future fruitful spiritual harvest. It finally brought the Fathers into the orbit of the highest political power. Once again eager to melt into the *prima facie* mundane message, the Padres willingly catered to the established Context where/in which setting conversion of high-ranking souls was (to be) enabled, implemented, and guided. Resuming Course and Content to

- promote *Tianxue* with all its interrelated religio-cultural facets; and
- perpetuate an attractive image of Padres and *Tianzhu jiao*,

by means of further grounding *ESTABLISHED* religio-cultural *SIMILARITIES*—in the fashion of a learned discourse à la *theologia naturalis* (Rom. 1:20-22) (Leibniz, 1715/2002) to Emperors, eunuchs, and erudites—established Fathers and Faith at the very top of the social ladder. However, as adherence to the *Guanfu*-proof *modo soave cinese passivo* yielded no additional facet to the indirect apostolate and a meagre harvest amongst higher ranking souls only, actively turning away from the most exclusive parts of the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord* to tend to the hitherto neglected ones *extra muros* became a mission-related necessity and a matter of course.

Profiting from *Guanfu*-validated *SINICIZATION* and *LANGUAGE*, and banking on the facilitating and catalysing symbolic gravity of their public image as authority figures, the Fathers left *shenshi-Heaven* to missionize *baixing-Earth*. Doing so nonetheless required

- tactical modulations to the established *modus procedendi sinensis*; and
- a degree of activeness to meet the religio-cultural benefits-sought by those in the middle and at the lower end of the social ladder.

Still profiting from the fundamentals established and refined, while *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* with a *shenshi-AUDIENCE*, turning towards the Commoners changed the Context of the hitherto elitist *commerce of conversion*. It also entailed a change in its Content and Course. Starting to simultaneously work in *Heaven and Earth* lived Accommodation is thus experienced as a tactical move out of a position of strength.

As a result, the Fathers—validated by acquired high social visibility, backed by particular audio-visible nearness to the ruling class, and introduced into the new Context by well-disposed *ALLIES*—had to no longer enter through the back door to sell their spiritual merchandise to their new *AUDIENCE*. Assuming the image of a wandering holy man who descended to the hamlets in the lap of symbolic legitimacy, the Padres *ESTABLISHED* particular *SIMILARITIES* with the religio-cultural rural reality of a visiting *Guanfu*. Doing so, the missionaries rather entered through the main gate *in pontificalibus* to offer their *soteriological* message to the Commoners. This established a new facet of *USEFULNESS*, initiated a new Course on how conversion was (to be) enabled, implemented, and guided on the *baixing*-level, and pre-defined the *baixing*-appropriated Content of the *modo soave cinese attivo*.

Thus, initiating a direct apostolate, the missionaries actively applied the culture-appreciating methods of the early Church. They teleologically mixed a pragmatically appropriated *SINICIZED* Augustinian four-stage scheme with Chinese-style gravitas and affectation, emphasized catechetical work, and propagated tangible devotion amongst their *baixing-AUDIENCE*. This conglomerate of targeted and customized measures yielded a fruitful religio-cultural relationship between Clerics and potential converts. Successfully using the particular apostolate of influence to fit catechizing to Commoners' requirements, (pre-)disposition, and own pastoral needs shapes the Fathers' lived Accommodation experience of *winning Commoners for Christ*.

Without too much reserve, *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* between the religio-cultural *nova et vetera* (Mt. 13:52)—avoiding the apparently displeasing, initially indigestible details of *Tianzhu jiao* and saving them for later times, other groupings, and different *loci*, while tolerating religious vagueness, and repositioning prevailing religious observances—finally

- lowered barriers of conversion;
- reduced the *baixing*-fear of contact/reservation; and
- kindled Commoners' *PREPAREDNESS* to seek transition towards *Tianzhu jiao*.

In so settling the missionizing Course and Content when dealing with the Commoners, lived Accommodation amongst the majority of the villagers is experienced as a fruitful but nonetheless risky business, which in spite of everything, only postpones possible disillusion, necessary rectifications, and contingent refinishing.

Later repairing and restoring work notwithstanding, securing missionizing and catechizing work in the villages for the time being remained a necessity. To win supportive *ALLIES*, *winning* the erudites of the villages and governing *few for Christ* became vital. As a start, the Fathers had to adhere to the requirements of *wulun*, obey the hierarchical realities *intra villagio*, and dissociate the villages' nobles from their fellow citizens. They secured the *commerce of conversion* from within by using parts of their *Guanfu*-proof *modo soave cinese passivo* actively *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* that

- appealed to their higher-ranking *AUDIENCES*'s self-image and ego; and
- guaranteed status and authority to be unaltered within their community and even be upgraded after conversion

This backed the Fathers' rural apostolate of influence and reassured the rural upper-class's *PREPAREDNESS* to convert. Thus, *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* that capitalized on both particular religio-cultural sameness and Chinese value-canon-appropriate *EMPOWERMENT* introduced a fall-back system that merged Catholic tradition with Chinese requirements. It secured the spiritual gains after the Fathers had left and turned to other villages. With a rural, *baixing*-appropriate(d) Context, Course, and Content added to the established *commerce of conversion*, *winning* entire *China for Christ* and keeping the Chinese on following *Tianzhu zhidao* became possible. Thus, being able to work **Heaven and Earth** by taking into consideration time, place, and individual *PREPAREDNESS*, and operating an accepted, proven *modo soave cinese completo* on all social strata, lived Accommodation is experienced as a missionizing approach that could be attuned to the

- opportunities as they presented themselves;
- prevailing intricacies; and
- multiple *AUDIENCES* and their dispositions, requirements, and skill.

With the catechizing ground-work in place and the missionizing tool-box in full use, the *China Mission* matured, the number of catechumens increased, and tallies of baptism surged. Being finally able to discern, *ESTABLISH*, and use *SIMILARITIES* for the greater good of the *China Mission* and all Chinese *AUDIENCE*, for the Padres, it became normality and missionary routine to

- reduce the importance of an indirect apostolate and the necessity of religio-cultural detours and religious hide-and-seek; and
- increase the possibility to openly market *Tianzhu jiao's soteriological* benefits and to actively catechize.

With the Context thus, set and the Course thus, defined, the missionizing focus shifted towards upgrading the Content of what could be further necessary/done to enable, implement, and guide conversion from within. To do so, *ESTABLISHING* more complex *SIMILARITIES* with the Chinese religio-cultural value-canon, and *SINICIZING* the *commerce of conversion* became the Fathers' primary focus. This resulted in the Padres' unprepossessed willingness to

- welcome the self-dependent activities of their Chinese neophytes to look for religio-cultural communalities and to use them to further *Tianzhu jiao*;
- follow suggestions of their Chinese converts to accomplish an acceptable religio-cultural equilibrium; and
- accept certain *Chinese Rites* as purely civil to avoid destroying the still fragile communion of faith and culture that already manifested itself in *una religio in rituum varietate*.

Happily eager to integrate Chinese religio-cultural features into Christian specifications, and willing to rededicate related meaning and characteristics to fit into the Christian religio-cultural imperative **Heaven and Earth** seemed to meet. Being more and more located in the middle of Chinese society, *Tianzhu jiao*—by means of *SINICIZATION*, *LANGUAGE*, *USEFULNESS*, *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES*, and the facilitating/catalysing help of Chinese *ALLIES*—had eventually interfused Chinese society, covered all social strata, and spanned from cradle to grave.

Setting boundaries with the Buddho-Daoist admixtures, besting the omnium-gatherum of urban *Sanjiaoheyi* and rural *Shenism*, and teaming those teachings of *Tianzhu* and *Ru* that could be

- appropriately reconciled into culturally accepted, religiously suitable behaviour and organisations; and
- smoothly accepted after intellectual, affectional, revivalist, or experimental conversion; *dopo lunghe ed animate discussioni*, “affective arousal” (Rambo, 1993, p. 14), heartrending revelation, or social pressure; comprehensive or superficial *narratio*, *explicatio*, *interrogatio*, and *exhortatio* as a new, better, supplementing-complementing, or more powerful teaching

ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES finally

- created a ritually appropriate, religio-culturally non-offensive win-win situation;
- established an orthodox image for the Chinese and the Christian religio-cultural imperative; and
- *won* more Chinese souls *for Christ*.

This created the fundamentals of the *Chinese Christian Church*. It determined Context, Course, and Content of a literally catholic *commerce of conversion*. At the end of the conduct phase, lived Accommodation is thus experienced as a success story that seemed to be deeply grounded, broadly accepted, and essentially invincible.

Despite setbacks and an increasing number of rivals raising their voices in- and outside China, well-meaning *ALLIES*, refined *SINICIZATION* and *LANGUAGE*, a field-tested, highly customizable application of *USEFULNESS*, and comprehensively *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* with the guiding Chinese religio-cultural value-canon had allowed the missionizing *perpetuum mobile* to gather way. Against all odds, the clockwork missionary seemed unstoppable. However, during the last two stages of the Jesuits’ *via experientiae*—consolidation phase—the cosy atmosphere became polluted and finally unbearable. Towards the end of the missionizing endeavour, spiritual gains and the to-be-believed stable footholds became challenged and ripe for attack.

The unfortunate end notwithstanding, time and an increasing Chinese *PREPAREDNESS* to both accept *Tianzhu jiao* as the new Faith and hand it down in villages, families, along *wulun*, and from one generation to the next—with or without the Fathers' direct engagement—first of all facilitated consolidation of the missionary efforts and outputs. The *Chinese Christian Church* finally came into being.

Freed from constantly assuring high(est) intercession and *ALLIES'* validation, elated with the increasing tallies of baptism in rural China, supported by Chinese converts' self-reliance to administer Flocks and spread Faith amongst equals, and officially sworn in on the most appropriate, least ambiguous understanding of nonetheless admissible Chinese religio-cultural concepts, the missionaries' efforts to *ESTABLISH SIMILARITIES* had accomplished the desired religio-cultural equilibrium with the *Chinese Others* and Chinese state orthodoxy. The mutual civilizing project—so pragmatically-teleologically carried forward by Fathers and Flock, rewarded by officials, adjudicated in its standardized form by the Jesuit Order, for a short time officially accepted by Roman Curia, and so taken as a given by Padres and Chinese *AUDIENCE* of all ranks—had *won China for Christ*. The missionaries repelled Chinese broadsides and hostilities, did not suffer from losing *China Mission's* nestor and subsequent changeover, recovered from exiles, and without severe casualties survived the Ming-Qing turnover by banking on their

- high level of *SINICIZATION* and *LANGUAGE*;
- widely desired (non)religious *USEFULNESS*; and
- at first only tacit imperial toleration.

The Course, Content, and Context of their *commerce of conversion* apparently unchallenged and unquestioned lived Accommodation is experienced as a waltz.

Seen from this perspective, missionizing successes, the neophytes' spiritual maturity, and a maturing organizational structure seemed to be the only threat to the *China Mission's* well-being and growth. However, the daily practice of *ESTABLISHED SIMILARITIES* in the hand of self-reliant parishes and self-confident presbyters had soon become too independent.

Increased spiritual awareness and a particular understanding of *universal priesthood* (1 Petr. 2:4–10) amongst the Chinese converts, as well as large-scale *EMPOWERMENT* of the Chinese laity had dangerously mushroomed. The nearly unmanageable occurrences of Christian devotion and the Chinese spiritual *solī* necessitated counter-action. Pruning the outgrowths and taming the excrescences of jauntily *ESTABLISHED SIMILARITIES E pluribus unum* became a matter of course. Streamlining the different bridging projects, binding together its threats, and aligning the multiple generations to finally create a *de jure canonici* orthodox communion of Faith and culture became necessary. The Fathers' pragmatism in finding ways of recapturing the multiple occurrences of *ESTABLISHED SIMILARITIES* to avoid Faith and Flock to religiously fray and spiritually frazzle thus shapes Context and Course of a maturing *commerce of conversion*. It is in this regard that the lived Accommodation experience at that point in time can be characterized as teleological eagerness/ambition to

- transform the loosely connected religious structures in the Christian communities *intra* and *extra muros* into dependable, controllable entities that harmoniously integrates itself into Chinese society;
- align the different manifestations of local piety and pious understanding with native tradition commonplace notions of morality, and/or explicit standards of Confucian ethics; and
- unify the Jesuits' method of propagating Christianity while simultaneously re-integrating Chinese Christians into the dominating framework of Chinese cultural orthodoxy, propriety, and conventions.

Thus, striving for a recognizable popular Chinese Christian identity maxing out the religio-cultural bridging project was vital. Declaring *Rujiao* civil and most of its *Rites* licit, merging the community model generally familiar to the *Chinese Others* with the traditional understanding of *ekklesia*, and Christianising Chinese rituals made *ESTABLISHED SIMILARITIES* sharpen the division lines between *Tianzhu jiao* and other Chinese religious teachings.

It is in this regard that *ESTABLISHED SIMILARITIES* became the

- hotbed for *EMPOWERMENT*, corporate growth, and spiritual maturity at grass-root level;
- key to unity and strength of the growing Flocks; and
- backbone of a non-missionary dependent, self-sustaining, self-expanding *Chinese Christian Church*.

In consequence of a closely-monitored, regulated, and broadly accepted *E pluribus unum* the

- Context was more and more secured regarding external impacts and internal signs of disintegration or apostasy;
- Course was further integrated into the Chinese cultural imperative; and
- Content was more formalized towards the Chinese value-canon.

Considering this integrative advancement towards maturity and integration, lived Accommodation is experienced as an untroubled, welcomed, and expected channelling and mainstreaming effort that capitalized on the given without challenging the status quo.

While consolidating *ESTABLISHED SIMILARITIES E pluribus unum* located *Tianzhu jiao*, its Chinese followers, and the Jesuit propagators in the centre of Chinese society, the appearance of new representatives of Roman Catholicism dangerously threatened the carefully fabricated religio-cultural equilibrium. Seen as a nuisance first, the Fathers soon learned that the new players on the missionizing field had neither come to take a back seat and were willing to embark on the Society's established, refined *modo soave cinese*, nor prepared to leave the Chinese pagans in the clutches of apparently misguided Jesuits.

Despite prevailing consensus on most of the practico-ecclesiastical aspects of the Jesuits' long-time formed *modus procedendi sinensis* the other Friars still rated the Jesuits' apparently heretic trespassing, casuistry, and laxness in *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* more dangerous than any spiritual harvest could compensate. As a result, the late-coming missionaries soon mounted a campaign to fight the Jesuits' unique missionizing proposition. The natural battleground to do so became the *Chinese Rites; ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* its trouble spot.

As both sides were prepared to fight for their right to missionize and for the right way of missionizing the dispute became more sharp, polemic, and imperilling. It openly challenged the Content, contaminated the Course, and constricted the Context of the Jesuits' thitherto successful, broadly established, widely accepted/tolerated *commerce of conversion*. Being blamed for success shapes the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience.

While the Roman Curia backed out of supporting or at least tolerating the Jesuits' *modus procedendi sinensis* the only relief came from the Chinese *AUDIENCE*. Long years of offering *USEFULNESS*, proving harmlessness, and showing integrability into the Chinese value-canon finally yielded the desired reward, integration, and acceptance. By imperial decree accorded a definite, legal status of a private cult *Tianzhu jiao* was subordinated to the Confucian state orthodoxy. Unfortunately, this apparently Course-facilitating move turned out to be a mixed blessing. What started as a particular, imperial morning gift that boosted the tallies of baptism, imperial toleration nonetheless restricted the Content of the Jesuits' *commerce of conversion* and unnecessarily narrowed its Context.

Restricting the practice of *winning China for Christ* to those understandings that characterized the *China Mission's* earlier stage, and cementing those *ESTABLISHED SIMILARITIES* that became highly controversial, imperial toleration did neither appease ongoing debates nor prevent earlier lapses to catch up with the Fathers. On the contrary, the way to *ESTABLISH SIMILARITIES* and to profit from them was further challenged, set to the test, and finally forbidden by canonical ruling and papal decree. A coupe—engineered out of despair and trust in the power of arguments—to free Fathers and Flocks from a dangerous standoff, to bring round ecclesiastical decision-makers, and to settle the dispute by first-hand judgement and authority backfired on the Fathers. The foundations of the Jesuits' *modo soave cinese* thus threatened, the intellectual basis of *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* thus attacked, and the Chinese *ALLIES* thus affronted, the reputation of message and messenger was dangerously hurt and severely damaged. With the Context to such an extent contaminated, the Content challenged, and the Course confined, lived Accommodation is experienced as rowing through a narrow channel to avoid *Scylla and Charybdis*.

Despite the boiling power struggles still facing their steadiest periods of expansion the *China Mission's* downfall was even more a disastrous event. Finally worn down in internal and external disputes over the orthodox way to *ESTABLISH* and use *SIMILARITIES* as a missionary means the *commerce of conversion* came to a halt. Deprived of their unique missionizing proposition the Padres' approach to missionize from within was in the end deprived of its most important currency. Being unable to bank on their long-time forged communion of faith and culture, the missionaries and *Tianzhu jiao* were both relegated to the ranks of *xiejiao* and pushed into the shadows. As a result, the streams of conversions were reduced to a trickle and finally died away. Religiously invisible, clandestine, dubious, and out of scope, the Jesuits' missionary enterprise had ceased to exist. The ***Paradise was Lost***.

If the successful *commerce of conversion* did not prove the need to *ESTABLISH SIMILARITIES*, its impossibility eventually did. *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* can be considered one structural essence/*eidos* of the concrete lived Accommodation experiences. Being essential to the phenomenon, the absence of *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* would not only modify the fundamental meaning of the phenomenon as such, but would also make it impossible. Considering its structurality and invariant core meaning, *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* is to be seen as communality to the textural meanings already condensed/captured in the respective thematic cluster. It precipitates the Jesuits' stance and their activities with regard to the Accommodation phenomenon and thus, allows the WHAT and its many manifestations to emerge and develop; it makes it what it is.

The next step into theorizing upon the essential qualities of the Accommodation phenomenon in order to offer an appropriate guide to effective change management in Chinese organizational settings today is taken. Due to the abstraction of *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* as the fifth of eight essential themes the substantive *Theory of the Unique* that summarize all requirements reflected in, and/or concern Context, Course, Content of *The Chinese Change Concept—The 3C-Approach* takes clearer shape.

ALLIES

L'huomo che fece fatti heroic nel mondo o hebbe algun [sic] grande inimico o alcun grande amico – se non hebbe grande inimico che lo facesse stare con meta sopra sì, certo averia alcun buon amico che lo aiutasse. (Ricci, 2005 – Jiaoyoulun-交友论 – No. 7)

The Fathers' enduring willingness and impartial readiness to listen attentively to/profit from *diyōu*-敌友 (literary: antagonist and friend) in order to enable, implement, and guide their *commerce of conversion* from within China point towards the sixth (noematic) cluster of eidetic features that permeate the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience. The invaluable, indispensable, manifold, and in all respects path-breaking help of numerous

- facilitators and catalysts;
- comrades and converts;
- companions and confreres;
- patrons and protectors,

and the need to simultaneously be aware of and/or benefit from foes', competitors' and rivals' thwarting activities, (callow) line of arguments, (baseless) fears, and (absurd) prepossessions, provide the unavoidable basis, and the likewise harmonious and dissonant but always propulsive background music to the Padres' effort towards *winning China for Christ*. Reflecting on the kernel of the Fathers' stance and activities when taking into consideration forced awareness, attentiveness, and help of *Chinese Others* points towards *ALLIES* as

- one particular occurrence/specification with regard to the *eidōs* of the concrete lived Accommodation experiences;
- underlying theme that account for (the emergence of) the phenomenon per se; and
- pertaining to Context, Course, and Content of fathoming, refining, and applying a China-appropriate *modus procedendi* to *win China for Christ*.

Necessity, ambition, and effort to base their *commerce of conversion* on *ALLIES* accompany the Jesuits on their entire *via experientiae*.

It affects every individual lived Accommodation experience during the maturing approach to enable, implement, and guide conversion from within. While its characteristics and main *foci* clearly differ along the lines of a developing *modus procedendi sinensis*, the basic principles are mainly established at the beginning of or even prior to the Order's *via experientiae* into/through China. Its specification and further adjustments to the local, temporal, and situational given as pertaining to Course, Content, and Context, however, depend on where on the continuum of time, place, and person, and concentration, conduct, consolidation interaction with *ALLIES* occurred.

The different *foci* of what (Content) is necessary to enable, implement, and guide conversion, as well as where (Context) and how (Course) to apply the evolving *commerce of conversion* to finally *win* entire *China for Christ* appear wavelike. Rooting in serviceability—leading towards sympathy or refusal—*ALLIES'* interaction form along the maturing *commerce of conversion* to eventually come back to the non-conversion-related origin of *diyōu*. The oscillation notwithstanding, taking *ALLIES* as sounding boards for Fathers and Faith and so profiting from *diyōu* can be considered fundamental for the to-be-decided and creatively to-be-put into practice, constantly to-be-refined *modus procedendi sinensis*. Energized by *SINICIZATION*, *LANGUAGE*, and *USEFULNESS*, usually advanced towards *AUDIENCE*, mostly incited by *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES*, increasingly feeding into *EMPOWERMENT*, and generally capitalizing on mutual *PREPAREDNESS*, *ALLIES* introduce the sixth structural, essential element into the Accommodation phenomenon.

Considering *diyōu's* forming impact on the *modus procedendi sinensis*, during the first three stages of the Jesuits' *via experientiae*—concentration phase—*ALLIES* is first of all tantamount to

- warding off any form of Chinese (c)overt xenophobia and resentments;
- differentiating missionaries from their European compatriots and enabling the Padres to blend into the Chinese environment;
- establishing a mutual *quid pro quo* and providing China-centred orientation/role-models;
- getting the clerics permanently beyond the impenetrable bamboo curtain.

Interacting with high-ranking, erudite *ALLIES*, that is, considering their sensitivities, anticipating their private motives, comprehending their fears, and relying on their often pre-mature interventions, partially misleading suggestions, and uninformed but far-reaching independent decisions of where and how to establish Fathers and Faith amongst which Chinese *AUDIENCE* by what means, pre-defined the mostly erudite Context, the learned Course, and the appropriate(d) Content of the Jesuits' *commerce of conversion*. Even if the two-tier missionizing approach already shines through, following *ALLIES'* suggestions to at first rely on an apostolate of influence to *win China for Christ zishangerxia* shapes the lived Accommodation experience as being a

- non-religious exchange program of European *scientia*; and
- detour that only in retrospect turns out to be a shortcut.

While missionizing focus and *ALLIES'* interaction broadened and varied towards the end of the concentration phase, listening attentively to and profiting from *diyong* to smooth out Chinese xenophobia nonetheless remained the fluctuant background music to the *commerce of conversion*. It is in this context that *ALLIES'* intervention became a continuo that had its constitutive, Context-setting, Course- and Content-defining origin in the first encounter between Padres and Chinese. Constantly setting a particular counterpoint to win *ALLIES* and by winning *ALLIES* became a permanent condition and a necessary driver to *win China for Christ*. Dealing with this steady-state and profiting by this stress field shapes the lived Accommodation experience.

Considering earlier failures, opening Chinese's doors and minds by winning well-meaning, open-minded, and supportive *ALLIES* in times of **Traffic and Travail** requested the Padres to exceed any form of simple, superficial social mimicry. Eager to capitalize on Chinese respect for erudition, knowledge, and practical learning necessitated *SINICIZATION* and learning *LANGUAGE*. Becoming familiar with *wenhua* and *wenming* required mutual *PREPAREDNESS* to kick off a particular civilizing project. To do so, unprepossessed engagement with Chinese *ALLIES'*s facilitating and catalysing help was essential for any missionizing on Chinese soil.

Thus, learning the basics of *guanhua* by medium of a Chinese painter and getting further acquainted to *wenhua* by help of Chinese friends, the *ALLIES'* spadework allowed the Fathers to get a quick intro to the Chinese language, culture, and people, and to acquire awareness of the modes of thought and behaviour inherent in Chinese tradition. In so being braced for the leap in the dark, lived Accommodation is experienced as a merely intellectual job that needed preparatory work, stamina, patience, intrepidity—mainly on Chinese side—and a leap of faith. Even if the Content was second-hand, partial, and highly filtered by well-meaning *Chinese Others* and later needed extensive corrective action, the Context was pre-set, as was the Course pre-defined. For the first and at the right time on Chinese ground, *ALLIES'* preparatory work and Fathers' *PREPAREDNESS* paid off.

From the beginning, considered more civilized than the European role-models, incipient *SINICIZATION*, rudimentary *LANGUAGE*, and the intervention of *ALLIES* allowed for special treatments. Classified as vassals who share their Western *USEFULNESS* for the greater good of the Empire and its leading personnel, the Fathers assured in return high-ranking *ALLIES'* patronage against any xenophobic assault, as well as a facilitating, catalyzing help to tacitly prepare the *commerce of conversion* on site. As a result,

- proving *SINICIZATION*, *LANGUAGE*, and *USEFULNESS* to a growing number of *Chinese Others*; and
- having won some important *ALLIES* amongst the great and the good,

enabled the Fathers' to take residence on Chinese soil. Despite the fragility that rooted in shackling one's faith and future to only a few *ALLIES*, and unknowingly banter opponents for mustering troops and putting them on standby, the groundwork for the apostolate of influence was set. Already at an early stage of ***Traffic and Travail*** enabled to work mainly undisturbed by open violence, winning for Christianity an accepted place in Chinese life became possible. Even if assigned lodgings and an *ALLIES'*-established, misleading image burdened the Fathers' ***Traffic and Travail***, well-meaning interventions of high-ranking *ALLIES* generally defined the Context where/in which setting conversion was to take place.

Sharing *USEFULNESS* and relying on the power of both a growing social visibility and a deepening understanding of *guanhua* further clarified the non-religious, *ALLIES*-validated Course and Content of the Fathers' future *commerce of conversion*. Glorifying in these fortunate circumstances shapes the missionaries' lived Accommodation experience on the threshold to China and to initiating the *commerce of conversion*.

After some disruptive back-and-forth called back into the Empire to stay, *SINICIZATION* and *LANGUAGE*, outstanding erudition and *USEFULNESS*, and Chinese *ALLIES'* intervention had quietened opponents and pushed the bamboo curtain aside. The Context to enable, implement, and guide conversion from within thus secured, the Fathers' lived Accommodation experience at the end of *Traffic and Travail* is shaped by eventually succeeding in

- conquering prevailing fragility;
- advancing their *Missionary Commission*; and
- turning their setbacks into growth.

With their *Gained Foothold* on Chinese soil stabilized, continuing with securing status and station nonetheless remained a necessity. Hampered in their missionizing zeal by moderate *LANGUAGE*-abilities, fickleness and flightiness of their Chinese hosts, and intriguing opponents, openly missionizing was still out of question. Warding off increasing xenophobia, ramping up the seely edifice of *guanxi*-relationships, collaterizing the apostolate of influence, and learning about the religio-cultural and personal mainspring that becomes manifested in an increasing opposition remained the main focus of Padres-*ALLIES* interaction.

Taking further steps to match the high-ranking *ALLIES* and *AUDIENCE* on the level of *SINICIZATION* and *LANGUAGE*, and sharing *USEFULNESS* to create a win-win situation with well-meaning patrons and protectors reduced the fragility of the situation. It enhanced the status of Fathers and newly won *ALLIES*. This appeased those deprecative parties that had surfaced the moment the Padres' social visibility increased and their status seemed to threaten the traditional order.

In so striving to safeguard the ***Gained Foothold*** against all odds characterized the Context where/in which the *commerce of conversion* was to be enabled, implemented, and finally guided. The means to do so further fathomed the Course and pre-defined the non-religious Content to *win* learned *China for Christ*. Keeping oneself busy by assuring the social legitimation for the mission and so primarily

- dealing with constant insecurity and the need to tune in to changing coalitions and situations; and
- learning from earlier religio-cultural deviances to avoid *faux pas*,

thus shapes the Fathers' lived Accommodation experience so far.

The ***Gained Foothold*** thus secured, dealing with *ALLIES* outside reception/assembly halls became gradually decisive for the to-be-implemented and to-be-guided *commerce of conversion*. As a result, those *Chinese Others* who came into contact with the missionaries and their religious message made important contributions to the Padres' *modus procedendi sinensis*. Already at an early stage assuming a particular *emancipatio religiosa sinensis* these *ALLIES* initiated the naming of the new religious current, decided the setting of its worship, and settled its appropriate presentation to a receptive, learned *AUDIENCE*.

Eager to turn *Tianzhu jiao* into a valuable, culturally appropriate(d) religious alternative, the Fathers followed their *ALLIES'* activities to how *ESTABLISH* which *SIMILARITIES* with the given Chinese religious value-canon. This settled the real religio-cultural Context and Content of the Fathers' *commerce of conversion*. *ALLIES' PREPAREDNESS* to

- help the Padres clothing their religious ideas into Chinese *LANGUAGE*;
- raise questions, highlight ambiguities, and indicate inconsistencies in the line of religious argument from a Chinese perspective,

braced the missionaries for their (complex) discussions with *ALLIES* and *AUDIENCE*. This set the Course of how conversion was (to be) enabled, implemented, and guided. Capitalizing on Chinese *bibliophily* to spread the Gospel on a larger scale and without direct interaction, and putting everything in writing to make the religious message digestible for the Chinese provided the basics to the Fathers' xylographic line of attack.

As a result, putting the religious message in a learned setting, and emphasizing *disputatio* instead of *professio fidei* became the social-ranks-independent groundwork for all religious tracts, exhortations, and books to come. Following *ALLIES'* suggestions first of all won new *ALLIES* from within even though the printing and publishing endeavour

- showed the Fathers' level of *SINICIZATION*, *LANGUAGE*, and *USEFULNESS*;
- *ESTABLISHED* further bridging *SIMILARITIES*; and
- enabled conversion amongst *Guanfu-AUDIENCE* as a rational-intellectual business.

It is in this regard that lived Accommodation is experienced as detours that prove to be one shortcut.

Unfortunately, adhering to *ALLIES'* shaping activities had its downsides too. Happy to *ESTABLISH* more *SIMILARITIES* that could apparently drive a greater *AUDIENCE* to Fathers and Faith, and convinced to back the apostolate of influence by extensive *SINICIZATION* the missionaries responded to *ALLIES'* well-meaning but un-informed *stimuli*. Even if corrective actions soon became necessary, the ***Gained Foothold*** was stabilized, as was Context, Content, and Course laid down. The pleasurable feeling of having performed a religio-cultural bridging project, and to be now rewarded for *PREPAREDNESS*, preparatory work, and *ALLIES'* propaganda shapes the Fathers' lived Accommodation experience at this point in time.

Enthused by the propitious circumstances and Chinese *PREPAREDNESS*, anchoring conversion in the bosom of the family and *EMPOWERING* parental comrades and converts to become *ALLIES* in spreading the Gospel *ad personam* and without the Fathers' assistance not only became possible, but also seemed a waltz. Being so rewarded by ambition and serendipity, *la cristianità si cominciava ad accendere ogni girone più*. This added a new facet to the Context and Course of the *commerce of conversion* as it required future adjustments to the Content of the *modus procedendi sinensis*.

Consciously trading advancement and ambition against fragility and setback, the Fathers' and Faith's position and status were still infirm, as was their teaching challenged by the China's *nomenklatura*.

Quieting opponents and *winning China for Christ* required missionaries and mission to be both recognized *zhengtong* and integrated into a validating Chinese frame of reference. Once again, the necessary shift in the adopted *modus procedendi sinensis* largely depended on *ALLIES'* facilitating and catalyzing influence and interference. Following Chinese suggestions and backing them with their own assessment required *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* with the dominant religio-cultural imperative as represented by their high-ranking *ALLIES* and *Rujiao*. Targeting *SINICIZATION*, *LANGUAGE*, and *USEFULNESS* towards actively claiming proximate status to the Empire's most powerful status group and their religious-ethical thinking lead to a successful visible, audible, readable, and intellectual ***Change of Ends***.

Presenting themselves as members of the reigning class and *Tianzhu jiao* in a pre-evangelical dialogue as an orthodox complement to the classical, pristine religio-cultural value-canon, paved the way into high-ranking *AUDIENCE's* heads, hearts, and huts. Reaching a fruitful, balanced communion of faith and culture convinced antagonists as well as existent and soon-to-be *ALLIES* of the Fathers' Chineseness, righteousness, serviceability, and harmlessness. The ***Change of Ends*** had shaken off the misleading image the Padres and *ALLIES* had created due to ignorance and hidden agendas.

At the end of the concentration phase, the erudite, passive apostolate of influence was set. Having committed themselves to the reticent *modus procedendi sinensis passivo*, the Fathers were established amongst those who could guarantee the necessary free space to undertake an undisturbed *commerce of conversion intra and extra muros*. This defined and secured the Context where/in which setting conversion could become possible. The Course and Content of a Literati and Elite-appropriate(d) proselytization approach was defined when the Fathers followed their Chinese *ALLIES'* suggestions to fully

- *ESTABLISH SIMILARITIES* with *Rujiao*; and
- share/apply their own *USEFULNESS* in an academic, curiosity-piquing, and status-enhancing context to indirectly target the learned *AUDIENCE*.

Lived Accommodation is thus experienced as a *Chinese Others'* created, validated, necessary theme-including prelude to the *commerce of conversion*.

During the following two stages of the *via experientiae*—conduct phase—dealing with *ALLIES* disengaged itself from

- creating an atmosphere receptive to the representatives of *Tianzhu jiao*;
- giving the *commerce of conversion* a *Chinese Others'*-validated and largely protective direction—mainly at the neglect of large scale missionizing; and
- attracting the metropolitan, erudite *AUDIENCE* to the Gospel.

While the *China Mission* and *Tianzhu jiao* became more integrated into the Chinese religious value-canon and Confucian state orthodoxy, submitted to the Chinese cultural imperative, and accepted *intra* and *extra muros* by Emperor, *shenshi*, and *baixing* alike, missionary attention differentiated with regard to *ALLIES'* field(s) of action. Establishing a division of labour, *ALLIES*

- further patronized and protected the *commerce of conversion* on the highest social level and so became a vital help to establish *Tianzhu jiao* as a part of Chinese society; or
- made accessible new sections of the Chinese population to Fathers and their *soteriological promises*, and so facilitated the Christian leaven from within—mainly in cooperation with the Padres, sometimes on their own account, but always with increased missionizing zeal.

Despite many setbacks, both safety strategy and development of a new *AUDIENCE* worked out. Refined *SINICIZATION* and *LANGUAGE*, large-handed exchange of much sought-after *USEFULNESS*, the *ESTABLISHMENT* of propitiating *SIMILARITIES*, and incessant intervention of well-meaning *ALLIES* carried the Padres into *Zijin Cheng* and the Empire's remote, rural areas. Come to stay, even dynastic cataclysm and consistently occurring prosecution could not remove the missionaries from their newly gained position, their changing imperial *ALLIES*, and their Flocks. Finally able to secure the *commerce of conversion* on their own account and availing themselves of *ALLIES' EMPOWERMENT* to enable, implement, and guide

conversion from within, collateralizing the apostolate of influence by *ALLIES'* help only became dispensable.

At the beginning of the conduct phase, however, the Fathers were still eager to strengthen their foothold and to enlarge their missionizing radius.

To achieve both, it remained necessary to take every measure to win *ALLIES* who could

- get them out of the provincial backwater;
- help them establish themselves amongst those who exert an influence; and
- ensure the acquiescence if not the active support or even some form of imperial permission for the Society and *Tianzhu jiao*.

Well-established ***Amongst Equals*** in the provincial capitals, the Fathers' first attempts to enter the orbit of the Dragon Throne by way of *ALLIES'* help fizzled out. However, constantly field-testing the *modus procedendi sinensis passivo* on well-disposed *ALLIES* enhanced their status and reputation, increased missionizing radius and tallies of baptism, and finally carried the Padres to Beijing. Including Chinese feedback and own considerations to build up an attractive image of Fathers and Faith by means of promoting own *USEFULNESS* stressed the applicability of the pre-evangelical dialogue to win sympathetic *ALLIES* for the *China Mission*, the Fathers, and the *commerce of conversion*.

The successes of taking sides with *original Confucianism*, using *Rujiao* to spread the Gospel, promoting *Tianxue per via de libri e de scientie* in a non-religious environment confirmed the importance of *SINICIZATION*, *LANGUAGE*, and *USEFULNESS* to reach a high-ranking *AUDIENCE* and secure existent or win new *ALLIES*. Finally established as a law-abiding, integrating|integral part of Chinese society, lobbying ***Amongst Equals*** had paid off. It is in this Context-honing regard that the erudite Content and elitist Course of enabling, implementing, and guiding conversion *zishangerxia* was cemented. Feeling accepted and welcomed ***Amongst Equals*** shapes the the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience.

Unfortunately, applying the *modus procedendi sinensis passivo* to high-ranking *ALLIES* only attracted some to *Tianzhu jiao*. Even if those *pochi e buoni* protected Fathers' position and fulfilled their duty of facilitating the *commerce of conversion* in their families, villages, and along *wulun*, using the pre-evangelical dialogue on a high-ranking *AUDIENCE* only yielded a meagre spiritual harvest.

To enliven the languishing *commerce of conversion*, it was essential to turn towards milieus different from the missionaries' urban haunts, and extend the line of action personally, religiously, and locally. Shifting the locus of proselytization into the more rewarding/fruitful common, down-to-earth parts of the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord* nonetheless necessitated adding new (pro-)active features to the established *Guanfu*-proof indirect apostolate, and winning new *ALLIES*.

Capitalizing on image and background-knowledge of *Guanfu* and still following their *ALLIES'* suggestions how to draw new converts from the Commoners enabled the Fathers to work in the rural tarn without turning their backs to the metropolitan *AUDIENCE*. Thus, further refining their two-tier missionizing approach, *winning Chinese **Heaven and Earth** for Christ* was within reach. However, allocating mission-related duties between the *Patres Pekinenses* and those Fathers missionizing *baixing intra* and mainly *extra muros* implied growing differentiation in the Padres' perception of *ALLIES*, and a changed perception of the foreign missionaries by their *ALLIES*. Still requiring patronage and protection for the *China Mission* in general and of those Fathers active in the provinces in particular, the *Patres Pekinenses* became responsible for winning new *ALLIES* and securing old *ALLIES'* loyalty in the *commodo luogo* and at the top of the social ladder.

Applying the *modus procedendi sinensis passivo* on the high(est) social strata meant keeping a low profile while carrying on sharing *USEFULNESS*, impressing with *SINICIZATION* and *LANGUAGE*-abilities, further convincing well- and ill-meaning *ALLIES* and a growing *AUDIENCE* of own orthodoxy, harmlessness, and Chineseness, and attracting some to the Gospel by means of a pre-evangelical dialogue. Their attractive image thus secured the Fathers were finally rewarded with *immunità ecclesiastica*.

The brewing opposition against missionaries and mission notwithstanding, the Context pertaining to a successful *commerce of conversion* was re-strengthened. As a result, high-ranking *ALLIES* were more and more encouraged to play a greater part in spreading the new religious ideas—even if they did not seek baptism themselves.

With the *Heaven* thus secured and the Course to enable, implement, and finally guide conversion back on track, the *commerce of conversion* was ready to flower out on provincial *Earth*. The feeling of having turned a setback into growth and being so rewarded for stamina to unflinchingly advance the *commerce of conversion* into fruitful pastures shapes the lived Accommodation experience at this particular redirection.

However, *winning baixing China for Christ* and missionizing on grass-root levels *extra muros* required new *ALLIES* in and outside the villages and a graded proselytization approach. Thus, relying on the persuasiveness of an over-emphasized *Guanfu*-image and so adapting the well-established apostolate of influence to the rural given first of all

- got the Fathers into the hamlets, huts, and hearts;
- validated medium and message; and
- lowered barriers of interaction and change.

Enabled to introduce the new religious current to the villagers, the Fathers' image, their performance, *Tianzhu jiao's soteriological promises*, and Chinese curiosity kindled *baixing-PREPAREDNESS* to learn more about the new religion and convert, and to introduce the Gospel *en famille*. While the former directly led to winning male catechumens, the latter necessitated establishing a clockwork missionary that included

- an indirect apostolate by way of books; and
- active winning and proselytization of new *ALLIES* thitherto not involved.

As tracts enabled home schooling, they also qualified the male catechumens to become the Father's missionizing *ALLIES* within the confines of their houses. Further *EMPOWERMENT* enabled them to spread the Gospel to women, children, and servants who were not allowed to interact with foreigners in general and foreign men in particular. As a result, these *ALLIES'* facilitating anchored the *commerce of conversion* in the bosom of the family.

Relying on female converts and children to become the Fathers' missionizing mouthpiece further enlarged the Padres' catechizing force. It became possible to spread the Gospel and increase the radius of missionizing without missionaries' direct interaction.

The rural Context and the direct Course to enable, implement, and guide conversion actively from within thus fathomed, securing the spiritual harvest remained vital. To avoid the new religious fervency to become a flash in the pan that dies away the moment the Fathers turned towards other villages, or if following *Tianzhu zhidao* collided with the prevailing hierarchical realities and power structures, required the assured *ALLIED* help of the villages' erudite few for *Tianzhu jiao*'s acceptance and survival. Securing the rural upper class's patronage and their facilitation and catalyzing achieved both.

Being confronted with a particular *timocracy*, establishing the *commerce of conversion extra muros* required to confirm the headmen's given hierarchical status, self-image, and importance within their communion—even if they did not convert at all. Creating this particular apostolate of influence by means of a less educated *modus procedendi sinensis passivo* necessitated fostering higher-ranking *ALLIES'*

- *PREPAREDNESS* to at least tolerate Fathers and Faith in the villages;
- *EMPOWERMENT* to actively spread the Gospel within their sphere of authority and to increase religious sophistication.

Doing so *won* the entire village *for Christ*. It assured patronage and protection against village-external broadside and possible family-internal division/hostility (Lk. 12:52-53), and prevented apostasy and slipping into syncretism when the Fathers were missionizing in other villages. Following *ALLIES'* suggestions and self-image thus created a fallback system that synchronized Catholic tradition with Chinese local requirements.

Having fixed the stages and substance of an active proselytization approach and customized the *commerce of conversion* to the rural setting clarified the Content, determined the *baixing Context*, and defined the rural Course of enabling, implementing, and guiding conversion both at the grass-root level *zixiaershang*, and with or without the Fathers' intervention. ***Winning Heaven and Earth for Christ*** had become reality.

In view of the *modo soave cinese completo* and feeling prepared for any challenge, lived Accommodation is experienced as a complete success, a strategic commitment, and a *condicio sine qua non*.

Even if the adopted *Guanfu*-image did the integrative job and newly won *ALLIES* patronized and protected Fathers and Faith in the villages, the missionary endeavour to *win rural China for Christ*, close-knit integration into state organization, increased social and religious visibility, and a less reserved battle for souls *extra muros* brought new opposition to the fore.

In the capital cities and *extra muros* social and religious mimicry further increased stakes and competition. Considering the different Chinese sensitivities that all merged in the fear of losing position and status, finding new answers and orienting *ALLIES* to counter the developments became necessary. With all competitors working towards expelling the foreign Fathers and their Faith from the country, securing *ALLIES'* practical support while trusting their individual intercession was essential to secure the *China Mission* until the missionaries were able to safeguard all on their own. Facing the rat-race concerning positions, benefices, and job-related sinecure, as well as the sovereignty over the interpretation concerning *Sanjiao* in general and *Rujiao* in particular, getting through related broadsides and arising persecutions meant trusting *ALLIES* to

- guide the Fathers through the philosophical-religious mine-field or to create facts by taking things in their own hands; and
- safeguard the Mission and missionaries from persecution by making use of own reputation and housing at their own risk.

This modified the Context in which the *commerce of conversion* evolved. Depending on *ALLIES'* unconditional help, trusting in the appropriateness of their activities, and relying on an unquestionable confidence that all turns to good account and is to the best advantage of Fathers and Faith formed the respective Course. It shapes the lived Accommodation experience as such.

Supported by their benevolent high- and highest-ranking *ALLIES* the Fathers were finally safe and secure in the bosom of the Empire. Relying on words and deeds of a handful of Elite-converts, the *commerce of conversion* was ultimately built upon a lasting rock.

The division of labour between *Patres Pekinenses* and the Fathers missionizing *extra muros* in a full swing, the two-tier missionizing approach to win good Christians in ***Heaven and Earth*** paid off.

Thus backed and the *commerce of conversion* carried forward, relying on *ALLIES'* practical knowledge and trusting the feasibility and appropriateness of their independently initiated activities to build up a *Chinese Christian Church* and to staunchly defend Fathers and Faith by words and deeds further shaped the Chinese face of *Tianzhu jiao* and the *China Mission*—and brought many to the font. As a result, allowing *ALLIES' emancipatio religiosa sinensis* to *ESTABLISH SIMILARITIES* further reduced the barriers to convert.

However, *ALLIES'* active participation had its downsides, too. *ALLIES* taking things in their own hands all too often led to the rank growth of religious manifestations. It carried the seed of misunderstanding and heterodoxy. With time progressing, these side effects burdened the *China Mission's* success. The consolidation phase in the Padres' *commerce of conversion* foreshadowed.

For the time being, however, Fathers and Faith became a constant in the Chinese official and religious environment. By the dynastic shift, the Padres were no longer dependent on high-ranking *ALLIES*. Being able to secure the missionizing of ***Heaven and Earth*** on their own authority; the missionaries solely drew on *ALLIED* help to streamline the *Chinese Christian Church*, and/or adapt its spiritual and organizational specifications to Chinese particularities and the Commoners. Doing so, the Context had in the main changed in favour of the Padres missionizing in the provinces, while the Course had completely shifted towards *winning baixing-China for Christ*. At the end of the conduct phase, lived Accommodation is thus experienced as a highly elaborated, focused, and self-relying endeavour whose

- course of action is entrenched in Chinese soil; and
- increasingly autonomous protagonists become gradually emancipated and unfortunately, often arrogant.

Despite emerging optimism, increased self-reliance, and souring tallies of baptism, the necessity to close ranks, to keep Flock and Faith together, and to unify the *China Mission* and its far-flung Christians behind Padres and in one Faith, remained paramount for the nascent yet maturing *Chinese Christian Church's* growth and survival.

During the last two stages of the Jesuits' *via experientiae*—consolidation phase—securing and constantly reassuring *ALLIES'* facilitation and catalysing help, and so allowing for their comprehensive *EMPOWERMENT* provided the means to do so. It is in this regard that the following consolidating driving factors created a Chinese *ekklesia* ***E pluribus unum***:

- Riding out the impact of changing power structures and persecutions frequently flaring up
- Exposing second-generation converts to elaborate, Chinese forms of piety and religious devotion
- Fostering the first real traces of a grounded, living, growing, and self-dependent *Chinese Christian Church*
- Integrating the *ecclesia sinensis* into state orthodoxy

Unfortunately, China-external factors and China-internal developments disturbed the carefully woven religious-secular balance, the stable growth, and the long-desired maturity. Deprived of their remaining *ALLIES*, unable to keep existing ones at it, and officially prevented from winning new ones

- hampered the dissemination of *Tianzhu jiao*;
- curtailed the promising growth of Flocks and parishes; and
- finally sounded the death knell to the *China Mission*.

At the beginning of the consolidation movement, however, containing the rank growth of the various religious manifestations ***E pluribus unum*** shaped the increasingly successful *commerce of conversion*. Having tolerated individualization in missionizing and Parish-administration, it became essential for the *China Mission's* survival, management, and control to orient *ALLIES'* various activities and solo attempts towards achieving a China-appropriate communion of faith and culture both along the stages of spiritual development and generation, and in the light of a ripening *emancipatio religiosa sinensis*.

In so setting Context and Course of a maturing *commerce of conversion*, working towards proving *Tianzhu jiao*'s Chineseness, harmlessness, and integrability characterized the Fathers' intercourse with and requirements vis-à-vis their *ALLIES*. Being so located in the stress field of religious growth and continuance shapes the lived Accommodation experienced in times of dynastic change, and while being busy consolidating the missionizing fruits ***E pluribus unum***.

Over time, the Padres' main attention shifted towards both (re)integrating Chinese communities into the Chinese religious value-canon and submitting them to the Chinese cultural imperative. Turning *Tianzhu jiao* into a respectable native religion became necessary. Thus, the most acceptable solution and approach turned out to be to avail of *ALLIES*' facilitating and catalysing help, their creativity, and insights into how to

- assure *Tianzhu jiao*'s ground-rules and manifestations to be orthodox;
- convince proponents and opponents of Christianity being *zhengtong*.

Thus, readily following *ALLIES*' suggestions how to rededicate Chinese religio-cultural best-practices

- *ESTABLISHED* further *SIMILARITIES*;
- increased *PREPAREDNESS* to convert;
- won new *ALLIES* to support the *SINICIZED commerce of conversion*;
- convinced the (non)involved *AUDIENCE* of the foreign religious movement's *USEFULNESS*, harmlessness, and Chineseness;
- carried forward the clockwork missionary as family business; and
- closed the gap that became apparent when giving up folk belief and tradition.

Even if adoption and rededication further blurred the lines between *Tianzhu jiao* and *Sanjiaoheyi*, the results exceeded expectations. Putting the *China Mission* into a Chinese frame of reference and sanitizing *Tianzhu jiao*'s public image quietened Chinese opponents and finally yielded highest toleration. It further strengthened and safeguarded the Context in which setting conversion was enabled, implemented, and guided, as well as streamlined and localized both Content and Course of the Chinese-appropriate(d) *commerce of conversion*.

Having welded together the throngs of converts, integrated the *China Mission* into the religio-cultural norms ***E pluribus unum***, and pooled the apparently theoretical risks of its failure, lived Accommodation is experienced as a striking success.

However, facing a maturing *Chinese Christian Church* implicated further modifications and a broadened sense of mission on the *ALLIES'* side. Dealing with the necessity to consolidate the growing circuits while encouraging further growth, managing expansion while dealing with far-flung Christian communities, and preventing apostasy or at least the cooling of Faith while the Fathers were absent, required to turn *ALLIES'* help into a comprehensive *EMPOWERMENT* that guaranteed uniformity in religious practice ***E pluribus unum***. The Context thus maxed out, the Course of how to enable, implement, and guide conversion took on a new dimension. Lived Accommodation in the face of this catholic, far-reaching, and irreversible involvement is experienced as a *condicio sine qua non*; strategic commitment; and risky venture.

Unfortunately, basking in the glow of their own religious and secular successes, the Fathers had turned a blind eye to the looming downsides. Still parading a particular invulnerability that not only came with their own influence, number of followers, and tokens of imperial benevolent toleration, but that also rooted in their highest degree of *SINICIZATION*, mastery of *LANGUAGE*, and their apparently indispensable secular *USEFULNESS*, the Padres were soon caught on the wrong foot. Falling short of important, predictable, loyal *ALLIES* and lulled by a deceiving peace, the *China Mission* was gradually driven into heavy waters and its European representatives into difficulties. Outside interferences, external imp(r)udent meddling regarding the well-established *modus procedendi sinensis*, and China-internal sectarian activities corrupted the trustworthiness of Fathers, Faith, and Flocks. Being held responsible for violating imperial harmony, poisoning the religio-cultural climate, and challenging orthodoxy, the long-time favour of the highest-ranking *ALLIES* was about to wane. The seismic shift in the imperial position towards the Fathers and the decline in the missionaries' status at Court dangerously impaired Context and Course of the *commerce of conversion*.

Following *Tianzhu zhidao* was no longer a supplementing alternative—at least to the *shenshi-AUDIENCE*. Losing the latter came like a bombshell—even if the apostolate of influence did no longer require *ALLIES'* protection. Unable to avail of the forces that had enabled the *Chinese Christian Church* to expand its numbers of Chinese Christians, the *China Mission* was finally reduced to its infant-status. Consequently, the missionaries were forced towards the defensive. New blowbacks and arising difficulties did nothing to appease the situation. As a result, *ALLIES'* toleration and stamina waned. Finally unable to market their own *SINICIZATION* and to call on *ALLIES'* intercession, limited to offer secular *USEFULNESS*, and apart from that, incapable to reach their *AUDIENCE*, win new *ALLIES*, and forge new *guanxi*-relationships, the Jesuits' missionary enterprise had ceased to exist. With the Context thus stricken, and the Course deprived of its basics, ***Paradise*** was finally ***Lost***. Lived Accommodation at the end of the concentration phase is in this regard experienced as a rollercoaster drive lacking the safety belts and a virtuoso symphony ending on a bitter note.

If the coming into existence of the *China Mission*, the focusing and re-alignment of the *commerce of conversion*, and the establishment and growth of the *Chinese Christian Church* were not proof for the need of *ALLIES*, their lack eventually was. *ALLIES* can be considered one structural essence/*eidos* of the concrete lived Accommodation experiences. Essential to the phenomenon, its absence would not only modify its fundamental meaning, but also change it completely. Considering its structurality and invariant core meaning *ALLIES* is hence, to be seen as communality to the textural meanings already condensed/captured in the particular thematic cluster. It allows the WHAT and its many manifestations to emerge and develop, and makes it what it is. The next step into theorizing upon the essential qualities of the Accommodation phenomenon in order to offer an appropriate guide to effective change management in Chinese organizational settings today is taken. Due to the abstraction of *ALLIES* as the sixth of eight essential themes the substantive *Theory of the Unique* that summarize all requirements reflected in, and/or concern Context, Course, Content of *The Chinese Change Concept—The 3C-Approach* assumes further shape.

EMPOWERMENT

The manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal (1 Cor. 12:7)

The Fathers' lasting readiness, and fitted approach(es) to concentrate themselves and their missionary/pastoral activities on gradually assigning appropriate authority and competence to their Chinese converts, hence, *shouquan*-授权 point towards the seventh (noematic) cluster of eidetic features that permeate the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience. The basics to the Padres' efforts to *win China for Christ* are provided by their willingness to

- allow comprehensive involvement, collaboration, and assistance;
- rely on the Chinese converts' constitutive activities regarding implementation and accomplishment;
- permit the Chinese followers an uncommon degree of emancipation and delegation; and
- foster the Chinese parishioners' desire for co-optation and cohesion.

Reflecting on the kernel of the Fathers' stance and activities when assigning appropriate authority and competence to eventually achieve *emancipatio religiosa sinensis* points towards *EMPOWERMENT* as

- one particular occurrence/specification with regard to the *eidōs* of the concrete lived Accommodation experiences;
- the underlying theme that account for (the emergence of) the phenomenon; and
- pertaining to Context, Course, and Content of developing and applying a China-appropriate *modus procedendi* to *win China for Christ*.

In the Ignatian way taking into consideration time, place, and persons while allowing for concentration, conduct, and/or consolidation with regard to the Jesuits' *commerce of conversion*, *EMPOWERMENT* introduces the seventh structural, essential element into the Accommodation phenomenon.

Naturally based on necessary *SINICIZATION* and *LANGUAGE*, profiting from *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* and sharing particularly targeted *USEFULNESS*, aimed at further kindling *PREPAREDNESS* and so intended to win a greater *AUDIENCE*, *EMPOWERMENT*—primarily following from converted *ALLIES*' maturing need for sophisticated forms of participation—can be considered fundamental to the to-be-decided and creatively to-be-put into practice, constantly to-be-refined *modus procedendi sinensis*.

The need and effort towards *EMPOWERMENT* accompanies the Jesuits on their entire *via experientiae* and so affects every individual lived Accommodation experience at one point or another during the maturing approach to enable, implement, and guide conversion. However, the basic principles are not established until the Fathers' *via experientiae* into/through China had gained a firmer foothold.

Along the first three stages of the Jesuits' *via experientiae*—concentration phase—*EMPOWERMENT* is tantamount to the gradual but irreversible development from mostly non-religious facilitating, patronizing, and/or protecting activities—primarily initiated and performed by well-meaning, non-converted *ALLIES*—to arrangements taken by freshly converted *Chinese Others* with a positive view to creatively and autonomously

- be involved and assist the Fathers in spreading the new religious current amongst a like-minded *AUDIENCE*; and
- enable implementation and accomplishment of the groundwork regarding the *China Mission* and Church without the Fathers' direct intervention.

It is in this regard that *EMPOWERMENT* during the concentration phase evolved in a piecemeal fashion. Being fathomed by the *Chinese Others*, degree, impact, and direction of *shouquan* was far from set and settled. At the beginning of the *commerce of conversion* making a virtue out of necessity, converted *Chinese Others* oriented forming and characteristics of *EMPOWERMENT* towards the familiar Chinese religio-cultural given. Encouraged by the Fathers' (un)planned, often long-term absences, independently deciding *EMPOWERMENT*'s breadth and depths became a must for *Tianzhu jiao*'s survival on Chinese soil, and one of *shouquan*'s lasting features.

Eager to establish Faith and Fathers in China, the missionaries were prepared to accept their Chinese neophytes' deeds and decisions. Even if these premature occurrences required corrective actions and necessitated lead time and a well-established, accepted *Chinese Christian Church* to arrive at a fully-fledged, religiously licit *EMPOWERMENT*, the basics for *shouquan* were nonetheless provided at the end of ***Traffic and Travail***.

The tactical, mostly non-religious activities of ***Gaining*** and securing ***Footholds*** dominated the Fathers' daily deeds. However, establishing a secular basis for future missionizing efforts in China by means of working hard for *SINICIZATION* and *LANGUAGE*, utilizing *USEFULNESS*, and winning *ALLIES* also turned higher-ranking Chinese *ALLIES* towards *Tianzhu jiao* and into believers. This initiated the Padres' *commerce of conversion*. It gave it its Chinese face. *ALLIES* thus assuming the peculiar twin-role of tutor and *amanuensis* resulted in necessary *EMPOWERMENT* that not only kindled *ALLIES'* *PREPAREDNESS* to convert and Fathers *PREPAREDNESS* to trust in their Chinese auxiliaries' religio-cultural correctness, but also made both possible. It is in this regard that the resulting, indirect Course of how conversion was (to be) enabled, implemented, and guided became one pillar of *EMPOWERMENT* et vice versa. Capitalizing on a related status and following the inherent stimulus that came with *shouquan*, the neophytes assumed the role of catechists. To such an extent emancipated and tacitly delegated to catechize on their own account stated the Context of the *commerce of conversion* and shaped its Course.

During the Fathers' absence, the early Chinese converts were requested to preserve the manifestations of the *China Mission*. To fulfil this particular labour of piety and love, they went on *ESTABLISHING* constitutive *SIMILARITIES* with the Chinese religio-cultural value-canon. *EMPOWERED* to decide concrete deeds, the Course and Content-forming character of these authorized activities showed itself in far-reaching albeit proper individual decisions to label and locate the new religious current. However, overemphasizing religio-cultural similarities and using familiar, religious *modus operandi* for the greater good of the *China Mission* led to an unintended emancipation and to an unexpected departure from the mandate.

The positive outcomes of own-assumed personal responsibility notwithstanding, the first steps into *EMPOWERMENT* characterize the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience as a necessity in order to

- deal with Chinese self-dependence;
- channel Chinese work enthusiasm; and
- handle Chinese eagerness for forming and implementing.

With the radius of missionizing extending, frequent xenophobic attacks and changing supporters of Mission and missionaries chased the Padres through the country. Often being forced to leave freshly established parishes behind, on-site catechizing and necessary control of the spiritual development of the neophytes became difficult for the Jesuits. To nonetheless keep the spiritual fires burning, leaving the practice of *Tianzhu jiao* in the hands of their converts became indispensable. Further *EMPOWERMENT* turned out to be *a condicio sine qua non*. Notwithstanding the strengthening of the converted *Chinese Others'* self-concept, preventing the Chinese converts in charge from acting as one thinks best was important.

Restricting the religious independence of Chinese converts while channelling their spiritual zeal and missionizing efforts towards permissibly *winning China for Christ* required *EMPOWERMENT* to be situated more between regulatory guard rails. To do so, *EMPOWERED* neophytes received clearer guidelines that furthered implementation of Faith and Mission, streamlined involvement, collaboration and assistance, and channelled emancipation and delegation. It also allowed the first traces of co-optation and cohesion to take shape.

Shouquan thus regulated, authorized converts became invaluable pillars of the nascent *China Mission* and drivers of the *commerce of conversion*. The Course thus codified, the Content determined, and the Context focused, for the time being, on the converts' immediate environment and religious day-to-day routine, *EMPOWERMENT* had passed its litmus test. At the end of the concentration phase lived Accommodation is experienced as a shaping, triggering necessity that nonetheless invites the Chinese converts to bring their talents and knowledge to the forming, implementation, and operationalization of a Chinese-appropriate(d) *commerce of conversion*.

During the following two stages of the *via experientiae*—conduct phase—*EMPOWERMENT* became more sophisticated. Turning away from basic forms of involvement, collaboration, and assistance, as well as from solely propagating *Tianzhu jiao* following *wulun*, *EMPOWERMENT* broadened and deepened with regard to duties, authority, and related expectations of those in charge. Taking more responsibilities from the Fathers and designed to fill in for the absent missionaries, *shouquan* included spiritual guidance, Parish-management, and vindication of *Tianzhu jiao*, the *China Mission*, and its Chinese converts vis-à-vis opponents and public authorities. Resulting from the Padres' regard for/inclusion of Chinese idiosyncrasies, and so backing their *PREPAREDNESS* to institutionalize *EMPOWERMENT*, *emancipatio religiosa sinensis* unfolded and matured. As the balance between Court and country shifted towards the latter, *EMPOWERMENT* had become indispensable to Fathers, Flock, and the *China Mission*, as well as a manifestation of the common priesthood of the Chinese converts. In so charting the future course of the *China Mission*, *shouquan* yielded a clockwork missionary that assured that the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord* was neither unguarded nor spiritually running dry.

Having secured a stable place ***Amongst Equals*** and having collaterized *Tianzhu jiao* and the *China Mission* by means of well-meaning *ALLIES*, appropriate *SINICIZATION* and mastery in *LANGUAGE*, targeting *USEFULNESS* to the respective receptive *AUDIENCE*, and *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* with the dominating religo-cultural value-canon, it became the Fathers' principle to broaden and accelerate the *commerce of conversion intra and extra muros*. Due to the well-applied *modus procedendi sinensis complete*, tallies of baptism increased, with villages converting to *Tianzhu jiao*. However, besides holding up devotion and making the converts live up to the new teaching and to further catechize kin and kind when the Fathers were not within reach, it became an extra task to provide the nascent Flocks with spiritual guidance, religious control, and Parish-management. Implementing a fall-back system that liberally *ESTABLISHED SIMILARITIES* between the Catholic tradition and Chinese local requirements provided the means to weld together the diaspora, give inner structure to the communities, and to prevent apostasy amongst the faint-hearted neophytes.

Leaving the Parishes in the hands of presbyters who were by means of target-oriented *EMPOWERMENT* assigned to hold the line until the Fathers came back to check on the Flock and to minister a range of sacraments which could *de juris canonici* be administered by a layman if the proper formula was used, became a key to survival of the newly established parishes. This assured the parishioners' patronage and protection, and allowed for simple spiritual guidance as enabled by following religious primers and by adhering to the limits of respective emancipation and delegation. It also fostered co-optation and cohesion of the entire Flock. In so matching the rural Context in which *EMPOWERMENT* became a necessity, *shouquan*-related Course and Content were tailored to the

- characteristics of the rural Flock;
- benefits-sought of its neophytes; and
- capabilities of its singled out headmen.

Yielding to mutual *PREPAREDNESS*, this manifestation of trust on the Padres' side shapes the lived Accommodation experience as a daring act and an act of daring that takes into consideration time, place, and persons when enabling, implementing, and guiding conversion by Chinese only.

While successfully perambulating ***Heaven and Earth***, *EMPOWERMENT* became a normality of the Fathers' *Missionary Commission*. Encouraged by the individual successes of *shouquan*, the Padres gradually set aside caution and reserve to facilitate and allow of further *EMPOWERMENT*. Confronted with the missionizing zeal and exemplary religious life of their Chinese converts, as well as considering *shouquan*'s communal hard facts, i.e. stable growth and smooth management of rural Parishes in the hands of presbyters and elders, and cross-generational conversions of entire families and households, the Padres not only tolerated, but also stimulated individual missionizing and catechizing. As a result, assuming greater religious responsibility from the foreign missionaries broke new ground regarding emancipation and delegation as well as implementation and accomplishment of Faith and Mission.

Thus, allowing more independence of direct pastoral guidance, the Fathers converted their converts into

- worthy representatives of *Tianzhu jiao*; and
- useful media expected to carry forward the *commerce of conversion* on the ground, in the villages, and within the now-Christian huts and houses.

By dint of *shouquan* merging Chinese medium and religious message further refined and conformed the Context, Course, and Content of the gradually Chinese-centered *commerce of conversion*. In the light of an increasing, broadening, and deepening *EMPOWERMENT* lived Accommodation is experienced as matter of trust and negotiation that—being stretched between centralism and decentralization—was still built on sand.

Notwithstanding the soaring tallies of baptism and despite *Tianzhu jiao*'s growing status as a religious alternative, broadsides against the new religious current still appeared on the religio-cultural and political agenda. While the Fathers were often triggers but always main sufferers of any (semi-)official hostility, protecting the Church and converts fell to the Chinese *ALLIES* and to the most fervent converts of status and power. The Padres, feeling responsible not only for the growth of the *China Mission* and Church, but also for its immediate survival, extended religious *EMPOWERMENT* to apologetic. This form of *shouquan* with regard to protecting and validating the Church and Creed added to the *commerce of conversion*'s Context, Course, and Content.

With the Parishes mushrooming and the number of Priests shrivelling, the *China Mission* faced new challenges in the area of managing Christian communities; administering to believers; further catechizing within the communities; and missionizing in new areas. As the balance between Court and country shifted towards the latter and the Fathers were exiled every now and then or driven into hiding, solutions to these more practico-ecclesiastical problems were much sought after. *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* with the Chinese benevolent societies soon turned out to be the silver bullet.

Set up and run by the *Chinese Others*, the merger between Chinese *hui* and Christian sodality became the key to growth, management, and survival, as well as the hotbed for a wide range of *EMPOWERMENT*.

First of all aiming at performing *Works of Mercy* and enabling spiritual cultivation/fostering devotion, the established sodalities gradually moved beyond the exiting channels provided by lineage organisations, religious institutions, and state. Chinese converts were not only encouraged, but were also *EMPOWERED* to set up such bodies by themselves and to spread the idea throughout China. Doing so, the spiritual fires flashed over into *sodales'* houses and families as did the *hui*-organization gradually form Parish-setting and spell the Padres at herding their Flocks. The Context of the *commerce of conversion* thus set, Course and Content aligned themselves accordingly. Lived Accommodation is thus experienced as

- performing *e-mancipatio* and cutting the cord; and
- living through a particular form of decolonization.

The dispersed lots in the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord* thus set free and deprived of the Fathers' constant, direct pastoral guidance were neither unguarded nor spiritually running dry. The vine of *EMPOWERMENT*, planted by way of establishing the Christian *hui* and assigning delegable tasks to Chinese converts, silently took deep root and filled the land. As a result, confraternities became the role-model for *EMPOWERMENT* of the Chinese Christians and a complementary *modus procedendi* to the *commerce of conversion*.

At the end of the conduct phase, Context, Course, and Content were set and settled, but were not completed. Whilst the *commerce of conversion* ran smoothly, *EMPOWERMENT's* practical test and its reliability were still to come. For the time being, however, lived Accommodation is experienced as a role-modelled *condicio sine qua non* and a success story ready to take off.

During the last two stages of the *via experientiae*—consolidation phase—*EMPOWERMENT* experiences further sophistication. Developing along the *China Mission's* maturation and its Chinese parishioners' growing demand for more complex forms of piety and involvement, *shouquan* became the logical means to anchor *Tianzhu jiao* as a religious alternative in the Empire.

By dint of *EMPOWERMENT*, the Fathers had established a clockwork missionary that proceeded without constant priestly care.

Ceding further pastoral responsibilities to the *Chinese Other* gradually turned out to be the key to

- unity and unification of dispersed Flocks;
- streamlining and channelling of the *commerce of conversion* and *Tianzhu jiao's* related propagation, and
- security and survival of Faith and Flocks in times of dynastic upheaval, changed coalitions, and Padres' absence.

In so fostering *emancipatio religiosa sinensis*, *EMPOWERMENT* opened out into a means to pull together the *China Mission* and to create a non-missionary-dependent, self-sustaining, and self-expanding *Chinese Christian Church*.

Notwithstanding the successes, deliberately ceding important parts of priestly authority to the *Chinese Other* distinctively and irrevocably altered the job-description and self-concept of the Fathers and their *EMPOWERED* converts. It also carried the seed of misuse of power and perversion of *Tianzhu jiao* into heresy. The downsides were at least contained by rules, regulations, and religious primers, and the advantages of *EMPOWERMENT* prevailed. As a result, extensive yet definite, deep-rooted, well-rehearsed, and long-term practiced, licit *shouquan* carried the *Chinese Christian Church* and its converts over the disastrous end of the *China Mission* and beyond the expulsion of its foreign representatives.

Being well-networked in the nucleus of the Empire and well-established in the bosom of Chinese villages, the future of Faith, Fathers, and Flocks seemed secure. However, with the clockwork missionary working as expected, the *China Mission's* self-made problems of success gradually turned the growing numbers of neophytes into a heavy pastoral burden for the full-time clerics as it increased the need for more complex forms of religious interaction and piety. Progressively widening forms of *EMPOWERMENT* had become the pragmatic reply to the prevailing situation *intra* and *extra muros*.

Unfortunately, ceding pastoral responsibilities to the *Chinese Others* and fostering *emancipatio religiosa sinensis* had led to an intransparent, rank growth of *shouquan*. Considering this particular Context, corrective actions became necessary.

Further regulations were hence, expected to

- transform loosely connected religious structures into well-instructed, joined spiritual communities ***E pluribus unum***;
- set out mechanisms that blunted the impact of any absence of priests;
- allow *EMPOWERMENT* to develop along clear, licit lines of responsibilities.

The visible manifestation of this streamlining became the *hui*-organisation. Forming the backbone of a non-missionary-dependent, self-sustaining, self-expanding *Chinese Christian Church*, the confraternity model provided the stable yet controllable framework for more sophisticated forms of *EMPOWERMENT*.

Introducing confraternities throughout the mission circuits, the Padres delegated much of the parish and spiritual work to the *Chinese Others*. *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* with an indigenous concept of management and control on the grass-root level while displacing priestly authority, *shouquan* became the key to the Parishes' unity and strength, any form of pastoral supervision and regular spiritual care, as well as for long-term survival. As a result, pairing involvement, collaboration, and assistance as well as emancipation and delegation with a Chinese community model of co-optation and cohesion further clarified the *commerce of conversion's* Content and Course. Paving the way towards higher levels of sophistication to the extent of religious subsidy, lived Accommodation is experienced as necessitating creativity, impartiality, and a hefty dose of pragmatism while living up to the ecclesiastical standard of *semper reformanda*.

Notwithstanding the prevailing optimism, the following factors carried the seed of misuse and heresy:

- expecting nascent communities to be self-sufficient and to practice *Tianzhu jiao* in an orthodox way; and
- ceding important parts of priestly power and pastoral responsibilities to those *EMPOWERED*.

To keep *EMPOWERMENT* in check additional rules and mutual control remained necessary.

Implementing these correctives made *hui* the only closely-monitored official locus of communal piety, and *shouquan* a clearly limited, highly regulated religious labour. Both Course and Content thus set guaranteed continuance of religious life in a *zhengtong* way.

Despite external violation of unity and the long-term absence of the Fathers, Christian communities had spread widely, grown significantly, and matured distinctively. Owing to extensive *EMPOWERMENT*, real traces of a grounded, living, growing *Chinese Christian Church* began to show. Appreciating the fruits of *shouquan*, the Fathers proactively geared themselves up for new forced absences and a decreasing number of Padres. Doing so, they delegated an ever greater proportion of their pastoral responsibilities to their Chinese converts. This further altered the self-concept and job-description of both the Fathers and *EMPOWERED Chinese Others*. Mirroring the matured Context, *shouquan* had turned the Chinese in charge into subsidiaries and real media incarnating the religious message. With *EMPOWERMENT* becoming an indispensable part of the Church organisation, Content and Course of the prevailing *commerce of conversion* were at least completely oriented towards the *EMPOWERED*. Lived Accommodation is thus experienced as an outflow of irrevocably and willingly working towards real *e-mancipatio*.

Facing changing coalitions in Europe and China, the Fathers had soon to realize that the forces that had enabled the *China Mission* to expand its numbers of Chinese Christians had rapidly weakened. The structures that had helped to build a *Chinese Christian Church* incrementally came under attack. Sooner or later the **Paradise** was about to be **Lost**. Eager to preserve for as long as possible the mission church it had built, tightening the bonds of solidarity that held their Flocks together and keeping the spiritual fires burning that had been ignited during earlier years necessitated the Fathers to avail of further *EMPOWERMENT*. The means of *shouquan*, practiced and well-rehearsed during better conditions, eventually assured survival without continuous external pastoral care. It enabled *Tianzhu jiao* and the *commerce of conversion* to survive the slender times—at least in Christian families.

With local people being willing to stick to *Tianzhu jiao* in the face of imperial prohibitions and lacking Fathers *EMPOWERMENT* ensured that the *China Mission's* religious status quo was preserved and carried forward.

Even if both Context and Course of the *commerce of conversion* were constantly threatened, of long duration only amongst the *China Mission's* most fervent remnants, and thus permanently reduced to its hard core, lived Accommodation at the end of the consolidation phase is experienced as a survivalist adventure, a stamina test, and a source of steadfast hope.

Understanding *EMPOWERMENT* as one necessity to a successful *commerce of conversion* allows *shouquan* to be considered one structural essence/*eidos* of the Jesuits' Accommodation experiences as lived. Essential to the Accommodation phenomenon, its absence would not only modify the fundamental meaning of the phenomenon as such, but also change it significantly. Taking into account its structurality and invariant core meaning, *EMPOWERMENT* is to be seen as communality to the textural meanings already summarized/captured in the respective thematic clusters. It precipitates the Jesuits' stance and their activities with regard to the Accommodation phenomenon. Doing so allows the WHAT and its many manifestations to emerge and develop, and makes it what it is.

Another step into theorizing upon the essential qualities of the Accommodation phenomenon in order to offer an appropriate guide to effective change management in a Chinese organizational setting today is taken. Due to the abstraction of *EMPOWERMENT* as the seventh of eight essential themes the substantive *Theory of the Unique* that summarizes all requirements reflected in, and/or concern Context, Course, Content of *The Chinese Change Concept—The 3C-Approach* takes further shape.

PREPAREDNESS

Let us busy ourselves with transforming today (Lu Xun, 1881-1936)

The Fathers' enduring willingness, fitted approach(es), and missionary/pastoral activities to acknowledge and avail themselves of the sweet urge in their hearts and in the hearts of the *Chinese Others*, and discern and eventually cash in on the mutual impulse to voluntarily change for the desired better, hence, *ganxingqingyuan*-甘心情愿, point towards the eighth (noematic) cluster of eidetic features that permeate the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience. Centring a mutual civilizing project activated to

- offer the *Chinese Others* the possibility to initiate and channel own self-realization and self-diagnosing in order to eventually overcome own personal and/or social crises, to bridge an existing philosophical void, and to disengage oneself from commingling and confusion that resulted from not finding the harmony in studying *Sanjiaoheyi*; and
- allow Padres and *Chinese Others* to perform a desperate leap in order to reach a new yidongbudong-frozen moment,

provide the indispensable background to the Padres' effort to *win* entire *China for Christ*. Reflecting on the kernel of the Fathers' and the *Chinese Others*' desire, urge, and effort to willingly and joyfully change for the (spiritual) better points towards *PREPAREDNESS* as

- one particular occurrence/specification with regard to the *eidōs* of the concrete lived Accommodation experiences;
- the underlying theme that account for (the emergence of) the phenomenon per se; and
- pertaining to Context, Course, and Content of developing and applying a China-appropriate *modus procedendi* to *win China for Christ*.

Affecting every individual lived Accommodation experience at one point or another during the maturing approach to enable, implement, and guide conversion, *PREPAREDNESS* accompanies the Jesuits on their entire *via experientiae*. Doing so, *PREPAREDNESS* runs the gamut from

- giving attention to formalities to dealing with spiritualities; and
- being concerned with individuals to attending to groups.

With the most basic principles being established at the beginning of the Jesuit Fathers' *via experientiae* into/through China, dealing with *ganxinqingyuan* nonetheless experiences a shift in focus towards a primarily religious *causa finalis*. It becomes further targeted towards a direct apostolate as the *China Mission* matures.

Interacting with *SINICIZATION* and *LANGUAGE*, capitalizing on a particularly targeted *USEFULNESS*, and playing on *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* and *EMPOWERMENT* in order to tend to *AUDIENCE and ALLIES*, teleologically benefitting from *PREPAREDNESS* to convert/change the receptive *Chinese Others* for the better, can be considered a further fundamental for the to-be-decided and creatively to-be-put into practice, constantly to-be-refined *modus procedendi sinensis*. In the Ignatian way taking into consideration time, place, and persons while allowing for concentration, conduct, and/or consolidation with regard to the Jesuits' *commerce of conversion*, *PREPAREDNESS* introduces the eighth structural, essential element into the Accommodation phenomenon.

Along the first three stages of the Jesuits' *via experientiae*—concentration phase—*PREPAREDNESS* is a two-sided, Sino-European constituent that roots and ends in a bridging project aimed at establishing a communion of faith and culture, and at finally *winning China for Christ*.

At the beginning of the Jesuits' missionizing activities, *PREPAREDNESS* is tantamount to planting the seed of mutuality in the Jesuits' *Chinese way of proceeding*. Pioneering an interactive civilizing project, the Padres' un-pre-conditioned willingness, readiness, empathy, and mobility to become Chinese to the Chinese affected and transformed both parties involved. In so teleologically benefitting from a Sino-European *PREPAREDNESS* to be(come) each other's mutual civilizer and civilizee eventually helped to

- overcome a reciprocally prevailing cultural hubris and arrogance (Standaert, 1997);
- dampen (c)overt xenophobia amongst the Chinese; and
- win and secure well-meaning *ALLIES*.

With the status and position(ing) of the missionaries gradually stabilizing, discovering, acknowledging, piquing, kindling, fostering, and finally availing of Chinese *PREPAREDNESS* to convert benefitting from *ganxinqingyuan* becomes equivalent to

- tailoring the Jesuits' *modus procedendi sinensis* in a trial-and-error style to different, Chinese (c)overt benefits-sought; and
- expediting the *commerce of conversion* amongst different *AUDIENCE(S)*.

The contact points and scope of *PREPAREDNESS* thus set the gateway to propagate *Tianxue* or *Tianzhu jiao* in an addressee-appropriate(d) way was finally provided. At the end of the concentration phase, *winning China for Christ* by way of a direct(ed) apostolate and mutual respect was possible.

Eager to pioneer a policy of cultural adaptation, determined to *ESTABLISH* religio-cultural *SIMILARITIES*, and willing to harvest on mutual respect and Chinese *PREPAREDNESS* to convert motivated the Fathers to embark on an interactive civilizing project that at first concerned the Jesuit missionaries only. At the beginning of their ***Traffic and Travails***, the Padres started with a clear commitment to seek transition to China. Unconditional *PREPAREDNESS* to adhere to the Chinese cultural value-canon, to strive for *SINICIZATION* and mastering the *LANGUAGE*, and to market own *USEFULNESS* amongst an erudite *AUDIENCE* eventually pushed aside the impenetrable bamboo curtain. First linked to mere formalities, the Fathers' *PREPAREDNESS* nonetheless fathomed the Context where the *commerce of conversion* was to take place, and shaped its Course and its Content. As a result, the Padres' *PREPAREDNESS* to fully convert to China in return kindled Chinese *PREPAREDNESS* to embark on the mutual civilizing project that started with accepting the foreigners in their country and hearts. It is in this regard that lived Accommodation at this early stage of ***Traffic and Travails*** is experienced as an apparent detour that finally turned out to be a facilitating shortcut.

With time, the Chinese mark of respect towards the curious and apparently *harmless* foreigners grew significantly. The Fathers' *PREPAREDNESS* to follow the Chinese value-canon and their proofs of own *USEFULNESS* made interaction with the Chinese normality.

Encouraged by their new image, status, and position amongst their high-ranking Chinese *AUDIENCE*, backed by a growing number of well-meaning *ALLIES*, and confirmed by Chinese *PREPAREDNESS* to carry forward the mutual civilizing project on site, the Padres finally pushed the *China Mission* into a new era.

Ready to recognize Chinese Christians as Chinese, the missionaries opted out of the traditional, *Europeanizing tabula rasa* approach to conversion and for a cultural sensitive method of proselytization. The Fathers' *PREPAREDNESS* to seek transition towards China and a *modo soave cinese* and to *ESTABLISH SIMILARITIES* with a religious equal put the entire endeavour to *win China for Christ* on a Chinese ground. In so enabling the *Chinese Others* to interact more freely with the foreigners on secular and religious level created a particular *do ut des* with the Chinese *AUDIENCE*. This furthered the Course of the developing *commerce of conversion* simultaneously stabilizing its Context. Looking back on the seismic shift in the Fathers' Mission-related self-concept, lived Accommodation is experienced as a particular, Chinese-controlled venture that had its stimulus in the Fathers' missionary *ganxinqingyuan* but received its momentum from Chinese *PREPAREDNESS* to embark on an interactive civilizing project.

With the time progressing feeling the urge to nourish the apostolate of influence, to differentiate themselves completely from their European countrymen, and to establish a common ground with their Chinese hosts, the Fathers continued to display Western *USEFULNESS*. However, what started as a means to prove own *harmlessness* and trustworthiness vis-à-vis the *Chinese Others* and a manifestation of own *PREPAREDNESS* to advance China, exchanging *Xixue's* hard- and soft facts became religiously synallagmatic. Satisfying Chinese's scientific curiosity and establishing a fruitful Sino-European exchange on the level of practical morality, practical learning, and natural reason took the form of a particular pull-approach and a subliminal advertising of the Fathers and Faith. Rooted in the Padres *PREPAREDNESS* to share own *USEFULNESS* with their Chinese *AUDIENCE*, the established Content of the Fathers' indirect apostolate piqued Chinese desire to learn more about the foreign religion and in return kindled, fostered, and nursed Chinese *PREPAREDNESS* to seek transition.

This healthy *quid pro quo* shapes the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience at the end of **Traffic and Travails**. It is in this regard that **PREPAREDNESS** and preparatory efforts on the Fathers' side enabled the

- Chinese to accept the Padres' **USEFULNESS**, **SINICIZATION**, and **LANGUAGE** as the entrance card to permanently stay in China; and
- missionaries to **ESTABLISH SIMILARITIES** with and to initiate far-reaching rededications regarding the Chinese religio-cultural given.

Gained permanent **Footholds** by way of hobnobbing, virtue, image, **SINICIZATION**, **LANGUAGE**, and **USEFULNESS**, the latter gradually became the tacit, non-threatening, effective means to confront the *Chinese Others* with the fundamentals of Christianity, to **ESTABLISH SIMILARITIES**, and to elicit *ganxinqingyuan* with the higher ranking **AUDIENCE**. Due to the intellectually created, religious mutuality, Chinese **PREPAREDNESS** to seek transition to a new but already known spiritual *yidongbudong* was rendered possible. The religio-academic Context and Content, as well as the learned Course of the *commerce of conversion* set, openly missionizing amongst the high-ranking **AUDIENCE** without any detours or concealment became one avenue to *win* entire *China for Christ*. It is in this regard that nourishing Chinese **PREPAREDNESS** to consider Christianity as a worthy, complementing, religious alternative via successfully looking for connecting elements and so tailoring and targeting *Tianzhu jiao* to a dedicated **AUDIENCE** shapes the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience.

Even if the tactical activities of establishing a practico-secular basis for future missionizing efforts and inviting *Chinese Others* to join the mutual civilizing project still dominated the Fathers' daily deeds of preparing both Mission and missionaries for work and time to come, conversion of higher ranking Chinese provided the litmus test of the **PREPAREDNESS**-eliciting *modo soave cinese passivo*. *In praxi* still accentuating the need for **SINICIZATION** and **LANGUAGE**, as well as for an **AUDIENCE**-related sharing of **USEFULNESS**, the initiation of a mutual civilizing project proved the case for a successful, **PREPAREDNESS**-kindling, subliminal marketing (Moore, 1982) of *Tianzhu jiao* to an individual addressee.

In this regard, nearness with the Fathers, a daily encounter with the missionaries virtually incarnating their holy message, and a Mission-forming and facilitating *EMPOWERMENT* led the individual *Chinese Others* to embark on a civilizing project that opened up new religious vistas, the desire for self-realization and self-diagnosing, *ganxingqingyuan*, and the urge to seek transition. As a result, missionizing successes confirmed the high(er)-ranking Context and Content of the *commerce of conversion*, as it further clarified its Course. To such an extent aware of the constitutive, field-tested successes of how to elicit *PREPAREDNESS* amongst/of the high-ranking *AUDIENCE*, lived Accommodation is experienced as running like clockwork.

While the *modo soave cinese passivo* of sharing academic *USEFULNESS* and *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* brought the higher-ranking *AUDIENCE* to Fathers and font, kindling *PREPAREDNESS* of lower-ranking Chinese to convert had to follow a more active, personal road. Already fathoming the principles of the *modo soave cinese attivo* and so mainly rooting in an approach to overcome personal and/or social crises, the Fathers' charitable acts and their direct advertising of Christianity's *soteriological promises* to the afflicted *baixing intra* and *extra muros* paved the way towards *Tianzhu jiao*. It kindled Commoners' *ganxingqingyuan* and strengthened Chinese *PREPAREDNESS* to convert. The Context and Content of the Fathers' *commerce of conversion* in place completed its Course both in an appropriate trial-and-error style and by considering time, place, and person. At the end of the concentration phase, lived Accommodation experience is mostly shaped by the success that

- rooted in the Fathers' *PREPAREDNESS* to convert to China and to establish a particular *do ut des* in order to convert China; and
- came with having implemented the basics of how to kindle and benefit from Chinese *ganxingqingyuan* to join the mutual civilizing project that eventually led to conversion.

During the following two stages of the *via experientiae*—conduct phase—discovering and dealing with Chinese *PREPAREDNESS* to convert and so assuaging Chinese *ganxingqingyuan* towards *yidongbudong* became more focused on the Fathers' mission-related *causa finalis*.

With the Padres being fully integrated into the Chinese religio-cultural value-canon and their achievements regarding *SINICIZATION*, *LANGUAGE*, *USEFULNESS*, and *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* rewarded, the ways to handle Chinese *PREPAREDNESS* became gradually segmented, tailored, and eventually focused on *winning* all *Chinese* and entire *China for Christ*. The *modus procedendi sinensis* in such a way completed, complemented, and religiously adjusted, dealing with Chinese *PREPAREDNESS* required the missionaries to develop and manage a multi-faceted process. Still rooting in sharing *USEFULNESS*, dependent on well-meaning *ALLIES*, and further eager to *ESTABLISH* religio-cultural *SIMILARITIES* in order to reach a balanced, mutually fruitful communion of faith and culture with their diverse, high(er) and low(er) ranking *AUDIENCE*, missionizing as follows allowed the Fathers to fully benefit from Chinese (c)over *PREPAREDNESS* to convert:

- amongst *shenshi* or *baixing*;
- *ad personam* or as a revivalist group experience;
- by way of either a subliminal, Literati and Elite-tested, *Tianxue*-related, pull-approach or a supraliminal (Moore, 1982), Commoners-appropriate(d), *Tianzhu jiao*-focused, push-approach (Kotler, 2002);
- at a snail's pace or as a high-speed process; and
- while either offering highly personalized answers to personal crises and religio-philosophical confusion or dealing with village, group or clan-related issues and social crises.

Thus, able to acknowledge individual Chinese *PREPAREDNESS* to seek transition and to go on following *Tianzhu zhidao* bore lasting fruit. At the end of the conduct phase, the Fathers' religious catchment area had completely shifted towards the three classes into which the vast majority of the Chinese population fell.

Being well-established amongst the Commoners and carried forward as a multi-generational endeavour, the *China Mission* had become a family business. It already showed the first traces of a *Chinese Christian Church*. Fuelled by the converts' *PREPAREDNESS* to go the extra mile spreading *Tianzhu jiao* by the *EMPOWERED* Chinese amongst Chinese became a missionizing *perpetuum mobile*.

This value of *PREPAREDNESS* already anticipated the virtues that carried the *China Mission* through the consolidation phase and beyond. At the end of their particular metamorphosis, the Fathers had become Chinese to the Chinese. Having swapped the ill-reputed Buddhist image for a Literati, the Padres were fully integrated into the Chinese religio-cultural value-canon. With their achievements regarding *SINICIZATION*, *LANGUAGE*, *USEFULNESS*, and their *ESTABLISHED SIMILARITIES* with the most valued class of the *Guanfu*-officials rewarded, the missionaries had created a situation whereby most of Literati could behave towards them as if they were Chinese. The Fathers were well-placed ***Amongst Equals*** to such an extent that they were identified with the class of the learned, regarded as loyal subjects of the Emperor, and seen as bearers of valuable, quasi-official, acceptable, authoritative messages. This made the atmosphere increasingly favourable to spread Christianity and receptive to the Christian leaven. It created a general *PREPAREDNESS* amongst the Chinese *AUDIENCE* of all ranks to listen to, interact with, and follow the Padres. This formed a fruitful, firmer Context where/in which setting conversion was (to be) enabled, implemented, and guided. The positive lived Accommodation experience in such a way backed, the Fathers went on kindling the *PREPAREDNESS* of their learned *AUDIENCE* and well-meaning high(er) ranking *ALLIES*.

Availing of *Tianxue*-related *USEFULNESS* to get in contact with China's great and good further establishing a fruitful communion of faith and culture ***Amongst*** erudite ***Equals*** required a multifaceted, time-consuming, dynamic process. It rested on manifold causes that led towards the particular *AUDIENCE*'s self-realization and self-diagnosing.

Haunted by a quest for intellectual certainty, discontented with the ineffectiveness of the prevailing religio-philosophical value-canon, frustrated about the prospects of life, or simply bored by their daily lives' narrowness, turning towards alternatives aroused *shenshi's ganxinqingyuan*. Attracted to the Fathers by the appeal of science, the missionaries' personality, and/or their knowledge, the detour of sharing *Tianxue* with the intellectually and monetary well-off in order to end up introducing *Tianzhu jiao* as the erudite-appropriate(d) way to close the religio-philosophical void jolted the erudite *AUDIENCE* with new, deep, and spiritual insights.

This rooted Content and Course of the missionaries' *commerce of conversion* in a particular *do ut des* as doing so kindled the Chinese *PREPAREDNESS* and planted the seed of mutuality and conversion. As a result, performing the time-consuming, highly personalistic, often long lasting, subliminal, pull-approach on the *shenshi-AUDIENCE* created willingness and readiness to accept the eternal, universal Lord of Heaven.

Giving way to *ganxinqingyuan* provided for the high(er)-ranking *AUDIENCE's* future self-motivated missionizing and apologia. Having *won China's* great and good *for Christ*, the high(er)-ranking converts' *PREPAREDNESS* to seek transition not only extended towards their own people, kin and kind, but also into the realm of defending *Tianxue|Tianzhu jiao* and its representatives against official broadsides. As a result, the new *ALLIES* in faith became role models and *Fidei Defensores*. By means of *EMPOWERMENT* they established a clockwork missionary and an apologetic line of defence. This carried the *commerce of conversion* over time and places, and through ***Heaven and Earth.***

Having aligned the missionizing with the intellectual *AUDIENCE's* (c)overt motives, motivators, and benefits-sought further perfected the Fathers' *modo soave cinese passivo*. It sublimated the erudite-tested Content, Course, and Context to capitalize from Chinese *PREPAREDNESS* to convert and defend their new *yidongbudong*. In this context, the need to balance the importance of high-ranking converts to frame and further the *China Mission* with the number of Literati-converts and the often exhausting work-input to kindle and profit from *PREPAREDNESS* shapes the Fathers' lived Accommodation experience.

Besides the highly concentrated, personalistic time-, money- and intellect-consuming approaches to sow and harvest amongst China's great and the good, convincing *baixing intra- and extra muros* of Padres and preaching represented the other more mundane possibility to light spiritual fires on the grass-root level. However, the change in Context entailed a modification in Course and Content regarding the new *AUDIENCE-related commerce of conversion*.

When it came to kindling and finally benefitting from the rural people's *PREPAREDNESS* to convert, the Fathers could capitalize on

- their learned image and position that came with *SINICIZATION* and *LANGUAGE*; and
- the constitutive elements that already attracted the Literati and Elite to Fathers and font.

However, leaving learned *Heaven* to missionize common *Earth* required a more active, multi-phase approach. Being well-introduced and received in the villages by means of *ALLIES'* help and a supportive image that was linked to *SINICIZATION* and *LANGUAGE*, piquing *baixing* curiosity marked the first step towards a mutual civilizing project along *Tianzhu zhidao*. Thus, availing of a supraliminal, direct, push-approach to spread the easy-to-understand and easy-to-convey parts of Christianity kindled the villagers'

PREPAREDNESS to either listen to the still easy-to-digest parts of the Christian message, or be received into the Church to join the ranks of the catechumens. During the (following) consideration process, the Fathers lightened *baixing-ganxinqingyuan* by directly addressing their *AUDIENCES'* different motives, (group-)individual motivators, and benefits-sought to convert. Establishing a synallagmatic relationship that is rooted in acts of altruism, material, intellectual, and emotional benefit that came with Christianity, and in a pursuit of something more or better than one's present situation *ESTABLISHED SIMILARITIES* with the religio-cultural given.

Planting the Faith amongst the Commoners by means of performing the *Works of Mercy* as an antidote to personal and social crises, and revealing *Tianzhu jiao's soteriological promises* unto the rural folks as a revivalist experience confirmed the villagers' *PREPAREDNESS* to seek transition. In so tailoring Course and Content to rural individuals of all social strata, groups, families, and households set in motion a particular missionizing *perpetuum mobile*. It validated the Padres' *modo soave cinese attivo*. The manifold missionizing successes amongst the Commoners thus shape the Fathers' positive lived Accommodation experience of successfully missionizing amongst *baixing*, on a larger scale, and by way of a more systems-oriented proselytization approach.

When finally everything was said and done and new rural souls were won for Christ holding up devotion and making the converts live to the new teaching required further methods and media. Additionally, those who gave way to their *ganxingqingyuan* confronted the Fathers with their distinctive, lasting, and time-consuming demand for spiritual guidance. To keep up *PREPAREDNESS* to follow *Tianzhu zhidao* and to prevent *PREPAREDNESS* of following *Tianzhu jiao* to die away in times of broadsides and persecutions, as well as with Fathers on the run required implementing a fall-back system, substantial *EMPOWERMENT*, and *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* with Chinese local requirements.

The Course and Content thus enlarged turned the spiritual sowing in the Provinces into an equally time-consuming and its growth into a non-controllable affair. However, the harvest was a more fruitful compared to that amongst the Literati and Elite. Readiness to trade extra work and unpredictability of every single missionizing endeavour against the possibilities of *winning* entire villages *for Christ* thus shapes the lived Accommodation experience with regard to dealing with Commoners' *PREPAREDNESS* to seek transition.

During the last two stages of the *via experientiae*—consolidation phase—channelling, collateralizing, conserving, and carrying forward Chinese *PREPAREDNESS* to convert and to remain converted became the Fathers' main concern in light of the following:

- conversion-supporting natural disasters, political crises, imperial toleration, and spiritual maturation; and
- conversion-impeding religious broadsides and new coalitions in Beijing and Rome.

In so running the gamut from religio-cultural acceptance, inclusion, and toleration to exclusion and rejection, managing organizational and religious rank growth, assuring the *Chinese Christian Church* to be(come) *zhengtong*, and preserving the status quo not only affected *ganxingqingyuan*, but was also affected by Chinese *PREPAREDNESS* to keep the clockwork missionary intact.

At the end of the consolidation phase, imperial crackdown against the missionaries, a changed religious sentiment, and the apparent need to restore imperial harmony deprived the *China Mission* of its driving factors. The *Chinese Christian Church*, its foreign representatives and native members were reduced to its outlawed hard core and were pushed into invisibility. *PREPAREDNESS* to embark on a civilizing project with a foreign religion which was officially declared *xie*, and the urge to change for the religious better that on the outset meant persecution, bans, and being at odds with *zhong*-忠-loyalty, *xiao*-孝-filial piety, and *li*-禮-proper rite had lost its radiance. Outside families and beyond kinship bonds *Tianzhu jiao* and *PREPAREDNESS* to follow *Tianzhu zhidao* had ceased to exist.

At the beginning of the consolidation, phase however, walking outside the shadows of their Mandarin friends was finally possible for the Fathers. Freed from allocating time and intellectual effort to kindle and keep erudite Chinese *PREPAREDNESS* to convert, the Padres were able to refocus their missionary zeal on *winning* the more promising common *China for Christ*. To do so, the Jesuits seized the opportunity to actively market *Tianzhu jiao* as an ideal solution to counter chaos, disunity, and related personal/social crises. The Context thus set, the Padres actively availed of Chinese desire and *PREPAREDNESS* to flee from the current *vallis lacrimarum* (Ps. 84:7). To afford the afflicted Commoners, easing *ganxinqingyuan* and seeking transition towards a new *yidongbudong* necessitated to

- straightforwardly bring into play a Chinese-appropriate(d) spiritual *USEFULNESS*; and
- comprehensively *ESTABLISH SIMILARITIES* with the prevailing religio-cultural expectations of the rural target-*AUDIENCE*.

This further targeted the Course and Content of the established *commerce of conversion* towards the *baixing-AUDIENCE*'s motives, motivators, and benefits-sought. It kindled their *PREPAREDNESS* to embark on *Tianzhu zhidao*. As a result, the consolidated, streamlined *modus procedendi sinensis* improved the poor tallies of baptism amongst the rural folk.

It is in this regard that the feeling of profiting from a *PREPAREDNESS*-kindling atmosphere of demise and decline and being so elated by the accelerated growth of the *China Mission* amongst the rural folk shapes the Fathers' lived Accommodation experience.

In the years that followed the Manchu conquest, the Padres' *commerce of conversion* further advanced and prospered. Primarily owing to those Chinese from all social strata and across China who saw in *Tianzhu jiao's soteriological promise* an antidote to crisis and disunity, and in seeking transition a consequential move to finally overcome these crises, the Fathers garnered abundant fruit.

Facing rank growth and religious spin-off, streamlining the *China Mission* and channelling Chinese *PREPAREDNESS* to convert and to remain converted ***E pluribus unum*** became necessary. Both required clear configuration, centralized organization, and on-site management. All was achieved by *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* with a Chinese community model. In so availing of Chinese *hui* provided the Context to advance the *commerce of conversion* as it further lowered existing barriers of change. Featuring Course and Content to enable, implement, and guide conversion encouraged and motivated a growing number of Chinese rustics to seek transition, and eventually (re)integrated Chinese *ekklesia* into the Chinese religio-cultural value-canon. Finally accepted by imperial *Edict* as a religious alternative for a growing number of Chinese from all ranks, *Tianzhu jiao's* future, the *Chinese Christian Church* and its members seemed secure, as was Chinese *PREPAREDNESS* to follow *Tianzhu zhidao* incited. Thus, enjoying status and stable growth shapes the Fathers' lived Accommodation experience.

However, shifting coalitions in Rome and Beijing threatened all. The Padres' and *Tianzhu jiao's* orthodoxy challenged by Chinese officials and Curia alike, the *China Mission* was to relive the fate of the early Church. It saw a retake of what had burdened Chinese *PREPAREDNESS* to seek transition during concentration phase. While official crackdown against missionaries and *China Mission* did not hit the Chinese Christians ebbing imperial toleration nonetheless cooled down Chinese *PREPAREDNESS* to convert or to keep on following *Tianzhu zhidao*.

As a result, the Context in which the *commerce of conversion* was to develop significantly narrowed. Despite the difficulties to win new souls for Christ, local people were quite willing to stick to *Tianzhu jiao*. Capitalizing on a deep rooted Faith and a clockwork missionary mainly working unharmed, the Fathers were still able to profit from Christianity as a family tradition. The Course to keep the *commerce of conversion* to such an extent secured conversion beyond kinship bonds had nevertheless become scarce commodities. The vineyard gradually became infertile. To such an extent forced to face the demise and decline of the once prosperous and prospering *Chinese Christian Church* and a shrinking *PREPAREDNESS* amongst the Chinese to convert shapes the Fathers' lived Accommodation.

To at least preserve the religious status quo banking on Chinese *PREPAREDNESS* to carry forward the religious teachings became the main focus. The moment the Fathers were forced into invisibility and *Tianzhu jiao* was relegated to the rank of *xiejiao* following *Tianzhu zhidao* was no longer concerned to be the better solution. The **Paradise** was finally **Lost**.

Understanding *PREPAREDNESS* as a necessity and means to enable, implement, and guide conversion towards the desired better allows *ganxinqingyuan* to be considered one structural essence/*eidos* of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experiences. Kindling and capitalizing on (c)overt *PREPAREDNESS* is essential to the Accommodation phenomenon as such. Its absence would not only modify the fundamental meaning of the phenomenon or change it significantly but make it impossible. Taking into account its structurality and invariant core meaning, *PREPAREDNESS* is to be seen as communality to the textural meanings already summarized/capture in the related thematic clusters as such. It precipitates the Jesuits' stance and their activities with regard to the Accommodation phenomenon and allows the WHAT and its many manifestations to emerge and develop; it makes it what it is.

Due to the abstraction of *PREPAREDNESS* as the eighth and last essential theme the substantive *Theory of the Unique* that summarizes all requirements reflected in, and/or concern Context, Course, Content of *The Chinese Change Concept—The 3C-Approach* has finally taken full shape.

7.3 Un-bracketing—Re-integration of bracketed data

“Give them credit for their good intentions. Nor are you to suppose that they undertook the task of civilising these nations in order to acquire dominion over them. No. They were actuated by worthier motives. [...] [T]hey brought with them the essence of the Christian religion [...] with charity and love to their fellow creatures.” (Nicolini, 1854/2012, p. 97)

Having moved through layers of textural-*noematic* analysis, and spiralled into the structural-*noetic* aspect(s) of the Jesuits’ lived Accommodation experience, the two stages of hermeneutic-phenomenology research’s *imaginative variation* with regard to the *variant constituents* as derived from *thematic analysis* in *Chapter 6* has yielded, and confirmed, the following eight *invariant constituents* that form the phenomenon’s uncontested essence:

SINICIZATION, LANGUAGE, USEFULNESS, AUDIENCE, ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES, ALLIES, EMPOWERMENT, PREPAREDNESS

For this purpose, performing *epoché* and working under *phenomenological reduction* had temporarily silenced the internal and external soundscape that had the potential to overlay a targeted

- listening to the nuances and subtleties of the true nature of the Jesuits’ lived Accommodation experience; and
- seeing through the phenomenon’s particularity towards its *ontic* qualities.

An intended and structured putting in abeyance of research|er-related subtle and/or taken-for-granted preconceptions that came with or were linked to the phenomenon had avoided the interpretive influence of unreflective insights “and their implied dogmatic structures” (LeVasseur, 2003, p. 418). “[H]abitual patterns of thinking” (p. 417) were successfully disrupted. As a result, this simultaneously objectivist and alethic hermeneutic and thus reductive journey had eventually brought back the primordial idea of the Jesuits’ original Accommodation experience. With the invisible, originary aspects of the experience brought into visibility and nearness (van Manen, 2014) the phenomenon is seen anew. Fresh perspectives concerning the Jesuits’ Accommodation experience and the existing managerial issue that motivates the study are allowed to stand out against the totality of the phenomenon.

Being enabled to see the entirety of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience in a conceptualized manner along Course, Content, and Context provided the building blocks of the one new substantive *Theory of the Unique* and thus the foundation for *The Chinese Change Concept—The 3C-Approach*. With the object of research ontologically-epistemologically given adequately (van Manen, 2014) and the gestalt lifted from its background, bracketing has reached its endpoint (Moustakas, 1994).

Following van Manen (2014) "each phenomenon requires its own unique approach and unique application of the epoché and reduction" (p. 220). What is true of performing *epoché* and working under *phenomenological reduction* also applies to the process of re-integrating bracketed data. Having reached a deepened, reflective, and abstracted understanding of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience by way of imaginatively varying the eight *invariant constituent*, inventing a tailored, topic-appropriate(d) approach becomes necessary.

To prove the trueness of the eight *invariant constituents* that give the phenomenon its distinctiveness van Manen (2014) suggests that synthesizing bracketed data with the interpretive conclusions has to be performed "in a scholarly, creative, and original manner" (p. 227). Lacking further guidelines, the final act of see(k)ing meaning will therefore carry forward "the genuine [and already applied] openness in [...] [the] conversational relation with the [concrete lived experience(s) under scrutiny]" (p. 224). Re-integration of bracketed data will thus be a comprehensive, literally catholic contrasting and a reflective confrontation between the pre-conceptions named and written down during research and stated in *Sections 5.1.1* and *5.1.2*, and the fresh insights gathered during research in a combining way. In so allowing for generalization and theorizable abstraction upon the eight *invariant constituents'* general structure/interrelatedness, this approach will confirm the building blocks of the one new substantive *Theory of the Unique* that will be(come) eminently suitable to accommodate oneself/a foreign doctrine to China; and deal with a particular setting or a comparable managerial concern with regard to bringing change to China. It so opens out into *The Chinese Change Concept—The 3C-Approach*.

Prior to opening the brackets and letting the pre-conceptions flow back into the research equation, it is advisable to first look back at the bracketing experience in its entirety. This will re-confirm the general necessity and basic advantage of having performed *epoché* and worked under *phenomenological reduction* to get at the *eidōs* of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience. Following the genuine logic of bracketing as being an individual, unique, and hence, personal endeavour, the validation of bracketing per se as well as the process of un-bracketing will be either compiled in the authentic first person or presented from the researcher's point of view. Thus, mirroring stance and approach as adopted in *Sections 5.1.1* and *5.1.2* will further bring to a termination the temporal structure of bracketing.

Along the research journey, adhering to the five core elements of bracketing has disrupted habitual patterns of thinking. Not being a Sinologist or a Theologian by profession naturally allowed for

- an exposure to the Jesuits' Accommodation experience as if it presents itself for the first time; and
- an own see(k)ing meaning with regard to the phenomenon under scrutiny.

By following the procedural steps of setting apart and holding in abeyance what did not come from own research(ing) prevented from

- entering into the topic through the wide gate of unexamined assumptions, personal or systematic prejudices;
- regarding narrow perspectives into the topic to represent the whole phenomenon; and
- accepting without reservation quasi-seminal findings as established truth.

Even if following this path would not have falsified the research, it would have kept from interacting with the sources and foreclosed new findings, hampered critical thinking, silenced questioning, and so significantly curtailed the insights. The aim of making visible what was invisible would thus have not been fulfilled. Having instead abstained from staying on the broad way (Mt. 7:13-14) yielded fresh, new, unencumbered, and generally personal insights into the Jesuits' lived experience of enabling, implementing, and guiding conversion/change in China.

Coming back to the requirements regarding mission and the objective of synthesizing bracketed data with the interpretative conclusions of the research, the basic questions remain (Bednall, 2006):

- Will the eight *invariant constituents* pass the test of authenticity if the brackets are taken away?
- Will re-integration of bracketed data have the potential to either reduce or increase the significance of the abstracted essence?

The subsequent assessing review of internal and external suppositions answers these basic questions—with an appropriate degree of generality.

Internal suppositions

Researching the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience confirmed my personal knowledge, history, culture, and change-related experiences in general and regarding China in particular.

Confronting the various manifestations of what it means to be a Jesuit in China aiming at spreading the Gospel with my own experiences of introducing new managerial ideas in a non-comparable, i.e. non-Western (business) environment, turned a private, apparently unique experience into a generalizable, universally valid knowledge. Balancing the various steps to be taken, decisions to be made, talents to be developed and applied, attitude to be retained, and opportunities to be seized to accommodate Fathers and a new religious current to both every prevailing situation and an unknowing, at the worst, hostile (Chinese) environment, merges the Jesuits' historical and my experience into a joint, timeless experience. This turns both lived experiences into communality. In so considering the Jesuits' stance to

- be the *primum movens* of successfully bringing the West to China;
- provide fundamentals to enable, implement, and guide successful, accepted, mutually beneficial change/conversion within a comparable cultural (Chinese) setting; and
- epitomize/typify the basic approach to lower existing change barriers, reduce change resistance on Western and Chinese side, and to hence, foster change from within,

gives the eight *invariant constituents* their authenticity.

To such an extent increasing the significance of the abstracted essence re-integration of bracketed data confirms the eight *invariant constituents* per se and in their to-be-conceptualized form.

Constantly considering the goal of the research at hand:

The provision of one new substantive *Sinicized Theory of the Unique* that serves as means of mutual understanding, that modifies mind-sets and attitudes—*mutatis mutandis*—and that not simply conceptualizes or models the Jesuits' proselytization approach in China to offer oversimplifying generalizations, and/or to present one-size-fits all recipes 'to enable change in China'

made it comparatively easy to bracket out academic orientation and theory.

While this particular mantra avoided jumping to conclusions, ripening personal conviction and a growing knowledge regarding the phenomenon being no typical topic to derive managerial-economic models and theory created further impartiality. The interaction with the multiple sources, and the contemplation of the manifold cognitive, *semantic* manifestations of the Jesuits' Accommodation experience that are apparent in the chosen texts, and the non-cognitive, *mantic* elements that are invisibly embedded within the respective textual representations helped to strengthen essential distance and to overcome an academically instilled disposedness to simplification. It is in this regard that the hermeneutic-phenomenology-required thick description of the complexities of *winning China for Christ*, the evolving approaches of accommodating Fathers and Faith in China along the phases of concentration, conduct, and consolidation, and the importance of the *Chinese Others* in creating a *modo soave cinese completo* further silenced impact and consequences of prevailing academic orientation and theory.

Although see(k)ing the modular in the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experiences yields the red thread to thesis and research, disruption of habitual patterns of thinking provided fresh, unencumbered building blocks to fathom one new substantive *Theory of the Unique* from scratch. This unburdened modulation—opening out into *The Chinese Change Concept—The 3C-Approach*—gives the eight *invariant constituents* their authenticity.

This increases the significance of the abstracted essence while re-integration of bracketed data/stance confirms the *invariant constituents* in their to-be-conceptualized form.

When researching the Jesuits lived Accommodation experience in China, Roman-Catholic religion in all its popular-traditional, academic-dogmatic, historical-founded, and topical-modernized variations frame the entire understanding of the phenomenon under scrutiny. It is in this regard that Faith and related values could not be nullified. To nonetheless fulfil the aim and mission of bracketing, constantly considering Faith and values and thus the importance of understanding the impact of religion and its variations on the Jesuits' proselytization approach could be used as a sounding board to research, a contextualizing (re)verification of gathered insights, and a key to a deeper understanding of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience. It is in this regard that constant awareness regarding impact of religion in general and Faith and values in particular when researching the Accommodation phenomenon disrupted habitual patterns of thinking. It provoked ongoing

- questioning of the sources under research; and
- search for the *primum movens* with regard to the Fathers' actions and reactions when striving for *winning China for Christ*.

In so making visible the invisibly resonating religious traditions with regard to proselytization and missionizing, considering Faith and values finally made apparent the

- historical/traditional, i.e. the *vetara*, in the existent/apparent novelty, i.e. the *nova*; and
- impact and importance of the *Chinese Others* in fathoming the *modus procedendi sinensis*.

As a result, bracketing demystified the Fathers' approach and gave their actions and activities a sound, proven, traditional, accepted and acceptable basis. With Faith and values permanently hold in a considering abeyance the constant reflective-meditative endeavour fostered on-going curiosity and further questioning. Doing so created a necessity to broaden the research-horizon, enlarged the sources to be researched, and so added valuable insights out of the extra-ordinary.

This application of (newly acquired) own knowledge regarding Roman-Catholic religion, and the usage of (deepened) Faith and values to counter-check research eventually increased the significance of the abstracted essence. In so giving the eight *invariant constituents* their general and China-related authenticity, as well as a further historical backing, re-integration of bracketed data confirms the eight *invariant constituents* in their to-be-conceptualized form.

External suppositions

As a matter of fact, gathered insights during the entire research journey confirm that external suppositions concerning the traditional, pre-determined, and long unquestioned (research) history and existing definition(s), as well as related larger environmental factor of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience in China are the root cause of still existing transformations of what the individual, numerous Jesuits' lived Accommodation experiences essentially were and are. Looking back at the analysis in its totality makes apparent that not having set apart these pre-conceptions would have obscured or at least significantly limited the expected/necessary see(k)ing of

- real meaning underlying the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience; and
- different horizons constituting the phenomenon as such.

Transcending the classical classification of Accommodation by making visible what the phenomenon in its essence is would not have been possible. This holds further truth if external suppositions are used at the end of the research phase as a lens through which the findings are looked at in their entirety. As a matter of course, this general impression of obscured trueness if bracketing would not have been performed proves true regarding the three areas that further detail the external suppositions respectively.

Having held in abeyance the forming prejudices and narrowing suppositions on the level of the Jesuits' Accommodation endeavour in China and regarding existent research into the Jesuits' Accommodation experience in China during research has helped to unlock the real objectivity, facticity, and essentiality of the Jesuits' Accommodation endeavour in China.

Bracketing the traditional research-focus allowed to see(k) the hidden behind the often unilateral assessment of the Jesuits' Accommodation endeavour. Doing so made visible that the Fathers' effort to *win China for Christ* was by far not grounded in an understanding of Western cultural and religious superiority. Often unknowingly relying on, mirroring, or simply reliving the best-practices that came with

- the Order's own *Mission Commission*;
- the Fathers' own experiences in the Asian region; and
- handed down knowledge of the Early Church's proselytization experiences,

the Jesuits' Accommodation experiences rather rooted in their

- bid for accepting and—with open mind and cultural sensitivity—over time moulding Chinese cultural idiosyncrasies, “the social and religious behaviour [...] into an approximation of their European ideal” (Brockey, 2007, p. 401);
- eagerness to achieve a synthesis of Western and Chinese requirements; and
- endeavour to overcome own ethno-centrism (Oh, 1988) in order to act towards the Chinese with thoughtfulness and tact (van Manen, 1990).

This freed understanding and see(k)ing meaning challenged the traditional three to four-faceted process of missionizing China.

In so not accepting the prevailing, quasi-seminal classification of a teleological conceived, proactive way of proceeding that mainly followed a pre-set, well-defined route to missionize the Chinese allowed to get beyond the Accommodation endeavour's traditional understanding of being

- only an indirect apostolate that both relies on science/arts and deliberately uses openness, tolerance, and adaption to Chinese Culture and values as a means to evangelize from the top down;
- decreed by Rome to be applied everywhere *in partibus infidelium*, or conceived *a priori* by the Fathers while waiting for their entrance to China; and
- simply coming into being *ex nihilo* and by way of the Jesuits' ingenuity to be imposed on the Chinese.

In fact, looking beyond the apparently unchallenged grouping made visible that the Jesuits' Accommodation endeavour first of all relied on a healthy *mozheshitouguohe*-摸着石头过河-try-and-error-approach (Deng, 1978) where the steps towards the new *yidongbudong*, i.e. how to enable, implement, and guide conversion/change, were conceived *in situ sinensis, in actibus missionum*, and often motivated/fathomed by the *Chinese Others*.

The impression was confirmed by considering additional primary, secondary, and supporting sources that did not, in the first instance, belong to the canon of seminal research. Engaging with the following sources thus brought to the fore the multiple horizons that form the Accommodation phenomenon during 1579 and 1742:

- not exclusively dedicated to “a theologically minded audience” (Brockey, 2007, p. 15) and not respectively tendentious;
- written in languages less frequent in global scholarly research; and
- written in Chinese, by Chinese, or show the Chinese perspective as is.

This also put into perspective the focus regarding Matteo Ricci as the *Übervater* of the entire *China Mission* and the related overvaluation of *Li Madou fangfa*. Not diverted from seeing the entire Accommodation endeavour and the manifold Accommodation experiences of many Fathers during the period under scrutiny revealed that

- Ricci was by far not the most important agent of the *modus procedendi sinensis* but one amongst many and only its credited pioneer; and
- Ricci's successors accounted for the most important enlargement to the Accommodation approach.

Finally enabled to

- get in touch with the Accommodation experiences of more Fathers during the entire period of Jesuit missionizing in China;
- value the non-religious interactions that were hidden beyond the outshining indirect approach; and
- overcome the three- to four-faceted process of missionizing China

made visible the *maieutic* endeavour that governed the various Accommodation experiences.

This helped to discover further Accommodation-forming (essential) qualities. As a result, the broadened perspective by respective bracketing enabled to see(k), to substantiate, and to validate the *eight invariant constituents* that in their conceptualizing entirety make the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience what it is.

The Accommodation endeavour thus unfurled and the manifold experiences horizontalized, bracketing proves that the downfall of the Jesuits' *modus procedendi* and the *China Mission* per se cannot be attributed to "too many syncretic concessions" (Wright, 2008, p. 264) to Chinese culture, numerous liberties taken, a failed pragmatic wiliness, or a hidden (non-religious) Jesuit agenda secretly pursued while conceiving and putting into practice the missionizing activities. In fact, a concatenation of invidious circumstances that came with apparently irreconcilable new feelings of self-awareness, cultural superiority, and ethnocentrism in Rome and Beijing, new coalitions in East and West, new (political and religious) agendas in Europe and China, new dogmatic inflexibility on both sides brought the endeavour to the end.

The root cause so accredited makes apparent that the *China Mission's* downfall did not

- damage the appropriateness of the Jesuits' missionizing approach;
- nullify the trueness of the *eight invariant constituents*; and
- frustrate the emerging, still to-be-conceived *3C-Approach's* efficacy.

Considering these fresh insights finally leads to the third area of external suppositions. Having avoided the prejudices related to the Jesuit Order in general and its missionizing activities in China in particular to contest

- see(k)ing the core of meaning that underlies the phenomenon;
- unravelling the experiential structures of the Accommodation experience;
- making visible "that which shines through [but] [...] which tends to hide itself (van Manen, 1990, p. 130),

bracketed research showed that the Order was neither focused on pursuing a non-religious agenda while entering China, missionizing pagans, proselytizing heathen, or dealing with Emperors and Courts, nor bathing in an European-rooted status of exclusiveness, parading knowledge, or indulging in a passion to please high(est)-ranking Chinese at neglect of pastoral duties.

In fact, the manifold Accommodation experiences result from

- fulfilling their Order-idiosyncratic *Mission Commission of winning China for Christ*,
- following Mission-related recommendations given by Fathers and Doctors of the Church; and
- adhering St. Ignatius' dictum of 'time, place, and persons'

when flexibly deciding missionary activities and approaches while adhering to their own decision (SE No. 170) when missionizing.

It is in this regard that holding in abeyance presuppositions that came and come with the Jesuit Order in general and its missionizing activities in China in particular unmasked what seemed to be manifestations of inconsistency in the Order's doings.

As a result, bracketing allowed understanding that the Fathers' openness towards local cultures is a critical success factor that shaped both the Accommodation experiences and endeavours during the Order's stay in China. It also had its clearly defined limits the moment concessions to Chinese culture or religion would have contested the fundamentals of Catholicism/Christianity—even at a disadvantage of not *winning* particular parts of *China for Christ*. This shows that the apparently detouring Accommodation endeavours are in truth shortcuts towards the Order's religious goal of enabling, implementing, and guiding conversion/change in China. The Accommodation experiences supply evidence of the Jesuit triple virtue *suaviter in modo, constanter in se, fortiter in re* and hence, illustrates the unfortunate root causes of any misunderstandings related to the Jesuit Order in general and its missionizing activities in China in particular.

Considering the limiting character of the external suppositions in general and the insights gathered while holding in abeyance related presuppositions, bracketed research and the final re-bracketing allowed

- fresh understanding of the Jesuits' Accommodation phenomenon per se;
- unencumbered making visible of what lay hidden underneath the traditional, pre-determined, and long unquestioned (research) history, existing definition(s), and related larger environmental factors with regard to the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience in China.

Thus, giving the (imaginatively varied and hence, vindicated) eight *invariant constituents* their general and China-related authenticity, as well as a further historical backing, re-bracketing confirms the eight *invariant constituents* as such and in their to-be-conceptualized form. Having thus substantively validated the eight *invariant constituents* that structure the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experiences concludes the research phase.

In a final step, the goodness of the Jesuits' *maieutic* example (Meyer-Drawe, 1997, van Manen, 1991) is developed into one new substantive *Theory of the Unique*.

To do so, the eight *invariant constituents*—fundamental to the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experiences and thus essential to the one new substantive *Theory of the Unique*—are transferred into a *Sinicized* change approach—*The Chinese Change Concept-The 3C-Approach*—which

- achieves a synthesis of Western and Chinese requirements (van der Mescht, 2004); and
- provides Chinese and Western management practitioners and academics with an *eudaemonic* solution to act towards the *Chinese Others* with thoughtfulness and tact (van Manen, 1990).

8. RESEARCH OUTCOMES DISSEMINATED

8.1 Eight essential themes—a substantive *Theory of the Unique*

A sage rises from the Eastern sea; his mind and principle are in accord. A sage rises from the Western sea; his mind and his principle are in accord. So long as mind and principle are in accord, there should be no distinction between East and West. [Then] one would see everything with a broadened perspective (Lu Xiangshan-陸象山 (1139-92) quoted by Lodovico Buglio S.J. (1606-82) in *Budejibian-不得已辯*, p. 54 as cited in Young, 1983)

Successfully applying Hermeneutic Phenomenology and the two stages of its research approach as well as using a historical approach in use within the ambits of business history on the manifold Jesuits' Accommodation experiences as a new, trans-disciplinary, and creative research formula unusual in management research had allowed eight *invariant constituents* to come into view.

As a result, the following themes constitute the Jesuits' *commerce of enabling, implementing, and guiding conversion in situ sinensis*:

SINICIZATION, LANGUAGE, USEFULNESS, AUDIENCE, ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES, ALLIES, EMPOWERMENT, PREPAREDNESS

They are in their entirety the *primum movens* and the substance of the various lived Accommodation experiences.

Further generalized and abstracted, these eight *invariant constituents* lead to conceptualization with regard to the practice-enlightening “*action sensitive knowledge*” (van Manen, 1990, p. 21) that permeates the Jesuits' entire *commerce of conversion*. In this regard, these eight *invariant constituents* are building blocks of the inductively created, one new substantive *Theory of the Unique* that is eminently suitable to appropriately deal with a particular (business-related) situation, a (managerial) setting, and/or a (leading) person comparable to the phenomenon from which it is derived.

Further conceptualized and *Sinicized*, these eight *invariant constituents* feed into the *Chinese Change Concept—The 3C-Approach* that

- provides Chinese and Western management practitioners and academics “an informed[, *maieutic*] point of departure” (van der Zalm & Bergum, 2000, p. 214), and an *eudaemonic* solution to act towards the *Chinese Others* with thoughtfulness and tact; and
- informs, enlightens, and anticipates (comparable) practice but does not precede (comparable) practice.

Due to their categorizing character and following their implicit sequence in their application, all eight *invariant constituents* possess a distinct, inherent call for action. Every single *invariant constituent*, hence, features *per se ipsum* a recommended course of action that mirrors its idiosyncratic, particular change-enabling, change-implementing, and change-guiding characteristic. Adhering to the features that are specific to every single *invariant constituent* already offers one way to enable, implement, and/or guide the in-culturation/accommodation of (foreign) persons|change-agents, (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and (alien) approaches|international best-practices into a Chinese environment as to

- the respectively change-related Context, Course, and/or Content as affected by the single *invariant constituent*; and
- the position on where change is to take/takes place on the (*activo-temporal*) continuum of concentration, conduct, and consolidation with reference to the change-process.

Using the example of *SINICIZATION*, the specific course of action as to this particular *invariant constituent* is exemplified as both a detailed continuous text and a concentrated, tabulated option for action. With respect to actively enabling, implementing, and/or guiding change in Chinese contexts today, both representations summarize the (*activo-temporal*) impacts of attending to *SINICIZATION* as only one *invariant constituent* at a time. In such a way introducing the framework and logic of how the single *invariant constituent* is abstracted towards the inductively created, one new substantive *Theory of the Unique* and finally aggregated into the *Chinese Change Concept—The 3C-Approach*, the other seven *invariant constituents* are each introduced by way of a continuous text while the option for action is presented in tabular form. The detailed continuous text is given in full length in **Appendix XI**.

SINICIZATION

The basic necessity for (the emergence of) any effective, accepted, mutually beneficial but still Chinese change approach is an open-minded readiness to *Sinicize* oneself, the to-be-shared concepts/views, and the to-be-introduced procedures/best-practices before entering China and while being active on Chinese ground. Developing and applying a China-appropriate(d) *modus procedendi* to allow (foreign) persons|change-agents, (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and (alien) approaches|international best-practices to gain ground and grow in China thus requires external and internal adaptation to/congruity with the Chinese cultural *datum-wenhua*. In this regard, *SINICIZATION* is both the starting point and the *leitmotif* of every effort to successfully enable, implement, and guide change in Chinese organizational settings today.

Becoming civilizee to Chinese visibility and obeying the Chinese cultural imperative is a constant of any *Sinicized*, operative change approach. However, with regard to its impact on Context, Course, and Content, the scope of *SINICIZATION* is down to both the level of development and the phase when change is (to be) enabled, implemented, and/or guided along the (*activo-temporal*) axis of concentration, conduct, and/or consolidation with reference to the change-process.

Concentration

During the *concentration phase*—planning, preparation, dealing with preliminaries, and pursuing first steps to enable change on Chinese ground—*SINICIZATION* is primarily person|context-oriented with first impacts on approach|course.

Fulfilling the spadework of (re-)actively modelling an effective change-process while allowing continuous adjustment of both person and approach to the Chinese (organizational) environment, *SINICIZATION* must avoid any form of ostensible, empty cultural mimicry. To reduce the time-consuming impacts of any unavoidable *mozheshitouguohe* to a minimum, winning respect, esteem, and confidence of the Chinese decision-makers and Chinese counterparts of the (foreign) person|change-agent *zishangerxia* requires complying with the at first only visible Chinese value-canon.

Dedicating oneself to understanding, learning, and if possible appreciating Chinese *mores*—as they prevail in the organization and beyond—leads to overcoming European ethnocentrism and imported organizational hubris. Doing so, *SINICIZATION* prepares the soil for toleration of the (foreign) person|change-agent, (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and (alien) approaches|international best-practices. It fosters their wholehearted admittance into the organization.

Feeling widely accepted in China and amongst the Chinese counterparts and decision-makers in the organization leads to a change in role and status of the (foreign) person|change-agent. This healthy and supportive development is further sustained by adhering to the Chinese tradition of *mingmingfa*, which extends to name and organizational/academic title and which includes a refined display of Chinese culture, customs, and etiquette. Having thus ceased to be strangers to the Chinese and so achieved an initial degree of appropriate(d) social visibility upgrades position with regard to the social fabric vis-à-vis the Chinese counterparts and decision-makers within the organization. Willingness to acknowledge Chinese cultural parameters as equal or at least as an overriding factor assures comprehensive integration and a status-appropriate(d) social interaction *zishangerxia*. The far-reaching activities that do not allow for any short-cuts put the entire endeavour to enable, implement, and guide change in Chinese organizational settings on a lasting, hence, Chinese ground. Thus, advancing the foreign change-process towards an acceptable, more cultural sensitive method of enabling, implementing, and guiding change *in situ sinensis* becomes possible.

Notwithstanding the successes regarding an unprepossessed, (re-)active *SINICIZATION*, keeping oneself as the medium to enable, implement, and guide a foreign change-process consistent with the message remains vital. To do so, following the Chinese (tacit) suggestions to acquire, strengthen, and validate one's undisputed, peer-assessed social visibility is key. In so allowing for an enduring, comprehensive strategic commitment to a mode of being that comprises a set of consequential, often externally triggered moves and decisions finally creates an atmosphere receptive to the European representative of the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices.

Thus, able to profit from the validated direction of the Chinese counterparts and decision-makers to the change-process eventually concludes the *concentration phase*.

Conduct

During the *conduct phase*—implementing and guiding change on Chinese ground—*SINICIZATION* is primarily approach|course-oriented with important impacts on ideas|content.

Being declared and accepted Chinese by status and complementing accordance with Chinese cultural value-canon|acceptable organizational idiosyncrasies had led to a desired and necessary social visibility within the Chinese organizational setting. As a result, *SINICIZATION* had shed the the foreignness of the (foreign) person|change-agent and allowed for acquiring an appropriate(d), *Sinicized* status|position within the Chinese (organizational) society. It eventually increased the reputation of the (foreign) person|change-agent, the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices. Having so established an atmosphere receptive to the new change-process, the ground for future actions is set.

However, the (bid for accomplishing the) time-consuming schedule of upgrading work, image, and *guanxi*-relationships is still a Chinese appropriate(d) means to an end. During the early conduct phase, *SINICIZATION* is still tantamount to aligning the medium and message with the receptive Chinese counterparts. It necessitates creating lasting *guanxi*-relationships with Chinese decision-makers of all ranks to establish oneself completely as acceptable|accepted person|change-agent in the Chinese organizational setting. Until the last doubt of any un-trustworthiness amongst the Chinese counterparts and decision-makers is dispelled, starting the ultimate change-process is impossible. Dealing with this fragility is the challenge. This make-or-break situation does not allow for any short-cuts but necessitates planning and unconditional, strategic commitment.

Once firmly established amongst the Chinese counterparts and in the *guanxi*-net, as well as openly validated *zishangerxia* by the Chinese decision-makers, the real change-process is ready to gather way.

In so capitalizing on successfully own-acquired and accepted Chineseness, *SINICIZATION* distinguished the (foreign) person|change-agent, (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, (alien) approaches|international best-practices from amongst other persons, ideas, and approaches.

Being now able to turn towards the different groups within the Chinese organization, acknowledging their different needs, and answering to their behaviour patterns establishes the (foreign) person's|change-agent's potency and the attractiveness of her|his (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts. With the Context, Course, and Content of the change mission thus set, establishing, implementing, and guiding the hitherto un-accommodated change-process top down and bottom up is finally possible.

Consolidation

During the *consolidation phase*—merging and pruning, streamlining and aligning, safeguarding and adjusting, transferring and conveying change-related gains and accomplishments—*SINICIZATION* is primarily person|context-oriented with far-reaching, lasting, collaterizing impacts on approach|course and ideas|content.

Backed by early acquired and long-term strengthened social and organizational visibility, the valuable, now *Sinicized* (foreign) person|change-agent is able to plant, grow, and customize the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices to the Chinese organizational given. So toughened in position and value hitherto (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices reach the status of a powerful organizational alternative|appropriate(d) best-practice for a growing number of Chinese counterparts from all ranks. As a result, the *Sinicized* way of enabling, implementing, and guiding the external change-process becomes further accepted and natural vis-à-vis the Chinese.

Notwithstanding the successes, the change-process is prone to acquiring a life of its own. Counter-actions to merge and prune, as well as to streamline and align earlier gains and the current status quo are necessary. With the power of *SINICIZATION* growing and related successes to enable, implement, and guide a now-*Sinicized* change-process becoming apparent, safeguarding and adjusting, transferring and conveying earlier change-

related gains and accomplishments becomes the main concern of the (foreign) person|change-agent. Broad acceptance with regard to those recapturing activities as performed by the (foreign) person|change-agent are thus to root in earlier, comprehensive, validated *SINICIZATION*.

With the now-*Sinicized*, no longer foreign change mission running the risk of becoming increasingly disputed and challenged both from outside China and by other (foreign) forces acting as new change-agents in the Chinese organizational setting, it becomes vital to both anchor the change-process in the Chinese organizational setting and to advance the (foreign) person|change-agent dependent change-process further in order to become a self-supporting, intra-organizational change-process. In this context, *SINICIZATION* and its manifestations with regard to the (foreign) person|change-agent turns out to be an antidote to any change mission-threatening faults|shifts in intra-organizational and extra-organizational power-structure, strategy, or to other effects of (latent) broadsides and hostilities.

With regard to the paradox situation, using own status and reputation and so relying on *SINICIZATION* is an unquestioned necessity and a matter of course amongst the Chinese and the now-*Sinicized* (foreign) person|change-agent to keep and carry forward the change-related gains and accomplishments within the Chinese organizational setting.

The option for action as to *SINICIZATION* is presented in **Table 21**.

<i>SINICIZATION</i>	
(foreign) persons (unfamiliar) ideas (alien) approaches	Context Course Content
concentration	<p>> primarily person context-oriented with first impacts on approach course</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> > fulfil the spadework of (re-)actively modelling an effective change-process; avoid short-cuts > allow for continuous adjustment of both person and approach to the Chinese (organizational) environment > avoid any form of ostensible, empty cultural mimicry > comply with the at first only visible Chinese value canon to a) win respect, esteem, and confidence of the Chinese decision-makers and counterparts <i>zishangerxia</i>, b) reduce time-consuming impacts of any unavoidable <i>mozheshitouguohe</i> > dedicate oneself to understanding, learning, and appreciating Chinese <i>mores</i> as they prevail in the organization and beyond to overcome own European ethnocentrism and imported organizational hubris > prepare the soil for toleration of person, ideas, and approach to foster their wholehearted admittance into the organization > adhere to <i>mingmingfa</i> that extends to name and organizational/academic title to be widely accepted in China and amongst the Chinese counterparts and decision-makers in the organization; expect a change in role and status > initial degree of appropriate(d) social visibility upgrades position with regard to the social fabric vis-à-vis the Chinese counterparts and decision-makers <i>zishangerxia</i> > acknowledge Chinese cultural parameters as equal or at least as overriding to assure comprehensive integration and a status-appropriate(d) social intercourse with the Chinese counterparts and decision-makers <i>zishangerxia</i> > keep yourself the medium consistent with the message > follow Chinese (tacit) suggestions to acquire, strengthen, and (re-)validate one's undisputed, peer-assessed social visibility > allow for an enduring, far-reaching, comprehensive strategic commitment to a mode of being that comprises a set of consequential, often externally triggered, moves and decisions
conduct	<p>> primarily approach course-oriented with important impacts on ideas content</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> > be declared and accepted Chinese by status and complementing accordance with Chinese cultural value canon and acceptable organizational idiosyncrasies > shed one's (Western) foreignness to a) allow for acquiring an appropriate(d) yet <i>Sinicized</i> status position within the Chinese (organizational) society, b) eventually increase the reputation of the (foreign) person change-agent, the (unfamiliar) ideas concepts, and the (alien) approaches international best practices, c) establish an atmosphere receptive to the new change-process > see the (bid for accomplishing the) time consuming schedule of upgrading, work, image, and <i>guanxi</i>-relationships as a Chinese appropriate(d) means to an end > align medium and message with the receptive Chinese counterparts to a) create lasting <i>guanxi</i>-relationships with Chinese decision-makers of all ranks <i>zishangerxia</i>, b) establish oneself completely as accepted/acceptable change-agent in the Chinese organizational setting > dispel the last doubt of any un-trustworthiness amongst the Chinese counterparts and decision-makers to start the ultimate change-process > use own acquired and accepted Chineseness to a) distinguish (foreign) person change-agent, (unfamiliar) ideas concepts, (alien) approaches international best practices from amongst other, alternative (foreign) persons change-agents, (unfamiliar) ideas concepts, and (alien) approaches international best practices and b) finally turn towards the different groups within the Chinese organization, acknowledge their different needs, and answer to their behaviour patterns
consolidation	<p>> primarily person context-oriented with far-reaching, lasting, collateralizing impacts on approach course and ideas content</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> > capitalize on the status of a valuable, <i>Sinicized</i> change-agent and the potency of offering an organizational alternative appropriate(d) best practice for a growing number of Chinese counterparts from all ranks to a) plant, grow, and customize (unfamiliar) ideas concepts and (alien) approaches international best practices to the Chinese organizational given, b) decide counter-actions to i) merge and prune, ii) streamline and align, iv) safeguard and adjust, v) transfer and convey earlier change-related gains, accomplishments, and the current status quo > use own Chineseness and <i>guanxi</i>-relationships to sense change mission-threatening a) faults shifts in intra- and extra-organizational power-structure and strategy, b) impacts of (latent) broadsides and hostilities > advance the change-agent dependent change-process further to become a self-supporting, intra-organizational change-process to anchor the now-<i>Sinicized</i>, no longer foreign/Western but possibly increasingly disputed and challenged change mission in the Chinese organizational setting; use own status and reputation to keep and carry forward change-related gains and accomplishments within the Chinese organizational setting

Table 21: *SINICIZATION*

Table 21: *SINICIZATION*, compiled by author

LANGUAGE

Open-minded readiness and sustained willingness to learn to fluently speak, read, and write Mandarin before embarking on the change mission and while being active on Chinese ground/within the Chinese organization is a further absolute condition to fully integrate the (foreign) person|change-agent, the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices into any Chinese (organizational) setting.

Mastering *Putonghua*-普通话-Standard Chinese is hence, a basic necessity that accounts for (the emergence of) any effective, acceptable|accepted, mutually beneficial yet Chinese change approach—as it is a further condition precedent to obey the Chinese cultural imperative and to cope with its day-to-day manifestations. Proficiency in *LANGUAGE* already from the beginning of the entire change mission provides the immovable basis for comprehending the linguistic sense-making. This immediately feeds into understanding the Chinese philosophical world and related intellectual approach(es). Thus, mutual toleration of the (foreign) person|change-agent, (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and (alien) approaches|international best-practices, as well as acting towards the Chinese counterparts—especially those with no foreign language skills—with thoughtfulness and tact becomes possible.

Developing and applying a China-appropriate(d) *modus procedendi* to allow the (foreign) person|change-agent, (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and (alien) approaches|international best-practices to enter, gain ground, and finally grow in a Chinese (organizational) setting requires compliance with/employing the Chinese linguistic *datum-wenming*. A growing, more sophisticated command of *LANGUAGE* allows for understanding and being understood at any level of the organizational hierarchy. Able to linguistically interact with the Chinese counterparts and decision-makers, to recognize, eliminate, or to at least reduce and avoid misunderstandings without the smoothing (linguistic) intermediation/influence of (Chinese) interpreters prepares the indispensable backing, groundwork, and starting point, as well as the necessary leeway and leverage with reference to every (linguistic) effort of successfully enabling, implementing, and guiding change in Chinese organization settings today.

Decoding Chinese *LANGUAGE* to pragmatically appropriate existing terms and creatively coin neologisms to anchor medium and message into the Chinese organizational *lexis* is an add-on to any change-process. It perfects the effort to fully integrate the (foreign) person|change-agent, the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices into any Chinese (organizational) setting.

Mastering *LANGUAGE* and obeying *wenming* is a *conditio sine qua non* and a constant of any (to-be) *Sinicized*, operative change approach. Thus, profiting from Chinese bibliophily is a must to anchor the change mission, the change-process, as well as its (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices within the organizational setting. As printed products generally carry truth amongst the Chinese and dealing with relevant papers are ranked prior to personal interaction, rationalizing change-related thinking, exposing corresponding arguments, and finally spreading (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts throughout the organization in writing becomes necessary. Willingly sharing comprehensive documents|elaborations amongst the Chinese counterparts and decision-makers *zishangerxia* is thus expected to either be a written advance party that paves the way for the change mission, change-process, and (foreign) person|change-agent throughout the organization, or a change-enabling, change-implementing, and change-guiding means to incontrovertibly ground the entire change mission, the change-process, as well as change-related gains within the organizational setting. Furthermore, using the linguistically appropriate(d) means of handing down change-related insights along the axis of hierarchy and time is a means of emancipation that encourages the Chinese counterparts to carry into execution the tactical implementation of the change-process with or without the direct interaction of the (foreign) person|change-agent but always on their own account. With regard to its impact on Context, Course, and Content, the scope of *LANGUAGE* is down to the level of development of the change-process. In so considering the phase when change is (to be) enabled, implemented, and guided, the basic principles are mainly established at the beginning of any change-process and/or prior to gaining permanent footholds in Chinese organizational settings. With regard to *LANGUAGE*, **Table 22** presents the option for action.

LANGUAGE	
<small>(foreign) persons (unfamiliar) ideas (alien) approaches</small>	Context Course Content
concentration	<p>> primarily person context- and approach course-oriented with first impacts on ideas content</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> > be ready and willing to learn to fluently speak, read, and write Mandarin (avoid local vernacular) to reach every Chinese counterpart and decision-maker at every hierarchical level in every part of the organization without reservation and on eye level > start the learning experience already prior to embarking on the change mission; carry on while being active on Chinese ground > stop relying on (Chinese) interpreters to avoid misleading, at least smoothing translations—mean what is said, say what is to be meant > use mastering Mandarin as an appropriate(d) means to affiliation and establishing sameness > be linguistically integrated into the organizational setting to a) win respect, esteem, and confidence of the Chinese counterparts <i>zixiaershang</i>, b) forge lasting <i>guanxi</i>-relationships with Chinese decision-makers <i>zishangerxia</i>, c) create differentiating, competitive advantage-provoking effects > grasp Chinese thought patterns as inherent in <i>Putonghua</i> to create an atmosphere receptive to the a) (foreign) person change-agent, b) (unfamiliar) ideas concepts, c) (alien) approaches international best practices; submit to a comprehensive <i>ratio studiorum sinensis</i> to merge medium and message > endeavour to decode Chinese linguistic sense-making, Chinese philosophical world, related intellectual approach(es), and organizational yet idiosyncratic wording > be able to pragmatically appropriate existing terms and creatively coin neologisms to a) integrate (unfamiliar) ideas concepts into the Chinese organizational <i>lexis</i>, b) launch (alien) approaches international best practices within the organizational setting > be prepared to immediately deal with latent misunderstandings when operating <i>aequivocal</i>, <i>anavocal</i>, or newly created Chinese words; listen actively to Chinese counterparts and decision-makers to chart the linguistic course > communicate (unfamiliar) ideas concepts and (alien) approaches international best practices throughout the organization in a China-appropriate(d) form means to an end to a) create receptiveness, b) strengthen acceptance and value, c) foster trueness, d) create alignment with the Chinese organizational setting > profit by Chinese bibliophily to a) adapt medium to message, b) ingrain change mission and change-process in Chinese organizational ground <p>conduct > still person context-oriented with further formative impacts on ideas content and differentiating implications on approach course</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> > use <i>Putonghua</i> to include foreign Western-acquired, Chinese-valued, mutually serviceable (unfamiliar) ideas concepts, and (alien) approaches international best practices into the Chinese organizational setting and linguistic DNA > diligently clear remaining linguistic ambiguities and constantly validate meanings with Chinese counterparts and decision-makers of all ranks to provide further support to the change-process > willingly compile and circulate written documents elaborations; use them as medium AND message > use written documents elaborations to allow (unfamiliar) ideas concepts and (alien) approaches international best practices to become a) identifiable, accepted acceptable features on the organization landscape, b) adoptable, organizational alternatives and easy to spread and share ideas > use written documents elaborations to start and carry forward the change-process as a <i>perpetuum mobile</i>, i.e. with or without (foreign) person's change-agent's direct interaction but always on Chinese account and ground > use written documents elaborations as a modular concept (on) to a) turn to the different groups within the Chinese organization, b) answer to their different needs, c) establish the potency of the (foreign) person change-agent, the attractiveness of her his (unfamiliar) ideas concepts, and the adaptability of her his (alien) approaches international best practices > use written documents elaborations to a) confer the possibility to carry into execution the tactical implementation of the change-process on Chinese counterparts, b) closely integrate the entire change mission within the organizational setting, c) strengthen Chinese change-process-related autonomy <p>consolidation > primarily ideas content-oriented with redounding impacts upon person context and approach course</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> > capitalize on the potency of <i>wenming</i> to further customize the change-process to the Chinese organizational given > profit from a more and more linguistically <i>Sinicized</i> change-process to reach a status of a powerful organizational alternative appropriate(d) international best practice for a growing number of Chinese counterparts and decision-makers of all ranks > be aware of the change-process acquiring a linguistic life and content of its own; decide counter-actions to a) merge and prune, b) streamline and align, c) safeguard and re-adjust earlier defined, essentially Chinese agreed, and long-term adjusted wording > use the linguistically appropriate(d) means of handing down change-related insights along the axis of hierarchy and time to a) further anchor the change mission, the change-process, as well as its now-<i>Sinicized</i> (unfamiliar) ideas concepts and (alien) approaches international best practices within the organization, b) counter any change mission-threatening shifts in extra-organizational power-structure, c) ward off impacts of (c)overt broadsides and hostilities towards the established now-<i>Sinicized</i> (foreign) person change-agent

Table 22: LANGUAGE

Table 22: LANGUAGE, compiled by author

USEFULNESS

Open-minded readiness to use a broad array of actively requested yet *transeunt* talents hitherto unknown to the Chinese organization and/or not primarily linked to those change-related activities expected/required to be implemented within the Chinese organizational setting is a *conditio sine qua non* for (the emergence of) any effective, accepted, mutually beneficial but basically and essentially Chinese change approach.

Willingness to let the Chinese organization profit from the (foreign) person's|change-agent's knowledge with regard to international business and organization administration—at least in the beginning of the change mission not limited to sharing skills and expertise exclusively related to the change-process—is an indispensable *movens* to win respect, esteem, and confidence of Chinese decision-makers *zishangerxia* and Chinese counterparts *zixiaershang*. Establishing a fruitful exchange upon/on a wide range of Chinese-desired practical competences and information on eye level gradually fosters and nourishes goodwill and favour vis-à-vis the (foreign) person|change-agent. In the same breath, stressing Sino-foreign/Western congruity and complementarity that roots within (foreign/Western) *shiyongxue* by chancing trans-disciplinarity and crossing boundaries, achieves a change-enabling, change-implementing, and change-guiding win-win situation. This allows the (foreign) person|change-agent to cease to be stranger to the Chinese organization and the (future) Chinese project collaborators.

It is essential to establish and advance the change mission from within allotting necessary and proportionate lead-time to pique and assuage comprehensive, apparently un-focused (foreign/Western) business- and organization-related curiosity of Chinese decision-makers and Chinese counterparts without too much restraint. Spreading and sharing *shiyongxue* in a China-appropriate(d) way allows the (foreign) person|change-agent, (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and (alien) approaches|international best-practices to gradually gain ground and grow in both acceptance and importance from within the Chinese organizational setting.

This creates a particular, tacit but nonetheless Chinese expected/tolerated change-enabling, change-implementing, and change-guiding *do ut des*. In this regard *USEFULNESS* assumes a dual capacity.

Marketing *shiyongxue* to Chinese decision-makers and Chinese counterparts serves as tangible, (foreign) person|change-agent-dependent evidence of trustworthiness, harmlessness, and serviceability, AND as a change-process-related catalyst, means of conveyance, and particular contrast medium with regard to planting the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices into the Chinese organizational setting. In this context, externalizing a growing sense of belonging—rooting in the readiness of the (foreign) person|change-agent to internalize the Chinese cultural and organizational value-canon—implicitly facilitates the development and application of a change-enabling, change-implementing, and change-guiding *modus procedendi sinensis*.

Even if following the particular change-enabling detour of sharing and spreading *shiyongxue* in the apparently Chinese-expected yet seemingly unfocused way provides the pragmatic means to an end, its unspecific practice must have an end point. Notwithstanding the necessity to become more focused, targeted, and refined in depth, breadth, and addressees, availing of *shiyongxue* to (in)directly introduce an entirely new and customizable *modus operandi* into the Chinese organizational line of action provides the still highly customizable background to the change mission and the change-process per se. Following the twin-approach of either *passivo*-strategically sharing a wide range of *shiyongxue* out of the ordinary to further build and strengthen *guanxi*-relationships amongst Chinese decision-makers or *activo*-tactically offering goal-oriented talents, competences, and information amongst Chinese counterparts to implement and guide change from within are thus the two sides of the same change mission. Taking the form of a constant with regard to the operative change-process as such while relying on the simultaneously catalysing-validating and joining-affiliating character of *shiyongxue*, *USEFULNESS* gradually develops into the complete, comprehensive, complex, and customizable means to expedite the now-*Sinicized* change-process from within.

The change mission thus gathering Chinese way, using *shiyongxue* in a teleological fashion is not immune to assuming an independent existence. Facing (company-internal) outgrows and a growing complexity simultaneously dealing with a possible lack of (company-external) understanding as to availing *shiyongxue* in the twin-fashion necessitates perpetuating change-related gains and accomplishments in a permanent|lasting way. It is thus essential to secure change-related gains while further orienting *shiyongxue* towards anchoring both the now-*Sinicized* (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and the now-*Sinicized* (alien) approaches|international best-practices within the Chinese organizational setting in a standardized and transferable fashion. This requires sharing *shiyongxue* in general and change-related information in particular by means of Chinese-appropriate(d), comprehensive documents|elaborations. Doing so couples the change-process and its related insights with the Chinese organizational setting and uncouples the change mission from any (foreign) person's|change-agent's direct|internal intervention or any limiting indirect|external interference.

However, with regard to its impact on Context, Course, and Content, the scope of *USEFULNESS* is down to the change-process's level of development, the (c)overt expectation of Chinese decision-makers and counterparts, and the phase when the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices are finally introduced into the Chinese organizational setting along the (*activo-temporal*) axis of concentration, conduct, and/or consolidation.

Table 23 presents the option for action with regard to *USEFULNESS*.

USEFULNESS	
(foreign) persons (unfamiliar) ideas (alien) approaches	<p style="text-align: center;">Context Course Content</p> <p>concentration > primarily approaches course-oriented with a reciprocal impact on ideas content and a role-assuming implication on person context</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> > actively yield to Chinese requirements to share amongst Chinese decision-makers and Chinese counterparts of all ranks a) practical information not exclusively related to international business and organization administration or centring change-processes'-related competences only, b) talents hitherto unknown to the Chinese organization and/or not primarily linked to those change-related activities expected/required to be implemented within the Chinese organizational setting > allot necessary yet proportionate lead-time to pique and assuage Chinese decision-makers' and Chinese counterparts' comprehensive, apparently un-focused (foreign/Western) business- and organization-related curiosity > willingly mobilize Chinese-desired <i>shiyongxue</i> to a) win respect, esteem, and confidence of Chinese decision-makers <i>zishangerxia</i> and Chinese counterparts <i>zixiaershang</i>, b) cease to be stranger to both the Chinese organization and (future) Chinese project collaborators, c) increase social visibility, status, and position vis-à-vis the Chinese decision-makers and Chinese counterparts of all ranks, d) forge and foster necessary yet lasting, change mission-enabling <i>guanxi</i>-relationships on eye level > market <i>shiyongxue</i> within the Chinese organization, through a widening circle of sympathetic contacts, and along strengthened <i>guanxi</i>-relationships in a civilized, appropriate(d) Chinese way to a) comply with the Chinese cultural and organizational imperative, b) externalize a growing sense of belonging to the Chinese organization, c) stress Sino-Western congruity and complementarity, d) win for the change mission, the change-process, its related activities, and foreign representatives an accepted/acceptable place in Chinese organizational life > pragmatically establish a fruitful exchange upon the appealing, appropriate(d) <i>shiyongxue</i> to a) create a particular, tacit but nonetheless Chinese expected/tolerated change-enabling, -implementing, and -guiding <i>do ut des</i>, b) open Chinese organizational doors and minds to the (unfamiliar) ideas concepts and (alien) approaches international best practices that come with/are represented by the (foreign) person change-agent, c) create differentiating competitive advantage with regard to other foreign/Western consultants > gradually develop <i>shiyongxue</i> into a dual capacity that serves as a) a tangible yet (foreign) person change-agent-dependent evidence of trustworthiness, harmlessness, and serviceability, AND b) a change-process-related catalyst, means of conveyance, and particular contrast medium with regard to planting the (unfamiliar) ideas concepts and the (alien) approaches international best practices into Chinese organizational setting > be aware that following the particular change-enabling detour of sharing and spreading <i>shiyongxue</i> in the apparently Chinese-expected yet seemingly unfocused way has to have an end point <p>conduct > diversifyingly approaches course-oriented with a further customizing effect on ideas content and a role-distinguishing impact on person context</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> > stop spreading <i>shiyongxue</i> at random to solely upgrade the (foreign) person's change-agent's status and reputation and in her/his lee the (trueness, harmlessness, and acceptability of the) entire change mission > start targeting the application of <i>shiyongxue</i> towards implementing and guiding the change-process per se > teleologically focus <i>shiyongxue</i> in an either <i>passivo</i>-strategic or <i>activo</i>-tactical way towards a) (in)directly introducing the new yet customizable <i>modus operandi</i> into the Chinese organizational line of action, b) planting (unfamiliar) ideas concepts, and (alien) approaches international best practices into Chinese organizational setting > establish a customized, addressee-appropriate(d) twin-approach of exchanging <i>shiyongxue</i> to a) establish a receptive atmosphere concerning the change mission amongst Chinese decision-makers <i>zishangerxia</i> and along the <i>guanxi</i>-relationships OR b) win Chinese counterparts and project owners <i>zixiaershang</i> for the change-process as such by offering both stake-holders goal-oriented talents, competences, and information in order to finally implement and guide change from within > rely on the catalysing-validating and joining-affiliating character of <i>shiyongxue</i> to gradually develop the twin-approach into the complete, comprehensive, complex, and customizable means to expedite the now-<i>Sinicized</i> change-process form within > be aware that sharing <i>shiyongxue</i> to prepare/secure the change-process and to implement/guide its multiple activities assumes a growing complexity and a life of its own; constantly manage breadth and depth of the still expanding store of knowledge and requirements; consider counteractions to consolidate the change-process as such <p>consolidation > back-cuttingly approaches course- and ideas content-oriented with a devolving implication and a stabilizing impact on person context</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> > take measures to a) deal with outgrows/a growing complexity with regard to breadth, depth, and distribution of <i>shiyongxue</i> within the Chinese organization, b) counter a possible lack of understanding as to availing <i>shiyongxue</i> in the twin-fashion, c) perpetuate change-related gains and accomplishments in a Chinese-appropriate(d) permanent lasting way > orient (the sharing of) <i>shiyongxue</i> towards a) safeguarding and adjusting, transferring and conveying change-related gains, b) anchoring the now-<i>Sinicized</i> (unfamiliar) ideas concepts and the now-<i>Sinicized</i> (alien) approaches international best practices within the Chinese organizational setting in a standardized yet transferable fashion > avail of comprehensive documents elaborations to a) market <i>shiyongxue</i> in general and change-process-related information in particular amongst the multiple Chinese addressees, b) couple the change-process and its related insights with the Chinese organizational setting, c) uncouple the change-process from any (foreign) person's change-agent's direct intervention or any limiting external interference > rely on the joining and affiliating character of <i>shiyongxue</i> as the <i>activo</i>-tactical means to enable, implement, and guide change at Chinese counterparts' level to allow the change-process to be carried forth on Chinese account only

Table 23: USEFULNESS

Table 23: USEFULNESS, compiled by author

AUDIENCE

Unprejudiced disposition and lasting readiness to establish a system, connectivity, and/or relatedness at any level of the socio-organizational ladder is an absolute (pre-)condition to fully integrate the (foreign) person|change-agent, the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices into any Chinese (organizational) setting. Willing to animate *guanxi* both before entering China, i.e. when planning the change mission from the outside, and while being active on Chinese ground|within the Chinese organization is a basic necessity that accounts for (the emergence of) any effective, acceptable|accepted, mutually beneficial yet Chinese change approach.

To establish a change-enabling, change-implementing, and change-guiding common ground with the receptive/concerned and unreceptive/unconcerned yet necessary organizational *AUDIENCE* requires marketing the change mission, the change-process, and its foreign representatives towards Chinese decision-makers *zishangerxia* and Chinese counterparts *zixiaershang* in a multi-faceted, targeted, (in)direct *AUDIENCE*-appropriate(d) way.

Notwithstanding the ultimate segmentation, starting the change mission necessitates directly promoting the (foreign) person|change-agent and her|his diverse talents amongst Chinese decision-makers first. Without restraint meeting the primary target-*AUDIENCE*'s demands with regard to *wenhua*, *wenming*, and *shiyongxue* is hence, a *conditio sine qua non* to establish a permanent basis for future change-related efforts. Winning respect and confidence of Chinese decision-makers *zishangerxia* by committing oneself to identifying and satisfying the comprehensive range of motives not exclusively related to the change-process as such and by adhering to a high-involvement approach to actuate the change-related value-exchange is an indispensable *movens* to target the Chinese counterparts *zixiaershang*. This allows enabling, implementing, and guiding change from within on every hierarchical and local level. The detour of fostering *guanxi* with managerial *AUDIENCE* thus convinces, involves, and authorizes the working-level *AUDIENCE* to follow the change mission per se.

Being able to indirectly market the change mission in all its facets to Chinese decision-makers *zishangerxia* along the established lines of organization and communication that represent the Chinese organization is hence, a condition precedent to directly market the (foreign) person|change-agent, the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices to the Chinese counterparts *zixiaershang*. In this context acknowledging the different levels of sophistication, involvement, and interaction of the evolving segments finally allows reaching a broader *AUDIENCE* on a significant scale.

Dealing with a variety of change-related expectations and concerns in an *AUDIENCE*-centric, nonetheless Chinese status-appropriate(d), and generally change-enabling, change-implementing, and change-guiding way reduces idiosyncratic resistance to (accept) the (foreign) person|change-agent, the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices. This establishes an atmosphere receptive to the change mission per se. Promoting both value and virtue of the change-process hence, becomes a matter of course. Doing so permanently anchors the change mission and the change-process within the Chinese organizational setting.

Over time, getting more focused, targeted, and refined with regard to the organizational addressees|stakeholders, (c)overtly and/or (in)directly introducing an entirely new and customizable *modus operandi* into the Chinese organizational line of action provides the still highly customizable background to the change mission and the change-process. Following the consolidated, change-related twin-approach of

- *passivo*-strategically targeting decision-makers by way of a subliminal, high-involvement, pull-approach; and/or
- *activo*-tactically addressing counterparts in a supraliminal, low-involvement, pushing manner,

are thus the two sides of the same change-related marketing approach and change mission.

In this regard constantly profiling the diverse *AUDIENCES* towards a catalysing-validating and/or involving-collaborating operative change-process eventually develops the multi-level, multi-directional change-process towards a complete, comprehensive, complex, and customizable means to implement and guide change from within.

Having so positioned the change mission and its representatives as an *AUDIENCE*-appropriate(d) leaven to implement and guide change from within allows to primarily put the responsibility to carry forward the complex agenda of first *Sinicizing* (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices and later operating them to the working-level *AUDIENCE*. The change mission thus gathering Chinese way enables the (foreign) person|change-agent to turn away from Chinese decision-makers and a time-consuming, relatively unfocused high-involvement approach. It further allows the (foreign) person|change-agent to consequently acknowledge the change-related motives, motivators, and benefits-sought of the working-level *AUDIENCE* in a tactical-operative way. As a result, targeting creativity, effort, and pragmatism towards Chinese counterparts in a low-involving yet complexity-reducing way in order to accomplish the change-process becomes a matter of course. The working level *AUDIENCE* such centred, allows implementing and guiding the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices from within, on ground-floor level, and as joint responsibility of Chinese counterparts and (foreign) person|change-agent.

Despite having successfully positioned the change-process, its activities, and its representatives within the Chinese organization in an *AUDIENCE*-appropriate(d) way, the change mission is nonetheless prone to alterations in organizational power structure. Notwithstanding the exposure, the in-built capacity of the *AUDIENCE*-centred, change-related twin-approach to separately deal with Chinese decision-makers *zishangerxia* and Chinese counterparts *zixiaershang* counters the (c)overt fragility. In this regard, the established autonomy enables the (foreign) person|change-agent to effect necessary change mission-related modulations vis-à-vis (a replaced) managerial *AUDIENCE* while simultaneously carrying forward the change-process with regard to (the unaltered) working level *AUDIENCE*.

Able to implement the refinements with the least possible delay in an all-*AUDIENCE*-appropriate(d) way, therefore allows simultaneously safeguarding and customizing the now-*Sinicized* (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and the now-*Sinicized* (alien) approaches|international best-practices while constantly implementing and guiding change.

The change-process and its representatives well-integrated within the Chinese organization in an *AUDIENCE*-appropriate(d) way, the change mission is not immune from assuming a life of its own. Containing and finally spreading change-related information within the Chinese organizational setting in an *AUDIENCE*-adequate(d) manner thus becomes a necessity to carry forward the change mission and change-related accomplishments as a *perpetuum*. This turns the change-process an organization business and sharing the now-*Sinicized* (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and the now-*Sinicized* (alien) approaches|international best-practices a lasting matter of course. It couples the change-process and its related insights with the receptive|receiving *AUDIENCE* and within Chinese organizational setting AND uncouples the change mission from any (foreign) person's|change-agent's direct|internal intervention or any indirect|external interference. This secures change-related gains and makes the change-process immune to external broadsides.

However, with regard to its impact on Context, Course, and Content, the scope of *AUDIENCE* is down to the change-process's level of development, the (c)overt expectation of Chinese decision-makers and counterparts, and the phase when the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices are introduced into the Chinese organizational setting along the (*activo*-temporal) axis of concentration, conduct, and/or consolidation.

The option for action as to *AUDIENCE* is presented in **Table 24**.

AUDIENCE	
(foreign) persons (unfamiliar) ideas (alien) approaches	Context Course Content
concentration >	<p>primarily persons context-oriented with a high-involvement-centring impact on approaches course and a role-assuming implication on ideas content</p> <p>> bring into being a system, connectivity, and/or relatedness at any level of the socio-organizational ladder to a) establish a change-enabling, -implementing, and -guiding common ground with the diverse organizational <i>AUDIENCES</i>, b) integrate the (foreign) person change-agent, the (unfamiliar) ideas concepts, and the (alien) approaches international best practices into the Chinese (organizational) setting</p> <p>> consistently animate <i>guanxi</i>-relationships to open Chinese organizational doors and minds to a) the change mission, b) the foreign Western representatives</p> <p>> market the change mission, the change-process, its comprehensive activities, and the foreign Western representatives towards Chinese decision-makers <i>zishangerxia</i> first; orient the change-enabling value exchange towards the managerial <i>AUDIENCE</i> only</p> <p>> prepare the Chinese decision-makers-focused marketing of the entire change mission by a) showing patience, staying power, farsightedness, acquiescence, b) keeping a low profile, adhering to <i>wenhua</i> and <i>wenming</i>, offering all kinds of (Western) <i>shiyongxue</i>—at least in the beginning of the change mission—not limited to change-processes'-related skills and expertises only, c) convincing Chinese decision-makers of one's own harmlessness, serviceability, virtue, righteousness</p> <p>> (pro-)actively identify, understand, and anticipate those functional and emotional motives, motivators, and benefits-sought that in the broadest sense prevail amongst the managerial <i>AUDIENCE</i> with regard to a) the (foreign) person change-agent, b) the change mission; based on this <i>de facto</i> marketing analysis allow for (a premature) comprehensible segmentation, explicit targeting, and evident positioning</p> <p>> actively apply a high-involvement approach to readily satisfy Chinese decision-makers' functional and emotional motives, motivators, and benefits-sought</p> <p>> cater to the managerial <i>AUDIENCE</i>'s idiosyncratic functional and emotional motives, motivators, and benefits-sought to a) integrate the (foreign) person change-agent into the managerial network, b) create a strategic commitment as to enabling, implementing, and guiding change within the Chinese organizational setting, c) fix the practicality of the change-process in a managerial <i>AUDIENCE</i>-appropriate(d) way, d) pave the way for the (unfamiliar) ideas concepts and the (alien) approaches international best practices into the heads and hearts of the Chinese decision-makers <i>zishangerxia</i> and—as a result—into the Chinese organizational setting as such</p> <p>> capitalize on the Chinese decision-makers-oriented, change-enabling marketing approach to a) establish a lasting stable, sustainable, and self-supporting <i>guanxi</i>- as well as a change-process-facilitating relationship with the Chinese counterparts, b) convince, involve, and eventually authorize working-level <i>AUDIENCE</i> to implement the change mission <i>zixiaershang</i></p> <p>> go for tentatively identifying, understanding, and anticipating those functional and emotional motives, motivators, and benefits-sought that in the broadest sense prevail amongst the working-level <i>AUDIENCE</i> with regard to the change-process, its related activities, and the change-agent; based on this <i>de facto</i> marketing analysis start a Chinese counterparts'-related segmentation, targeting, and positioning</p> <p>> prepare a working-level <i>AUDIENCE</i>-appropriate(d) yet Chinese-decision-makers-validated marketing approach that a) aims at spreading (unfamiliar) ideas concepts and (alien) approaches international best practices throughout the entire Chinese organization and finally without managerial interference <i>zixiaershang</i>, b) complements the Chinese decision-makers-oriented, change-enabling marketing approach</p>
conduct >	<p>> diversifyingly approaches course- and specifyingly persons context-oriented with a customizing impact on ideas content</p> <p>> actively apply the change-related twin-approach; capitalize on the Chinese decision-makers-focused, un-obtrusive, apparently time-consuming, high-involvement approach to make accessible working-level <i>AUDIENCE</i></p> <p>> better carve out Chinese counterparts' change-process-related functional and emotional motives, motivators, and benefits-sought</p> <p>> strive towards better understanding Chinese counterparts' different levels of sophistication, involvement, and interaction concerning change-related activities; develop, apply, and constantly refine a working-level <i>AUDIENCE</i>-appropriate(d) means to implement and guide change from within; refine earlier segmentation, targeting, and positioning</p> <p>> implement a working-level <i>AUDIENCE</i>-appropriate(d) low-involvement approach to a) reduce complexity with regard to the change-process, b) better target creativity, effort, and pragmatism towards Chinese counterparts with regard to implementing and guiding change <i>zixiaershang</i></p> <p>> allow the evolving, working-level <i>AUDIENCE</i>-attuned, tactical-operative push-strategy to further a) complement the <i>passivo</i>-strategic approach of marketing the (unfamiliar) ideas concepts, and the (alien) approaches international best practices to the managerial <i>AUDIENCE</i>, b) confirm the comprehensive twin-approach that centres an all-<i>AUDIENCE</i>-appropriate(d) way of implementing and guiding change from within</p> <p>> use the all-<i>AUDIENCE</i>-appropriate(d) twin-approach to a) deal with different change-related expectations and concerns in a nonetheless <i>AUDIENCE</i>-centric way, b) reduce idiosyncratic resistance to accept the (foreign) person change-agent, the (unfamiliar) ideas concepts, and the (alien) approaches international best practices within Chinese organization's local and hierarchical confines, c) gradually shift the responsibility of first <i>Sinicizing</i> and then teleologically spreading and sharing the now-<i>Sinicized</i> (unfamiliar) ideas concepts and (alien) approaches international best practices from within towards Chinese counterparts and the now-<i>Sinicized</i> (foreign) person change-agent</p>

Table 24: AUDIENCE (continued)

<i>AUDIENCE</i>	
(foreign) persons (unfamiliar) ideas (alien) approaches	Context Course Content
consolidation >	<p>devolving persons context-oriented with distinguishing impacts on approach course and emancipatory influences on ideas content</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> > be aware of alterations in organizational power structure that might impair the change-mission, the change-process, and its related activities; decide <i>AUDIENCE</i>-appropriate(d) measures to deal with the impacts > capitalize on the in-built capacity of the <i>AUDIENCE</i>-appropriate(d), change-enabling, -implementing, and -guiding twin-approach to a) separately deal with Chinese decision-makers <i>zishangerxia</i> and Chinese counterparts <i>zixiaershang</i>, b) independently market the generally accepted fundamentals of the change mission and the change-process in all their (non-)change-related breadth and depth to different stakeholders in an unobstructed manner > rely on the established autonomy with regard to implementing and guiding change from within to a) effect necessary change mission-related modulations vis-à-vis (a replaced) managerial <i>AUDIENCE</i>, b) carry forward the change-process and its related activities with regard to (the unaltered) working level <i>AUDIENCE</i>, c) implement the refinements within the Chinese organizational setting with the least possible delay in an all-<i>AUDIENCE</i>-appropriate(d) way > constantly and permanently anchor change-related gains a) within the Chinese organizational setting, b) amongst the multiple <i>AUDIENCES</i>; create organizational universals > avail of Chinese-appropriate(d), comprehensive documents elaborations to a) carry forward both the change mission and its change-related accomplishments in a concentrated, constructive, change-centred manner, b) spread and share change-related information throughout the Chinese organization in a standardized yet <i>AUDIENCE</i>-adequate(d) way, c) allow both managerial and working-level <i>AUDIENCE</i> to take possession of the fixed change-related information in their respective way and to their benefits > use Chinese-appropriate(d), comprehensive documents elaborations to a) advance the change-process towards a self-regulatory, integrated and integrating, multiple-<i>AUDIENCE</i>-centred autopilot, b) couple the change-process with the receptive/receiving <i>AUDIENCE</i>, c) uncouple the change mission from any direct internal intervention or any indirect external interference, d) immunize the change process vis-à-vis external broadsides and/or internal shifts in organizational power

Table 24: *AUDIENCE* (continued)

Table 24: *AUDIENCE*, compiled by author

ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES

Open-minded readiness to accomplish equilibrium with the socio-organizational value-canon, the Chinese company-specific mode of thinking/acting, and the relevant Chinese organizational stakeholders before entering China and while being active within Chinese (organizational) setting, is a basic necessity for (the emergence of) any effective, acceptable|accepted, mutually beneficial and still Chinese change approach. Initiating a bridging project between Chinese and (foreign/Western) persons|change-agents, (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and (alien) approaches|international best-practices is a *primum movens* to align the (foreign) person|change-agent, the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices with the Chinese (organizational) setting. Pragmatically suggesting foreign/Western equalness with the Chinese organizational given, is the proper means to model a change-validating, change-facilitating, and change-catalysing equilibrium. Without prejudice seeking, construing, and (over)emphasizing socio-organizational similarities that manifest themselves in the broadest possible Chinese organizational context, with regard to the motives, motivators, and benefits-sought of the multiple organizational stakeholders, and vis-à-vis the diverse Chinese opinion leaders at every hierarchical level, is an absolute (pre-)condition to establish a Chinese organization-appropriate(d) change-enabling, change-implementing, and change-guiding common ground from within.

Notwithstanding the ultimate goal, *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* must start at the top of the organizational hierarchy. This requires (pro-)active *xiangsixing* that avoids shallow levelling and inattentive adherence to *wenhua/wenming*, but that creates conformity-establishing, mutually beneficial alignment with the prevailing (Chinese) procedures, established (Chinese) processes, given (Chinese) corporate philosophies, and relevant (Chinese) opinion leaders. It further establishes *guanxi*-relationships and causes blending of the (foreign) person|change-agent in the dominant Chinese socio-organizational value-canon as it manifests itself in the respectively influential managerial representatives, regnant ideas, and prevalent approaches.

Orienting the (foreign) person|change-agent, (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and (alien) approaches|international best-practices towards the parameters of the Chinese organization allows dealing with likeminded managerial stakeholders on eye level. It authorizes the (foreign) person|change-agent to enable, implement, and guide change in a fresh but managerial validated, organizationally *zhengtong* way.

First accomplishing equilibrium with managerial stakeholders is a *conditio sine qua non* to win the entire Chinese organization for the (foreign) person|change-agent, the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices. Thus, collaterizing the bridging project by means of an (over)emphasized alignment with the dominant Chinese organizational given, provides Chinese organization-appropriate(d) starting points to push the borders of the change-related context beyond the initially targeted managerial stakeholders. Actively seeking (new) intercessions, (new) overlappings, (new) potential for recognition provides Chinese organization-appropriate(d) toeholds to do so. Backed by high social visibility and validated by nearness to management, it becomes possible to carry forward the change-enabling project of *xiangsixing* on the working-level. Performing this tactical move out of a position of strength allows the (foreign) person|change-agent to both establish lasting *guanxi*-relationships on all hierarchical levels, and to market the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices to the working-level stakeholders. This enables the change mission to expand into all socio-organizational strata which permits the change-process to grow from within.

However, turning to those Chinese counterparts who implement and guide the change-process from within necessitates accomplishing additional equilibrium that takes into consideration the different motives of the working-level stakeholders but stays in the Chinese socio-organizationally acceptable|accepted, dominating managerial framework. In the face of *xiangsixing*'s change-enabling, change-implementing, and change-guiding character, (over)emphasizing similarities by making unmindful concessions to Chinese (organizational) mainstream carries the danger of softening the change-enabling, change-implementing, and change-guiding common ground.

Yielding to the apparently self-evident to reduce Chinese company-
idiosyncratic barriers of change has thus to have a self-containing boundary.
With the time on site progressing, pro-active and re-active, as well as
continuous adjustment of the change mission and the change-process to the
organizational environment and the different motives, motivators and
benefits-sought of diverse organizational stakeholders is necessary.

Trading the successes of the change mission against the adequacy and
acceptability of the bridging project is a constant need to safeguard change-
enabling harmony. Clearly setting boundaries, stressing differences, and
(over)emphasizing heterogeneity between foreign/Western and Chinese
socio-organizational value-canon, mode of thinking/acting, and relevant
stakeholders is indispensable while carrying forward the change-process per
se. Thus, constantly balancing Sino-foreign/Western alignment of the
(unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the (alien) approaches|international best-
practices against the change-related framework actively created/formulated
by the (foreign) person|change-agent and her|his ultimate assignment of
enabling, implementing, and guiding change, avoids compromising the
change mission as such. Constantly evaluating established *xiangsixing* and
continuously re-orientating the bridging project towards its ultimate aim is
hence, a basic necessity to permanently stabilize the change-enabling,
change-implementing and change-guiding common ground at an early stage.
Avoiding untimely interpretations/overhasty appropriations of unconsidered
socio-organizational concepts, being cautious of unmindful concessions to
Chinese (organizational) mainstream and traditional specifications, and
abstaining from premature enthusiasm that comes with quick wins and/or
gullibility that roots in a readiness to please/eagerness to achieve, is an
absolute condition to not jeopardize the change mission. This sanitizes the
(foreign) person|change-agent while simultaneously validating the
(unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and upgrading the (alien)
approaches|international best-practices vis-à-vis the Chinese organization.
The (foreign) person|change-agent, the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the
(alien) approaches|international best-practices deeply grounded, broadly
accepted, and essentially invincible, *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* merges
foreign/Western tradition with Chinese requirements.

Being officially sworn in on the most appropriate, least ambiguous, mutually beneficial combination of Sino-foreign/Western socio-organizational concepts allows change to be implemented and guided from within without facing any important company-internal broadsides.

Capitalizing on a to-be-established sameness with regard to the now-*Sinicized* (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the now-*Sinicized* (alien) approaches|international best-practices allows the change-process to take root at lower level hierarchies. Thus, developing a bridging project towards a management-validated tactical commitment of implementing and guiding change on the working level only, establishes a fall-back system that secures change-related gains on all organizational levels. As a result, the role of the (foreign) person|change-agent as a planning, preparing, and far-sighted change promoter gradually shifts towards that of an action/change engineer.

In spite of change-related successes, teleologically created Chinese organization-appropriate(d) sameness and prevailing pragmatism to accomplish socio-organizational equilibrium on different organizational levels leads to a particular looseness while the change-process progresses.

Eagerness to (over)emphasize similarities that align the now-*Sinicized* (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the now-*Sinicized* (alien) approaches|international best-practices with the socio-organizational parameters and the different organizational stakeholders' diverse motives, motivators, and benefits-sought gradually leads to an uncontrolled growth of change-implementing and change-guiding structures.

With the change mission maturing, it becomes necessary to fit similarities and discrepancies as well as the assignment of implementing and guiding change from within of the now-*Sinicized* (foreign) person|change-agent into the Chinese organizational setting. Capitalizing on a growing knowledge with regard to the (earlier emphasized and newly stressed) similarities and (respective) differences allows constant reassessment of (earlier) aligned (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices, and a reconsideration of role and position vis-à-vis the multiple stakeholders.

This defends those similarities and differences fundamental to the change-agent vis-à-vis Chinese and non-Chinese stakeholders, it secures the change mission with regard to internal and external broadsides.

Thus, re-aligning the change-process and its related activities with the dominating framework of a Chinese socio-organizational orthodoxy re-transforms the loosely connected structures into dependable, controllable entities that harmoniously integrate themselves into the Chinese organization. It re-unifies the method of implementing and guiding change on all organizational levels from within. As a result, harmonization and formalization re-grounds the now-*Sinicized* (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and now-*Sinicized* (alien) approaches|international best-practices within the Chinese organizational setting. In this context, integrative advancement towards further maturity and integratedness becomes a channelling, mainstreaming effort. This secures the Chinese-appropriate(d) change mission and the change-process vis-à-vis internal sings of disintegration and refusal. Thus, balancing differences and similarities finally defends the change mission vis-à-vis external stakeholders and further safeguards change-related gains in view of possible external impacts. *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* without challenging the change-implementing and change-guiding common ground thus allows the now-*Sinicized* (foreign) person|change-agent to transfer practical realization of the entire change-process to the Chinese stakeholders.

However, with regard to its impact on Context, Course, and Content, the scope of *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* is down to the change-process's level of development, the (c)overt expectation of Chinese decision-makers and Chinese counterparts, and the phase when the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices are finally introduced into the Chinese organizational setting along the (*activo*-temporal) axis of concentration, conduct, and/or consolidation.

Table 25 presents the option for action with regard to *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES*.

ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES

<p>(foreign) persons (unfamiliar) ideas (alien) approaches</p>	<p>Context Course Content</p>
<p>concentration ></p>	<p>internalizingly ideas content-oriented with a role-assuming implication on person context and a validating impact on approach course</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> > initiate a socio-organizational bridging project to establish an effective, acceptable accepted, mutually beneficial yet still Chinese change approach; start modelling a change-validating, -facilitating, and -catalysing common ground from within > seek contact points in the Chinese (organizational) setting to open Chinese organizational doors and minds to the (foreign) person change-agent > look for Chinese (socio-organizational and management)-appropriate(d) toeholds to align a) the (unfamiliar) ideas concepts, b) the (alien) approaches international best practices with the Chinese (organizational) setting > pragmatically suggest equalness with the Chinese organizational given to orient (foreign) persons change-agents, (unfamiliar) ideas concepts, and (alien) approaches international best practices towards the basic parameters of the Chinese organization > strive for alignment with a) the broadest possible organizational context, b) the motives, motivators, and benefits-sought of multiple organizational stakeholders, c) the diverse Chinese opinion leaders at every hierarchical levels to substantiate a Chinese organization-appropriate(d) change-enabling, -implementing, and -guiding equilibrium > pro-actively blend in the dominant Chinese socio-organizational value canon as manifested in the respectively influential managerial representatives, regnant ideas, and prevalent approaches > start <i>xiangsixing</i> at the top of the organizational hierarchy and with regard to the prevailing Chinese (socio-organizational) philosophies and relevant Chinese opinion leaders; avoid shallow levelling, empty mimicry, inattentive adherence to <i>wenhua/wenming</i> > accomplish equilibrium with managerial stakeholders first to a) create conformity, establish <i>guanxi</i>-relationships, and cause mutually beneficial blending, b) increase the reputation of both (foreign) person change-agent and change mission, d) enable, implement, and guide change in a fresh but nonetheless managerially validated and organizationally <i>zhengtong</i> way, c) re-actively model an all-organization appropriate(d), effective change-enabling approach, d) win the entire Chinese organization for the (foreign) person change-agent, the (unfamiliar) ideas concepts, and the (alien) approaches international best practices > capitalize on high social visibility, nearness to management, and (over)emphasized (Western) equalness with the dominant Chinese organizational given to push the borders of the change-related context a) beyond the initially targeted managerial stakeholders, b) into all socio-organizational strata; perform a tactical move out of a position of strength > carry forward the change-enabling bridging project on working-level; actively seek new intercessions, overlappings, potential for recognition to mobilize Chinese organization-appropriate(d) starting points > strive for pro- and re-active, as well as continuous adjustment of the change mission, the change-process, and its related activities to the organizational environment and the different motives, motivators, and benefits-sought of diverse organizational stakeholders > advisedly trade the successes of the entire change mission against the bridging project's adequacy, appropriateness, and acceptability > constantly set boundaries, stress differences, and (over)emphasize heterogeneity between the foreign/Western and the Chinese socio-organizational value canon, mode of thinking/acting, and relevant stakeholders to a) validate the (unfamiliar) ideas concepts, b) upgrade the (alien) approaches international best practices vis-à-vis the Chinese organization > constantly balance the Sino-Western alignment of the (unfamiliar) ideas concepts, and the (alien) approaches international best practices against the a) change-related framework actively created/formulated by the (foreign) person change-agent, b) change-agent's ultimate assignment of enabling, implementing, and guiding change; do not compromise the change mission as such > safeguard the change-enabling, -implementing and -guiding common ground by way of constant evaluation of a) earlier established <i>xiangsixing</i>, b) continuous re-orientation of (unfamiliar) ideas concepts and (alien) approaches international best practices towards both the Chinese organizational setting and the assignment of the change-agent > beware of a) unmindful concessions to Chinese (organizational) mainstream, regnant parameters, and traditional specifications, b) softening the change-enabling, -implementing, and -guiding common ground > avoid a) questionable at least untimely interpretations and overhasty appropriations of unconsidered socio-organizational concepts, b) premature enthusiasm that comes with some quick wins, c) gullibility that roots in a readiness to please and eagerness to achieve

Table 25: ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES (continued)

ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES

(foreign) persons (unfamiliar) ideas (alien) approaches	Context Course Content
conduct	> diversifyingly approach course- and differentiatingly ideas content-oriented with role-enlarging impacts on person context > take full advantage of the most appropriate, least ambiguous, mutually beneficial combination of Sino-Western socio-organizational concepts as represented by Chinese management to turn to the change-implementing and -guiding working-level stakeholders > develop the bridging project towards a management-validated a) tactical commitment of implementing and guiding change on working level only, b) fall back system that secures change-related gains on all organizational levels; enlarge the role of a planning, preparing, far-sighted change promoter towards a (wo)man of action/change engineer > show an unbiased responsiveness to the non-managerial workforce's idiosyncratic socio-organizational motives, motivators, and benefits-sought; accomplish a change-implementing and -guiding equilibrium > actively capitalize on the to-be-established sameness to a) allow new contact points becoming apparent, b) level the now- <i>Sinicized</i> (unfamiliar) ideas concepts, and the now- <i>Sinicized</i> (alien) approaches international best practices with the organizational workforce, c) allow the change-process and its related activities taking root at lower level hierarchies > beware of an uncontrolled growth of newly-emerging change-implementing and -guiding structures; take measures to deal with the particular looseness that comes with a) a teleologically created Chinese organization-appropriate(d) sameness, b) a prevailing pragmatism to accomplish socio-organizational equilibrium on different organizational levels > capitalize on a growing knowledge with regard to (earlier emphasized and newly stressed) similarities and differences to a) constantly reassess aligned now- <i>Sinicized</i> (unfamiliar) ideas concepts, and the now- <i>Sinicized</i> (alien) approaches appropriate(d) international best practices, b) reconsider one's own role and position as a now- <i>Sinicized</i> (foreign) person change-agent vis-à-vis the multiple stakeholders > fit similarities and discrepancies into the Chinese organizational setting and the assignment of the (foreign) person change-agent; defend those similarities and differences fundamental to the change mission vis-à-vis Chinese and non-Chinese
consolidation	> harmonizingly approach course- and aligningly ideas content-oriented with devolving impacts and disintegrating implications on person context > reclaim the most appropriate, least ambiguous, mutually beneficial combination of Sino-Western socio-organizational similarities to a) re-align the change-process and its related activities with the dominating framework of a Chinese socio-organizational orthodoxy, propriety, and conventions, b) re-transform the loosely connected, change-implementing and -guiding structures into dependable, controllable entities that harmoniously integrate themselves into the Chinese organization, c) re-unify the method of implementing and guiding change on all organizational levels from within > let harmonization and formalization towards the general Chinese organizational given and a targeted re-confirmation of both similarities and differences a) re-ground the now- <i>Sinicized</i> (unfamiliar) ideas concepts and now- <i>Sinicized</i> (alien) approaches international best practices within the Chinese organizational setting, b) become a channelling and mainstreaming effort, c) secure the Chinese-appropriate(d) change mission, the change-process, and its related activities vis-à-vis internal signs of disintegration and refusal, d) defend the change mission vis-à-vis external stakeholders, e) safeguard change-related gains in view of possible external impacts

Table 25: ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES (continued)

Table 25: ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES, compiled by author

ALLIES

Impartial readiness to profit from company-internal insights, suggestions, recommendations, and interferences of multiple *ALLIES* while being active within Chinese (organizational) setting is a *conditio sine qua non* for (the emergence of) any effective, acceptable|accepted, mutually beneficial yet Chinese organization-appropriate(d) change approach. Actively listening to diverse *diyous* who have a facilitating or thwarting impact on the change mission is a basic necessity to establish a change-enabling, change-implementing, and change-guiding common ground from within.

Advisedly managing the stress-field of foiling activities, prejudicial lines of arguments, baseless fears, absurd prepossessions while simultaneously capitalizing on the generally invaluable, and in all respects path breaking advice/help of multiple *diyous* is an indispensable move to ground the (foreign) person|change-agent, the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices within the Chinese (organizational) setting. Taking *ALLIES* as formative sounding boards for the change-process is fundamental to the to-be-decided, creatively to-be-put into practice, constantly to-be-refined change mission.

ALLIES have their main impact as to *Sinicizing* the (foreign) person|change-agent, the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices at the beginning of the change mission. However, taking active advantage from *diyous*'s influence as to (re-)anchor the (foreign) person|change-agent, (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and (alien) approaches|international best-practices within the organizational setting always remains on the agenda. Even with this steady-state agenda, as the change mission progresses along the change-enabling, change-implementing, and change-guiding continuum, the characteristics and *foci* of how to avail of *ALLIES*' varying (in)direct interactions varies, given the diversifying local, temporal, situational, and hierarchical elements.

At the beginning of the change mission, dealing with *diyous* is tantamount to preparing a permanent, stable change-enabling ground for the (foreign) person|change-agent.

This merges the medium and message to indirectly introduce the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices within the organizational setting from within. Establishing this particularly fruitful Sino-foreign/Western *quid pro quo* sooner or later involves diverse stakeholders on multiple hierarchical levels. However, preparatory work to take advantage of *ALLIES'* influence has to start at the Chinese company's managerial top. At first, identifying and satisfying executive *ALLIES'* change-related motives, motivators, and benefits-sought permits to forge change-enabling, change-implementing, and change-guiding yet strategic alliances. Considering the sensitivities of leading *diyout* with regard to the (foreign) person|change-agent, (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and (alien) approaches|international best-practices allows warding off any form of Chinese (c)overt xenophobia. Learning to counteract Chinese resentments enables the (foreign) person|change-agent to blend in Chinese-organizational environment and thus permits to deal with delaying resistance. Capitalizing on the intervention of executive *ALLIES* while appropriately handling interferences, establishes the (foreign) person|change-agent, internalizes the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and validates the (alien) approaches|international best-practices amongst the company's stakeholders *zishangerxia*.

Owing to the support of leading *ALLIES* being constantly able to tune in to changing coalitions and to learn from earlier deviances ensures the change mission's socio-organizational legitimation. This establishes the (foreign) person|change-agent amongst those (high-ranking) stakeholders who could guarantee the necessary free space to later implement and guide change from within. Availing of the foreignness-reducing, *Sinicizing* interference of leading *diyout* provides an organizationally appropriate(d) change-enabling role model. This differentiates the (foreign) person|change-agent from her|his foreign/European counterparts. It allows to market the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices with executive *ALLIES'* authorization from within.

Following the suggestions of managerial *ALLIES*, considering their reproaches, and so profiting from substantial questions, highlighted ambiguities, and indicated inconsistencies with regard to the line of change-

related arguments, allows *Sinicizing* the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices. This blends the change mission, the change-process, and its representative(s) in the Chinese organizational setting from the inside. It braces the (foreign) person|change-agent for her|his complex discussion with other stakeholders and allows winning new *ALLIES* from within. It further pre-defines the procedural steps to introduce the change-process on lower hierarchical levels. Marketing the change mission and conducting the change-process on multiple hierarchical levels is finally possible. The apparent detour to charm and/or quieten leading *diyout* thus turns out to be(come) a valuable, expediting shortcut that leads directly into the core of the Chinese company.

With the change mission progressing and the gradually *Sinicized* (foreign) person|change-agent grounded within the organizational setting, *ALLIES'* fields of action progressively differ. The change-process becoming more acceptable|accepted by multiple stakeholders, establishing a division of labour with regard to multiple *ALLIES* on diverse hierarchical levels is possible. The direct help of managerial *ALLIES* to anchor the gradually *Sinicized* (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and (alien) approaches|international best-practices on different organizational strata is extended by working level *ALLIES* fathoming Chinese organizational-appropriate(d) ways to implement and guide the change-process from within. In such a way integrated into socio-organizational orthodoxy, submitted to the company-specific imperative, customized to multiple stakeholders, neither internal broadsides nor changing company-internal coalitions are to permanently remove the now-*Sinicized* (foreign) person|change-agent from their *ALLIES*. Alienating the now-*Sinicized* (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices from the organizational setting becomes a difficult task. The change-process thus elaborated, focused, self-relying, and entrenched in socio-organizational soil, interacting with *diyout* disengages itself from performing preparatory work. *ALLIES'* direct help becomes dispensable as interaction with *diyout* shifts towards securing change-related gains.

With a maturing change mission exposing second generation stakeholders to the now-*Sinicized* (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien)

approaches|international best-practices become the main driving factors of autonomous *ALLIES*. Working towards increased Chineseness and the change-process's further integrability characterizes the interaction of the now-*Sinicized* (foreign) person|change-agent with the diverse *ALLIES*. Dealing with the stress-field of growth and continuance finally quietens the opposition of *dijou* and yields their further support. This strengthens the Chinese-organization appropriate(d) change mission and safeguards change-related gains from within.

Having welded together throngs of stakeholders and integrated the change mission into the socio-organizational value-canon, relying on *ALLIES'* interference finally creates an unchallenged, acceptable|accepted, and invulnerable means to implement and guide change from within.

Emancipating multiple stakeholders to perform their change-implementing and change-guiding duties on their individual organizational level, and confiding the change-process to *ALLIES'* responsibility pools theoretical risks of failure. This prevents any seismic shift in the managerial position towards the now-*Sinicized* (foreign) person|change-agent and any decline in prestige a status with regard to the now-*Sinicized* (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices from impairing the change mission. The change-process integrated within the organizational setting and aligned with the organizational given, and the change mission further anchored by means of written documents|elaborations finally turns the now-*Sinicized* person|change-agent, the now-*Sinicized* (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the now-*Sinicized* (alien) approaches|international best-practices into an ineradicable part of the socio-organizational setting.

However, with regard to its impact on Context, Course, and Content, the scope of *ALLIES* is down to the change-process's level of development, (c)overt expectation of Chinese decision-makers and counterparts, and the phase when the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices are introduced into the Chinese organizational setting along the (*activo-temporal*) axis of concentration, conduct, and/or consolidation.

Table 26 presents the option for action with regard to *ALLIES*.

ALLIES	
(foreign) persons (unfamiliar) ideas (alien) approaches	Context Course Content
concentration >	<p>differentiatingly person context-oriented with an internalizing implication on ideas content and a validating impact on approach course</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> > consider <i>diyoun</i>'s broadest possible forming impact on establishing a change-enabling, -implementing, and -guiding common ground already from the very first step into Chinese organization > be always ready to profit from multiple <i>ALLIES</i>' company-internal insights, suggestions, recommendations, and interferences to fathom an effective, acceptable accepted, mutually beneficial yet Chinese-organization appropriate(d) change approach from within > take executive <i>ALLIES</i> as a formative sounding board for the to-be-decided and creatively to-be-put into practice, constantly to-be-refined Chinese change mission > start taking active advantage from managerial <i>ALLIES</i> first to a) first of all position the (foreign) person change-agent permanently amongst those high-ranking stakeholders who will give supportive or negative but basically invaluable, and in all respects path breaking advice/help, b) gradually anchor the (unfamiliar) ideas concepts, and the (alien) approaches international best practices within Chinese organizational setting <i>zishangexia</i> > pro-actively listen to leading <i>diyoun</i> who have a facilitating or thwarting impact on the change mission as such to a) market the (unfamiliar) ideas concepts, and the (alien) approaches international best practices with executive <i>ALLIES</i>' authorization from within, b) forge change-enabling, -implementing, and -guiding yet strategic alliances and assure the change mission's socio-organizational legitimation <i>zishangexia</i>, c) tune in to changing coalitions > avail of managerial <i>ALLIES</i>' foreignness-reducing, <i>Sinicizing</i> interference to form a differentiating, organizationally appropriate(d) yet change-enabling role model > consider leading <i>diyoun</i>'s multiple sensitivities with regard to (foreign) persons change-agents, (unfamiliar) ideas concepts, and (alien) approaches international best practices to a) deal with delaying resistance, b) ward off any form of change-inhibiting Chinese (c) overt xenophobia > identify, understand, anticipate, and satisfy managerial <i>ALLIES</i>' change-related motives, motivators, and benefits-sought to advisedly a) manage the stress field of foiling activities, prejudicial lines of arguments, baseless fears, and absurd prepossession, b) capitalize on suggestions where/how to further establish the (foreign) person change-agent, the (unfamiliar) ideas concepts, and the (alien) approaches international best practices amongst which stakeholders/on which hierarchical level, c) gradually blend the change mission, the change-process, its related activities and representative in Chinese-organizational environment > follow executive <i>ALLIES</i>' suggestions, consider their reproaches, and profit from their questions, highlighted ambiguities, and indicated inconsistencies with regard to the line of change-related arguments to a) market the change mission on multiple hierarchical levels, b) brace the (foreign) person change-agent for his/her her his complex discussion with other stakeholders, c) introduce the change-process on working-level, c) win new <i>ALLIES</i> amongst those who implement and guide change from within

Table 26: *ALLIES* (continued)

ALLIES	
(foreign) persons (unfamiliar) ideas (alien) approaches	Context Course Content
conduct	<p>> complementingly approach course-oriented with clarifying effects on ideas content and disentangling impacts on person context</p> <p>> establish change mission-related, multiple <i>ALLIES</i>-involving division of labour on diverse hierarchical levels; allow <i>ALLIES</i>' diverse fields of action to progressively differ along the lines of a diversifying local, temporal, situational, and hierarchical given</p> <p>> be aware that dealing with diverse <i>ALLIES</i> remains a permanent condition and a necessary driver of the change-process; allow interaction with <i>diyóu</i> to disengage itself from performing preparatory efforts</p> <p>> avail of managerial <i>ALLIES</i> to a) anchor the (foreign) persons change-agents, (unfamiliar) ideas concepts, and (alien) approaches international best practices on different organizational strata as a part of Chinese organization, b) make accessible new section of stakeholders to the change mission</p> <p>> capitalize on working level <i>ALLIES</i> to a) further <i>Sinicize</i> the (unfamiliar) ideas concepts, and the (alien) approaches international best practices from within, b) customize the change-implementing and -guiding stages and substance to the working level stakeholders, c) implement and guide the change-process in a Chinese organization-appropriate(d) way—mainly in cooperation with the (foreign) person change-agent, sometimes on their own account but always with increasing zeal</p> <p>> profit from multiple <i>ALLIES</i>' interference/involvement to a) successfully deal with the stress-field of growth and continuance b) strengthen the Chinese organization-appropriate(d) change mission from within, c) collateralize the change-process on different socio-organizational strata, b) guard the now-<i>Sinicized</i> (foreign) person change-agent, the now-<i>Sinicized</i> (unfamiliar) ideas concepts, and the now-<i>Sinicized</i> (alien) approaches international best practices from internal broadsides or changing company-internal coalitions; actively dispense with <i>ALLIES</i>' direct help</p> <p>> allow interaction with and requirements vis-à-vis diverse <i>ALLIES</i> permanently shifting towards consolidating and securing change-related gains; involve multiple <i>ALLIES</i> to achieve an increased Chineseness and integrability of the entire change-process</p> <p>> let gradually autonomous <i>ALLIES</i> expose second generation stakeholders to the now-<i>Sinicized</i> (unfamiliar) ideas concepts and now-<i>Sinicized</i> (alien) approaches international best practices</p> <p>consolidation > devolvingly person context-oriented with safeguarding impacts on approach course and securing effects on ideas content</p> <p>> emancipate multiple <i>ALLIES</i> to perform their change-implementing and -guiding duties on their individual organizational level; weld together the throngs of responsible stakeholders</p> <p>> confide the entire change-process and its related activities to <i>ALLIES</i>' responsibility to a) pool apparently theoretical risks of failure, b) prevent any seismic shift in managerial position towards the now-<i>Sinicized</i> (foreign) person change-agent and any decline in prestige an status with regard to the now-<i>Sinicized</i> (unfamiliar) ideas concepts and now-<i>Sinicized</i> (alien) approaches international best practices from dangerously impairing the change mission</p> <p>> rely on <i>diyóu</i>'s diverse interferences to a) create an unchallenged, broadly accepted acceptable, and generally invulnerable change approach from within, b) integrate and ground the change-process within the Chinese organizational setting, c) align its change-related activities with the organizational given, c) anchor the change mission by means of written documents elaborations as an ineradicable part of the Chinese socio-organizational setting</p>

Table 26: *ALLIES* (continued)

Table 26: *ALLIES*, compiled by author

EMPOWERMENT

Open-minded readiness to gradually assign change-enabling, change-implementing, and change-guiding *shouquan* to diverse open-minded Chinese stakeholders from different socio-organizational levels is a basic necessity for the (emergence of) any effective, acceptable|accepted, mutually beneficial yet still Chinese change approach.

Ever-broadening though always change-related *EMPOWERMENT* is a *conditio sine qua non* to primarily position and later market the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices—and only in their lee the (foreign) person|change-agent—within a Chinese organizational setting. Initiating, developing, and regularly (re-)channelling comprehensive Chinese organization-appropriate(d) involvement, collaboration, and assistance is a fundamental for the to-be-decided, creatively to-be-put into practice, and constantly to-be-refined change approach. Constantly considering Chinese stakeholders' broadest forming impact with regard to implementation and accomplishment of the change mission, the change-process, and its related activities finally establish a *clockwork transformation* from within. Doing so merges Chinese medium and foreign/Western message to a Sino-foreign/Western benefit.

Even if *EMPOWERMENT* is an important driver of the (to-be-established) change approach, *shouquan* only gradually develops into the Chinese-appropriate(d) fundamental feature and critical success factor of the change mission to anchor the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices from within. Developing along a change-enabling, change-implementing, and change-guiding continuum of time, place, and persons, *EMPOWERMENT* evolves in a piecemeal fashion. It achieves its full potential not until the (foreign) person|change-agent had convinced managerial stakeholders of the change mission's suitability.

From the outset of the change mission, *shouquan* focuses on the immediate environment and on day-to-day routine of well-meaning, often only broadly change-affected|affecting stakeholders from different organizational strata.

Indirectly encouraging multiple Chinese change-enabling stakeholders to bring their idiosyncratic talents to the change mission is thus a prerequisite to position (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and (alien) approaches|international best-practices from the inside.

To develop *emancipatio reformanda sinensis* into an acceptable|accepted driver of the change-process requires *shouquan* to broaden and deepen with regard to duties, authority, and expectations of the change-implementing and change-guiding stakeholders in charge. Turning away from basic involvement, collaboration, and assistance allows to market (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices beyond the immediate socio-organizational realm but without a narrow focus on the day-to-day routine of change-implementing and change-guiding stakeholders.

With the change mission maturing, taking further responsibilities from the (foreign) person|change-agent qualifies the change-implementing and change-guiding stakeholders to creatively collaborate with/assist the (foreign) person|change-agent in spreading (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices throughout the organization from within. It allows those in charge to both vindicate the change-process vis-à-vis (managerial) opponents/proponents and to make change-implementing and change-guiding arrangements on their own account. In such a way emancipated and tacitly delegated by the (foreign) person|change-agent to independently market (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices merges the Chinese medium and foreign/Western message. This *Sinicizes* the change mission, the change-process, and its related activities to mutual benefit.

The Chinese change-implementing and -guiding stakeholders assuming the role of change-agents themselves enhances their status with regard to their peers and with reference to the socio-organizational setting. Enabled to implement and guide change without the intervention of the (foreign) person|change-agent further *Sinicizes* the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices. Requested to preserve the manifestation of the change mission during change-agent's absence finally anchors the change-related status quo within the organizational setting.

Preparing those in charge for higher duties and responsibility, degree, impact, and direction of *EMPOWERMENT* is finally set and settled. *Shouquan* thus yields a *clockwork transformation* indispensable to the foreign/Western and the Chinese persons|change-agents, and essential to the change mission as such.

However, with *emancipatio reformanda sinensis* unfolding and maturing, constantly (re-)tailoring *EMPOWERMENT* to Chinese (organizational) characteristics, the ever-developing, change-related motives, motivators, and benefits-sought of the change-implementing and change-guiding stakeholders and to their developing capabilities remains a basic necessity. Being the logical extension of the line take by the (foreign) person|change-agent to anchor (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices as an acceptable|accepted alternative from within requires to (pro-)actively meet the increasing demand of the change-implementing and change-guiding stakeholders for more complex forms of *EMPOWERMENT*. Doing so creates a solely Chinese dependent, self-sustaining, self-expanding change mission. In this context, Chinese-tailored *EMPOWERMENT* distinctively and irrevocably alters the job-description and self-concept of the now-*Sinicized* (foreign) person|change-agent and the Chinese change-implementing and change-guiding stakeholders.

Relying on (traditional) Chinese organization-appropriate(d) means to satisfy the increasing desire for autonomy and accountability further anchors the change mission within the Chinese (organizational) setting. Complying with a Sino-idiosyncratic desire for co-optation and cohesion and, hence, permitting the various change-enabling, change-implementing, and change-guiding stakeholders an increasing degree of emancipation and delegation pairs an ever-sophisticated *shouquan* with the prevailing idiosyncratic socio-organizational (management and teamwork) model of responsibility-sharing. This allows the *clockwork transformation* to proceed in an organization-appropriate(d) fashion without constant (foreign) person's|change-agent's care.

To such an extent applying a Chinese-familiar *modus operandi* carries the danger of unintended departure from the change-implementing and change-guiding, *shouquan*-related mandate. The expected progress of the change-process requires taking organization-appropriate(d) measures regularly to (re-)tailor *EMPOWERMENT*.

Pro-actively dealing with the (latent) Chinese self-dependence, channelling Chinese work enthusiasm, and so appropriately handling Chinese eagerness for forming and accomplishing is a must to both counter any *shouquan*-related deviation/irregularity and to anticipate possible dilution of the to-be-introduced (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices. Availing of comprehensive documentations|elaborations to fix and communicate the characteristics, guiding principles, and scope of successful *shouquan* makes *EMPOWERMENT* the medium and message to position now-*Sinicized* (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices as a socio-organizational alternative. Such downsides of *shouquan* weeded out turns the change-implementing and change-guiding stakeholders into subsidiaries and real media incarnating the change message.

The change-process thus integrated within the organizational setting allows for unity and unification, as well as for streamlining and channelling. The continuance of the change mission in a socio-organization-appropriate(d) way is ensured—even if the (foreign) person|change-agent has left the company or shifts in managerial position threaten the status of the now-*Sinicized* (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the now-*Sinicized* (alien) approaches|international best-practices.

However, with regard to its impact on Context, Course, and Content, the scope of *EMPOWERMENT* is down to the change-process's level of development, (c)overt expectation of Chinese decision-makers and Chinese counterparts, and phase when the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices are finally introduced into the Chinese organizational setting along the (*activo-temporal*) axis of concentration, conduct, and/or consolidation.

Table 27 presents the option for action with regard to *EMPOWERMENT*.

EMPOWERMENT	
<p>(foreign) persons (un)familiar ideas (alien) approaches</p>	<p>Context Course Content</p>
<p>concentration ></p>	<p>evolvingly approach course-oriented with internalizing implication on ideas content and first disentangling implications on person context</p> <p>> start early empowering multiple open-minded Chinese stakeholders from different socio-organizational levels to fathom an effective, acceptable accepted, mutually beneficial yet Chinese-organization appropriate(d) change approach from within</p> <p>> consider Chinese stakeholders' broadest possible forming involvement, collaboration, and assistance to market the (unfamiliar) ideas concepts, the (alien) approaches international best practices from within; avail of an ever-broadening though always change-related <i>EMPOWERMENT</i> to a) shape the to-be-decided, creatively to-be-put into practice, and constantly to-be-refined change approach, b) establish a Chinese (organization-)appropriate(d), self-coherent, Chinese and foreign Western characteristics and particularities-acknowledging <i>clockwork transformation</i> from within</p> <p>> gradually assign change-enabling, -implementing, and -guiding <i>shouquan</i> to diverse company-internal stakeholders from different hierarchical levels to anchor both change mission and change-process within the Chinese organizational setting; assure and secure the broadest managerial support and admission possible to start emancipation and delegation in good time</p> <p>> focus on the immediate environment of well-meaning, often only broadly change-affected affecting stakeholders from different organizational strata to allow for effective, acceptable accepted, Chinese-organization appropriate(d) <i>shouquan</i>; first involve day-to-day routine only to initiate, arrange, and establish suitable, successful, and lasting <i>EMPOWERMENT</i></p> <p>> consistently encourage multiple, willing change-enabling stakeholders by way of unprepossessed <i>shouquan</i> to bring their idiosyncratic talents and knowledge to the change mission as such</p> <p>> carry forward the indirect way of fathoming successful, lasting, ever-broadening though always change-related <i>shouquan</i> to a) prepare the groundwork of a Chinese organization-appropriate(d) change-process, b) permanently anchor the (unfamiliar) ideas concepts, the (alien) approaches international best practices within the Chinese organizational setting—with or without the (foreign) person's change-agent's direct intervention but always with a positive view to capitalizing on Chinese creativity and autonomy, c) gradually turn change-enabling stakeholders into Chinese change-agents; let degree, impact, and direction of a Chinese organization-adequate(d) <i>EMPOWERMENT</i> become apparent</p> <p>> identify, understand, anticipate, and advisedly satisfy multiple change-enabling stakeholders' motives, motivators, and benefits-sought with regard to autonomy and accountability to anchor the change mission within the Chinese (organizational) setting</p> <p>> be constantly aware of change-enabling stakeholders' penchant to a) carry forward the change process on own account, b) decide change-related activities without authority; identify Chinese organization-appropriate(d) measures to deal with a) any unexpected departure from the mandate, b) stakeholders' independent yet far-reaching decisions to market the (unfamiliar) ideas concepts, the (alien) approaches international best practices from within the Chinese organizational setting their own socio-organizational realm</p> <p>> consider Chinese organization-appropriate(d) means to channel change-enabling stakeholders' own-assumed personal responsibility, work enthusiasm, and eagerness to implement and accomplish</p> <p>> make <i>EMPOWERMENT</i> an invaluable pillar of the change mission; prepare those in charge for higher duties and responsibilities</p> <p>> allow successful, change-enabling <i>shouquan</i> to a) become a strategic necessity, b) broaden its focus from the immediate socio-organizational realm and day-to-day routine to implementing and guiding change throughout the organization from within by those officially appointed change-implementing and -guiding stakeholders</p>
<p>conduct ></p>	<p>refiningly approach course- and aggrandizingly/upgradingly person context-oriented with diversifying impacts on ideas content</p> <p>> gradually differentiate <i>EMPOWERMENT</i> into a change-implementing and -guiding imperative with Chinese characteristics</p> <p>> make <i>emancipatio reformanda sinensis</i> the change mission's Chinese-appropriate(d) fundamental feature and the change-process's accepted acceptable driver</p> <p>> allow <i>shouquan</i> to gradually broaden and deepen with regard to duties, authority, and expectations of the change-implementing and -guiding stakeholders; turn away from basic involvement, collaboration, and assistance; use broader <i>EMPOWERMENT</i> to market the (unfamiliar) ideas concepts, the (alien) approaches international best practices throughout the organization by appointed stakeholders on different hierarchical levels from within</p> <p>> enable/authorize the change-implementing and -guiding stakeholders to a) creatively collaborate with/assist the (foreign) person change-agent in spreading already company-appropriate(d) (unfamiliar) ideas concepts and (alien) approaches international best practices throughout the organization from within, b) vindicate the change-process <i>vis-à-vis</i> (managerial) opponents and proponents, c) actively make change-implementing and -guiding arrangements on own account; merge Chinese medium with foreign Western message by way of an ever-sophisticated <i>shouquan</i></p> <p>> constantly (re-)tailor <i>EMPOWERMENT</i> to a) Chinese (organizational) characteristics, b) the change-implementing and -guiding stakeholders' ever-developing, change-related motives, motivators, and benefits-sought, c) the capabilities of those change-implementing and -guiding stakeholders singled out to market the (unfamiliar) ideas concepts, and (alien) approaches international best practices throughout the organization on different hierarchical levels from within</p> <p>> institutionalize/codify <i>EMPOWERMENT</i> to a) emancipate change-implementing and -guiding stakeholders from (foreign) person's change-agent's direct intervention, b) increase the status of the change-implementing and -guiding stakeholders with regard to peers and with reference to the Chinese socio-organizational setting as such; willingly rely on (traditional) Chinese organization-appropriate(d) activities to implement and guide the change-process in an (already) <i>Sinicized</i> way</p> <p>> <i>Sinicize</i> the change-process, and its related activities <i>in processu sinensis</i> by way of an increasingly sophisticated <i>shouquan</i></p> <p>> make the ever-sophisticated <i>shouquan</i> one component of a Chinese-centred <i>clockwork transformation</i> indispensable to a) foreign Western and Chinese change-agents, b) the change mission as such, c) cut the cord in order to <i>de facto</i> decolonize the change-process</p>

Table 27: EMPOWERMENT (continued)

EMPOWERMENT	
(foreign) persons (unfamiliar) ideas (alien) approaches	Context Course Content
consolidation >	<p>sophisticatingly person context-oriented with channelling implications on approach course and containing impacts on ideas content</p> <p>> pair <i>shouquan</i> with the prevailing Sino-idiosyncratic socio-organizational (management and teamwork) model of co-optation and cohesion to a) permit various change-implementing and -guiding stakeholders an ever-increasing degree of emancipation and delegation, b) capitalize on established (traditional) forms of responsibility-sharing, c) anchor the change-process within the Chinese organizational setting, d) satisfy the change-implementing and -guiding stakeholders' ever-sophisticated change-related motives, motivators, and benefits-sought</p> <p>> (pro-)actively meet the increasing demand for more complex forms of <i>EMPOWERMENT</i> to a) create a solely Chinese dependent, self-sustaining, self-expanding change mission, b) let the <i>clockwork transformation</i> proceed in a Chinese organization-appropriate(d) fashion without constant (foreign) person's change-agent's care</p> <p>> let far-reaching, Chinese-tailored <i>EMPOWERMENT</i> distinctively and irrevocably alter job-description and self-concept of a) the now-<i>Sinicized</i> (foreign) person change-agent, b) the Chinese change-implementing and -guiding stakeholders</p> <p>> actively avail of broadly accepted acceptable <i>emancipatio reformanda sinensis</i> to a) create unity and unification of the change-process, b) streamline and channel change-related activities</p> <p>> take Chinese organization-appropriate(d) measures to regularly (re-)tailor <i>EMPOWERMENT</i> to the change-process's (to-be-expected) progress; be constantly aware of any unintended-unexpected departure from the <i>shouquan</i>-related mandate when empowering those in charge to implement and guide change-related activities</p> <p>> decide Chinese organization-appropriated measures to a) pro-actively counter any <i>shouquan</i>-related deviation/irregularity, b) anticipate possible dilution of the to-be-introduced ideas concepts and approaches best practices, c) channel (latent) Chinese self-dependence, work enthusiasm, and eagerness for forming and accomplishing</p> <p>> avail of comprehensive documentations elaborations to fixe and communicate the characteristics, qualities, guiding principles, and (still modifiable) scope of successful <i>shouquan</i> throughout the Chinese organization</p> <p>> commit <i>EMPOWERMENT</i> to be change-enabling, -implementing, and -guiding medium and respective message that a) positions now-<i>Sinicized</i> (unfamiliar) ideas concepts and (alien) approaches international best practices as a socio-organizational alternative, b) turns change-implementing and -guiding stakeholders into subsidiaries and real media incarnating the change message, c) naturally integrates and grounds the change-process within the Chinese organizational setting, d) aligns change-related activities with the organizational given, e) guarantees the continuance of the change mission in a <i>socio</i>-organization-appropriate(d) way even if the (foreign) person change-agent has long time left the company or shifts in managerial positon seem to threaten the now-<i>Sinicized</i> (foreign) person change-agent, the prestige and status of the now-<i>Sinicized</i> (unfamiliar) ideas concepts and now-<i>Sinicized</i> (alien) approaches international best practices</p>

Table 27: EMPOWERMENT (continued)

Table 27: *EMPOWERMENT*, compiled by author

PREPAREDNESS

An unprepossessed, particularly enduring willingness to discern, acknowledge, assuage and finally profit from a (c) overt, non-constraining yet conjunctive Sino-foreign/Western urge to transform the organization for the better, hence, *ganxinqingyuan*, by way of introducing (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices—and in their lee by incorporating the (foreign) person|change-agent—within Chinese (organizational) setting is a *conditio sine qua non* for (the emergence of) any effective, acceptable|accepted, mutually beneficial yet Chinese organization-appropriate(d) change approach.

Cashing in on a generally change-favouring *PREPAREDNESS* that pervades every socio-organizational strata and a Chinese company-internal, management-authorized and –propagated, widely accepted impulse to improve is the indispensable *movens* to establish a change-enabling, change-implementing, and change-guiding common ground on different hierarchical levels from within. It is in this context that igniting a mutually committing *PREPAREDNESS* to question and to give up traditional foreign/Western AND Chinese positions to gain a mutually beneficial, Sino-foreign/Western position pioneers an interactive change-enabling civilizing project within the Chinese organizational setting. Teleologically benefitting from a Sino-foreign/Western *PREPAREDNESS* to question the current status quo and to voluntarily abandon apparently unquestioned positions establishes a change-enabling *quid pro quo* amongst various stakeholders on diverse socio-organizational levels. (Pro-)actively availing of an emerging, mutually inspiring change-facilitating *ganxinqingyuan*, prepares a common starting point/denominator amongst the various change-affecting|affected stakeholders, at an early time. It integrates the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices within Chinese (organizational) setting. Successfully capitalizing on a conjunctive *ganxinqingyuan* is thus the fundamental for the to-be-decided and creatively to-be-put into practice, constantly to-be-refined Chinese change mission.

Discerning, acknowledging, availing of, and finally cashing in on *PREPAREDNESS* to enable, implement, and guide change from within the

organizational setting is the continuum that actuates/accompanies the entire change-process and its related activities. However, the basic principles (of how and where) to successfully identify, understand, anticipate, and satisfy *ganxinqingyuan* are already established at the change mission's beginning. Running the gamut from giving attention to formalities to dealing with basic attitudes, and so including the need to either target individuals/opinion leaders or attend to groups of stakeholders, entire departments, and the Chinese organization per se, profiting from *PREPAREDNESS* experiences a shift in focus towards its change-related *causa finalis*. Assuaging *ganxinqingyuan* is thus further targeted as the change mission matures.

Notwithstanding the final aim, establishing a change-enabling communion of organizational ambition and respect has to start at the Chinese managerial top. Eliciting high(er) ranking stakeholders' *PREPAREDNESS* to embark on the change mission is thus a basic necessity to spread the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices throughout the organization. Taking measures to discover, acknowledge, kindle and pique change-appreciating *ganxinqingyuan* of managerial stakeholders starts a process of business-related self-realization and self-diagnosing. It leads those managerial stakeholders towards performing a change-enabling, reciprocally committing leap that bridges existing business-related, operational, tactico-strategic voids/crises. Initiating a *Sinicized* change-process that is expected to reach a new, mutually beneficial yet Chinese company-appropriate(d), multiple hierarchies-spanning, socio-organizational *yidongbudong* is possible.

Radiating from highest hierarchical level, availing of managerial change-favouring *ganxinqingyuan* carries forward the change mission on different hierarchical levels. This allows marketing the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, (alien) approaches|international best-practices, and the (foreign) person|change-agent in an addressee-appropriate(d) way amongst various organizational stakeholders.

This turns (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices into worthy, complementing, socio-organizational alternatives and the change mission into a *clockwork transformation* from within.

With the change mission maturing, developing a systems-oriented, multi-faceted yet balanced approach to consolidate and profit from various change-expecting, change-favouring, and change-facilitating *PREPAREDNESSes* becomes necessary. This leads towards accepting (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices as a company-appropriate(d) alternative. It allows implementing and guiding change in a company and stakeholder-appropriate(d), mutually beneficial way.

Availing of diverse stakeholders' business-related *ganxingingyuan* channels company-internal but nonetheless cross-fertilizing self-realization and self-diagnosing. To guide company-appropriate(d) change-related activities from within means capitalizing on the prevailing (management-backed and organization-wide) *PREPAREDNESS* to question the current business-related status quo. By assuaging different stakeholder-idiosyncratic, hierarchies-specific change-implementing and change-guiding *ganxingingyuan* prepares the various Chinese stakeholders and the (foreign) person|change-agent. However, taking into consideration varying *ganxingingyuan* interacting with either managerial stakeholders *ad personam* or working-level stakeholders as groups/opinion leaders within their departments becomes necessary.

To kindle management's change-favouring *PREPAREDNESS* by offering highly personalized answers to strategic questions calls for a subliminal pull-approach. Convincing the working-level stakeholders to embark on the change-process and to carry forward its activities requires planting the management-backed, now-*Sinicized* (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the management-backed, now-*Sinicized* (alien) approaches|international best-practices as an antidote to tactical problems. In this context encouraging working-level stakeholders to seek transition towards a new status quo requires a supraliminal push-approach that immediately arouses their *ganxingingyuan* at the grass-root level.

With the change-process anchored within the socio-organizational setting, carrying forward the multi-level yet generally unifying *PREPAREDNESS*-driven change mission in an acceptable|accepted way is key.

Constantly satisfying business-related *ganxingqingyuan* of various stakeholders thus secures the highly individualized, mutually beneficial acceptance of now-*Sinicized* (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and now-*Sinicized* (alien) approaches|international best-practices. This backs the prevailing, company-internal *PREPAREDNESS* to stay with the change-process and its activities.

Notwithstanding the successes of a multi-level yet generally unifying *PREPAREDNESS*-driven change mission, relying on *ganxingqingyuan* as the change mission's particular engine is prone to acquiring a life of its own. Availing of the multi-faceted change-related motives, motivators, and benefits-sought of diverse stakeholders gradually turns the change-process into a less manageable affair. Being confronted with an increasing degree of self-reliance, assertiveness, and self-assurance—mostly amongst the working level stakeholders—when allowing *ganxingqingyuan* to set the pace and tone of the change-implementing and change-guiding process, taking measures to channel *PREPAREDNESS* towards conserving the established effective, accepted, mutually beneficial but still Chinese change approach becomes necessary. Benefitting from a prevailing *PREPAREDNESS*-kindling atmosphere finally assures that the now-*Sinicized* (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, the now-*Sinicized* (alien) approaches|international best-practices—and in their lee the now-*Sinicized* (foreign) person|change-agent—are regarded *zhengtong* in the light of either a change-supporting organizational crises or change-impeding broadsides/new coalitions.

However, with regard to its impact on Context, Course, and Content, the scope of *PREPAREDNESS* is down to the change-process's level of development, the (c)overt expectation of Chinese decision-makers and Chinese counterparts, and the phase when the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices are finally introduced into the Chinese organizational setting along the (*activo*-temporal) axis of concentration, conduct, and/or consolidation.

The option for action as to *PREPAREDNESS* is presented in **Table 28**.

PREPAREDNESS	
(foreign) persons (unfamiliar) ideas (alien) approaches	Context Course Content
concentration >	<p>conjunctively approach course-oriented with initial validating/integrating implications on person context and first forming impacts on ideas content</p> <p>> start cashing in on a Chinese company-internal, management-authorized and -propagated yet widely accepted impulse to change for the better already from the very first step into Chinese organization</p> <p>> profit from a (c) overt yet conjunctive Sino-Western urge to transform the organization in order to introduce (unfamiliar) ideas concepts and (alien) approaches international best practices; benefit from a change-favouring <i>PREPAREDNESS</i> that pervades every socio-organizational strata to let an effective, acceptable accepted, mutually beneficial yet Chinese organization-appropriate(d) change approach emerge</p> <p>> ignite a mutually committing <i>PREPAREDNESS</i> to a) question, b) give up foreign Western AND Chinese traditional positions, approaches, and understandings; establish a change-enabling <i>quid pro quo</i> by voluntarily abandoning apparently unquestioned positions; allow the change mission to strike first roots</p> <p>> (pro-)actively avail of an emerging, mutually inspiring change-facilitating <i>ganxingqingyuan</i> to prepare a common starting point/denominator amongst various change-affecting affected stakeholders; pioneer a civilizing project to teleologically benefit from a (c) overt yet prevailing <i>PREPAREDNESS</i> to question the current status quo</p> <p>> establish a change-enabling communion of organizational ambition, business-related impetus, and respect <i>zishangerxia</i>; elicit high ranking stakeholders' <i>PREPAREDNESS</i> to embark on the change mission first</p> <p>> take necessary measures to discover, acknowledge, pique, and kindle managerial stakeholders' <i>ganxingqingyuan</i> to accept the (unfamiliar) ideas concepts and the (alien) approaches international best practices; originate a change-enabling yet mutually beneficial <i>quid pro quo</i> directly with managerial stakeholders to a) incorporate the (foreign) person change-agent into the socio-organizational value canon, b) bit by bit introduce the (unfamiliar) ideas concepts and the (alien) approaches international best practices into Chinese (organizational) setting from within</p> <p>> foster and secure managerial <i>PREPAREDNESS</i> to willingly a) start a process of business-related self-realization and self-diagnosing, b) perform a change-enabling, reciprocally committing leap that is expected to bridge existing business-related, operational, tactico-strategic voids/crises, c) accept the (unfamiliar) ideas concepts and the (alien) approaches international best practices as a company-appropriate(d) alternative, d) initiate a <i>Sinicized</i> change-process in order to reach a new, mutually beneficial yet Chinese company-appropriate(d), multiple hierarchies-spanning, socio-organizational <i>yidongbudong</i></p> <p>> rely on managerial stakeholders' change-facilitating <i>ganxingqingyuan</i> to a) establish a change-enabling environment throughout the Chinese organization, b) carry forward the change mission on different hierarchical levels, c) expedite the change-process and its related activities amongst working-level stakeholders</p> <p>> take measures to turn the change mission into a <i>clockwork transformation</i>; constantly nourish <i>PREPAREDNESS</i> to consider (unfamiliar) ideas concepts and (alien) approaches international best practices as worthy, complementing, socio-organizational alternative</p>

Table 28: PREPAREDNESS (continued)

PREPAREDNESS	
(foreign) persons (unfamiliar) ideas (alien) approaches	Context Course Content
conduct	<p>> segmentingly approach course-oriented with differentiating impacts on person context and customizing implications on ideas content</p> <p>> set in motion a <i>clockwork transformation</i> on different hierarchical levels; develop a systems-oriented, multi-faceted yet balanced approach to profit from various <i>PREPAREDNESSes</i> to a) question current and seek transition towards a new status quo, b) accept the (unfamiliar) ideas concepts, and the (alien) approaches international best practices as a company-appropriate(d) alternative, c) implement and guide change in a company, stakeholder-appropriate(d), mutually beneficial way</p> <p>> avail of diverse stakeholders' business-related <i>ganxingqingyuan</i> to channel change-facilitating self-realization and self-diagnosing; make arrangements to ignite and profit from a (c)overt <i>PREPAREDNESS</i> to implement and guide change that is expected to reach a new, mutually beneficial yet Chinese company-appropriate(d), multiple hierarchies-spanning, socio-organizational <i>yidongbudong</i> from within</p> <p>> take measures to assuage varying stakeholder-idiosyncratic, hierarchies-specific change-implementing and -guiding <i>ganxingqingyuan</i>; (pro-)actively deal with a varying <i>PREPAREDNESS</i> to seek transition</p> <p>> <u>with managerial stakeholders</u>: perform a subliminal pull-approach to kindle change-favouring <i>PREPAREDNESS</i>, i.e., i) couple the change-process with a civilizing project that centres learning about successful strategic Sino-Western alternatives, ii) link the implementation of change-related activities to opinion leaders' <i>ganxingqingyuan</i> that brings into focus the long-term implementation of the now-<i>Sinicized</i> (unfamiliar) ideas concepts, and the now-<i>Sinicized</i> (alien) approaches international best practices in order to strategically transform the Chinese company for the better</p> <p>> perform the highly personalized, highly concentrated, personalistic time-, money-, and intellect-consuming approach of sowing and harvesting amongst managerial stakeholders to make accessible lower level strata</p> <p>> <u>with working-level stakeholders</u>: perform a supraliminal push-approach to directly arouse working-level stakeholders' change-favouring <i>PREPAREDNESS</i>, i.e., i) plant the management-backed now-<i>Sinicized</i> (unfamiliar) ideas concepts, and the management-backed now-<i>Sinicized</i> (alien) approaches international best practices as an antidote to tactical problems that primarily bother non-executive stakeholders and related departments, ii) convince working-level stakeholders to embark on the change-process and to carry forward its change-related activities from within their own <i>socio</i>-organizational realm, iii) encourage working-level stakeholders to seek transition towards a new status quo that is expected to solve daily/short-term problems for the better</p> <p>> establish a general <i>PREPAREDNESS</i> to seek transition towards a new status quo; activate a <i>ganxingqingyuan</i>-driven <i>clockwork transformation</i> on different hierarchical levels</p>
consolidation	<p>> conservingly approach course-oriented with confirming impacts on person context and collaterizing implications on ideas content</p> <p>> go on satisfying various stakeholders' business-related <i>ganxingqingyuan</i> to a) secure a highly individualized yet mutually beneficial acceptance of the now-<i>Sinicized</i> (unfamiliar) ideas concepts, the now-<i>Sinicized</i> (alien) approaches international best practices, b) back the prevailing, company-internal <i>PREPAREDNESS</i> to stay with the change-process and its activities, c) carry forward the multi-level yet generally unifying <i>PREPAREDNESS</i>-driven change mission</p> <p>> be aware that relying on <i>ganxingqingyuan</i> as a particular engine of the change mission is prone to acquiring a life of its own</p> <p>> take measures to deal with an increasing self-reliance, assertiveness, and self-assurance—mostly amongst working-level stakeholders—when allowing <i>ganxingqingyuan</i> to set pace and tone of the change-implementing and -guiding process</p> <p>> start availing of <i>PREPAREDNESS</i> as a means to a) conserve and organizationally protect the already established effective, accepted, mutually beneficial but still Chinese change approach, b) assure that the now-<i>Sinicized</i> (unfamiliar) ideas concepts, the now-<i>Sinicized</i> (alien) approaches international best practices and in their lee the now-<i>Sinicized</i> (foreign) person change-agent are still regarded <i>zhengtong</i> in the light of either a change-supporting organizational crises or change-impeding broadsides/new coalitions, c) develop the <i>clockwork transformation</i> into a socio-organizational tradition that remains ingrained within the Chinese organizational setting despite changes on managerial levels</p>

Table 28: PREPAREDNESS (continued)

Table 28: *PREPAREDNESS*, compiled by author

As seen, every single *invariant constituent* has its own asset to enable, implement, and/or guide change in a Chinese (organizational) environment. Notwithstanding the specificity and virtue of each individual *invariant constituent*, applying one element at a time, following its implicit (*activo-temporal*) sequence of the application, reveals a particular bounded-ness.

To overcome the constraints inherent in any unidirectional, simply sequential application, using the eight *invariant constituents* in concert finally unlocks their full potential.

This final step turns the discrete building blocks of the one new substantive *Theory of the Unique* into a *Sinicized*, effective, self-coherent, and mutually beneficial change approach able to completely in-culturate/accommodate (foreign) persons|change-agents, (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and (alien) approaches|international best-practices into a Chinese (organizational) environment while avoiding ethnocentrism and faux internationalization.

In this regard, the one new substantive *Theory of the Unique* is finally advanced into *The Chinese Change Concept—The 3C-Approach* which provides Chinese and Western management practitioners and scholars with one comprehensive, target-oriented recommendation on how to enable, implement, and guide change in a Chinese organizational context today.

Thus, acknowledging the managerial issues of concern while simultaneously overcoming the

- inappropriateness of any change approach alien to Chinese specification and un-acknowledging respective particularities; and
- problems related to imitating non-Chinese/Western change concepts,

The Chinese Change Concept—The 3C-Approach is the feasible suggestion to close the topic-related void that motivates the research|er.

8.2 Eight essential themes—Guiding change with Chinese characteristics

To convert China is to convert to China (Leys, 1987, p. 38)

Having reached the final step in hermeneutic-phenomenology research, re-relating *The Chinese Change Concept—The 3C-Approach's* inherent call for action and its *Sinicized* practicality to the study's rationale brings the theory making procedure back to its beginning. Having aimed to deal with both the ineffectiveness of applying/imitating Western change approaches in a Chinese organizational environment and the inappropriateness of any change approach alien to Chinese specification, and, hence, expected to yield new insights into the uniquely complex processes of managing and leading change in comparable Chinese organizational setting, research successfully established a renewed contact with the Jesuits' Accommodation approach in China (1583-1742).

Placing the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience in an entirely new—that is managerial—context and so looking at the prevailing managerial concern from another vantage point allowed hermeneutic-phenomenology research to both reclaim and consider already known ideas, established practices, and applied approaches with a new interpretation. To such an extent making extensive usage of historical method in the consideration and the use of the original (primary) textual sources and thus dealing with lengthy periods that would usually be researched within the ambits of business history, not managerial research, further emphasized the historical aspect of the research.

Located in a Chinese setting, based on a socio-cultural continuity of those strong traditional Chinese values that root in “Confucian thought [...] [and its] ethical system of benevolence-righteousness propriety for ordinary people” (Hwang & Han, 2010, p. 482) and that have remained a constant in Chinese culture, despite the past socio-political changes and historical developments, linked to the research context, and proved to be effective as a guiding approach at an earlier time, researching the Accommodation phenomenon within a comparable setting but outside of its traditional research environment finally provided a new way of viewing comparable organizational cases.

It allowed comprehending the genuine practicality of the Jesuits' Accommodation activity to enable, implement, and guide change in a Chinese environment. This provided the building blocks of the one new substantive *Theory of the Unique* that effectuates “an amalgamation of [...] [Western] and Chinese [...] [particularities] to produce a [...] [Sino-Western] [...] work of accommodation of the utmost delicacy” (Dunne, 1962, p. 227).

Further conceptualized and *Sinicized*, *The Chinese Change Concept—The 3C-Approach* is now eminently suitable to appropriately deal with a situation, a setting, a person comparable to the phenomenon from which it is derived.

Bridging the topic-related void that motivated the research|er shows both the uniqueness and the merits of Hermeneutic Phenomenology as the chosen (and hitherto unused) research approach in management research. Relying on a historical approach usually applied within the ambits of business history further emphasizes the historical contribution to business research.

Applying *The Chinese Change Concept—The 3C-Approach* evolves into an anticipatory, non-predicting, substantive blueprint for future action that—on the basis of a carefully edified thoughtfulness—

- lowers existing change barriers to reduce change resistance on the Chinese side; and
- eliminates inappropriateness of any change approach alien to Chinese specification and un-acknowledging respective particularities to foster change from within.

It is in this change-enabling, change-implementing, and change-guiding Context, with regard to the respective change-related Course, and by reference to the particular change-related Content that adopting *The Chinese Change Concept—The 3C-Approach* can be considered at the same time *teleological*, *teleonomical*, and *entelechical*.

Teleology

Applying *The Chinese Change Concept—The 3C-Approach* in its conceptual entirety to effectively manage change in Chinese organizational settings today is *teleological* insofar as adopting the *Sinicized*, self-coherent change approach is **constitutive** and **regulative** (Hunemann, 2007; Reese, 1994).

Possessing a re-referring functionality, “the purpose of [...] [the] present event [viz., enabling, implementing, and guiding accepted, effective, and mutually beneficial change in Chinese organizational settings today] [...] precedes the present event[,i.e. developing a *Sinicized*, self-coherent change approach that acknowledges Chinese and Western characteristics and particularities and applying its steps to reach the expected *causa finalis*]” (Reese, 1994, p. 78). Being oriented towards the *causa finalis* with the future outcome determining the present AND *those* necessary steps to be taken in *this* sequence to reach the change-enabling, change-implementing, and change-guiding goal of those applying the change approach (Berger, 2001; Christensen, 1996; Huneman, 2007; Reese, 1994), *The Chinese Change Concept—The 3C-Approach* is both *purposeful* and *purposive* (Reese, 1994).

With the purpose being beginning and end (Berger, 2001), adhering to *The Chinese Change Concept—The 3C-Approach* not only possesses a mechanistic implication, but is also **relational** (Christensen, 1996), **directional**, and **consequent** to its purpose (Reese, 1994). Effectively managing change in Chinese organizational settings today is thus in any case the ultimate end immanent to *The Chinese Change Concept—The 3C-Approach* that *teleologically* gives meaning to and informs present events and behaviours (Reese, 1994).

Teleonomy

Applying the procedural steps that constitute *The Chinese Change Concept—The 3C-Approach* in their entirety to effectively manage change in Chinese organizational settings today is *teleonomical* insofar as adhering to the *Sinicized*, self-coherent change approach is **functional** and **evolutionary** (Pittendrigh, 1958). With the process determining the end (Christensen, 1996), every single procedural step immanent to the individual *invariant constituent* is goal-directed as to its structure and function, AND arranged/arrangeable as to its movement towards enabling, implementing, and guiding accepted, effective, beneficial change.

This particular goal-directedness of every single procedural step along the structural, functional, and temporal continuum reveals the DNA of *The Chinese Change Concept—The 3C-Approach* with the sequences/steps being the procedural *stimuli* leading towards the *causa finalis* as the response (Reese, 1994).

The individual *invariant constituent* is thus not only a property of the system (Reese, 1994). The importance of every single procedural step comes with what the step does—even if it is performed in a self-reconciling *mozheshitougouhe*—and not primarily which (future) aim it serves (Reese, 1994).

To such an extent matching the Chinese understanding of successfully enabling, implementing, and guiding change, hence, *yidongbudong* (Standaert, 2005b, 2006), unconditional adherence to carefully edified processes and an accurate performance of the respective steps will naturally yet *teleonomically* lead to the desired outcome.

Entelechy

Applying each single procedural step that *per se ipsum* constitutes *The Chinese Change Concept—The 3C-Approach* individually to effectively manage change in Chinese organizational settings today is *entelechetical* insofar as performing the *Sinicized*, self-coherent change approach is **stimulating, energizing** (Sachs, 1995), and **systemic**.

Every single procedural step immanent to the individual *invariant constituent* possesses an inherent course of action/stimulus AND constitutes a source of energy to drive *The Chinese Change Concept—The 3C-Approach* towards enabling, implementing, and guiding accepted, effective, mutually beneficial change. Primarily compassed to fulfilling their own particular scope of duties the single *invariant constituents* are nonetheless constantly end-directed. To such an extent continuously at work to achieve individual self-sufficiency, every single step not only *entelechetically* accomplishes its own scope of duties, but also—by so doing—motivates the entire system towards applying *The Chinese Change Concept—The 3C-Approach* in order effectively manage change in Chinese organizational settings today.

Finally, considering its practicality and in the end relating to both its long-term developed (trans-disciplinary yet historical) appropriateness and its well-trying and tested (trans-disciplinary yet historical) practicability, *The Chinese Change Concept—The 3C-Approach* is not just an outdated or purely intellectual construct and by no means a *semi-Western* or *semi-Chinese* hybrid (Zürcher, 1997a). Following Fereday and Muir-Cochrane (2006) “credibility of the research is measured by the way in which practitioners use in their practice the knowledge generated by the research” (p. 3).

To such an extent providing an informed point of departure to approach the existing managerial issue, its apparently unquestioned truths, and its (seemingly) over-researched question in a creative, fresh way across cultural, historical, and disciplinary boundaries, and beyond the limits of apparently well-established theories, constructs, and solutions lends the *The Chinese Change Concept—The 3C-Approach* to future scrutiny.

8.3 Eight essential themes—An anachronism?

It would surely have delighted the survivors of the Jesuit mission in China [...] to know that their work had not been completely in vain. (Rule, 1986, p. 197)

According to Standaert (2008), the Jesuits' Accommodation experience in China was not simply a successful transmission of Western religious and scientific knowledge at a particular time in the past (p. 183) and so not solely belonging or appropriate to former times, hence, anachronism-ἀναχρονισμός (Gemoll et al., 2010). The Jesuits' Accommodation approach "was [and still is] a success in the sense that it stands out as a memorable episode in world efforts at cultural accommodation" (Oh 1988, p. xxxiii). It was and still is a serious alternative to the "ethno-centrism of the European expansion over the earth" (p. xxxiii). It was and still is the archetype of a culturally sensitive method focused on introducing change in Chinese setting. Seen from this perspective, the Jesuits' missionizing approach not only provided the blueprint of successfully driving the Chinese into the arms of *Mater Ecclesia* (Benedictus PP. XVI, 2009) and enabling the Fathers "*ad filiorum Dei dignitatem erigant*" (Ioannes PP. XXIII, 1962). In the Jesuits' pursuit of *winning China for Christ* (Rienstra 1986), of bringing the West to China *pari passu*, the Fathers "had [first and foremost] taken the raw materials of Chinese social and religious behavior and had molded them into an approximation of their European ideal" (Brockey 2007, p. 401). Having thus turned "the standard model of cultural transmission into China on its head" (p. 401), the Fathers converted to China in order to convert China (Leys, 1987). It is in this particular regard of effectively managing change *mutatis mutandis* that *The Chinese Change Concept—The 3C-Approach* provides new, fresh, and up-to-date "signposts" (Holloway & Wheeler, 2002, p. 182) for other researchers and practitioners who are willing to share the Jesuits' stance, stamina, *stimuli*, and sinophilia.

The Jesuits are role models of successful *Sinicized* change management. "[T]heir work had not been completely in vain." (Rule, 1986, p. 197). So "let us not leave them in silence, since they still have much to tell us" (p. 198).

请多提意见

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**CHINESE GLOSSARY AS
USED IN MAIN TEXT AND
APPENDIX**

Names|Titles

Names|Named

Aisin Gioro/Aixin Jueluo-爱新觉罗

Nurhaci-努尔哈赤 (1559-1626)

Candida Xu-徐甘第大 (1607-1680)

Cao Cao-曹操 (155-220)

Chen Mao-陈昴 (c.1651-c.1719)

Chen Rui-陈瑞 (1513-?)

Fan Shaozuo-樊绍祚

Fan Shouyi-樊守义-Luigi Fan Shouyi
(1682-1753)

Feng Yingjing-冯应京 (1555-1606)

Han Lin 韩霖-Thomas Han Lin
(1601-1644)

Han Yun 韩云-Stephanus Han Yun
(?-c.1632)

Huang Mingsha-黄明沙-Francisco
Martins-Huang Mingsha (1569-
1606)

Fan Wencheng-范文程 (1597-1666)

Fang Yingshi-方应时

Feng Qi-冯琦 (1558-1603)

Fu Xi-伏羲 (2852-2738 BC)

Guo Yingpin-郭应聘 (1520-1586)

Huang Jishi-黄吉士

Jian'an-建安 (?-1601),

Jurchen/Nüzhen-女真 tribes

Li Dai-李戴 (c.1531-1607)

Li Madou-利玛窦-Matteo Ricci S.J.
(1552-1610)—*sanguan: Xitai*-西泰

Li Yingshi-李应试 (1559-c.1620)

Li Zhi-李贽 (1527-1602)—*sanguan:*
Zhuowu-卓吾

Li Zhizao-李之藻-Leone Li Zhizao
(1565-1630)

Li Zicheng-李自成 (1606-1645)

Li Zubai-李祖白-Giovanni/João Li
Zubai (?-1665)

Liu Jiezhai-刘节斋 (?-1592)

Liu Yunde-刘蕴德-Blaise Verbiest-
(1628-1707)

Lu Wangai-陆万垓

Luo Mingjian-罗明坚-Michele
Ruggieri S.J. (1543-1607)—
sanguan: Fuchu-复初

Luo Wenzao-罗文藻-Gregorio López
O.P. (1615-1691)

Ma Tang-马堂

Man Bao-满保 (1673-1725)

Qiu Liangbing-丘良稟-Domingos

Mendes-Qiu Liangbing (1582-1652)

Qu Shisi-瞿式耜-Thomas Qu Shisi (1590-1651)

Qu Taisu-瞿太素 (1549-1611)

Shen Fuzong-沈福宗-Michele Shen Fuzong (c.1658-1691)

Shen Que-沈奎 (1565-1624)

Shen Yiguan/Shen Jiaomen-沉蛟门 (?-1616)

Songgotu/Suo'etu-索额图 (1636-1703)

Sun Yuanhua-孙元化-Ignatius Sun Yuanhua (1581-1632)

Sunu-稣努 Prince (c.1648-1725)

Tong Guogang-佟国纲 (?-1690)

Wan Qiyuan-万其渊-Paulo Banhes (1631-1700)

Wang Pan-王泮 (1539-?)

Wang Yangming-王阳明 (1472-1529)

Wang Zheng-王征(王徵)-Phillipus Wang Zheng (1571-1644)

Wang Zhongming-王忠铭 (1542-c.1601)

Wu Mingxuan-吴明烜

Wu Yushan-吴渔山-Simão Xavier da Cunha (1632-1718)

Xu Bideng-徐必登-António Leitão-Xu Bideng (1578/81-1611)

Xu Daren-徐大任

Xu Guangqi-徐光启-Paulo Xu Guangqi (1562-1633)

Xu Sicheng-徐思诚 (1535-1607)

Xu Zhijian-许之渐 (1613-?)

Xu Zuanzeng-许缵曾-Basilio Xu Zuanzeng (1627-1700)

Yang Guangxian-杨光先 (1597-1669)

Yang Lin-杨琳 (?-1724)

Yang Tingyun-杨廷筠-Michele Yang Tingyun (1562-1627)

Ye Xianggao-叶向高/Ye Taishan-叶台山 (1559-1627)

You Wenhui-游文辉 (1575-1633)

Zhang Boxing-张伯行 (1651-1725)

Zhang Penghe-张鹏翮 (1649-1725)

Zhong Mingren-钟鸣仁-Sebastião
Fernandes-Zhong Mingren (1562-
1621)

Zhu Shilin-祝石林

Zhu Xi-朱熹 (1130-1200)

Titles/Entiteld

baixing-百姓-commoners

Bingbeidao-兵备道-Army Chief

bingbu-兵部-Board of War

Bingbu Shilang-兵部侍郎-Military
Senate

Buzheng shi-布政使-secular official
head

canmou-参谋-Captain and member
of the General Staff

chanzong-禅宗-Zen Buddhist

chanzong heshang-禅宗 和尚-Zen
Buddhist monk

Daxueshi-大学士-Grand Secretary

Fangui-番鬼-foreign devils

Fuchu-复初-conservator|restaurator
of the mission

fuzongjianzhang-副总监长-Assistant
Director of *Qintianjian*

Guanfu-官府-officials of all sort

Guangludafu-光禄大夫-*Imperial
Chamberlaine*

Haidao-海道-chief naval mandarin

haoming-号名-adult's name

heshang-和尚-Buddhist monk

huizhang-会长-church warden

jianfu-监副-Assistant Director of
Qintianjian

jiantao-检讨-Examining Editor

Jinshi-进士-doctor degree

junzi-君子-Confucian concept of a
superior man

Juren-举人-master's degree

laoshi-老师-teacher

sanguan-散官-courtesy/honorary
title

seng-僧-Buddhist priest

shenfu-神父-Padres of the
Spirit/Priest

shenshi-绅士-nobles

siduo-司铎-Padre

taishou-太守-Viceroy

Tianzi-天子-the Son of Heaven

Tongxuanjiaoshi-通玄教师-Master of
Universal Mysteries

Tongyidafu-通议大夫-Grand Master
for Thorough Counsel

Tongzhengshi-通政使-President of
the Imperial Chancery

Wenguan-文官-learned mandarins

Wuguan-武官-military
official/mandarin

Ximing/Shengming-洗名/圣名-
Christian names

Xiru-西儒-Confucian Scholar of the
West

Xitai-西泰-from the far west

Xiucai-秀才-Licentiate degree holder

Xixian-西贤-Western men of virtue
(Jesuits)

Xunfu-巡抚-Provincial Governor

Yimu-夷目-director and manager of
the foreign merchants

Yushi-御史-imperial Censor

Zhifu-知府-circuit official

Zouhuizhiren-走会之人-wandering
catechists, members of *Sheng
Fangjige hui*

Emperors/Regents

Jiajing-嘉靖 Emperor (1507-1567)

Wanli-万历 Emperor (1563-1620)

Tianqi-天启 Emperor (1605-1627)

Chongzhen-崇祯 Emperor (1611-
1644)

Aobai-鳌拜-Oboi regent (1610-69)

Shunzhi-顺治 Emperor (1638-1661)

Kangxi-康熙 Emperor (1654-1722)

Yongzheng-雍正 Emperor (1678-
1735)

Qianlong-乾隆 Emperor (1711-1799)

Dynasties/Regencies

Qin-秦-Qin Principedom|Dynasty (778-
207 BC)

Tangchao-唐朝-Tang Dynasty (618-
907)

Songchao-宋朝-Song Dynasty (960-
1279)

Yuanchao-元朝-Yuan Dynasty
(1271-1368)

Mingchao-明朝-Ming Dynasty (1368-
1644)

Shunchao-顺朝-Shun Dynasty
(1643-1645)

Qingchao-清朝-Qing Dynasty (1644-1911)

Books|Writings

Chinese Classical Writings

daxue-大学—the *Great Learning*

lunyu-论语—the *Analects of Confucius*

Sanfanzhiluan-三藩之乱—Revolt of the Three Feudatories

Sanguoyanyi-三国演义—Romance of the Three Kingdoms

sishierzhangjing-四十二章经—The Sutra of Forty-two Chapters

sishu-四书—the *Four Books*

sishuwujing-四书五经—the authoritative books of Confucianism

Yi Jing-易经—the *Book of Changes*

zhongyong-中庸—the *Doctrine of the Mean*

Christian Writings|Prayers

Bianxue zhangshu-辨学章疏—Apologia (1616)

Budeyi-不得已—I Cannot Do Otherwise (1665?)

Budeyi bian-不得已辩—*Budeyi* Refuted (1665?)

Dizui Zhenggui-抵罪正轨|涤罪正规—Correct Rules for Confession (1627)

(Tianzhu) Jiaoyao xulun-(天主)教序论—a *vademecum* to follow a logical order when teaching doctrine (1677)

Lingyan lishao-灵言蠹勺—On the Soul (1624)

Misa jiyi-弥撒祭义—Explanation of the Mass (1629)

Pangzi yiquan-庞子遗诠—*The Explanation of the Creed* (c.1609)

Qike-七克—Seven Sins (1614)

Shengmujing-圣母经—the Ave Maria

Shengren xingshi-圣人行实—Collection of the Lives of seventy-two Saints (1629)

Si Yuanxing Lun-四元行论—On Four Simple Elements|essay analysing/refuting the ancient Chinese tradition of *wuxing* (1599)

Song nianzhu guicheng-诵念株规程—Method/Rules for Reciting the Rosary (1619)

Tianshen mogui shuo-天神魔鬼说—Stories about Angels (1610)

- Tianzhu jiaoyao*-天主教要
|*Shengjingyuelu*-圣经约录—
Christian Dogmatics|Selection from
the Holy Scripture (1605)
- Tianzhu shengjiao nianjing zongdu*-
天主圣教念经总牍|*Rike*-日课—
Collection of Prayers for the Holy
Teachings of the Lord of
Heaven|Daily Exercises (1628)
- Tianzhu shengjiao qimeng*-天主圣教
启蒙—Instruction for the Young on
the Holy Religion of the Lord of
Heaven (1619)
- Tianzhu shengjiao rike*-天主圣教日
课—a Breviary based on the work of
Luigi di Granda O.P. (1603)
- Tianzhu shengjiao yueyan*-天主圣教
约言—Brief Introduction to the Holy
Religion of the Lord of Heaven
(1603)
- Tianzhu Shilu*-天主实录—The
Veritable Record of the Lord of
Heaven (1584)
- Tianzhu Shiyi*-天主实义—The True
Meaning of the Lord of Heaven
(1603)
- Tianzhu shengjiao yueyan*-天主圣教
约言—Brief Introduction to the Holy
Religion of the Lord of Heaven
(1601)
- Tianxue benyi*-本义—Original
meaning of heavenly
studies|*Observata de vocibus Sinicis*
Tian et Shangdi-an essay claiming
that the Chinese had known the true
God under terms *Tian* and *Shangdi*
(~1699)
- Tianxue chuan'gai*-天学传概—A
Summary of the Spread of Heavenly
Teaching (1663/1664)
- Xiaoluan bu bingming shuo*-枭鸾不
并鸣说—The Owl and the Phoenix
do not sing together (1622)
- Zhudaowen*-主祷文—the
Paternoster
- Zuchuan Tianzhu shijie*-祖传天主十
诫—the Ten Commandments
- Chinese official Writings**
- baguwen*-八股文—eight-legged
essays
- baiben*-拜本—four characters
embroidered in gold upon a silk
banner
- gaoshi*-告示—official announcement
- hongpiao*-红票—the Red Manifesto
(1716)

Nibuchu Tiaoyue-尼布楚条约—the Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689)

piao-票—a license

Qidahan-七大恨—Seven Grievances (April 13|May 7, 1618)

Qinbao Tianxue-钦褒天学—Imperial praise for the celestial doctrine (1638/1639)

Qingzhu Xiejiaozhuang-请诛邪教状—A Complaint Requesting Punishment for the Evil Religion (1664)

Shang Daming Huangdi Gongxian Tuwu Zou-上大明黄帝贡献土物奏—introductory letter to the court (1601)

wenzhang-文章—tracts

Zhengguotichenggao-正国体呈藁—Draft of Memorial for the Safety of the Country (1660)

Western secular Writings

Celiang fayi-测量法义—The Meaning of Measurement Methods (1608/1617)

Ershiwuyan-二十五言—twenty five sayings (1605)

Jiaoyoulun-交友论—On Friendship (1595)

Jiheyuanben-几何原本—Euclid's Elements of Geometry (1607)

Jirenshipian-极人十篇—Ten Essays on the Extraordinary Man|Ten Discourses by a Paradoxical Man (1608)

Lifa Budeyi bian-历法不得已辨—Method to Calculate the Calendar-*Budeyi* Refuted (1665?)

Tongwensuanzhi-同文算指—Rules of Arithmetic Common to Cultures (1614)

Xiguojifa-西国记法—a treatise on the method of memorizing introducing Western techniques for mnemonic associations and for placing and finding images (1596)

Xuanzeyi-选择依—Deliberation on Hemerology (1659)

Yuanrong jioayi-圆容较义—The Meaning of Compared Figures Inscribed in a Circle (1614)

Western Maps

Huangyu quanlan fensheng tu-皇与全览分省图—Complete Imperial Map of the Empire (1717)

Kunyu wanguo quantu-坤輿万国全图
—Complete Geographical Map of all
the Kingdoms of the World (1602)

Liangyi xuanlan tu-两仪玄览图—The
World Observing Map (1603)

Yudi Shanhai Quantu-輿地山海全图
—Complete Map of the Earth's
Mountains and Seas (1584)

Concepts|Terms

religio-philosophical ideas

Bailian jiao-白莲教-White Lotus
Society

BuRu YiFo-补儒移佛-complement
Confucianism, displace/correct
Buddhism

Dao-道-the Way

Daoren-道人-religious man|man of
the law

dianli wenti-典礼问题-Chinese Rites
Controversy

fengshui-风水-geomancy

fugu-复古-(antique) Chinese
knowledge

gewuqiongli-格物穷理-investigate
things in order to fathom principles

jie-节-Chinese Festivals

Jingjiao-景教-Nestorian mission

Jing Tian-敬天-Revere Heaven

lengran de shenzhi-冷然得深旨-
jolting the potential convert with
deep insights

Li Madou fangfa-利玛窦方法-Ricci
Method

ling-灵-soul

lingwei-灵位-seat of the soul

paiwei-牌位-ancestor tablet

qianlizhixing, shiyuzuxia-千里之行，
始于足下-every journey to be
travelled starts with a foot placed
down

Qingming jie-清明节-Tomb
Sweeping Day

Ru|Rujiao-儒|儒教-Confucianism

Sanjiaoheyi-三教合一-Three
Teachings harmonious as One

Shangdi-上帝-God|Lord of Heaven

shen-神-soul

Shenjiao-神教-Shenism

sheng jiao-圣教-Holy Religion

Shengmu-圣母-Holy Mary

shoujing-受经-receiving the
canonical texts

shouxiao-守孝-triannual mourning
period

Tian-天-God

Tiandi-天帝-King of Heaven

Tianxue-天学-amalgam of European
scientific, moral, and religious
teachings

Tianzhu-天主-God|Lord of
Heaven|Buddhist Deity

Tianzhu jiao-天主-Christianity

Tianzhu zhidao-天主之道-Way of the
Lord

wei-位-seat of the ancestor

wulun-五伦-Five Bonds|five cardinal
hierarchical relationships

wuxing-五行-five fundamental
elements of the Universe

xiao-孝-filial piety

xie-邪-heterodox|heteroprax

xiejiao-邪教-heterodoxy

Ximing|*Shengming*-洗名|圣名-
Christian names

xudian-恤典-funeral sponsorship

yidongbudong-一动不动-frozen
moment

youyi-友谊-friendship

Yuanxiao jie-元宵节-Lantern Festival

zhai-斋-fasting

zheng mianzi-争面子-keeping up
face

zhengtong-正统-orthodox|orthoprax

*Zhongguo Tianzhu jiao de san da
zhushi*-中国天主教的三大柱石-Three
Great Pillars of Chinese Catholicism

zhongyong-中庸-maintaining perfect
balance

zisong-自讼|*zize*-自责-self-
indictement|self-reproach

zixing-自省-Confucian tradition of
self-examination

zuo mianzi-做面子-making face

politico-ethical ideas

gaigekaifang-改革开放-Reform and
Opening-up Movement

guanxi-关系-relationship

jiaoyang-教养-teaching and
cultivation of the people

sanguan-散官-courtesy/honorary
title

sigexiandaihua-四个现代化-Four Modernizations

Sihai yijia-四海一家-all within the four seas are one family

yihanzhihan-以汉制汉-let Han govern Han

Zhengming-正名-Rectification of Names

Confraternities/Chinese Hui

Renhui-仁会-Brotherhood of Mercy (charitable)

Sheng Fangjige hui-圣方济各会-Congregation of St. Francis Xavier (catechetical)

Shengmu hui-圣母会-Confraternity of the Blessed Virgin (devotional)

Tianshen hui-天神会-Confraternity of the Angels (catechizing|teaching children)

Tianzhu Yesu Kuhui-天主耶稣哭会-Confraternity of the Passion of the Lord Jesus Christ (penitential)

Tongshan hui-同善会-a common form of a Chinese benevolent society of Confucian-Buddhist inspiration

Astronomy

chunfendian-春分点-vernal equinox

datong-大统 calendar

liyu-历狱-Calendar Case

qiufendian-秋分点-autumnal equinox

shixianli yixiyang xinfa-时宪历依西洋新法—Western astronomical teaching

Varia

baiben-拜本-four characters embroidered in gold upon a silk banner

buzi-补子-embroidered badge

dabanzi-大板子-birching

Dayuejin-大跃进-*The Great Leap Forward*

dianshi-殿试-temple exam

diyoyou-敌友-antagonist and friend

fangyan-方言-Local Vernacular

fayin-发音-pronunciation

fushi-服飾-adornments

ganxinqingyuan-甘心情愿-feeling the sweet urge/impulse to voluntarily change for the desired better

gongshi-宫试-palace exam

guanhua-官话-Nanjing dialect of the
erudite class

HanBan-汉办—国家汉语国际推广领
导小组办公室-Chinese National
Office for Teaching Chinese as a
Foreign Language

haoming-号名-adult's name

hongyipao-红夷炮-foreign style
cannon

huishi-会试-metropolitan exam

jian-间-in-between(ness)

jiaozi-轿子-sedan chair|palanquin

Keju-科举-imperial examination

libu-礼部-Ministry of Rites

lifu-礼服-robe dedicated to courtesy
visits amongst mandarins

lingchi-凌迟-dismemberment of the
living body

maobi-毛笔-ink brush

mingmingfa-命名法-naming

mozheshitougouhe-摸着石头过河-
try-and-error-approach

Muyiliyan-墓义立言-inscription
praising righteousness and
eruditeness

pufu-普服-black court robe

Putonghua-普通话-Standard
Chinese

Ruxiang suisu-入乡随俗-when in
Rome, do as Romans do

shenjin-绅襟-belts and lapels
normally reserved for officials and
degree holders

shiyongxue-实用学-that what is
concrete and the can offer solidity
and a practical way to fathom
principles

shouquan-授权-assigning
appropriate authority and
competence

wenhua-文化-culture

wenming-文明-language

xiangsixing-相似性-similarity in
character

Xixue-西学-Western learning

zishangerxia-自上而下-top down

zixiaershang-自下而上-bottom up

Loci|Entities

Temple|Church|Cemetery

Cheng'ensi-承恩寺 Temple

Dafangjing-大方井-Jesuit cemetery
in Hangzhou

Dongtang-东堂-Eastern Church

Guangxiaosi-光孝寺-Temple

Huata-花塔-Flowery Tower

Nantang-南堂-Southern Church

Tianningsi-天宁寺 Temple

Xianhuasi-仙花寺-Fairy Flower
Monastery

Xujiahui-徐家汇-Family Xu's house-
church

Zhalan-栅栏 Cemetery

Official Buildings|loci

Hanlin Yuan-翰林院-Hanlin
Academy

Donglin Yuan-东林院-Donglin
Academy

Libu-礼部-Ministry of Rites

Liju-历局-calendar (reform) office

Qintianjian-钦天监-Imperial Bureau
of Astronomy

Zijincheng-紫禁城-Forbidden City

Province|official entity

Aomen-澳门-City of

Macao|*Povoação do nome de Deus
de A-Ma-Cau da China*

Bei Zhili-北直隶-Region (now
comprising Hebei, Henan,
Shandong, Beijing, and Tianjin)

Fujian-福建 Province

Guangdong-广东 Province

Guangxi-广西 Province

Guizhou-贵州 Province

Hainan Dao-海南岛-Hainan Island

Henan-河南 Province

Hubei-湖北 Province

Huguang-湖广 Province (now Hubei
and Hunan-湖南 Province)

Jiangnan-江南 Province (now
Zhejiang-浙江 Province)

Jiangsu-江苏 Province

Jiangxi-江西 Province

Shaanxi-陕西 Province

Shandong-山东 Province

Shanxi-山西 Province

Shaozhou-韶州 Province

Sichuan-四川 Province

Yunnan-云南 Province

Other loci

Fuchengmen-阜成门-Fuchengmen
Gate

Meishan-煤山|Jingshan-景山-Coal
Hill

Tianshui qiao-天水桥-Tianshui
Bridge

Tianzhu-天竺-India's historical name

Xilaijingtū-西来净土-Pure Land from
the West

Xuanwumen-宣武门-Xuanwu Gate

zuihuai-罪槐-Guilty Chinese
Scholartree

Dissemination of Research

a) Papers presented at Conferences

- Berlin 17th-18th June 2011—Doctoral Colloquium

Jesuits' Accommodation Endeavour in China Between 1583 and 1742—
Researching the Jesuits' lived experience as an approach to enable, implement,
and guide change in a Chinese Cultural and Organizational Environment

- Berlin 13th-14th July 2012—Doctoral Colloquium

First, do no harm—dealing with preconceptions in phenomenological research

- Berlin 11th-12th July 2014—Doctoral Colloquium

Using the Jesuits' Accommodation Approach in China (1583-1742) to Guide
Change in Chinese Organizational Settings Today

- Oxford 4th-5th August 2014—The 14th International Conference on
Knowledge, Culture, and Change in Organizations|Saïd Business School

Using the Jesuits' Accommodation Approach in China (1583-1742) to Guide
Change in Chinese Organizational Settings Today

b) Presentation given to a broader (non)-academic audience

- Leipzig 9th July 2012—Confucius Institute

Die Erfahrungen der Jesuiten in der Chinamission (1583-1742)—Ein religiöses
Phänomen oder ein moderner Veränderungsansatz mit betriebswirtschaftlicher
Relevanz im chinesischen (Unternehmens-)Kontext?

- Düsseldorf 21st March 2013—Confucius Institute

... and never the twain shall meet

Die Jesuitenmission in China (1583-1742)—Ein moderner Veränderungsansatz
in chinesischen Unternehmen

c) Articles in Journals

- Change Management: An International Journal

Using the Jesuits' Accommodation Approach in China (1583-1742) to Guide
Change in Chinese Organizational Settings Today

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Thematic Analysis characterized

Considering the trans-disciplinarity of the research topic, thematic analysis—as realized in the current study—“holds its own integrity [...] to facilitate the flow of the investigation and the collection of data” (Moustakas, 1994, p. 104). Even if thematic analysis into the Jesuits’ lived Accommodation experience first of all aims at giving control while moving research into direction (van Manen, 2011c), its systematic, disciplined, rigorous way to deal with the textual sources is still open ended (Moustakas, 1994). It has to be tailored to match the particularities and idiosyncrasies of the entire research endeavour (van Manen, 2011c). To decide the most appropriate research approach is thus not only necessary (van Manen, 2011c), but also gives the study its novelty and originality that enable fresh “new insights into the uniquely complex processes of [...] managing” (van der Mescht, 2004, p. 1) change within Chinese conditions to emerge (Ehrich, 2005; Holloway & Wheeler, 2002; Husserl, 1922).

As thematic analysis develops and deepens during the course of the study, so does the focus of its attention. Researching along and into the Jesuits’ lived Accommodation experience’s *noematic* and *noetic* nature, thematic analysis creates fullness in understanding the essences of the phenomenon under scrutiny (Husserl, 1922; Moustakas, 1994). To do so, thematic analysis adheres to a comprehensive data-inductive process (Cohen et al., 2000; Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006) that allows the themes to both emerge directly from the data and stand out against the totality of the phenomenon as such (Ehrich, 2005; Husserl, 1922; van der Mescht, 2004) instead of being imposed by the researcher, or presupposed by traditional, topic-related research disciplines (Moustakas, 1994; Ray, 1994; van Manen, 1990, 2007). In so fulfilling “the ultimate challenge [...] [of integrating] the perceptual and the cognitive in order to arrive at essential meanings” (Moustakas, 1994, p. 81), the chosen approach towards thematic analysis is characterized as a free, intuitive act of see(k)ing meaning that gives shape to the idiosyncratic and invariant, but hidden core of the experience under scrutiny (Moustakas, 1994; van Manen, 2011c).

This necessitates reflectiveness and an attending, recognizing, and describing with clarity the phenomenon from different vantage points (Moustakas, 1994; van Manen, 1990). In so searching for invariant patterns within the data that—where emerging and taking shape—become categories for analysis (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006; Moustakas, 1994) not only establishes the “orienting gestalt” (Cohen et al., 2000, p. 76) of the Accommodation phenomenon under scrutiny, but also further provides the building blocks of the to-be-developed substantive *Theory of the Unique* (van Manen, 1990) from grasping the essential meaning of this multi-dimensional and multi-layered phenomenon.

It is in this regard that thematic analysis characterizes itself as a complex, creative process of insightful discovery, disclosure, invention, and abstraction—with

- discovery and disclosure being the dialogic-dialectic interpretive encounter and product of an objectivist and alethic hermeneutic interaction with the textual sources and via textual description (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009; Ehrich, 2003; Moustakas, 1994; Ray, 1994; van Manen, 1990);
- invention being the interpretive product of reflective, textual activity, of working towards the essential experiential qualities and the core structural meanings of the lived Accommodation phenomenon (Ehrich, 2003; Moustakas, 1994; van Manen, 1990); and
- abstraction being the interpretive theorizing (Ray, 1994) upon the essential, inter-subjective meaning (Geertz, 1973) as embedded within the Jesuits’ experienced communication, *jian*-[间]-in-between(ness), and interaction with the *Chinese Others* (Standaert, 2002a, 2002b, 2003a).

In so looking for “the grounding or condition of the [complex] phenomenon that gives it a distinctive character” (Moustakas, 1994, p. 95), *themes* are to faithfully reflect the linguistic, historical, and cultural context where the experience is embedded (van Manen, 1990); that is, the intentions, expectations, circumstances, settings, and purposes that give the Jesuits’ actions and interactions in the course of their Accommodation endeavour their meanings (Ratner, 2001).

Considering these qualities, hermeneutic-phenomenological *themes* are “like knots in a web of [...] experiences, around which certain lived experiences are spun and thus lived through as meaningful wholes” (van Manen, 2011c, para. 1). In so being of heuristic importance, *themes* are the medium, the vehicle to get at the phenomenon being addressed (van Manen, 2011c) while providing patterns (van Manen, 1990) “in the information that at minimum describe and organise the possible observation and at maximum interpret aspects of the phenomenon (Boyatzis, 1998, p. 161 as cited in Fereday & Muir-Cochran, 2006).

This procedural characterization notwithstanding, themes are not simple categorical statements, or one-size-fits-all objects of generalizations (van Manen, 1990, 2011c). They are to make apparent the particular within the common phenomenon under scrutiny (Nicholson, 1997; van Manen, 1990)—simultaneously providing a fuller description of the nuances and subtleties of (Tufford & Newman, 2010, van Manen, 1990) as well as the inter-subjective qualities (Husserl, 1922; Moustakas, 1994) and conceptual similarities within the Jesuits’ lived Accommodation experience (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009; Ehrich, 2005).

It is this thematic seeing the universality “through the particularity of [the Jesuits]’ lived [Accommodation] experience” (van Manen, 1990, p. 185) that finally allows dealing sensitively and thoughtfully with a comparable managerial context (van der Mescht, 2004).

Appendix II: The choice of textual sources and their characteristics detailed

To approach the research questions and to cater to the research objectives, gathering lived-experience material of different forms primarily orients the generation of data to the following questions:

- Which source is appropriate to uncover thematic aspects of the phenomenon it describes?
- Where can this source be found?

Responding to this overarching concern, an appropriate source to uncover thematic aspects of the experience it describes (Sanders, 1982; van Manen, 1990)—irrespective of its academic or non-academic background and/or its disciplinary provenance (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009)—would be anything that

- has appearance or consciousness;
- possesses the characteristics under observation; and/or
- can give reliable information on the phenomenon under research.

With the life-world of the Jesuits in China being the source and the object of research, searching “everywhere [...] for lived-experience material that, upon reflective [textual] examination, might yield something of its fundamental nature” (van Manen, 1990, p. 53) is thus necessary and appropriate (Hart, 2001); honouring the integrity of the chosen sources is compulsory.

To do so, trans-disciplinary and trans-cultural, historic and contemporary primary, secondary, and supporting texts are considered, further trawled, and respectively mined as these sources incorporate experiential observation, or description, or otherwise yield experiential data, or allow experiential data to be contextualized (Hart, 2001).

This graded characterization of sources is somehow alien to management research.

Necessary clarification are thus provided by the *Standards of the American Historical Association* (2011)—further detailed by those guidelines and insights given in Eckermann et al. (1978) and Spalding and Parker (2007)—summarizing the following:

- *Primary sources* are all forms of evidence—not just written texts, but artefacts, images, statistics, oral recollections, the built and natural environment—that have survived as records of former times
- *Secondary sources* are all subsequent interpretations of those former times based on the evidence contained in primary documents
- *Supporting sources* are all additional aids that further contextualize, and/or deal with the primary and secondary sources, or help to do so

Considering these source-related requirements and the research questions/objectives, the textual sources *re-searched* in the course of the study are as follows:

- Experiential descriptions in literature of Accommodation as lived
- Etymological clarifications
- Idiomatic words/phrases
- Hermeneutic-phenomenological and further topic-related literature

Given this general classification, the characteristics of the textual sources under scrutiny have to be further detailed.

Experiential descriptions of the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience in literature, such as stories, novels, poetry, and other grey literature, and the Jesuits' (auto)biographies, their diaries, and other forms of journals, constitute the main, most important source of data to be re-searched (van Manen, 1990).

Considering a personal description of a lived experience to be “also the possible experiences of others” (van Manen, 1990, p. 54), its inter-subjectivity, topicality, and actuality substantiates the “new insights into the uniquely complex processes of [...] managing” (van der Mescht, 2004, p. 1) change within Chinese conditions. It better facilitates the dissemination of research outcomes.

Taking into consideration the Jesuits' lived experience's historical character, Holloway and Wheeler (2002) clarify that relying on this vast variety of documentary sources is necessary as information cannot be acquired "by direct observation or questioning" (p. 105).

With the research stance requiring "a perspective on history" (p. 106) and to "gain knowledge of the experiences of others in a particular context and at a particular time" (p. 107), using documentary descriptions (Husserl, 1922) of the Jesuits' Accommodation endeavour therefore

- enhances awareness of the phenomenon's features (van Manen, 1990);
- enables an insider's view on past lives and attitudes (Holloway & Wheeler, 2002); and
- permits to "*transcend the particularity of [...] [situation, events, and emotions]* which makes them subject to thematic analysis" (van Manen, 1990, p. 70).

In their entirety, experiential descriptions thus serve as a multifaceted "fountain of experiences" (p. 70) to which research|er can turn to gain a broad array of experiential and practical insights into the Accommodation phenomenon.

Seconding the insights gathered via interacting with main corpus of sources, striving for etymological clarification, and tracing respective sources, e.g. being attentive to the word *Accommodation*, puts research in touch with the origins of the word and its original meaning. It contextualizes "the lived experiences from which [...] [it] originally sprang" (van Manen, 1990, p. 59). Considering their interpretive significance, searching idiomatic words/phrases, e.g. *proselytization* or *missionizing*, describes the Jesuits' Accommodation endeavour. "Being born out of lived experience" (p. 60), this enables to see meaning as those figurative words/phrases "largely proceed phenomenologically" (p. 60). Thus, both semantic efforts foster phenomenological reflection, separate incidental from essential themes, and help to uncover, isolate, clarify the essence of the theme(s). While the sources so far put research in touch with the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience, consulting Hermeneutic-Phenomenological and further topic-related literature serves another purpose.

Relying on material which descriptively or interpretively addresses the topic or allows its contextualization, e.g. theological writings that relate to the Jesuits' mind-set, worldview, approaches, clarifies hermeneutic-phenomenological concepts, contextualizes phenomenon and essential themes. Rounding-up data gathering, it allows carving out the one new, substantive *Theory of the Unique* (van Manen, 1990).

Appendix III: Bracketing individualized and prioritized

The adequate positioning of bracketing “between the researcher and the research project” (Tufford & Newman, 2010, p. 8), and the decision and accomplishment of necessary manual and mental activities to perform the *epoché* and to work “‘under’ the phenomenological reduction” (McKenna, 1997, p. 178) is in the individual/sole responsibility of the researcher (McNamara, 2005; Moustakas, 1994).

To take a distinct, research|er-related specific personal “reflective distance” (McGuirk, 2008, p. 107) from the experience under scrutiny requires the researcher to decide, individualize, and prioritize appropriate bracketing elements and to later approach towards the chosen bracketing activities on her|his own (Gearing, 2004; McNamara, 2005; Moustakas, 1994).

Expected to make visible the Accommodation phenomenon’s uncontested essence (Bednall, 2006; Hamill & Sinclair, 2010; Husserl, 1922; LeVasseur, 2003; Moustakas, 1994) in an effective, credible, affirmative, and traceable way (Ray, 1994), the legitimate use of bracketing (Tufford & Newman, 2010) in the research at hand as a “means of properly engaging with [...] [the] experience [under scrutiny] reflectively and in its entirety for the first time” (McGuirk, 2008, p. 109) necessitates the following:

- Explicitness regarding the phases and components of *bracketing*
- Individualization and prioritization to be exercised in the course of the study

To do so, the phases of *bracketing* and its components as exercised in the light of the chosen research design can be further detailed as follows:

To deal with the Jesuits’ lived Accommodation experience, Hermeneutic Phenomenology in the tradition of the Utrecht School, and specifically the adherence to Max van Manen’s (1990) recommendations for researching lived experience, establishes the entrance into the study. This provides the theoretical framework that affects the chosen *bracketing* approach and its elements (Gearing, 2004).

Additionally, an interpretivist research philosophy—grounded in a cultural relativist value stance and internalized in its entirety to inductively conceive one new substantive *Theory of the Unique*—provides the orientation standpoint (Gearing, 2004). From and towards this point, the *bracketing* approach and its constituent elements are decided and applied.

The transfer of these specifications into research, performance of the *epoché* and “working ‘under’ the phenomenological reduction” (McKenna, 1997, p. 178) requires personally cognoscible internal and external suppositions that are considered to predispose studying the phenomenon (Bednall, 2006; Hamill & Sinclair, 2010; Tufford & Newman, 2010; van Manen, 1990) to be named and written down prior and during research (Moustakas, 1994; van Manen, 1990).

Starting during the preparation of the research and ending with writing down its results (Cohen & Omery, 1994; Ehrich, 2003; Gearing, 2004; LeVasseur, 2003; Moustakas, 1994), consideration of this foundational focus and adherence to the respective temporal structure ensure that preconceptions do not contaminate the description of the Jesuits’ lived Accommodation experience and/or obscure its interpretation (Moustakas, 1994; Tufford & Newman, 2010; van Manen, 1990). This aspired intended, structured putting in abeyance (Husserl, 1922) of specific, clearly stated preconceptions (van Manen, 1990) within a specified *bracketing* period, and the acknowledgement/acceptance of still existing non-traceable entities (Moustakas, 1994) allude to the erection of designed *bracketing boundaries* (Gearing, 2004).

The withholding during the study of all judgements which have not been obtained from own active describing and see(k)ing meaning (Gearing, 2004; Hamill & Sinclair, 2010; Husserl, 1922; van Manen, 1990) becomes an ongoing reflective-meditative process (Bednall, 2006; Moustakas, 1994). Doing so

- affects research-related pre-arrangements and preparations (Bednall, 2006);
- goes along with data gathering and analysis (Hamill & Sinclair, 2010); and
- reaches its end-point in the reintegration of bracketed data into the larger investigation and interpretation (Bednall, 2006; Gearing, 2004; Hamill & Sinclair, 2010).

This unbracketing finally turns preconceptions against itself (van Manen, 1990). It enables an additional test of authenticity of both the lived experience's essential qualities and its thematic manifestations (Bednall, 2006; Kahn, 2000).

Considered the peak of critical thinking/reflection, this folding back of bracketed data into the wider research context (Gearing, 2004; Hamill & Sinclair, 2010) marks the final stage in the analysis (Bednall, 2006).

In the analysis following *imaginative variation*, unbracketing is hence situated on the threshold to developing one new substantive *Theory of the Unique* from researching the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience.

Appendix IV: *Precursors and Preliminaries*

Unlike various impressions the groundwork of the Jesuits' journey was established long before the Order gained permanent foothold in China. Knowing *Precursors and Preliminaries* is helpful to uncouple the missionaries' personal attributes and actions from a later imposed *teleological* superstructure and any form of unjustified personification (Winston & Bane, 2010). Doing so thus assists in the following:

- Understanding the (timeless) distinctiveness of the Fathers' Accommodation approach in China
- Appreciating the (future) significance of their pro- and re-active adaptation to the Chinese environment
- Acknowledging the transferable practicality of its essential qualities

During the thirty years after St. Francis Xavier (1506-1552) and his confreres made for East Asia to spread the Gospel amongst the Japanese, and the realization of China's importance in proselytizing the whole East-Asian culture area (Letter of Francis Xavier to Ignatius Loyola—29.01.1552 in Sievernich, 2006), numerous priests and brothers tried to take up residence in the secluded Ming Empire and to establish a mission on Chinese ground for another purpose than trade (Bernard-Maitre, 1933; Boxer, 2004; Gallagher, 1953; Ricci, 2010a, 2011; Rosso, 1948; Rowbotham, 1966; Sebes, 1988; Sievernich, 2006; von Collani, 2012b).

Not all of these attempts between 1552 and 1583 were as dramatic in course and/or end as St. Francis Xavier's

- unsuccessful plan to secure entrance to China by joining the Viceroy of the *Portuguese Estado da Índia's* embassy to the Ming court in Beijing in order to solicit the Jiajing-嘉靖 Emperor (1507-1567) for release of merchants imprisoned in Guangzhou—expecting to convert in the same breath Emperor, Court, and country to Christianity (Bernard-Maitre, 1933; Gallagher, 1953; Haub, 2002; Sebes, 1988; Letter of Francis Xavier to João III, King of Portugal—08.04.1552 in Sievernich, 2006; Letter of Francis

Xavier to João Soares—June 1552 in Sievernich, 2006; Letter of Francis Xavier to Diogo Pereira—25.06.1552 in Sievernich, 2006; von Collani, 2002); and/or

- fruitless aim to find, bribe, and so convince a Chinese merchant to smuggle him from the Island of Shangchuan into the Chinese Empire (Haub, 2002; Sebes, 1988)—dying on 3 December 1552 while seeing the promised land but not being able to enter it (Dtn. 34:4), only attended by Antonio à Santa Fé, his Chinese servant, interpreter, and support (Bernard-Maitre, 1933; Fischer-Brunkow, 2002; Ricci, 2010a; Sievernich, 2006; von Collani, 2002).

However, after years of frustration and failure in following St. Francis Xavier's example, and with twenty-five Jesuits (Sebes, 1988) wholeheartedly obeying his legacy “that those of the Society of Jesus will enter China” (Letter of Francis Xavier to Francisco Pérez—13.11.1552 in Sievernich, 2006, p. 470) while trying with tenacity and daringness to get beyond the apparently impenetrable “bamboo curtain” (Charbonnier, 2007, p. 139) that shielded China from unauthorized intrusion of unwelcomed foreigners (Gallagher, 1953)—such as

- Melchior Nuñez Barreto (c.1520-1571) who was the first member of the Jesuit order to spent ten months in the area of Guangzhou until he was forced to leave at the end of the second biannual trade fair of 1555 (Bernard-Maitre, 1933; Brockey, 2007; Brucker, 1910; D'Elia, 1942, *Fonti Ricciane* (FR) 1:139 N. 202; Franke, 1967; Sebes, 1988; von Collani, 2012b); and
- Juan Bautista de Ribera (1525-1594) who, while aiming to get to Nanjing, only managed to stay behind some time after the biannual trade fair in the initially chosen neighbourhood until he was detected and expelled in 1568 (Bernard-Maitre, 1933; D'Elia, 1942, *FR* 1:139 N. 202; Sebes, 1988)—

two major changes brought the Jesuits some steps closer to fulfilling St. Francis Xavier's death wish and into the secluded *Promised Land of Qin*-秦.

The first step was made in 1557 (Wills, 2011) “after the Sino-Portuguese trade was officially resumed in 1554” (Rosso, 1948, p. 45).

Profiting from Chinese disposedness to luxury goods (Ricci, 2010a; 2011) and owing to further favourable economical and regio-political circumstances (Dillon, 1998), agents of the *Portuguese Estado da Índia* convinced Chinese officials to upgrade the Portuguese refuge and storage area at the Pearl River estuary—at the expense of an annual tributary rent/customs revenues to the Chinese (Bertuccioli, 1997; Cranmer-Byng & Wills, 2011; Franke, 1967; Wills, 2011)—into a permanent trading outpost of Portuguese administration (Brockey, 2007; Corradini, 1997; Neill & Chadwick, 1990; Rosso, 1948).

Notwithstanding this providential outside impression, the peninsula was still kept—in Chinese terms and following Chinese tradition in dealing with “non-Chinese aboriginal people” (Franke, 1967, p. 31) who are but only tolerated (Hsü, 2000)—under the suzerainty of the Chinese Empire (Bernard-Maitre, 1933; Corradini, 1997; Franke, 1967). The establishment of this legitimate Chinese *Povoação do nome de Deus de A-Ma-Cau da China*, the foundation of Aomen-澳門-City of Macao, nonetheless gave the Jesuits a secure steppingstone to China (Brook, 2005; D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:151 N. 206; Franke, 1967; Gallagher, 1953; Hsü, 2000; Ricci, 2010a; von Collani, 2012b; Wills, 2011). And stepping in they did. In 1565, Francisco Pérez (1514-1583) and Manoel Teixeira (1536-1590) founded in Macao the first Jesuit residence on Chinese soil (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:140 N. 202; Rosso, 1948; Sebes, 1988; Wills, 2011). From this date on, the “bamboo curtain” (Charbonnier, 2007, p. 139) became porous.

The second, even major step was initiated by Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606)—since September 1573 appointed plenipotentiary Visitor to all Jesuit Missions and for all Jesuit activities east of the Cape of Good Hope (Catto 1946/2011; Gallagher, 1953; Neill & Chadwick, 1990; Üçerler, 2008; von Collani, 2012b). Equipped with an extensive range of administrative powers by the Order’s Superior General Edvard Mercurian (1514-1580) and safeguarded against any hierarchical disturbance by a reporting line directly linked to Mercurian in Rome (Schütte, 1946/2011; Üçerler, 2008), Valignano was able to motivate a proselytization approach that

- was “fully consonant with what he believed the true Jesuit ‘way of proceeding’” (Ross, 1999; p. 345);
- matched the East-Asian idiosyncrasies he had discerned from St. Francis Xavier’s widely published, inspirational *letters from the ground-floor* (Haub, 2002; Sievernich, 2006); and
- accrued from his daily interaction with the *Chinese Others* (Standaert, 2002a, 2002b, 2003a) during his stay in Macao between September 1578 and July 1579 while waiting for a favourable wind to bring him on his way to Japan (Brockey, 2007; Schütte, 1951).

To such an extent verifying second-hand information regarding earlier and actual cultural contact and collision with the Chinese Empire (Standaert, 1997) as well as acquiring first-hand munition to arm his to-be-outlined *modo soave cinese* (Ross, 1999) from dealing with admittedly average Chinese citizens in Macao (Neill & Chadwick, 1990), Valignano was confronted with the history and reasons of twenty-five years of persistence and failure in gaining China for Christ (Marcocchi, 1997; Neill & Chadwick, 1990; Rienstra, 1986; Sebes, 1988).

To further factor those respective facts and even more myths into his equation of *winning China for Christ* (Rienstra, 1986) he was to also consider some highly visible concomitants. In so doing, Valignano had to realize the implication of Chinese authority’s further attempt to better control the influx of foreigners into the Empire by the help of a firm, guarded wall. Erected in 1573 across the isthmus of Macao, this wall was furnished with a gate in its middle to be opened every fifteen days only (Bernard-Maitre, 1933; Hsü, 2000; Modras, 2004). This regularity notwithstanding, to enable the Macanese merchants to market during a public fair on mainland China what their ships from India and Japan brought in in January and towards the end of June (Gallagher, 1953; Ricci, 2010a; 2011) the Chinese allowed a foreign crossing only twice a year (Sebes, 1988). Making things worse, Valignano had to cope with his Jesuit confreres’ pessimism regarding further efforts in permanently spreading the Gospel in China (Neill & Chadwick, 1990; Sebes, 1988) unless “an armed intervention [...] [would] secure permission” (Rosso, 1948, p. 47) to do so.

Eager to nonetheless bring together Chinese and missionaries' perspectives as well as facts and seemingly well-meant advises, Valignano more and more realized "that the failure to lead [...] [the Chinese] to a knowledge and acceptance of the Christian faith" (Sebes, 1988, p. 33) and the apparent impossibility to secure permanent residence in the Chinese Empire "was due to the manner of approach that had been adopted" (p. 33). To establish a successful *way of proceeding* that matched Chinese idiosyncrasies and that exhibits factors of necessary flexibility and pragmatism, Valignano had to break the mould. As a result, the Visitor was finally convinced that the method to

- penetrate China;
- gain permanent foothold within the Chinese Empire;
- interact with the *Chinese Others*;
- proselytize the Chinese pagans; and
- guide respective *Mission Commission* in a Chinese environment

had to distinguish itself from the generally established way of missionizing the heathen, and the thitherto applied ways of *iuvare animas sinensis*, i.e., the clean sweep way of saving and winning Chinese souls for Christ (Leys, 1987).

To thus allow the accommodation of Fathers and Gospel in China, it was necessary to call into question and to finally abandon the following:

- The traditional way of getting into the country on the merchants' coat-tails and in the lee of seemingly suspicious and at least only temporary tolerated foreign elements (Gallagher, 1953; Ross, 1999)
- The contemporary missionary *tabula rasa* (Burgaleta, 1999; Chupungco, 1982; Cohen, 2008; Haub, 2002; Marcocchi, 1997; Modras, 2004; Ross, 1999; Sievernich, 2006; Thaurén, 1927; Winston & Bane, 2010)
- The customary chauvinistic "ethos of the *Reconquista*" (Winston & Bane, 2010, p. 26) that manifested itself in the urge to Europeanize; in this case, *Portugalize* converts (Burgaleta, 1999; Dunne, 1962; Leys, 1987; Marcocchi, 1997; Peterson, 1994; Standaert, 1997; Thaurén, 1927; Winston & Bane, 2010).

Doing so required a different mind-set, stance, attitude, and new talents on the side of the missionaries (Burgaleta, 1999; Leys, 1987; Marcocchi, 1997; Ross, 1994; Schütte, 1951; Sebes, 1988; von Collani, 2012b).

This far-sighted assessment was further confirmed and took distinctive shape at the advantage of the *China Mission* during the Visitor's groundwork and problem-solving in Japan where he swept up the broken pieces Francisco Cabral (1529-1609)—at that time Superior of the Japan Mission—had provoked since 1570 by forbidding any form of accommodation to Japanese culture (Bernard-Maitre, 1933; Hoey, 2010; Ross, 1994; Rule, 1986; Schütte, 1946/2011, 1951; Standaert, 2008b; Üçerler, 2008).

To fulfil the spadework of modelling an effective accommodation approach that avoided any form of ostensible, empty cultural mimicry and allowed pro- and re-active adaptation of missionary and pastoral activities to the environment and the individual *Other* without compromising the new Faith (Obirek, 2008; Burgaleta, 1999) not only in Japan—later diligently laid out in his manual for the Japan Mission-*Il ceremoniale per i missionari del Giappone* (Schütte, 1946/2011, 1951, 1958; Valignano, 1946/2011)—, but also in East-Asia in general, and in China in particular (Marcocchi, 1997; Ross, 1994, 1999; Sebes, 1988), Valignano first of all carried forward St. Francis Xavier's missionizing experience and approach in Japan (Catto, 1946/2011; Haub, 2002; Schütte, 1951, 1958). Doing so, St. Francis Xavier's

- avowedly over-enthusiastic portrayal of the Japanese people's apparent preparedness to happily accept the Gospel (Letter of Francis Xavier to the Society of Jesus in Europe—22.06.1549 in Sievernich, 2006); and
- anticipation that the Chinese Emperor would not only allow a new Faith in his country, but that the Chinese people would also be happy to convert to it (Letter of Francis Xavier to Gaspar Barzaeus—25.10.1552 in Sievernich, 2006),

pre-determined Valignano's basic understanding of the *China Mission* and guided his decision regarding an appropriate|d *modus procedendi* (Haub, 2002; Üçerler, 2008; von Collani, 2002).

In so relating to St. Francis Xavier's by no means easy and flawless inter-cultural and inter-religious learning process (Marcocchi, 1997; Sievernich, 2006) that aimed at non-violently ingraining a new teaching and philosophy into a hitherto unknowing, ignorant, and, first of all, unreceptive environment (Obirek, 2008; Ross, 1999; Sievernich, 2006), Valignano considered the following to be building blocks of his to-be-decided, refined, and later to be "creatively put into practice" (Standaert, 2008b, p. 172) missionizing approach for China (Ross, 1999; von Collani, 2002; Winston & Bane, 2010):

- Mastering the indigenous vernacular and written language
- Practicing theological disputation, and establishing intellectual and scientific/technical exchange
- Winning local facilitators and native supporters
- Donning respectable, and locally respected status-enhancing apparel
- Observing and adhering to indigenous habits, and customs while acknowledging and mitigating own ethnocentrism

In doing so, Valignano was able to take to St. Francis Xavier's focal points to successfully missionize Asia as outlined in **Table 1**.

Focal points to successfully missionize Asia

St. Francis Xavier emphasized

- learning and mastering the indigenous *language*, and using local, spoken and literary *langue* and *parole* (Jäger, 2010; Letter of Francis Xavier to Ignatius Loyola – 09.04.1552 in Sievernich, 2006)—in so appropriating the Gospel to the right audience, educating/inventing suitable words to describe religious concepts,

> spreading the Faith throughout the country and within social classes, establishing (conceptual) similarities, and being accepted by/among the natives (Letter of Francis Xavier to the confreres in Goa – 05.11.1549 in Sievernich, 2006; Letter of St. Francis Xavier to the confreres in Europe – 29.01.1552 in Sievernich, 2006)
- facilitating spreading the Gospel by persuasion and intellectual/theological disputation as well as by presenting hitherto unknown technical devices—in so disenfranchising and fending off theological rivals and proving the fathers' own usefulness and the merits of the new Faith (Letter of Francis Xavier to the confreres in Europe – 29.01.1552 in Sievernich, 2006; Letter of Francis Xavier to Ignatius Loyola – 29.01.1552 in Sievernich, 2006; Letter of Francis Xavier to Ignatius Loyola – 09.04.1552 in Sievernich, 2006; von Collani, 2002)

> turning to, targeting, and addressing the population's most supportive/receptive parts (Letter of Francis Xavier to the Society of Jesus in Europe – 22.06.1549 in Sievernich, 2006; Letter of Francis Xavier to the confreres in Europe – 29.01.1552 in Sievernich, 2006; Standaert, 1999)—in so securing permission to convert top-down, and finding an easy way to those willing to accept the new Faith (Fischer-Brunkow, 2002; Letter of Francis Xavier to the confreres in Goa – 05.11.1549 in Sievernich, 2006)
- donning the right dress (Peterson, 1994; von Collani, 2002)—in so acquiring a higher "social visibility" (Brockey, 2007, p. 244), being respected/taken seriously by the natives (Fischer-Brunkow, 2002; Hoey, 2010; Letter of Francis Xavier to the confreres in Goa – 05.11.1549 in Sievernich, 2006),

> establishing/emphasizing similarities, and increasing acceptability of both messenger and message (McLuhan, 1964)
- acknowledging and overcoming own ethnocentrism, enduring prevailing circumstances, and accepting/adopting local habits/customs (Letter of Francis Xavier to Ignatius Loyola – 09.04.1552 in Sievernich, 2006)—in so avoiding repudiation (Letter of Francis Xavier to the Society of Jesus in Europe – 22.06.1549 in Sievernich, 2006), providing indispensable background for any approach to conversion (Haub, 2002), and convincing possible converts, sceptics, and rivals of the Fathers' righteousness, virtue, patience, and stamina (Sievernich, 2006)

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Table 29: Focal points to successfully missionize Asia

Table 1: Focal points to successfully missionize Asia, based on Fischer-Brunkow (2002); Haub (2002); Jäger (2010); Marcocchi (1997); McLuhan (1964); Peterson (1994); Sievernich (2006); von Collani (2002), compiled by author

To guide conversion in the Chinese setting, following St. Francis Xavier's missionizing endeavour became the foundation and binder to successfully

- accommodate the Order's apostolic aim of *iuuare animas* to the prevailing local and intellectual Chinese circumstances (Hartmann, 2008; Modras, 2004; Obirek, 2008; O'Malley, 1993; Societas Iesu, 1996);
- initiate a dialogue with the *Chinese Other* in the Mission (Standaert, 2002b, 2003a); and
- "offer [...] [the Order's] own cultural and spiritual resources" (Societas Iesu, 1996—Norm 245, §3, pp. 272).

To back up and complement his decision and approach, Valignano was able to further capitalize on a conglomerate of constituent factors, irremissible guidelines, earlier experiences, existing best-practices, and insights that went back far to the early church, and that spanned time and place (Doyle, 2012; Rzepkowski, 1992; Winston & Bane, 2010). This blend finally became the headstone of any successful Accommodation approach in a Chinese setting to come and thus provided the lasting background to the Jesuits' lived Accommodation experience as such.

To start, Valignano could profit from the assimilable experiences of the early church (Doyle, 2012; Neill & Chadwick, 1990; Theißen, 1989) as found in the Gospel's

- various requests and commissions to missionaries (Gnilka, 1986, 1996; Thaurén, 1927) to esteem every single individual (Gen. 1:26) and to go in all the world (Mk. 16:15) and *teach* all nations (Mt. 28:19) by not
 - a. abolishing the cultural basis encountered but to fulfil the given (Mt. 5:17);
 - b. imposing one's own (foreign) way at the neglect of the (indigenous) given but by directly accommodating oneself and the message to every prevailing situation (Lk. 10:7; 1 Cor. 9: 22) until the new "teaching is seen as 'tamquam nativa doctrina'" (Thaurén, 1927, p. 21);

- diverse descriptions of (successful) missionizing approaches amongst a receptive, or at its best pro-active, encouraging pagan audience without opposing but at least accepting, preserving, or even adapting the *Other's* background, culture, and/or language in doing/to do so (Chupungco, 1982; Corradini, 1997; Gnilka, 1996; Standaert, 2002b, 2003a; Thaurén, 1927)—such as, St. Paul's encounter with Cornelius (Act. 10), his exhortation to the Corinthians (1 Cor. 7: 20), or his speech to the Athenians after few of them have taken him to the Areopagus-Ἄρειος Πάγος (Act. 17:23).

Additionally, Valignano could refer to the exhortations of the Church Fathers, Doctors of the Church, and mystics (Chupungco, 1982; Fiedrowicz, 2007; Law, 2009; Thaurén, 1927; Winkelmann, 2003); in the first instance

- St. Augustine of Hippo's (354-430) characterisation of the Mission to have a religious aim only in so
 - a. demanding intellectual accommodation to the prevailing nation, language, and culture (Augustinus, 405/1934; Thaurén, 1927) when following an appropriately customized four-stage scheme of *narratio* (narration of facts from the History of the World's Creation on to the present times of the Church), *explicatio* (explication of those facts outlined in the *narratio*, the precepts and principles of Christianity, and other religious subjects to be detailed based on the receptiveness of the hearer), *interrogatio* (interrogation of the possible convert regarding the correct understanding of the religious principles outlined), and *exhortatio* (exhortation/admonition of the possible convert to abide by the religious precepts) to catechize the heathen (Drews, 1934; Fischer, 1986)—outlined in his writing *De catechizandis rudibus* (Augustinus, 405/1934) and further detailed in the Catechism of the Council of Trent (*Catechismus Romanus*, 1566/1867);
 - b. disapproving imposition of something unknown to the pagans to offer something new at the expense of earthly peace (*De Civitate Dei*-XIV:17);
 - c. introducing the hermeneutic methods of how to discover the truth in the contents of the Gospel, to teach the truth from the Gospel, and to defend

scriptural truth when it was attacked (*De Doctrina Christiana*), and stressing the possibility to avail of pagan wisdom to explain Christian truth and thus turn pagan science and philosophy to a Christian use (II:60);

- Pope Gregory the Great's (c.540-604) preparedness to accept local customs to finally "reach a communion of faith and culture" (Law, 2009, para. 6) as long as doing so does not lead to opposition, heresy, or secularisation; and
- Nicolaus Cusanus' (1401-1464) unprepossessed stance and understanding that there can exist "una religio in rituum varietate" (p. 93) in order to give respect to other religions (McTighe, 1991; Trinkaus, 1991)—outlined after the fall of Constantinople (1453) in *De pace fidei* (Cusanus, 1453/1943).

Further, Valignano naturally incorporated the Order's general characteristics as outlined in the founding documents (Knauer, 1990; O'Malley, 1993; 2015), amongst others, the foundation Bull *Regimini militantis ecclesiae* including the *Formula Vivendi*|*Formula Instituti* as officially promulgated by Pope Paul III (1468-1549) on 27 September 1540 (Paulus PP. III, 27. sept. 1540 in Cherubini, 1692), and embedded in the Jesuits' *Corporate Culture* (Obirek, 2008; Standaert, 1999, 2008b):

- Flexibility and mobility (O'Malley, 1993; 2015) to simultaneously fulfil the apostolic aim of *iuvare animas* with charity and love (Sievernich, 2006; Thaurén, 1927) and adapt the *modus procedendi* to the prevailing local and intellectual circumstances solely *ad majorem Dei gloriam* (Hartmann, 2008; Knauer, 1990; Modras, 2004; O'Malley, 1993, 2015; Societas Iesu, 1996)
- Patience and self-denial (Thaurén, 1927) that manifests itself not in "great austerities or long periods of prayer" (O'Malley, 1993, p. 352) but in the vow of obedience to be sent on a "Conquista espiritual" (Thaurén, 1927, p. 134) to fulfil the "soteriological conviction that God desires the salvation of the native peoples" (Burgaleta, 1999, p. 114), and hence, to go wherever the biggest need is (Knauer, 1990; O'Malley, 1993, 2015; Societas Iesu, 1996; Letter of Ignatius Loyola to The Community at Coimbra – 14.01.1548 in Young, 1959; Letter of Ignatius Loyola to The Members of the Society in Portugal – 26.03.1553 in Young, 1959)

- Use of dramatic practices (Murphy, 2008) as an instrument of pastoral care to save the souls of the destitute, and to win the pagans for Christ (Hartmann, 2008; Murphy, 2008; Societas Iesu, 1996)
- Basic attitude of *Renaissance Humanism* with its
 - a. re-turn to “the Christian classics, both the Bible and the writings of the church fathers” (Modras, 2004, p. 58);
 - b. strive to become and live as an *uomo universale*, who takes a moral choice to excel in a variety of (moral) virtues, and to cultivate practical as well as cognitive skills (Modras, 2004) to the greater good; such as, “memory, eloquence, the ability to persuade, and the ability to accommodate one’s message to one’s audience” (p. 60);
 - c. appreciation of the unity and universality of truth to enable the reconciliation of faith and pre-Christian ideas (Modras, 1994) also in the context of *theologia naturalis* (Kolvenbach, 1998; Leibniz, 1715/2002; Mungello, 1977; von Collani, 1981, 2000a, 2000b), i.e. “the knowledge that humans can have of the existence and nature of God by means of reason” (Standaert et al., 2001, p. 608);
- All-pervading philosophy of *Thomism* with its theology of Grace that is generally motivated by an all-embracing, deep gratitude vis-à-vis “God’s generosity as Giver and Gift” (Modras, 1994, p. 43) and hence, “does not contradict or oppose nature [...] but builds on [and perfects] it” (Modras, 1994, p. 66) to find God in all things (Societas Iesu, 1996), peoples, and cultures in order to first make (them) Humans and then Christians (Berger, 2001; Burgaletta, 1999; Hirschberger, 2002; Lutz-Bachmann, 2008; O’Malley, 1993, 2015).

Besides this and as a matter of course, Valignano integrated the non-generalizing, individual action-encouraging and action-deciding instructions (Endean, 2008; Modras, 2004; O’Malley, 1993, 2015; Societas Iesu, 1996; Stierli, 1990; Winston & Bane, 2010) that are found in the following:

- The Order's *special final (fourth) vow* “concerning mission” (O'Malley, 1993, p. 347) that—besides the three traditional vows of poverty, chastity, obedience—not only further details the latter (Haub, 2002; O'Malley, 1993, 2015) according to the *Formula Vivendi|Formula Instituti*, the *Constitutions* of the Society, and the *Complementary Norms*, but also obliges and encourages every professed Jesuit to be ready to be sent and to do ministry anywhere in the world (Knauer, 1990; Societas Iesu, 1996; Stierli, 1990);
- The *Spiritual Exercises* which—by allowing God to deal immediately with the retreatant (SE No. 15)—lead the missionary to making a sound decision (Modras, 2004) about what to do (SE No. 169-188) to rescue the world/souls therein (Sievernich, 2006) and how to do it—also with regard to the diversity of the *Others* in one's own care (SE No. 189). To therefore, decide character/appropriateness of any mission-related service offered within the church (SE No. 170) and in the context of every special situation, the *Spiritual Exercises* assist in finding a *modus procedendi* that manifest itself more by non-prescriptive, situation-dependent, and to-be-individually-configured deeds (Knauer, 1990; Ross, 1999; Rotsaert, 2002) than by words (SE No. 230). In so capitalizing on the diversity among mankind in general (SE No. 106-108) and the pagans in particular, an adaption of what is to be said and done in the proselytization endeavour to every particular time, circumstance, and person is achieved (Ross, 1999); and
- The *Constitutions* with their rules and regulations (O'Malley, 1993, 2015) geared to “participation in the total evangelizing mission of the Church” (Societas Iesu, 1996 – Norm 245, §1, p. 271). In so doing, the *Constitutions* give direction where to spread the Gospel; that is, either “*the part of the vineyard which has greater need*” (Societas Iesu, 1996 – Con. 622, p. 284) or an existent “*better disposition [...] among the people to be profited*” (p. 284); such as, devotion and desire, condition and quality, learning and authority (Societas Iesu, 1996 – Con. 622). Additionally, the *Constitutions* detail whom to send into the *vineyard*; that is, missionaries who show solid virtue, feature the required talents that match the respective place (Societas Iesu, 1996 – Con. 623) and task (Societas Iesu, 1996 – Con. 624), and who

show flexibility to fit into the new culture (Societas Iesu, 1996 – Norm 263, §2). To enable “the inculturated proclamation of the Gospel and a dialogue with other religious traditions” (Societas Iesu, 1996 – Norm 245, §3, pp. 271-272), the *Constitutions* encourage the missionary to make choices of how to further his ministry on his own—always adhering to the situation at hand, following local customs also in the matter of clothing/outward appearance, food and drink, and, as a basic principle, holding “to the mean” (O’Malley, 1993, p. 349).

In addition, Valignano worked in St. Ignatius Loyola’s (1491-1556) missionary-related advices as stated in *Epistolae et Instructiones* (Murphy, 2008; O’Malley, 1993; Stierli, 1990; Winston & Bane, 2010; Young, 1959); in the first instance:

- The clarifications regarding the pastoral principle of individual and social accommodation (O’Malley, 1993, 2015; Thaurén, 1927). Both seen from a tactical and strategic perspective, St. Ignatius Loyola stresses that while “considering existing circumstances” (Letter of Ignatius Loyola to Father Juan Nuñez Barreto, 20.02.1555 in Young, 1959, p. 390) “becoming all things to all men [...] [is to] conform [...] to the customs of the people” (Letter of Ignatius Loyola to the Fathers sent to Germany, 24.09.1549 in Young, 1959, p. 213) and to “not only think and speak alike but even dress alike, and observe the same external manners and social customs” (p. 213).
- The advice “to be on good terms with those in government positions” (Letter of Ignatius Loyola to The Fathers sent to Germany – 24.09.1549 in Young, 1959, p. 213). In so doing, St. Ignatius Loyola counsels the missionaries to approach the right audience, and to aim for collaboration *tantum quantum* (Thaurén, 1927) with the government’s supportive members who reside at the *commodo luogo* (Murphy, 2008); hence, those “from whom we can expect greater fruit” (Letter of Ignatius Loyola to Those sent to the Missions – 08.10.1552 in Young, 1959, p. 268), and “those in high position who exert an influence because of their learning or their possessions” (p. 268).

- The suggestion to prove one's usefulness by "beginning at the bottom and not venturing into lofty subjects" (p. 269). In so selecting "those weapons" [...] which will be judged to be more effective" (pp. 268-269) to teach "without any violence" (Letter of Ignatius Loyola to Father Juan Nuñez Barreto, 20.02.1555 in Young, 1959, p. 387), "in a way that is accommodated to those people" (p. 384), and "without taking away [...] anything in which they are particularly interested or which they especially value" (p. 384).

Finally, Valignano included José de Acosta's (1540-1600) experiences and true-to-life best-practices in evangelizing the *Amerindians* as shared in his (widely circulated) letters from South America whose content also found its way into a comprehensive theological and missionary treatise (Hartmann, 2008; Marcocchi, 1997; Sievernich, 1990) "concerned with providing the 'complete means to help the well-being of the Indians'" (Burgaleta, 1999, p. 114). In so referring to *De Procuranda Indorum Salute*, Valignano related to the following:

- The already-applied interactive understanding method of a "tripartite hierarchy of cultures" (p. 92) to consider the pagans' mentality, and receptiveness, as well as further environmental and cultural factors in a missionary context (Burgaleta, 1999; Marcocchi, 1997; Sievernich, 1990). Following this method led to a proselytization approach that inculturated the Gospel into the world of the *Amerindians* (Hartmann, 2008; Marcocchi, 1997; Neill & Chadwick, 1990; Sievernich, 1990) by power of persuasion through convincing reasons (Burgaleta, 1999; Marcocchi, 1997; Sievernich, 1990). Doing so avoided coercive *Hispanicization* of neophytes (Burgaleta, 1999). Following Augustinian tradition (Thauren, 1927), it further enabled accepting, maintaining, integrating, and using indigenous social structures, cultural customs, and artistic skills that did not violate the *lex naturalis* and the Gospel (Burgaleta, 1999; Neill & Chadwick, 1990; Sievernich, 1990). It facilitated advantageous
 - a. incorporation of "nonreligious songs and dances, native languages, [...] native leadership" (Burgaleta, 1999, p. 48);

- b. “replacement of native sacred places and feasts with Christian substitutes” (p. 47); and
- c. “collaboration with the local elite” (p. 47) to both win converts and seek “their permission for [...] preaching, catechesis” (p. 47), and the implementation of further forms of religious life (Burgaleta, 1999);
- The already-applied different interpretation to *commodo luogo* “to open Jesuit [R]esidences in towns that were more heavily populated by indigenous peoples, so as to offer [...] ministries” (p. 39) in their native tongue, to live among the pagans, establish indigenous parishes (*doctrinas*), and accept native catechists to assist the Fathers in spreading the Faith (Burgaleta, 1999; Marcocchi, 1997);
- The already-applied introduction and provision of new tools and skills, and the association of a fruitful knowledge transfer in combination with and as a catalyst of the new Faith (Burgaleta, 1999; Marcocchi, 1997; Sievernich, 1990).

Consolidating these existent possibilities and advices, earlier experiences, and broadly accepted *modi auxilii*, Valignano was not beyond repeating inherent problems, shortfalls, and setbacks. His reference to the elsewhere executable best-practices did not prevent the Fathers in the *China Mission* from (later) getting caught in comparable and/or new, hitherto unconsidered traps.

This became primarily apparent on the level of the missionaries’ linguistic undertakings and in the context of their purely external accommodation efforts (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Duarte de Sande—29.08.1595 in Ricci, 2001; Sievernich, 2006; Standaert, 2008b; Thaurén, 1927). As a result, further adjusting adaptations to “*creatively put into practice* [emphasis added]” (Standaert, 2008b, p. 172) Valignano’s tool kit to the Chinese environment remained necessary. However, doing so characterized the strength of the Jesuit’s Accommodation approach to guide conversion/change in a Chinese environment at that time.

It still characterizes it to this day.

Appendix V: *Gaining Footholds (1583-1595)*

“FROM THE VERY depths of discouragement there suddenly appeared a new ray of hope” (Gallagher, 1953, p. 144). Guo Yingpin’s prove of the official Chinese attitude change towards the Jesuits caught Fathers and Macao by surprise (Gallagher, 1953). There was no doubt amongst those involved in the missionizing enterprise, that *Taishou’s* unexpected repositioning after his vehement xenophobic attacks/orders and his renewed invitation permitting Ruggieri and Ricci to return to Zhaoqing and “to take over a piece of property granted by the State for the erection of a church and a house” (p. 144) could only be understood as a sign of God’s mercifulness and divine interference that opened the closed door to spread Christianity within the needy Chinese Empire (Bernard-Maitre, 1937; Ricci, 2010a). But even if this “porta sì serrata ai predicatori del Santo evangelio” (Ricci, 2010a, p. 125) was opened by divine power or simply due to Ruggieri’s early preparatory work, the Fathers had to seize the chance and to quickly prepare what was thought necessary for the venture (Bernard-Maitre, 1937; Ricci, 2010a). As most of the European benefactors of Ruggieri’s earlier undertakings feared a new disaster—mainly for their money (Gallagher, 1953)—munificence was a rare event. New pecuniary sources were thus much-needed. But help was within reach. Gaspar Viegas, a Portuguese merchant, renowned for his generosity, commercial skills, and religious zeal, provided “cento scudi” (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:178 N. 231) for the cadre to make all the necessary preparations (Bernard-Maitre, 1937; D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:178 N. 231; Letter of Matteo Ricci to Claudio Acquaviva—13.02.1583 in Ricci, 2001). Also Francisco Cabral—after his inglorious stay in Japan at that time Rector of the Macanese College (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:169 N. 222)—and further monetarily contributing supporters to the *China Mission* arranged for additional influx of money (Bernard-Maitre, 1937; D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:178 N. 231; Ricci, 2010a). In so having everything in place for their newly leap in the dark, Ruggieri and Ricci seized the long longed-and-prayed-for opportunity, the money, and the secular and religious paraphernalia and followed the very messenger back to Zhaoqing (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:179 N. 232).

Being vested with the residence permit, armed with their good reputation for erudition, unselfishness and serviceability, equipped with their moral austerity that had already impressed their Chinese interlocuteurs during preceding visits (Brockey, 2007), and clothed with their pre-acquired level of earlier recommended external adaptation and congruity, the Fathers finally arrived after some days of undisturbed travel on 10 September 1583 at *Taishou's* Seat (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Fabio de Fabii—12.11.1592 in Ricci 2001).

After *Jingjiao*-景教-Nestorian Mission/Luminous Religion of the Eastern Syriac Church of the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries (Criveller, 2003; Kim, 2004; Smith, 1903; Standaert et al., 2001; von Collani, 2012b), and the missionizing achievements of Giovanni di Montecorvino O.F.M. (1247-1328), Odoric di Pordenone O.F.M. (c.1286-1331), James of Ireland O.F.M. (?-1330), and Andrea da Perugia O.F.M. (?-1332) during the Mongolian Yuanchao-元朝-Yuan Dynasty (1271-1368) (Hsü, 2000; Corradini, 1997; Criveller, 1997, 2003; Johns, 2016; Kim, 2004; Rosso, 1948; Smith, 1903; Standaert et al., 2001; Tiedemann, 2009a), the Jesuits' attempt to gain permanent footholds *in the midst of wolves* now opened a new phase to *win China for Christ* (Rienstra, 1986).

It is from this day in autumn 1583 on that the next step on the Jesuits' *via experientiae* is to be taken forward.

Being back at the *commodo luogo* in Zhaoqing (Letter of Francesco Cabral—08.12.1584 in Rienstra, 1986), Ruggieri and Ricci were immediately brought before Wang Pan (Ricci, 2010a) who questioned the missionaries about their background and intention—a fact that allows the impression that the Jesuits were to some degree under arrest or at least under official supervision (Rienstra, 1986). Their official status notwithstanding, the Fathers—by the help of an interpreter and displaying their already achieved external adaptation and congruity to Chinese *wenhua*—sought to make a favourable impression *on the Pharaoh* while simultaneously playing on their image to claim their desire (Gen. 45:18).

To describe the Jesuits' point of origin, the interpreter used *Tianzhu*-天竺-India's historical name to simply indicate the Fathers' "ultime parti dell'occidente" (Ricci, 2010a, p. 127). The Chinese officials, however, by seeing *heshang*-和尚-Buddhist monks kneeling on the ground floor (Gallagher, 1953), misled by the respective homonymy (Capurro, 2002), referred the answer religiously to Buddhism and not locally to Europe (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:180 N. 234). In so taking the same road on which St. Francis Xavier had already got lost some years earlier (Fischer-Brunkow, 2002; Ross, 1999), this (mutual) misunderstanding gave the Father's background, image, and strive for (religious/ethical) alignment and their respective eagerness to establish a particular visible internal and external adaptation to/congruity with the Chinese cultural imperative an at least misleading twist (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:180 N. 234; Kim, 2004). It is in this regard that the interpreter's careless use of a Buddhist term/deity *Tianzhu*-天主-Lord of Heaven (Kim, 2004) to refer to Ruggieri and Ricci's professional background strengthened this impression (Capurro, 2002; Ricci, 2010a).

Detailing the purpose of their coming to China, the missionaries (re)stressed their desire to

- settle permanently within the Empire (Ricci, 2010a);
- build house and church to worship *Tianzhu* "apart from the noisy traffic of merchants" (Gallagher, 1953, p. 147); and
- go on doing this on their own expense and without giving any cause for mistrust and complaint in China until their hour of death (Ricci, 2010a).

In so complying with their allotted and cultivated image as well as with a Chinese customs that if the government could not prevent foreigners from entering, it could, in any case, prevent them from leaving (Hsü, 2000), the Fathers' aim to become civilizee (Standaert, 1997) to "high social visibility [underlined by author]" (Brockey, 2007, p. 244) convinced Wang Pan. As a result, the newly gained patron and protector hurried to assure his protection and validation *coram public* officially allowing the Padres to select a piece of land to their own liking and requirement (Harris, 1966; Ricci, 2010a).

Additionally, he promised to expedite *Taishou's* decision and to make sure that Guo Yingpin would sanction the permit (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:183 N. 234). With no time to lose the Padres went on looking for the mostly desired place (Ricci, 2010a). Accompanied and supported in their decision by their few Chinese acquaintances of their last stay in Zhaoqing, their guided choice fell on a lot of land within a larger compound that comprised *Huata*-花塔-the Flowery Tower and a temple to praise the merits of the reigning *Taishou* (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:185 N. 235). Immediately making their planned place known to Wang Pan, *Zhifu* could not think of a better area to choose as he was responsible for the auspicious lay out of the entire compound and hence, regarded the missionaries' choice and presence a literally upgrade. The Fathers—apparently ignorant of their hidden serviceability clothed in a subliminal but supportive flattery of Wang Pan—had to nonetheless wait for his and *Taishou's* ultimate *placet* (Gallagher, 1953). In the meantime the missionaries spend their time at the place of an almost-to-be neophyte and early supporter of the mission, (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:187 N. 236; Ricci, 2010a).

This young merchant—christened in 1584 on the name Giovanni as one of the first converts in China (Ricci, 2010a)—can be regarded as an unintended but highly important facilitator and catalyst of the entire *China Mission*. Living in the vicinity of *Tianningsi*—Ruggieri and Pasio's first lodging at Zhaoqing—the Fathers had entrusted their altar on the day of their forced emigration to Guangzhou to “the most Christian inhabitant of their acquaintance” (Gallagher, 1953, p. 148). During their absence, this true friend, comrade and (later) convert not simply deposited the religious artefact somewhere, but set up the *mensa domini* (1 Cor. 10:21) in a separate hall, decorated it with vases to burn incense following Chinese tradition, and—making it a worthy, religious place for his daily prayers to the *Unknown God* (Acts 17:23)—placed a sign in large letters above it reading *Tianzhu* (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:186 N. 236; Ricci, 2010a; Ross, 1948). In so emphasizing a similarity that echoed both the interpreter's later translation and a Chinese religious concept/tradition, this particular *Chinese Other* involuntarily initiated an (religious/ethical) alignment of the Jesuit Mission to/congruity with its Chinese environment (Kim, 2004).

Doing so, he also unknowingly charted the course of the Jesuits' entire undertaking to *win China for Christ*. Having in the first instance readily accepted *Tianzhu* as an archetype of/topos in the entire missionizing approach and writings that proved to be very becoming to the Chinese in general and to Chinese converts in particular (Ricci, 2010a), the Fathers later preferred the use of *Tianzhu* also as a triple shortcut to

- deal with problems related to the Chinese language, langue, and parole;
- (over)emphasize similarities; and
- allow for pragmatic appropriation via (religious/ethical) alignment.

In so doing, the Fathers also complied with a practical necessity: to Ricci's tone-deaf ear Chinese had no D for Deus (Brockey, 2007; Letter of Matteo Ricci to Martino de Fornari—13.02.1583 in Ricci, 2001, 2010a). They further avoided St. Francisco Xavier's problems in repressing Buddhist religion in Japan that resulted from a misleading homonymy while *japanizing* the Latin word *Deus* (Fischer-Brunkow, 2002; Ricci, 2010a). But first and foremost, the Padres followed the suggestions of Chinese friends and based the missionizing approach on the following understanding:

- Chinese natural religion has already ingrained the Christian God (Kim, 2004; Ricci, 2005b)—in so equating the “*analogia fra il termine Tianzhu e Shangdi*” (Ricci, 2010a, p. 134) as found in the classical Chinese texts with the meaning of God (Ricci, 2010a) and as later stressed in *Tianzhu Shiyi*-天主实义-The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven (Ricci, 1985)
- Confucius' description of *Tian*-天 and *Shangdi*-上帝 is based on reason alone (Corradini, 1997; Kim, 2004)—in so linking *Rujiao*-儒教-Confucianism and *Tianzhu jiao*-天主教-Christianity in a Eusebian logic of *Praeparatio Evangelica* (Mras, 1954; Thaurén, 1927).

Unfortunately, this bridging project towards (over)emphasizing similarities by means of (religious/ethical) alignment already carried the seed of misunderstanding and disaster.

For the time being however, merging meaning and bringing together concepts was the way to achieve the following:

- Reduce barriers of change
- Allow all Chinese to pray to Heaven as a person (Standaert, 1991a), and hence, to enable them to give up to gain, that is to seek transition to Catholicism

and—regarding the Fathers—

- Survive the fate of a daytaler in the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord*

At the feast of *The Exaltation of the Holy Cross* (14.09.1583) (Ricci, 2010a), and despite lasting opposition amongst certain *Guanfu* (Ricci, 2001) who found it highly inappropriate and/or dangerous to share the area with foreigners (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:187/189 N. 238/241; Ricci, 2010a), Wang Pan delivered on his promise. On the following day, he granted the parcel of land within the compound to the Jesuits (Bernard-Maitre, 1937; Ricci, 2010a) who hastened to prove their already achieved external adaptation and congruity by kowtowing to the official “secondo il costume di questa nazione” (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:187 N. 237). Unfortunately, the already constituting mistook role-concept of the missionaries yielded its first misunderstanding. The chosen area proved to be too small for the construction of both a chapel and a house (Ricci, 2010a). Different from the Fathers' outward appearance, their assigned|adopted image, and Chinese assumption, Wang Pan had to learn that the foreign to-be-constructors did not worship numerous idols which could be easily put into an existing pagoda but prayed to only one God, The Lord in Heaven (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:188 N. 238), who is on His own (Ex. 20:3), does not share His tabernacle and tent with other idols, and hence, deserves an unsoiled place of worship (Ex. 26). Much to the unfortunately uncorrected puzzlement of *Zhifu* and his *Guanfu*-entourage, the official yielded to the necessity and enlarged the lot of land (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:188 N. 238). However, to save face, to prove that he had still everything under control, and to demonstrate his admiration and support for the Fathers, the circuit officer seized the opportunity and impressed upon the Padres some new orders (Ricci, 2010a).

Doing so, he commanded the missionaries to not invite/bring in further foreigners—regardless of their national/spiritual orientation—and to strictly adhere to Chinese rules and regulations (Ricci, 2010a).

In so reconciling for the time being the smouldering xenophobia amongst his fellow scholar-officials and citizen, Wang Pan avoided to be regarded as being too close to foreign elements (Gallagher, 1953), too weak to administer, or both.

With the two vassals of China (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Claudio Acquaviva—13.02.1583 in Ricci, 2001) readily accepting the order, simultaneously proving wisdom or harmlessness, *Zhifu* created a win-win situation.

As a result, the high ranking patron and protector secured ongoing protection and validation for the missionaries. To such an extent rewarding the level of external adaptation and congruity and serviceability, *Zhifu* facilitated the Padres' undertaking of

- settling in China to worship God (Ricci, 2010a); and
- learning spoken and literary *quanhua* “in order to be able reciprocally to share” (Letter of Michele Ruggieri—25.01.1584 in Rienstra, 1986, p. 21) their language with the Chinese (Ricci, 2010a).

Whatever hidden agenda or mutual civilizing project was in fact and in spite of all the overt display of Chineseness (Wang, 1991a) on whose mind, be it

- *Zhifu's* possible ambitions to assuage either his scientific curiosity or his desire for luxury goods by the help of the Fathers (Ricci, 2010a; Letter of Michele Ruggieri – 07.02.1583 in Rienstra, 1986); or
- missionaries' (diversionary) effort “to edify these Gentiles by the example of [...] [their] life” (p. 19), behaviour, and virtue, and “to learn to read better and to understand their books in order to refute their [religious and spiritual] errors” (p.19) and to explain own concepts (Brockey, 2007),

the lowlands of being a constructor distracted at least the Padres from pursuing theirs.

Besides the vexatious question of how to pay the entire building when purses are empty and financial support from Macao is a long time coming (Ricci, 2010a), the missionaries had to realize that despite their strive for external adaptation and congruity, Wang Pan's facilitating and catalysing endeavours, the official's validation, and his efforts to become the Fathers' patron and protector, the xenophobic attitude still remained amongst the townsfolk (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Claudio Acquaviva—0.11.1584 in Ricci, 2001; Rienstra, 1986), some lower ranking Chinese officials, and the site management (Gallagher, 1953).

To prevent the Fathers from striking root, at least in the area around the *Flowery Tower*, the Chinese party took to some heavy Chinese cultural ordnance. They resorted to the concept of lucky and unlucky days (Ricci, 2010a). However, in their (overeager) aim to gain and secure foothold in China, the missionaries abandoned prudence and insight into their nicely cultivated Chineseness. Following their own conviction that there is no such thing as superstition, they informed the Chinese officials that they did not want to wait for “a day of more propitious omen to begin the work” (Gallagher, 1953, p. 151). Fortunately, rain postponed work and further trouble that might have grown from the Fathers' over-eagerness, their unready internal adaptation and congruity with *wenhua* (Wang, 1991c), their inconsiderate setting of boundaries, and/or the always latent culture clash when dealing with *Fangui*-番鬼-foreign devils (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:203 N. 257). A later agreement to move the construction site to a less prominent place—at least in the eyes of the Chinese—solved the issue completely (Ricci, 2010a).

However, this somehow marginal dispute revealed the crucial shortfall of the current Accommodation endeavour as the Fathers' (culturally deeply-ingrained) incompetence to fully comply with the entire *wenhua* (Wang, 1991c)

- limited both their internal and external adaptation and congruity;
- hampered their effort to accomplish equilibrium via religio-cultural relationship; and
- prompted foes, competitors, and rivals to act.

Unfortunately, the inherent fragility of the entire undertaking of accommodating missionaries and Gospel to a Chinese environment was not limited to the inability of fully complying with *wenhua* only. While aiming at external adaptation and congruity and (over)emphasizing similarities further problems with regard to *wenming* arose.

However, by end of 1583/at the beginning of 1584

- the teething-problems of securing a location in Zhaoqing seemed to be solved (Gallagher, 1953);
- the lot of land was officially conveyed to the Fathers (Ricci, 2010a);
- an official *gaoshi*-告示-announcement permitted Ruggieri and Ricci to walk freely in Zhaoqing, to go to Macao, and to travel “a tutte le alter parti della Cina che volessero” (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:190 N. 242); and
- the Fathers’ reputation and esteem in the eyes of the officials, curiosity seekers, and the townsfolk had started to grow (Letter of Michele Ruggieri—25.01.1584 in Rienstra, 1986).

To further show his admiration for the Fathers and to honour the Jesuits’ residence Guo Yingpin—impressed of the Fathers’ erudition and civilization (Ricci, 2010a)—bestowed a special favour upon the Padres that “the Chinese held in high esteem” (Gallagher, 1953, p. 158). Doing so, he sent over

- a poem praising the virtue of the foreign priests (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:199 N. 254; Letter of Michele Ruggieri—30.05.1584 in Rienstra, 1986); and
- two dedicatory plaques reading *Xianhuasi*-仙花寺-Fairy Flower Monastery and *Xilaijingtū*-西来净土-Pure Land from the West (Rienstra, 1986) to be fixed distinctly/visibly at the Church’s outer wall and inside the chapel.

Notwithstanding the intent, this written show of high esteem took the form of a Greek gift. Unintendedly, it became a mixed blessing for the Fathers and the entire missionizing undertaking to come.

By applying Buddhist terms/concepts in the tablets (Ricci, 2010a; Rienstra, 1986), and by introducing *heshang|seng-僧*-Buddhist priest to establish the Fathers' name and title, the apparent well-meaning, now facilitating and catalysing act of a patron and protector pushed the Padres'

- effort for external adaptation and congruity;
- wish to further the bridging project; and
- desire to establish and (over)emphasize similarities with the receiving Chinese culture

towards an, at its best, unintended, misleading direction. It unintentionally moved Christianity near a Buddhist sect. As a result, the Fathers,

- unaware of constituent language, langue, and parole of literary *guanhua*;
- ignorant of the religious connotations that came with Chinese words and phrases (Kim, 2004); and
- unable to renounce the presents due to the way they understood Chinese culture, customs, etiquette,

cemented a misleading (religious/ethical) alignment and “social visibility” (Brockey, 2007, p. 244).

Being an official token of high-hierarchical esteem, this misleading (religious/ethical) alignment nonetheless proved to be helpful to attenuate xenophobic attacks. It secured protection and validation that—emitting from the high ranking patron and protector—got through to all social strata.

Unfortunately, the entire activity proved to be little supportive when it came *to win China for Christ* from within the Fathers' still small and feeble *guanxi*-relationships (personally) inside out.

It is in this context that Ruggieri's and Ricci's (un)intended tactical movements to enact Valignano's policy of cultural adaptation to/congruity with the Chinese cultural imperative (Standaert, 1997, 2008b; Zürcher, 1994) illustrate three basic shortcomings|three basic necessities the Fathers missed to consider or to take account of. **Table 2** summarizes the three basics.

Three basic shortcomings Three basic necessities	
1.	Learning <u>spoken and literary <i>guanhua</i></u> is a basic necessity for a correct, non-misleading <u>pragmatic appropriation</u> of foreign concepts. It is only subsequently a means to <u>(over)emphasize similarities</u> or to refute errors of the <i>Chinese Others</i>
2.	Understanding foreign procedures and penetrating their cultural background and motivators is a basic necessity for efficient <u>internal and external adaptation and congruity</u> , for becoming civilizee (Standaert, 1997) to (the essential, or aspired) “high social visibility” (Brockey, 2007, p. 244)
3.	Aiming at initializing a “ <u>civilizing project [underlined by author]</u> ” (Standaert, 1997, p. 610) that enables both parties to be(come) each other’s <u>mutual civilizer and civilizee</u> is a basic necessity to allow the receiving party to anticipate the outcome of their actions, to force open the prevailing ethnocentrism, to hold off a possible culture clash, and to avoid related culturally motivated misunderstandings

Table 30: Three basic shortcomings|Three basic necessities

Table 2: Three basic shortcomings|Three basic necessities, based on Brockey (2007); Standaert (1997), compiled by author

As during the following years Fathers and *China Mission* matured, these shortcomings became clear, cleared, and solved—sometimes in a different way from what was intended.

For the time being however, difficulties and problems seemed far away. The question of residence was solved, the Fathers knew where to lay their heads (Mt. 8:20) and bend their knees (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Giambattista Román—13.09.1583 in Ricci, 2001), and the image of the Holy Virgin (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:194 N. 247; Gallagher, 1953) as well as the other curious Western books and objects finally found a place to be stored away, stared at and worshipped (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:189 N. 240). Thanks to these propitious circumstances, the incessant stream of curiosity seekers (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:193 N. 247) and Wang Pan’s constant prove of admiration, support, and networking (Brockey, 2007; D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:190 N. 243; Letter of Matteo Ricci to Giambattista Román—13.09.1583 in Ricci, 2001), the missionaries’ aim to *gain footholds* by complying with Valignano’s *modo soave cinese* (Ross, 1999) and by hobnobbing with Chinese officials went on much to the pleasure of Chinese and Fathers (Letter of Michele Ruggieri—30.05.1584 in Rienstra, 1986).

The “civilizing project [underlined by author]” (Standaert, 1997, p. 610)—aimed at implementing the Jesuits’ *modus procedendi sinensis* in an appropriate trial-and-error style while taking into consideration “time, place, and persons” (Letter of Ignatius Loyola to Those sent to the Missions—08.10.1552 in Young, 1959, p. 269)—took deeper roots and apparently also grew. Despite all the efforts to become civilizee (Standaert, 1997) to “high social visibility [underlined by author]” (Brockey, 2007, p. 244) and the Fathers’ willingness to seek own transition to strengthen their own position in Zhaoqing (Brockey, 2007), what not took root was the Gospel and what did not grow was the Flock. However, this apparently unsuccessful, restrained behaviour was in line with Valignano’s policy decision (Standaert, 1997, 2008b; Zürcher, 1994). It catered to the Fathers’ intentions of gaining permanent foothold in China (Brockey, 2007). In so really not wishing “to baptize, even though there are several who seek it” (Letter of Michele Ruggieri—30.05.1584 in Rienstra, 1986, p. 22), the Padres’ passive approach (Brockey, 2007; Hsü, 2000) of *winning China* and the Chinese *for Christ* matched their aim of “stabilire la [...] stata, perché i christiani teniamo sicuri” (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Claudio Acquaviva—30.11.1584 in Ricci, 2001, p. 93). To thus enable change that could be implemented and guided as a leaven (Mt. 13:33) from within (Hsü, 2000), required the following:

- Proceed “with great adroitness and suavity, and not with indiscreet fervor” (Letter of Michele Ruggieri—25.01.1584 in Rienstra, 1986, p. 21)
- Not give offence, neither to possible future converts, nor to the Gentiles, nor to the church of God (1 Cor. 32)
- Allow possible converts “to grow more in the knowledge and desire of the things Divine [by slowly moving towards the kernel of disputed problems and religious fundamentals (religiously/philosophically) outside in], and in order not to give occasion to the Demon if some would then leave the faith in these beginning times” (Letter of Michele Ruggieri—30.05.1584 in Rienstra, 1986 p. 22), i.e. Ricci’s “pochi e buoni” (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Girolamo Costa—06.03.1608 in Ricci, 2001, p. 455) to put the future spreading of the Gospel on solid ground

- Edify the Chinese by good example (Letter of Michele Ruggieri—07.02.1583 in Rienstra, 1986), i.e. by merging medium and message

In so blending past missionizing experiences, Valignano's earlier specifications, the missionaries' own decisions, and basic (tacit) suggestions and incitements of the *Chinese Others* (Standaert, 2002a, 2002b, 2003a), the Fathers went on preparing the *Chinese vineyard* to gain a permanent harvest and foothold in China in the time to come.

Despite all the efforts to match their hosts and to edify a *refuge* (Ps. 46), the Fathers remained *strangers in a strange land* (Ex. 2:22). As the Chinese remained unpredictable, the fragility of the situation and the whole endeavour—though not unknown to the Fathers per se—went on (Brockey, 2007).

Even if “fears of provoking popular unrest were somewhat allayed by

- the good relations [...] [the Fathers] maintained with the educated elite of the region” (Brockey, 2007, p. 34); and
- official *gaoshi* that “strictly prohibited under pain of severe punishment” (Gallagher, 1953, p. 153) to bother the Padres (Ricci, 2010a),

further, more sophisticated and targeted preparatory efforts were necessary to not only ward off xenophobia and to ramp up the still seely edifice of *guanxi*-relationships, but also to increase the degree of permanence and self-support in the missionaries' foothold. Assuring more patrons and protectors from within a nonetheless growing *guanxi*-relationship thus remained vital. To do so, the Padres took to Ruggieri's tried-and-tested tactical movements in order to pursue their hidden agenda of both securing their “accepted place in Chinese life” (Leys, 1987, p. 39) and fostering an “apostolate of influence” (de Saldanha, 2012, p. 157) to finally

- prepare the ground to passively apply the subject of Religion and Faith by merely interspersing the things divine into their conversations with their learned interlocuteurs top down and (religiously/philosophically) outside in;
- *win China for Christ* without giving suspicion to the people by talking directly about religion (Brockey, 2007).

Doing so, they went on

- piquing and satisfying their Chinese environment's (scientific) curiosity (Brockey, 2007; Hsü, 2000);
- referring to/freely applying their erudition, European knowledge, and related practical learning (Elman, 2005; Flichy, 2012; Ricci, 2010a; Wang, 1991b); and
- proving their unselfishness and serviceability to their currently favoured target-audience (Letter of Michele Ruggieri—07.02.1583 in Rienstra, 1986).

With Ricci on Ruggieri's coat-tail doing all the three at once was even easier than with Pasio before him (Brockey, 2007).

It was in this regard that the display of precious European vellum-bound books in the missionaries' library, the presentation of religious oil paintings, and the Fathers' academic lectures on European *scientia* (Elman, 2005) to the incessant stream of curiosity seekers top down became the missionaries' daily preoccupation (Brockey, 2007; D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:195 N. 250; D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:212 N. 265; Ricci, 2010a), the entrance card to the illustrious social stratum of Late Ming Literati (Elman, 2014; 2005), and one further step towards a lasting *China Mission*.

What finally helped to upgrade card and seat however, was a precious item that travelled with Ricci to Zhaoqing and that now hung on a prominent wall inside the Jesuit Residence (Day, 1995; D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:207 N. 262). The *mappa mundi*—apparently a re-print of Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* of 1570 (Day, 1995)—became one lasting tactical medium to secure an “accepted place in Chinese life” (Leys, 1987, p. 39) and amongst the Literati and Elite top down. Doing so, the map

- fostered exchange with Chinese scholar-officials on eye level (Elman, 2005; Ricci, 2010a);
- convinced the learned Chinese “to accept [*Xixue*-西学-]Western learning [...] as an alternate form of the investigation of things and a confirmation of Chinese ancient learning” (Elman, 2005, p. 116);

- accomplished the Fathers' aim of confirming their erudite image and "impressing the Chinese with their learning [in order] [...] to show [that] they were not barbarians" (Day, 1995, p. 96); and
- de-emphasized "the mystical aspects of Catholic doctrine" (Day, 1995, p. 96) while broaching "the subject of the primary cause behind the perfect order of the universe" (Brockey, 2007, p. 34) (religiously/philosophically) outside in.

In so casting a perfect Chinese bait to serve *the fishers of men* (Mk. 1:17) (Wang, 1991b), the Fathers' educated Chinese visitors were impressed. They were also ready to spread the news within their own ranks (personally) inside out to come and see the foreign curiosity, learn about European *scientia*, and, *nolens volens*, be confronted with the fundamentals of Christianity (religiously/philosophically) outside in (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:212 N. 265). However, what initially took the form of simply assuaging (scientific) curiosity of the majority of the Literati soon became a medium to prove the Fathers' trustworthiness, unselfishness and serviceability by means of a fruitful exchange of hitherto unknown information to a facilitating and catalysing patron and protector of Fathers and *China Mission*. It was in this regard that Wang Pan asked Ricci to print a similar map from a woodblock in Chinese (Letter of Matteo Ricci—30.11.1584 in Rienstra, 1986) to be distributed across China for his reputation and that of the Padres (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:207 N. 262; D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:212 N. 263; Ricci 2010a). In so giving freely European knowledge and related practical learning to their Chinese patrons and protectors, Ricci built on existing *fugu*-复古-(antique) Chinese knowledge (Elman, 2005) as he added to and complemented Chinese maps and knowledge (Day, 1995; Wang, 1991b). This demonstration of congruity and complementarity (Letter of Matteo Ricci—30.11.1584 in Rienstra, 1986) between practical learning and European *scientia* further strengthened the already on-going mutual civilizing project. Additionally, Ricci's *Yudi Shanhai Quantu*-輿地山海全图-"*Complete Map of the Earth's Mountains and Seas*" (Elman, 2005, p. 127) of October 1584—and his later versions that "shifted the layout of the map eastward to Ortelius's 180° longitude [leaving Japan to the east, the Pacific Ocean in the centre, and Europe, Africa,

and Asia to the west] so that China [could nearly appear] [...] in the middle of the map” (Day, 1995, p. 96)—reduced Chinese concerns vis-à-vis the Fathers (Letter of Matteo Ricci—30.11.1584 in Rienstra, 1986).

This upgrade in high-ranking Chinese attitude notwithstanding, the Fathers’ scientific, astronomic, and academic detours became first of all the tacit, non-threatening but effective means to achieve the following:

- Concretely exemplify God’s existence in/impact on the world (Elman, 2005; Kim, 2004)—(religiously/intellectually) inside out from basic religious practices to more sophisticated forms, and (religiously/intellectually) outside in by gradually moving towards the kernel of disputed problems
- Spread Christian ideals and ideas through a widening circle of sympathetic contacts (Hsü, 2000)—(personally) inside out from within the developing *guanxi*-relationship to other like-minded Literati, and (locally) inside out in the officials’ mind and luggage back to their offices and homes in the neighbouring Provinces, or further towards Beijing and in front of the Dragon Throne (Brockey, 2007)

As a result, the entire curious items nicely draped and scattered around the house took the form of a discreet entrance into/effective impetus towards Catholic doctrine (Brockey, 2007) (religiously/philosophically) outside in. They became a bridging project towards accomplishing equilibrium via religio-cultural relationship, and a flash point to achieving (religious/ethical) alignment.

If the possible prospects more or less actively enquired into the subject and the (inter)dependence between practical learning and Gospel—or the Padres purposely wove the issue into the conversation (Gallagher, 1953)—the Jesuits voluntarily related their Faith to it. Interestingly, those who did not ask were often totally unaware of the Fathers’ ulterior motive, or at least doubted any hidden missionizing agenda underlying the missionaries’ unconditional display of knowledge, unselfishness and serviceability (Young, 1983). In their private exchange with those interlocuteurs “who were interested in the religious customs of the Christian world” (Gallagher, 1953, p. 156) however, the Fathers discussed Catholic doctrine and Chinese religion more openly.

During these (initial) *Kerygmatic* conversations—mainly via interpreters (Ricci, 2010a)—the missionaries followed the *Paulinian* way (Gnilka, 1996). Doing so, they avoided going too much into the apparently unacceptable and unappetizing details of the Faith (Oberholzer, 2010) which seem to oppose Chinese taste or culture and thus impeded an unburdened discussion (Brockey, 2007). Instead, to advance their (later-to-be-fruitful) exchange (religiously/philosophically) outside in, the Padres first sought to emphasize similarities with Chinese practical morality and natural reason (Schatz, 2000b). To do so, they based their explanation on (religious/ethical) alignment and the fact that

- “Christen law was in perfect accord with the innate light of conscience” (Gallagher, 1953, p. 156)—“tanto conformi alla ragione e legge naturale” (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:194 N. 248); and
- the “most ancient of the Chinese scholars had approached to this same doctrine of Christianity in their writings, centuries before the appearance of the idols” (Gallagher, 1953, p. 156).

In this regard, they catered to both the mind-set of their erudite interlocuteurs (Bettray, 1955; Brockey, 2007; Oberholzer, 2010) and their own adherence to the *lex naturalis* as understood in both Europe and China to be the same (Kolvenbach, 1998; Ricci, 2010a; Thaurén, 1927). This all stressed the “falsità delle sette degli idoli” (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:195 N. 250). To such an extent setting boundaries with the Buddho-Daoist admixtures, the Fathers (over)emphasized similarities with *Rujiao*. They further initiated a bridging project that prepared a common ground (Zürcher, 1993) to which the Gospel was simply adding “the [lacking] supernatural as taught by God” (Gallagher, 1953, p. 156) while unsheathing the *Anima naturaliter Christiana* (Thaurén, 1927).

To finally “reach [...] [an equalized/balanced] communion of faith and culture” (Law, 2009, para. 6), it was through this mutuality that enabling change, hence, seeking transition and conversion to a new but already known and now completed (Chinese) religion (*De Civitate Dei* – XIV, 17) became possible for a Chinese.

Besides this confidential tête-à-tête targeted to one or a small group of interested Literati and Elite, the Fathers understood the necessity to

- get beyond the city gates of Zhaoqing;
- be no longer dependent on oral marketing of well-meaning *Guanfu*; and
- avoid problems of letting others uncontrollably spread fame and Gospel by word of mouth.

To fulfil this need, the Padres took to a very supporting, handy, transportable means and standard Chinese tool. Following their aim to become civilizee to “high social visibility [underlined by author]” (Brockey, 2007, p. 244) by internal and external adaptation and congruity, the Fathers soon realized the importance and reputation of printed books in China (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:196 N. 252).

As printed products generally carry truth among this people (Elman, 2005; Gallagher, 1953), the Padres rationalized their thinking, exposed their arguments, and spread the Gospel either openly or covered but always nicely packed and binded amongst their visitors in Zhaoqing, and as an advance party that paved the way and gave tidings of the learned priests of the west (1 Thes. 1:8) throughout the Empire by help of accompanying bookcases.

In so disseminating European practical morality, practical learning, and natural reason amongst the Chinese recipients by the help of tracts, books, and scholarly pieces of multiple provenance (Elman, 2005) (personally and locally) as well as (religiously/intellectually) inside out, the Padres proved their

- degree of sophistication regarding their already acquired level of *Chineseness*, hence, internal and external adaptation and congruity;
- fitness to serve their Chinese hosts by proving their unselfishness and serviceability, and to complement the prevailing circumstances;
- nearness to their educated addressees; and
- level of similarity with their harbouring Chinese civilization.

Once initiated, the task added to the Jesuits’ *modo soave cinese* (Ross, 1999).

Finally complementing their Chinese missionizing toolbox to *gain China for Christ*, it became a particular necessity, matter of course, and well-known pattern that pervaded the entire *China Mission* (Bettray, 1955; D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:198 N. 253; Franke, 1967; Standaert et al., 2001; von Collani, 2012b) until its inglorious, forced end in 1742.

For the time being however, going the extra mile was not necessary (Brockey, 2007). The Padres stuck to their last and remained on a (pleasing) religious terrain (Ricci, 2010a). Proving accord with “raggione e legge naturale” (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:194 N. 248) and parading (religious/ethical) alignment, the Fathers measured up to their Chinese hosts’ expectations. Doing so, they compiled a Chinese translation of *Zhudaowen*-主祷文-Paternoster, *Zuchuan Tianzhu Shijie*-祖传天主十诫-Ten Commandments, and *Shengmujing*-圣母经-Ave Maria with the help of their Chinese tutors and support of their Chinese friends (Ricci, 2010a). Additionally, Ruggieri composed *Tianzhu Shilu*-天主实录-The Veritable Record of the Lord of Heaven. In this *Apologetic in dialogue Form* between a Chinese pagan and an European priest (Letter of Matteo Ricci—30.11.1584 in Rienstra, 1986), Ruggieri refuted in sixteen chapters (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:198 N. 253) “alcuni punti delle sette della Cina [...] [and introduced the principle points of the Catholic Faith to his dedicated readers] specialmente quelli che si potevano più facilmente intendere col lume naturale” (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:197-198 N. 253). Simultaneously (over)emphasizing similarities and stressing differences to finally accomplish equilibrium via religio-cultural relationship, this first book ever printed by foreigners in China and spread around the country in 1200 copies (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:197 N. 253) could be considered the Fathers’ finger exercise of their literary *guanhua* (Rienstra, 1986).

Still collaborated with/assisted by a *Chinese Other* who was not to blame for slipping in some pragmatically appropriated Buddhist wording (Kim, 2004; Lancashire & Hu, 1985), the Padres’ printing endeavour blurred existing boundaries with their primary addressees.

As this customized printing endeavour became the social-ranks-independent groundwork for all religious tracts, exhortations, and books to come, the particular bridging project lowered barriers of change to finally enable conversion. To do so, the Fathers' xylographic line of attack targeted their Chinese dialogue partners

- from within the *guanxi*-relationships top down as well as (personally); and
- in a broadening movement towards spreading more sophisticated forms of the Faith (religiously/intellectually) inside out.

For the time being, however, compiling and printing Chinese books remained a veritable proof of the Padres'

- internal adaptation to and congruity with their enclosing *wenhua*;
- strive for congruity and complementarity with the keystones of their surrounding erudite milieu; and
- unselfishness and serviceability to a knowledgeable class.

Despite the endeavours to intellectually ensnare *Guanfu* and to become wolves among the (learned) wolves, the learned target group did “not easily pass over to a new [foreign, apparently marginal (Standaert 1997)] religion” (Gallagher, 1953, p. 201). Business-collaterizing conversion amongst the erudite remained a positive side effect (Ricci, 2010a). Thus, forced to base the *commerce of conversion* on few high-ranking missionizing successes, solidifying and broadening their *guanxi*-relationships and fostering their “apostolate of influence” (de Saldanha, 2012, p. 157) in the passive way top down and (personally) inside out remained a strategic necessity (Brockey, 2007).

Nonetheless provided with a free moving space to actively hold down the job of charity (Ricci, 2010a), the Fathers were able to deal with the spiritual needs, and personal and social crises of the “outcasts, the destitutes, the terminally ill, illiterate rustics, [orphans], and uncultured artisans” (Brockey, 2007, p. 35) bottom up (Brockey, 2007; Elman, 2005; Ricci, 2010a).

Actively profiting by top-ranking rear cover to give rest to those who labour and are heavy laden (Mt. 11:28, Jer. 31:25), it was no wonder that the first catch of *the fishers of men* (Mk. 1:17) in China came from the lowest rank (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1: 195 N. 251). But even if one could doubt the real will of the soon-deceased convert, the Fathers, being convinced that the biggest starts come from the smallest beginning (Mt. 13:31-32) (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1: 196 N. 251), prematurely came out of their closet. By “claiming converts in plebeian circles” (Brockey, 2007, p. 35) bottom up and (personally) inside out, the Padres became more visible to the lower ranking wolves. Unfortunately, they also became

- a subject of xenophobic attacks, rumours, allegations, and slander (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:204 N. 259; Ricci, 2010a) that ranged from simply being there and consuming space, stirring up civil commotion, disorderly conduct, dark magic, sexual harassment (!) to de facto murder and body stripping (Ricci, 2010a) with the grey zones in between becoming the more severe accusations to haunt the Fathers until the missionaries were officially expelled in 1742, i.e. infiltration and espionage, teaching *xiejiao*-邪教-heterodoxy, being *xie*-邪-heterodox or heteroprax “in a religious, ritual, social, and political sense” (Standaert, 2008b, p. 174) and so “to be treated as a subversive sect” (p. 174); or
- the people’s screen for all sorts of irrational hope of salvation and/or thaumaturgy (Brockey, 2007; Ricci, 2010a).

Regrettably, both circumstances carried the seed of irritation, complication, or at least interfering distraction. Twofold handicapped

- by their inability to make themselves understood in *fangyan* to “explain their message to a larger percentage of the population” (Brockey, 2007, p. 35), to remedy (far-fetched) assumptions, and to set clear boundaries; and
- through the Valignano-imposed order to exercise discretion,

the missionaries were still neither ready nor able to emancipate themselves from high-ranking patrons and protectors to secure a permanent foothold on their own in order to enter and farm the entire *Chinese vineyard of the Lord*.

Despite this unfortunate situation, the Fathers' could still go on banking on their hobnobbing with the Chinese elite, and on their investment in the broadening, qualitatively improving *guanxi*-relationships (Brockey, 2007; Ricci, 2010a). Profiting from the missionaries' (scientific) morning gifts, their proof of practical learning and introduction of European *scientia*, as well as from the multiple evidences of their serviceability, Wang Pan was over-ready to keep the Padres *sub suum praesidium* to take care of their necessities while the high(er)-ranking *Chinese Others* were willing to go on acquiring (new/more) patrons and protectors in the missionaries' favour (Ricci, 2010a).

The tactical activities of securing a permanent foothold in China and establishing a basis for future missionizing efforts still dominated the Fathers daily deeds of preparing both Mission and missionaries for work and time to come. However, ground-breaking shifts in the Jesuits' Accommodation approach and a re-focus of their proselytization activities were not a long time coming. Even if the majority of conversions went on coming "from the same humble milieu [bottom up] [...] [further] social legitimation for the mission" (Brockey, 2007, p. 35) came on the day of *Praesentatio Beatae Mariae Virginis* (21.11.1584) with the first surviving harvest in the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord* (Letter of Francesco Cabral—08.12.1584 in Rienstra, 1986).

Visiting the residence in Zhaoqing, Cabral baptized the first two higher ranking Chinese (Ricci, 2010a). These "two grains of the first-fruits of China" (Letter of Francesco Cabral—08.12.1584 in Rienstra, 1986, p. 27) added to the meaning and importance of the *Chinese Others* in the Fathers' *commerce of conversion*. Both neophytes had a share in the *China Mission's* progress, organization, and image.

The first comrade and convert—baptized on the name Paolo—was a Literati and *Xiucai* 秀才-Licentiate degree holder from Fujian Province (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:219 N. 274) and hence, a member of the Elite. He stayed with the Fathers at their mission house in Zhaoqing to teach them Chinese, and to help them to put the *Apologetic* into acceptable, literary quanhua (Ricci, 2010a; Letter of Francesco Cabral—08.12.1584 in Rienstra, 1986).

In so establishing a mutual civilizing project, his nearness with the Padres and his daily encounter with the missionaries incarnating their holy message made him feel and fill a philosophical void, finally seeking transition in order to embark on the practical morality and natural reason that

- appealed to his learned self-concept (Gernet, 1985; Peterson, 1988);
- pervaded Ricci's easy digestible presentation of the Faith (Letter of Francesco Cabral—08.12.1584 in Rienstra, 1986); and
- added “the [lacking] supernatural as taught by God” (Gallagher, 1953, p. 156) to the neophyte's religious/moral value-canon (Peterson, 1988).

It is in this regard that the civilizing project of being each other's mutual civilizer and civilizees as well as Paolo's involvement, collaboration, and assistance in implementing and accomplishing the Fathers' religious writings finally tipped the scales. After his christening, he moved to Beijing for his higher education. On his way to the Northern Capital, he stopped by his family and converted his kinsmen (Letter of Francesco Cabral—08.12.1584 in Rienstra, 1986). This added a new lasting facet to the Jesuits' Accommodation approach. Sounding out the word of the Lord (1 Thess. 1:7-8) by way of emancipation and delegation, Paolo helped the Fathers to spread the Gospel to new addressees in person and in writing (Letter of Francesco Cabral—08.12.1584 in Rienstra, 1986)

- locally from the established (Zhaoqing) area, towards exposed nearby, previously untouched (Fujian) area—describing a *centrifugal movement inside out* and a *centripetal movement outside in* by carrying the Gospel probably later to Beijing—; and
- religiously and pastorally from Faith as an individual religious denomination towards Faith of families—describing a *centripetal movement outside in*.

The second comrade and convert—baptized on the name João—was the first to receive the Fathers in his house, the very one who had guarded the altar during the missionaries' absence, and who had established *Tianzhu* to describe the concept of God (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:186 N. 236; Kim, 2004; Ricci, 2010a; Letter of Francesco Cabral—08.12.1584 in Rienstra, 1986; Ross, 1948).

Like Paolo, João's conversion also rooted in

- a civilizing project of being each other's mutual civilizer and civilizees; and
- an accountability and unprepossessed participation that came from his unselfishness and serviceability towards the Fathers.

In any case, also the facilitating and catalysing João was involved, collaborated, and assisted the Fathers to spread the Gospel to new addressees. Capitalizing on tacit emancipation and delegation, the neophyte missionized amongst his neighbours in person and by the power of his reputation and good example (personally and locally) inside out (Ricci, 2010a; Letter of Francesco Cabral—08.12.1584 in Rienstra, 1986).

Over the time, the radius of the Fathers to spread the Gospel in Zhaoqing broadened and their visibility increased. As a result, the summer of 1589 saw a further movement towards bringing change and conversion into the nucleus of Chinese society. The baptism of the first higher-ranking women in China (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:261 N. 313; Ricci, 2010a) marked the end to the Fathers' male-dominated *commerce of conversion*. It

- anchored the civilizing project and the desire to seek transition in the bosom of the family (pastorally) outside in; and
- enabled parental comrades and converts to become facilitators and catalyst in spreading the Gospel via involvement, collaboration, and assistance from within an existing *guanxi*-relationship (personally) inside out.

Even if the Fathers did not jump on every occasion to proselytize and carefully stuck to Ricci's "pochi e buoni" (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Girolamo Costa—06.03.1608 in Ricci, 2001, p. 455) to not tread down the first plantlets in the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord* or jeopardize the entire harvesting business, the *China Mission's* assessment was a positive one (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:220 N. 274).

Echoing Valignano's policy decision of how to successfully gain footholds in China, Cabral marketed the status quo and the successes to everyone outside the Empire. Doing so, he stressed that "questa entrata era assai ferma e si poteva far in essa il fondamento che li doveva fare" (Ricci 2010a, p. 150).

As “la christianità [...] si cominciava ad accendere [...] ogni girone più” (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:261 N. 313) staffing the workforce to cater to the growing *vineyard* became necessary. Out of the virtually manageable amount of virtuous and willing candidates, António de Almeida (1557-1591) and Duarte de Sande (1547-1599) were sent into the *vineyard* by middle of 1585 to support Ruggieri and Ricci in their daily strive for *winning China for Christ* (Ricci, 2010a).

Profiting from the fruitful *guanxi*-relationship with Wang Pan and inspired by the first fruits of the Fathers’ initiated “apostolate of influence” (de Saldanha, 2012, p. 157), “Ruggieri [...] engineered a project [both] for expanding the Jesuit enterprise farther into the empire” (Brockey, 2007, p. 36) and for establishing new Residences (Ricci, 2010a) *per pedes apostolorum* as well as in the lee and by advice of their travelling high-ranking *Guanfu*-acquaintances.

To eventually carry Faith and conversion from the established areas towards the exposed nearby areas (locally) inside out, Ruggieri and de Almeida accompanied Wang Pan on his journey to Beijing or at least as far as Shaoxing, i.e. *Zhifu*’s hometown in Jiangnan-江南/today’s Zhejiang-浙江 Province—at that time a region economically highly developed and intellectually most active (Peterson, 1988)—in 1586 (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:148 N. 205; Ricci, 2010a). In 1587, Ruggieri accepted the advice of a well-disposed Chinese official to go to Guangxi and Huguang-湖广 Provinces (Ricci, 2010a) “solo con un interprete, et altri doi Cinesi per suo agiuto” (p. 158) to sound out the success of establishing a Residence there. Even if Ruggieri returned to Zhaoqing without having established new Residences, he nonetheless was on a learning curve. His excursion beyond the city gates unearthed the undoubtable truth that

- the Fathers’ degree of internal and external adaptation and congruity was still insufficient to remedy xenophobia and suspicion (Ricci, 2010a);
- better mastering quanhua was vital to dispense with the apparently anxious and well-meaning but nonetheless—in the truest sense of the word—often misleading interpreters to take matters in their own hands (Ricci, 2010a); and
- not all Chinese officials in the Empire were as friendly and supportive as Wang Pan (Ricci, 2010a).

To assure stability in their *commerce of conversion*, the Fathers had to step up more efforts to deeper root themselves and the *China Mission* in Chinese soil (Ricci, 2010a). Unfortunately, the situation back in Zhaoqing had deteriorated in the meantime. Popular resentments throughout the social strata had increased and ultimately boiled over as several homemade, local, and (geo-)political reasons coincided (Ricci, 2010a).

Aware of the less-supportive, verbal sabre-rattling that sounded over from Macao of those spreading rumours of a Spanish invasion into the Empire (Tamburello, 1997), having learned about Ruggieri's unfriendly reception during his trip into neighbouring provinces, and considering the increasingly negative attitude towards foreigners and the Zhaoqing-Fathers, Wang Pan was sounding the retreat (Ricci, 2010a). Following the administrative custom (Elman, 2000, 2014; Hsü, 2000), *Zhifu*—who had facilitated and catalysed the Mission and acted as patron and protector of Mission and missionaries—was finally “rotated to assignments elsewhere in China” (Brockey, 2007, p. 35). This gradually deprived the Fathers his support. Thus, short of the last real rear cover, the Padres were left alone amongst the wolves. As a result, their situation became more and more insecure and the entire *commerce of conversion* fragile (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Fabio de Fabii—12.11.1592 in Ricci, 2001).

Having fought their last stand against the increasing hostilities, 1589 saw “l'ultima tribulation sopra la residentia [and the Fathers]” (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Fabio de Fabii—12.11.1592 in Ricci, 2001, p. 161). Ruggieri had gone for Rome to pour oil on troubled water and to have him appointed papal ambassador to Wanli-万历 Emperor (1563-1620) (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:148 N. 205; Ricci, 2010a). Ricci and de Almeida, now alone in Zhaoqing, had to deal on their own with a particular manifestation of a fruitful exchange of European *scientia* and practical learning as well as a respective proof of not trusting princes (Ps. 146:3).

Liu Jiezhai-刘节斋 (?-1592)—new *Taishou* of the two Guangs—eager to solve the problems relating to the culture clash with *Fangui* “decided that it was preferable for the missionaries to leave

- [...] for the city [of Macao]” (Brockey, 2007, p. 37);
- the Jesuits’ European styled building to him (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Fabio de Fabii—12.11.1592 in Ricci, 2001); and
- their Flock “to the ravening wolves [back in Zhaoqing] (Gallagher, 1953, p. 212).

Prior to their departure, the Fathers conferred the responsibility to carry forward Faith and Mission upon the more than 70 converts of Zhaoqing (Ricci, 2010a; Standaert, 1991b). In doing so, they handed over a Statue of Christ to one of the neophytes and clarified “where they were to gather for religious services” (Gallagher, 1953, p. 212) on Sundays and on other holy days (Ricci, 2010a).

To foster this feeble start of emancipation and delegation amongst the converts, Ricci compiled “a catalogue of the Church feasts, with reference to the Chinese feasts which follow the phases of the moon” (p. 212). For their duty of a further implementation and accomplishment of Faith and Mission, the Fathers reminded their Flock that “they should pray in common, talk of the divine mysteries, and conduct other such pious Christian exercises” (p. 212). The *Chinese vineyard of the Lord* to such an extent prepared for an uncertain period and spiritual leap in the dark (personally) outside in and (religiously/intellectually) inside out and by way of providing a basis for co-optation and cohesion, the Fathers left for Macao.

However, after some unpleasant back and forth that uncurtained the unpredictability ingrained in *wenhua* (Gallagher, 1953) and the difficulties to completely penetrate China’s cultural imperative (Ricci, 2010a), instead of accepting his fate, Ricci made an audacious move. During an audience at the viceregal seat where he was summoned on the Fathers’ way back from Macao to stand up for his refusal to accept money in recompensation for having to leave the Jesuit Residence to *Taishou*, he petitioned Liu Jiezhai for another Residence within Guangdong Province (Ricci, 2010a). His courage born of despair was rewarded by an offer to reside in any city except Guangzhou or Zhaoqing (Ricci, 2010a).

To thus flee to the next town to avoid persecution (Mt. 10:23), Ricci finally chose Shaozhou to establish the second lasting Jesuit Residence and Church in China (Ricci, 2010a). To such an extent following the *Chinese Other's* facilitating and catalysing requirements and advices regarding new location and field, Ricci and de Almeida left the hitherto unquestioned *Paulinian way of missionizing in the provincial capitals* (Gnilka, 1996).

Adding a new aspect to the *commodo luogo*, the Fathers finally gained a permanent foothold in China. To do so, they initiated a valuable and lasting pattern to win converts and to guide change *ad personam*—independent from dealing with the Literati and Elite, political issues, and/or hidden agendas.

In this regard, the new *two-tier missionizing approach* focused on the following:

- The *commodo luogo* to acquire official protection and validation for their *commerce of conversion* /to win well-meaning patrons and protectors to secure their “apostolate of influence” (de Saldanha, 2012, p. 157)
- The nearby, less important or exposed cities and villages to plant Faith mostly with *baixing*-百姓-the Commoners (1 Cor 1:26-29), to let it strike root, and to let it grow in the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord* bottom up

By end of August 1589, the Fathers finally reached Shaozhou. Due to the help of Fang Yingshi-方应时—Lieutenant Governor of Shaozhou—and the support of well-disposed local Mandarins, the Padres were able to avoid the first residential offer in order to take up shared residence in a Buddhist temple close to the city and near to the “educated classes and the Magistrates, among whom, as among their equals, they were accustomed to live” (Gallagher, 1953, p. 224).

Cashing in on a particular “high social visibility [underlined by author]” (Brockey, 2007, p. 244) amongst the city’s *shenshi*-绅士-Nobles with Ricci mentioning by every opportunity that they had come from Zhaoqing—in so reducing their Macanese background a passing mention (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Alessandro Valignano – 09.09.1589 in Ricci, 2001)—the Fathers went on securing validation and winning patrons and protectors from within their new wolves’ pack.

Soon, they had been visited by “all of the important people of the city” (Brockey, 2007, p. 37) and established new *guanxi*-relationships (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Alessandro Valignano—09.09.1589 in Ricci, 2001) amongst those who seemed to be “più benevola” (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Fabio de Fabii – 12.11.1592 in Ricci, 2001, p. 161). As a result, Shaozhou’s *shenshi* started to show a positive attitude towards the Fathers (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Alessandro Valignano—09.09.1589 in Ricci, 2001).

Impressed by the Fathers’ level of external adaptation to and congruity with *wenhua* and *wenming* (Ricci, 2010a), apparently well informed of their presentations of European *scientia* and practical learning back in Zhaoqing, moved by their own scientific curiosity (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Alessandro Valignano—09.09.1589 in Ricci, 2001), or simply awed by their *guanxi*-relationships with *Taishou* and Fang Yingshi, the local elite proved their understanding of validation and their interpretation of being patron and protector to the missionaries. As a result, the Padres were enabled to

- ward off hostilities and counter ambages of the local *heshang* who tried to keep the missionaries from settling in their neighborhood (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Alessandro Valignano—09.09.1589 in Ricci, 2001);
- buy a piece of land near *Guangxiaosi*-光孝寺-Temple of brightest filial piety—their shared current residence outside the city walls (Ricci, 2010a); and
- avoid their construction mistakes in Zhaoqing to now build a permanent Residence *à la chinoise* (Ricci, 2010a).

Having settled the conflict with their (religious) foes, competitors, and rivals (Gallagher, 1953), the “social legitimation for the [Shaozhou] mission” (Brockey, 2007, p. 35) increased. The first tentative footholds stabilized. Additionally, as the construction business went as expected, the Fathers could finally pick up on their *commerce of conversion* amongst the city Commoners and the Literati and Elite both bottom up and top down but always (personally) inside out.

Besides some missionizing successes amongst the Commoners (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Fabio de Fabii—12.11.1592 in Ricci, 2001) whom the Fathers actively won for Christ in the course of their charitable acts and that offset xenophobic attacks that emerged from the Padres' encounter with lower ranking citizens and the *Halbstarken* (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Claudio Acquaviva—15.11.1592 in Ricci, 2001, 2010a), one particular, later-to-be-completed, passive conversion from within the city's higher-ranking social stratum became a milestone in the *China Mission's* progress, organization, and image. It turned out to be the role model for those higher-ranking scholar-officials who later—for the sake of both filling an intrinsically felt philosophical void and/or overcoming a manifested personal and social crises—willingly performed the desperate leap towards/sought transition to embrace the new Faith.

Having met earlier in Zhaoqing on the eve of the Fathers' expulsion from the city, Ricci and Qu Taisu-瞿太素 (1549-1611) met again in Shaozhou under better conditions—at least concerning Ricci (Ricci, 2010a). Qu Taisu however—smart, gifted, clever, and highly intelligent, with a respectable family background and endowed with a promising future but unfortunately with the attitude and background of the lost son (Lk. 15:11-32)—had run abeach in Shaozhou while travelling through the Empire with his wife and servants. Having wasted heritage and talent “dabbling in alchemy” (Gallagher, 1953, p. 231), he was “reduced to poverty, which he could not endure in his own district” (p. 230). Hence, he sought refuge with his father's friends to take “advantage of their friendship by collecting presents in his memory” (p. 230). In the first instance, his reunion with the Fathers promised to be a gleam of hope to ease his financial calamities.

Expecting to overcome his particular, monetary personal crisis, Qu Taisu took Ricci as his master to teach him European Sciences—but first and foremost alchemy (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:297 N. 362) and, trusting the rumours concerning the Fathers, the secrets of making “argento di Argento vivo” (Ricci, 2010a, p. 204).

Apparently his daily encounter with Ricci made him disavow from pursuing his mundane hidden agenda (Ricci, 2010a). Instead, he gradually focused on studying European *scientia* and so profited from Ricci's knowledge, insights, and teaching, as well as from the fruitful exchange of practical learning (Ricci, 2010a).

But Ricci's unselfishness and serviceability to his new disciple was neither solely natural scientific nor a one-way road. His academic daily lectures tacitly but effectively turned *Kerygmatic* and exemplified God's existence in/impact on the world (Elman, 2005; Kim, 2004; Ricci, 2010a) as he

- fostered exchange with Chinese scholar-officials on eye level (Elman, 2005; Ricci, 2010a); and
- de-emphasized "the mystical aspects of Catholic doctrine" (Day, 1995, p. 96) by emphasizing "the subject of the primary cause behind the perfect order of the universe" (Brockey, 2007, p. 34) (religiously/philosophically) inside out.

As Qu Taisu surprisingly actively enquired into the subject and the (inter)dependence between practical learning and the Gospel, Ricci directly related the Faith to him (Brockey, 2007; Ricci, 2010a; Ross, 1994). To do so, the Padre followed the proven way of

- going from basic religious practices to more sophisticated forms (religiously/intellectually) inside out; and
- gradually moving towards the kernel of disputed problems (religiously/philosophically) outside in.

Qu Taisu "noted down objections to Christian teaching that occurred to him during discussions" (Gallagher, 1953, p. 232). As a result, his note-taking and subsequent clarifications strengthened the mutual civilizing project. It confirmed that both parties were ready/willing to be(come) each other's mutual civilizer and civilizee by sharing practical morality, practical learning, striving for (religious/ethical) alignment, and using their own understanding of natural reason.

On the one hand, Ricci (over)emphasized similarities, and could thus convince his pupil of the fact that the “Christen law was in perfect accord with the innate light of conscience” (Gallagher, 1953, p. 156), as was the Gospel simply adding “the [lacking] supernatural as taught by God” (p. 156). On the other hand, Qu Taisu—by raising questions, highlighting ambiguities, and indicating (apparent) inconsistencies in Ricci’s explanations from a Chinese point of view—prepared and braced the Father(s) for (their) later discussions with both comrades and converts as well as with foes, competitors, and rivals (1 Petr. 3:15).

In so finally reaching “a communion of faith and culture” (Law, 2009, para. 6), accomplishing an equilibrium via religio-cultural relationship, and capitalizing on the Fathers’ (religious/ethical) alignment, enabling change, hence, seeking transition and conversion to a new but already known and now completed (Chinese) religion could become possible for Qu Taisu (Ricci, 2010a).

Unfortunately, Qu Taisu had a concubine and was not willing to either leave or marry her (Gallagher, 1953). Hence, baptism was out of the question (Ricci, 2010a). However, when he was “more interested in a family than in social distinction” (Gallagher, 1953; p. 232), he finally sought full transition to a new frozen (spiritual) moment (Standaert, 2005b, 2006). It was in this regard that on 25 March 1605 he finalized his civilizing project that started in 1589 and became Christian—baptized in Nanjing by A[lfonso] Vagnone (1568-1640) on the Name Inácio (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:299 N. 366; Ricci, 2010a).

Until then, Qu Taisu became the first convert and comrade who, as facilitator and catalyst of the Fathers’ *commerce of conversion*, introduced his own family to the Faith (pastorally) outside in and so further strengthened the Padres’ foothold in the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord*. Merging into a medium to market the Fathers’ trustworthiness, acceptability, unselfishness and serviceability as well as their reputation and fame throughout the Empire and within his class (Ricci, 2010a), he acquired protection, validation, and support from within his own social stratum, e.g. from *Bingbei Dao*-兵备道-Shaozhou’s Army Chief, the new Governor, and “altri molti huomini principali” (p. 206), and by making available his *guanxi*-relationships to the Fathers (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:299 N. 367).

In so preparing the Padres long march through the Empire to *gain China for Christ*, Qu Taisu became an orientation guide

- for converts (Acts 5:13) regarding *Chineseness* and acceptability of the Faith (Gallagher, 1953); and
- for the Fathers regarding their strive for internal and eternal adaptation and congruity with *wenhua* and *wenming* (Ricci, 2010a).

Doing so, he initiated a change of ends in the Jesuits' Accommodation approach (Brockey, 2007; Harris, 1966; Peterson, 1994; Ricci, 2010a),

This success story notwithstanding, most of Shaouzhou's lower ranking citizens nurtured their xenophobia with the Fathers' unacquainted foreignness and the dissonance between their activities and Buddhist (outer)image (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Duarte de Sande—29.08.1595 in Ricci, 2001). Furthermore, Chinese officials were easily convinced that a foreigner can be a spy, a snake in the grass, an enemy to harmony, or a trigger of unrest.

With the invasion of Korea by the Japanese General Toyotomi Hideyoshi (c.1536-1598) in 1592 (Brook, 2005; Corradini, 1997; Ricci, 2010a; Wang, 1991d) at the latest, tension with the Ming authorities rose (Brockey, 2007). "Knowing that the Europeans maintained close contacts with the Japanese" (Brockey, 2007, p. 40), Chinese officials kept watch "in order to prevent the infiltration of spies" (p. 40); and so did also some of the lower-ranking officials in Shaozhou (Gallagher, 1953). It became "pericoloso farsi vedere con uno straniero" (Ricci, 2010a, p. XIV)—at least a stranger who was not allowed to be in the city and who is protected to reside on Chinese soil by official letter of invitation (Brockey, 2007; Brook, 2005). As a result, it became a difficult namely visible affair (Ricci, 2010a) to broaden the mission's staffing level beyond the accredited European priests while enabling Qu Taisu to focus more on involvement, collaboration, and assistance, and relieving the comrade and (later) convert from his daily efforts to gain new patrons and protectors, to market the Fathers top down, and to spread the Faith (personally) amongst his equals and (locally) in bordering regions both inside out.

To solve this issue simultaneously absorbing the untimely deaths of de Almeida (17.10.1591) and his replacement Francesco de Petris (1562-1593) (05.11.1593), two Macanese men of Chinese or mixed ancestry were assigned to Shaozhou for training as temporal coadjutors (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:289 N. 354). Still being illegal—at least in the eyes of the Chinese officials—the Chinese Brothers Sebastião Fernandes-Zhong Mingren-钟鸣仁 (1562-1621) and Francisco Martins-Huang Mingsha-黄明沙 (1569-1606) were in the unbeatable position to be invisible to the eyes of the Chinese administration (Entenmann, 2009). In look and speech “indistinguishable from other southern Chinese” (Brockey, 2007, p. 41), they

- became invaluable pillars of the Fathers’ *commers of conversion* to be carried out (personally and locally) inside out (Entenmann, 2009);
- turned into a role model for future catechetical assignments of full-blooded Chinese converts; and
- became a proof of feasible and successful emancipation and delegation—mainly vis-à-vis and from within the group of commoners (Ricci, 2010a).

However, the Fathers’ position and status in the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord* and amongst the wolves therein remained fragile (Brockey, 2007). The foothold hitherto gained was still unfirm, despite this clever move, and in spite of being

- protected and validated by their widening *guanxi*-relationship in the area of Shaozhou;
- strengthened in their social legitimation after every new allegation—mostly out of the Commoners’ camp—was cleared; and
- supported by their reliable Chinese(-looking) comrades and converts and religious auxiliaries (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Fabio de Fabii – 12.11.1592 in Ricci, 2001).

As “the Ming era mandarinates constantly shuffled its members from one posting to another” (Brockey, 2007, p. 41), counting on just-acquired friends “che portavano tutti molto rispetto ai Padri e gli difendevano et agiutavano nelle loro occorrenze” (Ricci, 2010a, p. 206) was a short-term business. The missionaries were still constantly all set to go to follow the pack.

Hence, nothing could be achieved but everything could be lost “che non facciamo stanza in Pachino o vero in Nanchino” (Letter of Matteo Ricci to N.N.—28.10.1595 in Ricci, 2001, p. 277). Durability of protection and validation as well as sustainability of their initiated “apostolate of influence” (de Saldanha, 2012, p. 157) was the need of the hour, permanence its outcome.

To secure the foothold hitherto gained (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Duarte de Sande – 29.08.1595 in Ricci, 2001), to diversify the residential network (Ricci, 2010a), and to so “togliere il pericolo di, persa una casa, perdersi tutta la missione della Cina” (D’Elia, 1942, 1:337 N. 429), Ricci—since the arrival of Lazzaro Cattaneo (1560-1640) in autumn 1594 no longer the sole European on Chinese ground (Ricci, 2010a)—bethought himself of the Loyolan strategy of

- seeking out “the highest level of political patronage possible” (Brockey, 2007, p. 42) by submitting a petition directly to the Dragon Throne (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:248 N. 303; Letter of Matteo Ricci to Claudio Acquaviva – 04.11.1595 in Ricci, 2001); and
- aiming for collaboration *tantum quantum* (Thauren, 1927) with the government’s highest supportive members to secure protection and validation from the top down (Letter of Ignatius Loyola to The Fathers sent to Germany—24.09.1549 in Young, 1959).

In so being able to carry forward the *two-tier missionizing approach* in its definite form, the necessary free space to sow spiritual seed to fall on good ground, and to yield lasting fruit that increases manifold (Mk. 4:3-8) could be gained.

Additionally, due to his daily encounter with “the great and the good” (Brockey, 2007, p. 244), Ricci also started to understand that unless *Tianzhu jiao* is not accepted as marginal religion that is reputed *zhengtong*-*正统*-*orthodox/orthoprax* in the context of the Chinese (religious/ritual, social, and political) dominating value-canon (Standaert 2008b; Zürcher, 1993), the entire *commerce of conversion* would still be build on sand (Mt. 7:24-27) (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Duarte de Sande – 29.08.1595 in Ricci, 2001).

To spread the Gospel in a secured, grounded, spatial and/or personal inclusive and comprehensive way to finally *win China for Christ*, hence, to enable, and to later successfully implement, and guide change in China, the finalization of a period of adjusting a “familiar Jesuit tactics [of searching for a common ground and (over)emphasizing similarities] to new circumstances” (Brockey, 2007, p. 42) became necessary (Standaert, 2008b).

This required a clear positioning of the Fathers and their (final) turning to the only social class and value-canon that could enable the desired effect (Peterson, 1994). It was in this regard, that Ricci’s already initiated cultural rapprochement, his established bridging project, and his initial activities to (over)emphasize similarities with *Rujiao*, i.e. the intellectual, philosophical, ethical, quasi-religious “pattern that in late imperial times was more clearly defined than ever” (Standaert, 2008b, p. 174) had to simultaneously be completed/perfected, and operated on a larger scale.

From this basis on, the ***Change of Ends*** in the Jesuits’ experience can be understood.

Appendix VI: *Change of Ends (1585-1595)*

The seismic shift in the Fathers' *modus procedendi sinensis* came on silent feed—largely depended on the *Chinese Other's* facilitating and catalyzing influence and interference (Ricci, 2010a; Ross, 1994). Indiscernible first, invisible, incidentally, and somehow born from necessity, the missionaries' guided “attempt to put [...] [themselves] fully into a [validating, patronizing and protecting] Chinese frame of reference” (Brockey, 2007, p. 44) and to get behind “the imposing gates of social legitimacy” (p. 243) was a process rather than a single encounter in order to finally

- “be taken off the list of foreign and pernicious doctrines” (Sebes, 1988, p. 41);
- secure Mission, Fathers, and Gospel a permanent foothold China; and
- be guaranteed a necessary free space to undertake an undisturbed *commerce of conversion*.

Yielding far-reaching, comprehensive, and determinative outcomes that in the context of *dianli wenti*-*典*礼问题-*Chinese Rites Controversy* were praised and deplored (Brockey, 2007), the steps towards “claiming proximate status” (Peterson, 1994, p. 420) to the ruling wolves in the pack had an undramatic, pragmatic origin. As the Fathers stayed permanently on Chinese soil and the social intercourse with their Chinese environment became more regular, official, and Chinese; hence, as the Padres diligently strove for external adaptation and congruity to become civilizees to higher “social visibility [underlined by author]” (Brockey, 2007, p. 244), the question of naming *Fangui* became unavoidable—for Fathers and Chinese hosts. Hence, to be able to visit and be visited, to legibly write down names on visiting cards as it was the custom amongst the high, higher, and highest-ranking, to give and receive presents, and primarily to be addressed correctly by different interlocuteurs of different ranks (Ricci, 2011), having a Chinese name that was written in Chinese characters and that carried an at least neutral meaning was of an utmost importance for Chinese and missionaries (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1: 90 N. 139).

Chinese interpreters and backed by Valignano—phoneticized their *Ximing/Shengming*-洗名/圣名-Christian names (Ricci, 2010a) in 1583/1584 (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:228 N. 283). Via this particular nominal manifestation of external adaptation and congruity, Michele Ruggieri became *Luo Mingjian*-罗明坚 and Matteo Ricci *Li Madou*-利玛窦 (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:228 N. 283).

However, unaware and ignorant of China’s different naming traditions (Ricci, 2011), the Fathers insouciantly made use of their new Chinese name in any official and unofficial situation and with every conversation partner regardless of rank|status and/or personal relationship (Ricci, 2010a). As a result, both Padres had soon to learn that using their names without prudence and allowing even servants and subordinates to call them *Luo* or *Li* “pareva ai Cinesi [...] assai barbara” (p. 154). As a remedy, the missionaries followed the advice of their puzzled surrounding *Chinese Others* in late autumn 1585 and assumed an apparently other-made *haoming*-号名-adult’s name (Doré, 1987; Ricci, 2010a).

Other than the phoneticized *Ximing/Shengming*, the *haoming* was not a loanword but had to have a “significazione di qualche cosa” (Ricci, 2010a, p. 74). In so calling “upon the advice of good men [...] [and taking] the most appropriate course of action [...] under the circumstances” (Gardner, 2007, p. 114), Ruggieri became *Fuchu*-复初-conservator/restaurator of the mission (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:228 N. 283) and Ricci *Xitai*-西泰-from the far west (Ricci, 2010a).

In being named *the one who renews* (Fuchsenberger & Zhang, 2008), Ruggieri’s *haoming* was in line with the Father’s image of being the first to enter the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord* and of pioneering the *China Mission* (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:228 N. 283). In Ruggieri’s case, the name/medium was the message. Unfortunately, Ricci’s nominal form of external adaptation and congruity was not that explicit. As *Xitai* simultaneously alluded to Ricci’s European origin and Buddhist image/outward appearance, his *haoming* carried a misleading message from the start. The (over)emphasized similarity backfired on the missionary and thus soon needed corrective action.

But at that time not versed enough in the subtleties of *guanhua* to detect the particular *lapsus nomini*, both Fathers readily completed the nominal milestone in their civilizing project (Ricci, 2010a) towards a higher “social visibility” (Brockey, 2007, p. 244). They dutifully accepted and assumed their new labels for the sake of their own reputation and to the satisfaction of their Chinese friends (Ricci, 2010a). In so being in accord with Chinese (name-related) culture, customs, and etiquette (Ricci, 2011) and apparently maintaining *zhongyong*-中庸-perfect balance (Gardner, 2007), the Padres were no longer barbarous, ill-mannered, and uncivilized—at least in ear and eyes of their Chinese sophisticated/refined environment. Nominally merging into their Chinese setting, *the wolves were wolves were wolves*—at the least when they were addressed and called on. The question of phoneticization and a future necessary *Zhengming*-正名-Rectification of Names (Gardner, 2007; Analects XIII:3 in Wilhelm, 2005) notwithstanding, the Fathers’ current name-related external adaptation and congruity was a success in all ranks (Ricci, 2010a).

Despite the change of name, the packaging was still unaltered. The visible dissonance between medium and message prevailed. As the Fathers’ ambition for gaining firmer foothold in the *Promised Land of Qin* grew during the years, the dissonance likewise grew in significance. In order to

- get beyond the apparently impenetrable “bamboo curtain” (Charbonnier, 2007, p. 139);
- secure an accepted and acceptable place in Chinese huts and hearts (Gnilka, 1996; Ricci, 2010a); and
- position missionaries and Christianity as a leaven (Mt 13:33) to finally guide conversion and change from within (Hsü, 2000) top down and bottom up both (personally) inside out and (religiously) outside in,

“their initial tactical move was to [(over)emphasize Buddhist similarities] [...] and present themselves as [apparently recognized and recognizable] religious figures [of a matching clerical affiliation]” (Brockey, 2007, p. 25). However, daily experience, and a more regular encounter with the *Chinese Others* on all social levels taught the Fathers the very reverse (Ricci, 2010a).

As a result of mimicking and “adopting [...] ‘robe’ and [...] ‘role’ [and] rules” (Peterson, 1994, p. 421) of the Buddhist clergy, the missionaries did not become “‘more Chinese’ but [...] [were visibly] marked [...] outsider[s] relative to other social groups” (p. 413). Their apparently promising way of (over)emphasizing similarities (Gallagher, 1953; Ross, 1994) to

- achieve external adaptation and congruity;
- further (religious/ethical) alignment; and
- carry forward their bridging project

by simply giving their own religious self-concept a bald and a probably jade-coloured, pale red, and green coating (Peterson, 1994) did—against the Fathers’ and the Visitor’s expectation—forfeit “the respect and esteem” (Boxer, 1967, p. 336 as cited in Ross, 1994) of both *shenshi* and *baixing*. It consistently gave rise to alienation, assaults, and apprehension across every social stratum (Ricci, 2010a). In spite of aiming at external adaptation and congruity, the Padres went on remaining strangers to their comrades and converts, facilitators and catalyzers (Ricci, 2010a). They could thus not avoid being treated “come spazzatura del mondo” (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Duarte de Sande – 29.08.1598 in Ricci, 2001, p. 265) since they entered the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord*.

As both the *China Mission* and the Fathers matured, Ricci understood that keeping up this kind of laudable “perseveranza” (p. 265) to continue putting oneself in the wrong, viz. Buddhist “frame of reference” (Brockey, 2007, p. 44) did get them nowhere—neither in the (right) huts nor in the (desired) hearts of their Chinese hosts. To therefore shake off the misleading image and to soar above *the scum of the earth* (1 Cor. 4:10) the missionaries had themselves manoeuvred into due to their own ignorance, strive to please, and ignorance of their hosts, required the Fathers to get in contact with “those men who stood before the imposing gates of social legitimacy in China” (Brockey, 2007, p. 243), and to acquire high- and highest-ranking, patronizing and protecting, facilitating and catalyzing appraisal of the Gospel and their religious teaching/law (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Duarte de Sande—29.08.1598 in Ricci, 2001).

To do so, it was indispensable to boost the Fathers' credibility and reputation in order to increase the reputation of their non-Chinese religious teaching.

Having learned from their Chinese acquaintances that amongst the Chinese “la reputazione della [...] legge dipende [...] dal credito e dalla reputazione dei predicatori” (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Duarte de Sande—29.08.1598 in Ricci, 2001, p. 264), it became necessary to “enter with [...] [the more reputable Chinese laws and customs] to come out with [...] [those of the missionaries]” (Brockey, 2007, p. 44). Simultaneously observing the Fathers' own assessment that the Chinese would receive the new teaching in no other but in a *zhengtong* way (Brockey, 2007; Standaert, 2008b) and following Qu Taisu's facilitating and catalysing advice of 1589 (D'Elia, 1942 FR 1:336 N. 429; Ricci, 2010a), the Padres considered a modification to their *modus procedendi sinensis*.

A new approach to accomplish equilibrium via religio-cultural relationship was to be established. To thus find well-disposed patrons and protectors in the Empire's most powerful status group (Brockey, 2007; Peterson, 1994), to eventually farm the entire *Chinese vineyard of the Lord* both perpetually and without interruption, and as a result, to enable change that can later be implemented, and guided as a leaven from within, it became vital to

- mirror the most potent, recognized, and accepted *teachers* in the Empire in their Literati demeanour, clothing, and positioning (Ross 1994); and
- fit Gospel, Mission, and Fathers into *Rujiao* (Peterson, 1994; Ricci, 2010a; Zürcher, 1993)—*ad maiorem Dei gloriam*.

Considering the re-orientation in the missionaries' internal and external adaptation and congruity, their strive for stressing differences and setting boundaries, as well their decidedness to work towards (religious/ethical) alignment was comparatively easy—deciding and putting into practice the overthrowing, constitutive activities of the particular bridging project were not.

The change of ends in general necessitated time and patience, diplomacy, reconciliation of interests and positions, correspondence, and a long-enough surviving Pope.

In particular, modification, transformation, and adaptation required orthodox books, a curriculum, competent Chinese masters, and—mostly regarding hairstyle and beard—accomplished facts (Brockey, 2007; Peterson, 1994; Ricci, 2010a). As a result, the time-consuming process of turning the former look-alike *heshang* (Ricci, 2010a) into *Missionary Literati* (Brockey, 2007), and so gradually assuming robes and roles of “*Predicatori letterati* [emphasis added]” (Ricci, 2010a, p. 231) simmered until the end of 1592/beginning of 1593 (Ricci, 2010a).

Finally urged more by facts and stones to seek (necessary) high-ranking protection and validation than by words (Ricci, 2010a), Ricci dared to submit to Valignano his (guided) “importanti innovazioni nel suo metodo d’apostolato (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:336 N: 429) for the first time while he was curing his foot injury at Macao in 1593 at the latest (Ricci, 2010a). But it was Cattaneo who pushed the Visitor towards a decision (Ricci, 2010a). Having reconciled with the Order’s General Acquaviva and Pope Clement VIII (1536-1605), Valignano finally allowed these “importanti cambiamenti” (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:336 N. 429) regarding the entire missionizing approach in November 1594 (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:336 N. 429).

Having to such an extent secured official/ecclesiastic backing, the Fathers started to put everything into action. As “il radersi la barba e i capelli nella Cina è segno della setta delgi Idoli, e nessuno si rade se non [*heshang*] [...] che adora gli Idoli” (Ricci, 2010a, p. 230), the first step towards stressing differences with their Buddhist past was to get rid of their razors and to let beards and hair grow. Having apparently anticipated Valignano’s positive decision, Ricci had started to grow hair and beard earlier than late autumn 1594. By receiving the Visitor’s reply he could already present a longer hair and a beard to his waistline (!) (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:337 N. 429). Ricci’s overeagerness notwithstanding, achieving this kind of external adaptation and congruity was naturally the simple part of the Fathers’ changeover.

Deciding the right dress however, became a more difficult affair. Generally aiming at adopting “the dress [...] of the secular authorities” (Brokey, 2007, p. 25), the Fathers had to learn the limits of their dressing endeavour. Being inducted by Chinese friends and hosts into *fushi*-服飾-the binding “pattern of using robes and other adornments [...] to denote social status [in Ming China at that time]” (Peterson, 1994, p. 403), Ricci had to yield to reason. Recalling own observations, he finally decided a “robe [that] was of a color permitted to commoners, [that] [...] did not have the round collar more usual for an official’s robe” (p. 414), and that did not use *shenjin*-绅襟-belts and lapels normally reserved “for officials and degree holders” (p. 404) to be now worn by all Fathers in the *China Mission* (Levy, 2011).

Notwithstanding the prevailing and to-be-adhered-to dress code (Clunas, 1993), the missionary managed to accomplish his external adaptation and congruity. He assembled “un vestito proprio, di seta” (Ricci, 2010a; p. 230) in duplicate: one *lifu*-礼服-robe dedicated to courtesy visits amongst mandarins (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:337 N. 429), and one robe to be worn all seasons (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Claudio Acquaviva—04.11.1595 in Ricci, 2001). Also not being allowed to wear the normal hat of a scholar official (Peterson, 1994), Ricci had made himself a *beretta* that more resembled a bishop’s mitre—not rising to a peak and fixed together at the sides but flat and cruciform with two *infulae*-lappets sewn to its back (Levy, 2011; Peterson, 1994; Letter of Matteo Ricci to Girolamo Benci—07.10.1595 in Ricci, 2001). In so only “dressing after the fashion of [...] mandarins” (Brokey, 2007, p. 43) in a kind of phantasy-dress that solely followed cut and pattern of their learned role-models’ accoutrement (Clunas, 1993; Peterson, 1994), the Padres successfully swapped roles.

By donning a new social skin *à la chinoise erudite*, they became a kind of “*ersatz literati* [emphasis added]” (Brokey, 2007, p. 257) who now represented “what their mission already was, a mission that aimed at entering Chinese society through the intellectual world of the Confucian literati [top down and (personally) inside out]” (Ross, 1994, p. 126).

But even though the robes of dark purple silk lined with blue trim very similar to what the Venetians use in Venice (Levy, 2011; Letter of Matteo Ricci to Duarte de Sande—29.08.95 in Ricci, 2001), and the cruciform hat “assai stravagante, [...] come quella de vescovi” (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Girolamo Benci—07.10.1595, p. 269) only echoed the dress of a Literati—in so becoming a walking contradiction, blurring the boundaries, and causing even more confusion amongst the Chinese of rank and below (Brockey, 2007)—the Fathers’ external adaptation and congruity with *Guanfu* did the job. Being made “equal of a Magistrate or even of one of the educated class” (Gallagher, 1953, p. 259), the Padres assumed immediate authority (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Claudio Acquaviva—04.11.1595 in Ricci, 2001) both amongst *shenshi* and *baixing* alike. Having left behind the old image to put on a new (Gal. 3:27), the missionaries—now visibly free from the burdening misconception and image of *seng* (Gallagher, 1953)—could converse with all *Chinese Others* on all social levels following “la cortesia degli [...] [*Xiuca*] e letterati” (Ricci, 2010a, p. 231) that was more serious, grave, pompous, elaborated, and befitting to Fathers and Chinese than any official and semi-official intercourse experienced prior to the visible transformation (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:338 N. 431). As a result, the change of ends—silently put into effect—flattened “la strada spianata” (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Duarte de Sande – 29.08.1595 in Ricci, 2001, p. 264) into all Chinese huts and hearts. *Winning China for Christ* was apparently a waltz and within reach. Unfortunately and the visibly successful *ecdysis* notwithstanding, the Fathers’ metamorphosis had to go on.

First, naming was still a problem. The scummy image of *heshang* so willingly accepted from Guo Yingpin as the newcomer missionaries light-heartedly moved into the *Xianhuasi-Fairy Flower Monastery* in 1583/1584 went with the Padres wherever they went in the two Guangs (Ricci, 2010a). To therefore get rid of the last possibility for umbrage and Chinese disparagement, the change in the Padres’ outward appearance for the sake of a more appropriate, hence, high(er) social visibility had to extend to their title, too.

To further distance the Jesuits from their Buddhist heritage (Ricci, 2010a) and to set efficient boundaries doffing the Buddhist robes had to go hand in hand with discarding the titles *heshang* and *seng* and literally ostracizing—“sbandire il nome di bonzo [...] molto bassa” (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Claudio Acquaviva—04.11.1595 in Ricci, 2001, p. 309).

Mostly triggered, facilitated and catalyzed by their well-meaning Chinese comrades and converts realizing the unavoidable was easy (Ricci, 2010a).

But comparable to deciding the right dress finding the right title was an equally difficult affaire. As the Fathers were also not allowed to assume an official Chinese title (Elman, 2000) that either mirrored their European academic status or their academic talents currently lauded by *shenshi* and marveled at by *baixing* alike, the Padres had to be again resourceful. Doing so, Ricci took to a phantasy-title that primarily allegorized the missionaries' status, talents, and self-concept (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:338 N. 431). Relying on his level of *guanhua*, he first decided to translate “Predicatori letterati” (Ricci, 2010a, p. 231) into *Daoren*-道人-religious man|man of the law (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:338 N. 431). As the title was not that fancy but too near to an also ill-reputed Daoism (Ricci, 2011; Ross, 1994), this pragmatic appropriation once again brought foes, competitors and rivals to the scene (Ricci, 2010a). Being advised of this new *lapsus nomini* by some Chinese comrades and converts in Shaozhou further modification became once again necessary. At least adjusting the question of names in 1605, the Padres finally created an unencumbered cross-fertilizing neologism in the Chinese linguistic usage and assumed the titles *shenfu*-神父-Padres of the Spirit|Priest, and *siduo*-司铎-Padre (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:335 N. 429).

Second, having mirrored the most potent, recognized, and accepted teachers in the Empire in their Literati demeanour, clothing, and positioning was one necessary step towards becoming civilizee to “high social visibility [underlined by author]” (Brockey, 2007, p. 244). Fitting Gospel, Mission, and Fathers into *Rujiao* (religiously/intellectually) inside out, and so looking for and emphasizing effective similarities was the other more inner/internal step.

To be(come) a Literati, “was [therefore] not simply a [fleeting, tactical] matter of changing clothes [*à la mode* and swapping titles]” (Peterson, 1994, p. 418), but an enduring, strategic commitment of the Fathers to a “mode of living” (p. 418) that extended into and involved every facet of their intellectual, ethical, quasi-religious, and emotional life.

An additional but final decision became necessary to achieve this kind of internal adaptation and congruity to/with the validating, patronizing and protecting wolves in the pack as well as to establish a supportive (religious/ethical) alignment with their value-canon. The preparatory work started already with learning guanhua and hence, prior to establishing any kind of permanent abode on a non-let Chinese soil.

To have a command of spoken and literary wenming was but the fundamentally indispensable prologue of getting in touch with “those men who stood before the imposing gates of social legitimacy in China” (Brockey, 2007, p. 243). But even though Ruggieri’s initial pioneering, painful, and pictorial way of learning Cantonese *fangyan* (local vernacular) and guanhua (Chan, 1993)—the latter first shared with Pasio and Ricci (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Martino de Fornari—13.02.1583 in Ricci, 2001) and later extended in a more methodo-didactical way to all missionaries in the *China Mission* (Bettray, 1955; Brockey, 2007; Ricci, 2010a)—helped the Fathers to

- get involved into the Chinese way of teaching; and
- establish a budding similarity with the *Chinese Others* via shared labours, lores, and *laoshi*-老师-teachers,

acquiring rudimental insights into Chinese education tradition (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:155 N. 207) was only edging tools to enter the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord*.

To permanently work the entire *vineyard* simultaneously avoiding the fate of a daytaller, it became indispensable to not dabble in guanhua but to enter “into the world of Chinese scholarship” (Brockey, 2007, p. 244) by mastering the official *lingua franca* (Ross, 1994). To do so, emulating “the basic intellectual formation of their [erudite] hosts” (p. 244) became necessary.

It required the missionaries to fully immerse themselves in the standard(ized) academic curriculum (Gardner, 2007) enjoined on those Chinese who were to sit *Keju*-科举-imperial examination (Elman, 2000, 2014).

As the Fathers learned from their tutors, Chinese comrades and converts, and from observing their Chinese hosts in general, adaptation necessitated

- writing *wenzhang*-文章-appropriate tracts in an elegant way, such as *baguwen*-八股文-eight-legged essays (Chan, 1993; Chaves, 2002); and
- reading, understanding, and internalizing *sishuwujing*-四书五经-the authoritative books of Confucianism (Elman, 2000, 2014).

This civilizing project towards internal adaptation and congruity and of being each other's mutual civilizer and civilizee by sharing that kind of common (academic) culture, set of (related) values, and learning endeavour with the respectively educated Chinese role model notwithstanding, the Fathers' journey into "understanding [...] Chinese [erudite] society and its [learned] culture" (Franke 1967, p. 36) had its earlier beginnings. Rooting in Ruggieri's personal exercise books and in his individual *ratio studiorum* to achieve a command of *guanhua*, the Father had already at the beginning of his *China Mission* attempted to learn *baguwen* and to translated *sishu*-四书-the Four Books into Latin (Chan, 1993; Mungello, 1988). In doing so, Ruggieri had prepared the ground for his successors while Ricci took over devotion and task and produced the first—in the eyes of Valignano more appropriate—translation of *sishu* into Latin in the early 1590s (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:148 N. 205; Mungello, 1988; Letter of Matteo Ricci to Claudio Acquaviva—10.12.1593 in Ricci, 2001; Ross, 1994). Ricci's editorial work notwithstanding, translating *Rujiao* had also a pragmatic overtone. Being not limited to simply pleasing Valignano or to adding standard to Ricci's own language course, having a command of Chinese philosophy provided a common starting point that acted as a stimulus/to arouse mutual curiosity and be shared/exchanged with the *Chinese Others* of every rank for any purpose—but mainly for reformulating European philosophical and scientific knowledge (Ross, 1994) in an acceptable; that is, Chinese form (Franke, 1967).

Thus, able to emphasize similarities with the Chinese philosophical value-canon finally paved the way towards adapting “Catholicism to the Chinese mentality” (Ross, 1994, p. 40) both (religiously/intellectually) inside out and (religiously/philosophically) outside in.

To such an extent using the “*Quattro Libri* [...] assai buoni e [...] morali” (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Claudio Acquaviva—10.12.1593 in Ricci, 2001, p. 184) and one chapter of *wujing* (Ricci, 2010a), Ricci finished de Almeida’s, de Petris’s, and, after their untimely deaths in 1591 and 1593 respectively, also Cattaneo’s Chinese studies (Ricci, 2010a) so that they would be able “to engage in [spoken and literary] dialogue with prospective converts from different levels of Chinese society” (Brockey, 2007, p. 257) top down and bottom up (Mungello, 1988).

Doing so, he also familiarized his confreres with *Rujiao* so that they would be enabled to sustain, spread, and create new amicable relations from within existing *guanxi*-relationships (Brockey, 2007; Ricci, 2010a). To such an extent relying on the Confucian canonical writings, Ricci used the inherent categories of thought to creative-interpretatively introduce Christianity into the Chinese cultural/value framework (religiously/intellectually) inside out by help of “the ideas of [...] Confucius” (Rule, 1986, p. 1) paired with practical morality and the use of natural reason/lex naturalis (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Francesco Pasio – 15.02.1609 in Ricci, 2001). In so fusing “traditional Chinese educational methods and Jesuit organizational techniques” (Brokey, 2007, p. 245), Ricci

- *Sinicized* parts of the classical Jesuit curriculum in religious studies (Brockey, 2007; Kim, 2004; Mungello, 1988; O’Malley, 1993);
- appropriated the Order’s *ratio studiorum* as applied in Europe and in the Jesuit Colleges in the various foreign Missions around the world since 1599 (Romano, 2002); and
- established a *ratio studiorum sinensis* that was discussed, further streamlined to the needs of the Fathers and their *commerce of conversion*, standardized and officially approved in 1624, and generally used in the *China Mission* to teach newcomers by Fathers and Chinese tutors until 1742 (Brockey, 2007; Ross, 1994).

Internal adaptation and congruity as well as closer (religious/ethical) alignment further triggered metamorphosis in the Fathers' philosophical and linguistic understanding (Franke, 1967).

Learning to read and think and write like *Guanfu*, “the missionaries were indoctrinating themselves” (Peterson, 1994, p. 418). mastering *quanhua* and internalizing the canonical texts of Confucianism naturally “entailed using Chinese vocabulary to express non-Chinese concepts” (Peterson, 1994, p. 418), filling it with Christian meaning, “and [unfortunately] losing important distinctions in the translation” (p. 418) as the Padres prepared to

- disseminate *Tianzhu jiao* and compose a new Christian Apologetic that was to replace *Tianzhu Shilu* (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Girolamo Costa—12.10.1594 in Ricci, 2001; Ross, 1994) simultaneously dismissing Buddhism (Liu, 2015; Ricci, 1985) and Daoism (Kim, 2004); and
- merge *original Confucianism* (Young, 1983)—Confucianism before the Songchao-宋朝-Song Dynasty (960-1279) and the commentaries of Zhu Xi-朱熹 (1130-1200) in particular—, “and the Christian faith as Thomas Aquinas had performed with Aristotelianism” (Ross, 1994, p. 128).

In such a way setting boundaries and (over)emphasizing similarities, the missionaries suggested “to educated Chinese that their traditions [...] when stripped of their Buddhist and Daoist accretions [and taken back to its original, uncorrupted, non-agnostic pre-Song meaning and character (Ross, 1994; Sebes, 1988; Übelhör, 1972)] [...] were at least congenial to Christian teachings” (Brockey, 2007, p. 265). The immanent *teleological* utilitarianism that manifested itself—amongst others—in the Fathers' pragmatic appropriation of *Tian|Shangdi* (Corradini, 1997; Kim, 2004; Ross, 1994) to “refer to a deity who responded to human pleas” (Brockey, 2007, p. 265) therefore

- showed that the missionaries—despite all their learning and strive for still keeping a distance (Standaert, 2008b)—were not immune to either falling prey to the “power of assimilation displayed by Chinese civilization” (Franke, 1967, p. 37) or to adapting obligingly to the Chinese cultural imperative; and
- completed the turn in the Padres' change of ends.

But regardless of resulting problems that later boiled down in the *Chinese Rites Controversy*, the given situation in 1595 required further following the fruitful, mutual civilizing project—to a substantial extent actively or passively encouraged by the *Chinese Others* (Ross, 1994; Standaert, 2008b). The change of ends in the missionaries' *modus procedendi sinensis* and their turning to *Rujiao* to

- acquire the philosophical backing to discern of the thoughts and intents of the heart (Hebr. 4:12); and
- arm the *milites Christi* for their incessant spoken and literary battle of wits and words (Eph. 6:17)

was thus, a natural, logical, indispensable move to *win China for Christ*.

At the end of this metamorphosis the *Chinese Others* simply wondered “come può un forestiero saper più che noi altri?” (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Girolamo Costa—28.10.1595 in Ricci, 2001, p. 286). The sheep, *harmless* and *wise*, had verily become wolves amongst wolves, and even outstripped them. For the time being, seeking transition and giving up their Buddhist image to gain a Literati one was “much to [...] [the Padres’] benefit [...] [as] from the time of their arrival in the other provinces, they were identified with the class of the learned” (Gallagher, 1953, p. 260). By 1595, the Fathers “had created a situation whereby most literati could behave towards them as if they were Chinese” (Ross, 1994, p. 134) and treat them not only as “vassalli del re della Cina” (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Claudio Acquaviva – 13.02.1583 in Ricci, 2001, p. 51), but also “as loyal subjects of the Emperor” (Ross, 1994, p. 134). This made the “atmosphere increasingly favorable to [spread] Christianity [...] and receptive to the Christian leaven” (Dunne, 1962, p. 43). Unfortunately, the desperate leap was not that flying, and the new *yidongbudong*—一动不动—frozen moment (Standaert, 2005b) not that firm. The new image, so nicely worn, celebrated, and exposed, had to nonetheless be constantly proven and vindicated—and by no means made every road into the preferred Chinese huts and hearts flat and even (Is 40:3; Mk 1:1-3). From this basis on, the time ***Amongst Equals*** in the Jesuits’ experience can be understood.

Appendix VII: *Amongst Equals* (1595-1601)

“[T]he Society had to establish itself as a [law-abiding and honest, non-threatening and integrating, valuable] part of Chinese society [in order to reach] the mass of commoners [...] on any significant scale” (Ross, 1994, p. 132). To *win China for Christ* securing “at least the acquiescence, if not the active support” (p. 132) of the country’s highest political power was therefore required. Hence, to further carry forward their “apostolate of influence” (de Saldanha, 2012, p. 157) on a larger scale, the *China Mission* had to get out of the provincial backwater. To do so, the missionaries had to establish themselves

- amongst those “from whom [...] greater fruit [could be expected]” (Letter of Ignatius Loyola to Those sent to the Missions—08.10.1552 in Young, 1959, p. 268), and “who exert an influence” (p. 268); and
- in the two metropolitan centres of the time—Beijing and Nanjing (Letter of Matteo Ricci to N.N.—28.10.1595 in Ricci, 2001).

Concerning the first requirement, the Fathers’ change of ends had already substantiated and shaped their internal and external adaptation and congruity to an undisputed, peer-assessed “high social visibility” (Brockey, 2007, p. 244). Being further armed with an appropriate spoken and literary lexical ammunition and a particular knowledge of the Chinese Classics—all crowned with a new name, appearance, and hat—the possibility to translate the second requirement into action came in spring 1595 in person of a high ranking soldier and member of Beijing’s *Bingbu Shilang*-兵部侍郎-Military Senate (Ricci, 2010a).

Travelling through Shaozhou to the metropolis where he was to receive higher bureaucratic dignities in the course of Japanese aggression in the Sino-Japanese war on the Korean peninsula (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Duarte de Sande—29.08.1595 in Ricci, 2001), this *Wuguan* (Ricci, 2001) in fact only interrupted his journey to profit from Ricci’s “virtù et orationi [*sic*]” (Ricci, 2010a, p. 232).

Having heard so much good and apparently many more tales in connection with the Father (Ricci, 2010a), the Mandarin expected Ricci to cure his son from a mental breakdown that rooted in a failed *Keju* (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Girolamo Costa—28.10.1595 in Ricci, 2001). In doing so, he put Ricci on a continuum somewhere between “a scientist and a shaman” (Ross, 1994, p. 128).

Despite the Buddho-Daoist echo of the past, Ricci seized this “molto buona occasione” (Ricci, 2010a, p. 231). He decided to “lean on such a great [...] mandarin” (Brockey, 2007, p. 43) to achieve the following:

- Get a free ride northward to Beijing or at least to Nanjing in the protection and validation of a “potente mandarino” (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Duarte de Sande—29.08.1595 in Ricci, 2001, p. 199)
- “[M]ake contact with the Emperor and court circles in order to gain some form of imperial permission for [...] the Society” (Ross, 1994, p. 128)

Fulfilling his own hidden agenda by means of proving his unselfishness and serviceability to an anxious father, valuable patron and influential protector, Ricci convinced *Wuguan* that curing the afflicted needed time, patience, and longer-term personal attendance on board the official’s barge (Ricci, 2010a). The Mandarin happily consented to the necessity and invited Ricci to accompany him on his journey towards the capital (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Girolamo Costa—28.10.1595 in Ricci, 2001).

The organisational and administrative preparations were swiftly done. Having secured a passport for Ricci, his two accompanying Sino-Macanese coadjutors; i.e. João Barradas, Domingo Fernandes, his two Chinese servants, *Wuguan* and his son, the three missionaries, and the unavoidable entourage left Shaozhou on 18 April 1595—also leaving behind both a still linguistically dabbling Cattaneo to handle the Jesuit Residence as well as Fernandes and Martines to support and tutor him (Ricci, 2010a) and Ricci’s well-worn Buddhist name, image, and accoutrement (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Claudio Acquaviva—04.11.1595 in Ricci, 2001).

In so travelling over mountains, down rivers, and up canals towards Beijing, the newly appalled *Missionary Literati*—now on virtually familiar terms with his host—profited from every possibility to make use of his outward status and inward talents.

During the river cruise, Ricci was regularly invited to board the official's barge (Ricci, 2010a). There, he seldom attended to the afflicted son but his polite visits soon developed into conversations (Cummins, 1978) on “customs and the scientific progress of Europe, [philosophy,] and about the Christian law [and Faith]” (Gallagher, 1953, p. 262)—eventually the culmination point of every conversation (Brockey, 2007). As amused tolerance on the official's side gave way to wholehearted discussions amongst equals (Cummins, 1978), Ricci satisfied mutual (scientific) curiosity and established a fruitful exchange by exposing the official to *Tianxue*-天学-the amalgam of European scientific, moral, and religious teachings (Peterson, 2011) (religiously/philosophically) outside in. In so fanning out European practical morality, practical learning, and natural reason while matching it with the respective Chinese understanding and his level of internal and external adaptation and congruity, Ricci soon

- impressed the Mandarin with an erudition unexpected of *Fangui* (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Girolamo Costa—28.10.1595 in Ricci, 2001);
- established “an attractive image of himself and the other Jesuit representatives of *Tianzhu jiao*” (Brockey, 2007, p. 291); and
- created “an atmosphere receptive to the Christian leaven” (Dunne, 1962, p. 43).

Even if the official was far from converting, he was nonetheless pleased with the Padre's accomplished *wenhua* and *wenming* as he was happy to learn and profit from the *Wise man from the West* (Cronin, 1984; Cummins, 1978)—the same way Ricci was happy to learn and profit from the official and his status. In so

- field-testing and meliorating a *modus procedendi sinensis* that not only became Ricci's hallmark but was later universally applied in the metropolitan/urban Jesuit Residences; and
- establishing and validating a new *guanxi*-relationship,

Ricci's passive *modo soave cinese* finally won “a [new] sympathetic patron and protector” (Dunne, 1966, p. 43) for the *China Mission*, the Fathers, and the entire *commerce of conversion*.

However, the peaceful river cruise had no peaceful interruption and no auspicious end. Having lost baggage and Barradas in a shipwreck, the travel party decided to continue their journey on land (Ricci, 2010a). Yielding to his own superstition, the official tried to put off the missionaries from continuing their journey and urged them to return to Shaozhou while he and his entourage headed for Beijing (Ricci, 2010a).

Playing to the Chinese rules and using red herrings and a glass prism to tangibly support his arguments, Ricci and the surviving coadjutor finally received the official's written consent and support to resume their river tour towards Nanjing, Jiangsu-江苏 Province under the sealed facilitating and catalysing protection and validation of this particular capricious patron and protector but without him (Ricci, 2010a). To such an extent paving the way to the well-fortified and splendid Southern Capital, the missionaries reached Nanjing on 31 May 1595 (Ricci, 2010a). There, the group took rented residence outside the second wall (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Girolamo Costa—28.10.1595 in Ricci, 2001).

Relying on *Wuguan's* recommendatory letters, harnessed with some contact addresses, profiting from his own reputation, and vested in his Literati finery, Ricci started to call on various contacts he had made in Zhaoqing and Shaozhou to acquire further help and support to set up a Jesuit Residence (Ross, 1994). Even if the entrance into the metropolitan *wolves pack* seemed easy and pounding contact addresses and friends were initially promising with visiting and re-visiting and offers of support coming about, staying amongst the learned was a different, difficult, and finally impossible affair. Due to the still on-going war on the Korean peninsula, xenophobia amongst the Chinese officials was high and rising (Brockey, 2007). The prevailing knowledge that “some of the best Japanese generals and troops were Christians” (Ross, 1994, p. 129) was not helpful, too. The situation finally boiled over while visiting Xu Daren-徐大任—one of Ricci's earlier, richly presented acquaintances of Shaozhou (Ricci, 2010a).

Fearing of his reputation when being seen fraternizing with *Fangui* who was in return suspected to complot against official institutions and to cause social unrest (Ricci, 2001), the official put up a great show of rage and repudiation (Ricci, 2010a). As a result, Ricci, the coadjutor, and the servants were forced to leave Nanjing—also leaving behind the dust of the city (Mt. 10:14) and a landlord imprisoned for renting out a place to the now unwelcomed (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Claudio Acquaviva—04.11.1595 in Ricci, 2001).

Retreating southwards, the missionaries swapped provinces and headed to Nanchang, capital of Jiangxi Province, determined “far qui la residentia” (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Claudio Acquaviva—04.11.1595 in Ricci, 2001, p. 311). Fortunately, on their way south Ricci’s charm, Chineseness, and a devout ejaculation (Ricci, 2010a) secured a new facilitator and catalyst and a foothold in Nanchang.

As the group entered the city on 28 June 1595, Ricci had become friendly with an official of the city, collected an assortment of new contacts to be called upon (Ross, 1994), and secured a “house for rental, belonging to one of [...] [*Guanfu*’s] relatives” (Gallagher, 1953, p. 274). Even if the newly acquired *guanxi*-relationship became an indispensable and valuable key to both the city famous for its great number of learned and mostly apolitical men (Sebes, 1988), Ricci already was no unknown to the many scholars living there. His world map had already heralded and established his reputation as an astronomer and mathematician amongst the learned, his demeanour and appearance settled his high social background, and his friendship with Qu Taisu as well as his friendly relationship with *Wuguan* did the rest (Ross, 1994).

Internally and externally coequal with Nanchang’s *shenshi* and *Guanfu* and backed by a multiplying collection of illustrious facilitating and catalysing, validating, patronizing and protecting *guanxi*-relationships also resulting from the favour of two Princes of blood royal and first and foremost Lu Wangai-陆万垓, *Xunfu*-巡抚-Provincial Governor of Jiangxi Province whom Ricci had impressed by his high level of *wenming* and *wenhua*, erudition, modesty, harmlessness, and virtue during an audience that more and more became a friendly

conversation about mathematics, philosophy and Faith (Ricci, 2010a; Wang, 1991e) (religiously/philosophically) outside in, the Father was not only invited to permanently and officially stay in Nanchang, but also well received amongst equals in their parlours and at their banquet tables (Cronin, 1994).

Being handed round amongst the city's high and highest, Ricci soon became an indispensable cog in the social machinery of visits and re-visits, receptions and dinners where he amused, seduced, entertained, and impressed the evening parties (Ricci, 2010a). As a result, he gradually turned into a celebrity admired for his impeccable internal and external adaptation and congruity, his mastery of spoken and literary *guanhua*, his apposite quotes from *sishuwujing*, his ability for practical learning, and for his mnemonic gift (Gallagher, 1953).

As an exact memory was the basic requirement for any success in sitting *Keju* (Elman, 2000), the memory talent became one of the Father's major baits to attract the learned fishes. In response to the admiration expressed for his powers of memorization he completed *Xiguojifa*-西国记法-a treatise on the method of memorizing—in so introducing Western techniques for mnemonic associations and for placing and finding images recycling “una composizione risalente agli anni del Collegio Romano” (Ricci, 2001, p. 540) into Chinese setting. As *Xunfu* had required this tract to support his three sons preparing to sit *Keju* (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:363 N. 475), Ricci dedicated the *vademecum* to the official in June 1596 (D’Elia, 1942, FR 1:376 N. 490). With *Xiguojifa*, Ricci stressed his educational kinship in a particular educational need. He also proved his unselfishness and serviceability to both his new friends and the *commerce of conversion* by providing practical, intellectual remedy. Thus, prepared to save by all means some (1 Cor. 9:19-23), the Father

- gained a new patron and protector to the Fathers’ “‘apostolate of influence’” (de Saldanha, 2012, p. 157);
- acquired/secured further official protection and validation; and
- developed an atmosphere increasingly favourable to Christianity or at least to its representatives in the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord* (Dunne, 1962).

But prior to this morning gift to both an anxious father and the mass of surely delighted imperial students, Ricci composed a likewise unreligious compendium for a general non-Christian Chinese audience and taste. What started as a finger exercise in Chinese (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Claudio Acquaviva—13.10.1596 in Ricci, 2001) soon turned into a striking success amongst the Literati and Elite, and a means/medium that was to win more credit for Ricci, the *China Mission*, and European civilization than the construction of mechanical artefacts or anything else the Fathers had done by then (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Girolamo Costa—14.08.1599 in Ricci, 2001).

At the suggestion of Prince Jian'an-建安 (?-1601), who required an insight into the Western view of friendship—a “subject [dear to Chinese hearts and] bound to interest Chinese scholars, never tired of discussing the ‘five human relations’ [...] central [...] [to] Confucian moral doctrine” (Dunne, 1962, p. 44)—Ricci translated passages from Eboensis's *Sententiae et Exempla*, classical Latin and Greek authors, e.g. Seneca, Cicero, Plutarch, Aristotle, and early Christian writers, e.g. Augustine and Ambrose (Ricci, 2005a). With this omnium-gatherum of classical European views on the subject of friendship (Vila-Chã, 2010), Ricci's *Jiaoyoulun*-交友论-*Dell'Amicizia* achieved the following:

- Satisfying the curiosity of his Chinese (royal) audience (Ricci, 2010a)
- Acquiring the reverence and respect of the numerous examination candidates who flocked to the city to sit their provincial examination (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Cristoforo Clavio—25.12.1597 in Ricci, 2001)
- Establishing an orthodox and distributable reputation of learning, talent, and virtue amongst equals in connection with Fathers and Faith (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Girolamo Costa—14.08.1599 in Ricci, 2001)
- Carrying forward the bridging project towards accomplishing equilibrium via religio-cultural relationship
- Achieving further (religious/ethical) alignment with the Chinese value-canon

In so clothing the major Christian message in Chinese robes to be spread around the fifteen Chinese provinces and future ardent Chinese supporters (Ross, 1994) by help of a xylographic advance party (locally/personally) inside out and (over)emphasizing similarities with the reigning *Rujiao* (religiously/philosophically) outside in and its (to-be) high ranking exponents (Analects I:8 in Wilhelm, 2005) top down, Ricci's work on the weakest of *wulun*-五伦-Five Bonds (Kutcher, 2000; Analects XII:11,23,24 in Wilhelm, 2005)

- avoided for the time being any possible irritation on the Chinese side that might arise from the Mission's position regarding the four other relationships more hierarchical in nature;
- nurtured the hope that those Literati who read *Jiaoyoulun* "would take a liking to [...] [Ricci], and that amity would in turn lead to protection [and validation]" (Brockey, 2007, p. 42), and eventually draw some to the Gospel or at least develop a favourable atmosphere to *win China for Christ*.

Jiaoyoulun finally convinced the learned and praising Literati and Elite audience of Ricci's trustworthiness and respect as a Chinese scholar in Confucian terms (Kutcher, 2000; Vila-Chã, 2010; Wang, 1991e) who "had overcome his unfortunate foreign origins to become one who could be treated as if he were Chinese" (Ross, 1994, p. 131). To such an extent emphasizing similarities and proving veritable (religious/ethical) alignment, the work on friendship discharged the Padre's image and "task as middlemen between East and West (Dunne, 1962, p. 45). It secured him, his confreres, the *China Mission*, and his European scientific and philosophical knowledge a reputed, intellectually challenging but highly acceptable and stable place amongst equals in order to eventually start their *commerce of conversion* top down and (personally) inside out. Regularly dwelling amongst likeminded validating, patrons and protectors who were "open to fresh thinking within the parameters of Confucianism" (Ross, 1994, p. 131) and eager to fill in the audience's quasi-philosophical void that resulted from a return movement to *original Confucianism* in contrast to the dominating *neo-Confucianism* of those "eunuchs and [...] very conservative scholars who dominated the administration of the empire" (Ross, 1994, p. 130), Ricci soon

- “became fully aware of the intellectual ferment going on among the Confucianist scholars [of *Donglin*-東林] [...] movement” (Ross, 1994, p. 130);
- learned (how) to better back the Christian message with *original Confucianism* (Corradini, 1997; Kim, 2004) simultaneously starting to tolerate (Lewis, 1988) “certain native cults to the ancestors and to [...] [Confucius] and interpreted in a Catholic sense what the classical authors had left as ambiguous” (Rosso, 1948, p.14); and
- acquired access to a group of likeminded Literati and Elite officials who later would either become Christians or, if they “did not seek baptism [,] [...] were [at least] sympathetic to the Society and whose help was often vital” (Ross, 1994, p. 132) to establish Christianity as a part of Chinese society (Dunne, 1962) and to eventually *win China for Christ*.

But emphasizing similarities, substantiating the ethico-cultural bridging project, forging further (religious/ethical) alignment, and taking sides with *Donglin* to pursue (hidden) agendas came at a cost. Following one Confucian currents of thought at the same time meant stressing/over-emphasizing differences with *neo-Confucianism* and its powerful adherents. As a result, sharing adversaries amongst equals brought the Fathers’ foes, competitors, and rivals to the scene. However, being completely absorbed in his exhausting schedule of visiting/revisiting, discussing philosophy and Faith, producing technical work, and pleasing all men, time was scarce to rack one’s head about future (c)overt opposition.

Assured of his secured status, Ricci finally asked de Sande to send Fathers for assistance and money to buy a house to set up permanent Residence (Ricci, 2010a). Complying with the demand, João Soerio (1566-1607) and Brother Francisco arrived in Nanchang on Christmas Eve 1595—full of hope and missionizing zeal but short of money (Ricci, 2001, 2010a).

Being nonetheless able to secure a way to and a buying licence of *Xunfu* with a sundial, a terrestrial globe, and other presents, the Fathers were able to acquire a house to be turned into the third Jesuit Residence that opened as such on 28 June 1596 (Ricci, 2010a).

Having learned from earlier misunderstandings, mistakes, and minor riots (Ricci, 2010a), and yielding to fact that at that time any gathering of people in great numbers aroused suspicion amongst Chinese officials who feared both foreign spies and the undermining power of the numerous secret, religious societies revolutionary in character, e.g. *Bailian jiao*-白蓮教-White Lotus Society (Brook, 2005; Hsü, 2000), the Fathers decided to “practice greater reserve in the deployment of the external apparatus of [...] [their] religious mission” (Dunne, 1962, p. 45). Having further learned from their social intercourse amongst the learned of the city that small group discussion in seminar rooms/*colloquia* might be the more effective than any form of public preaching (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Giulio Fuligatti—12.10.1596 in Ricci, 2001) the Padres replaced the chapel by a hall for discussions (Ricci, 2010a) to

- establish a fruitful exchange with the Literati and Elite;
- assuage curiosity of both the Literati and Elite and the Commoners; and
- expose the entire audience top down and bottom up to *Tianxue* (religiously/intellectually) inside out and (religiously/philosophically) outside in.

Emphasizing this particular similarity of spreading their religious ideas brought the Fathers even closer to their new image of *Predicatori letterati* and to their desired audience who—curious enough to take part in the bridging project and unprepossessed enough to inwardly profit from any (religious/ethical) alignment—soon flocked to the Residence to hear the Fathers “discourse on things Western” (Brockey, 2007, p. 46) and reference their lectures to Christianity (religiously/philosophically) outside in.

This cosy atmosphere in Nanchang notwithstanding, Ricci had his eyes still fixed upon Beijing.

Constantly requiring news from Valignano regarding the papal embassy to the Court of China (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Claudio Acquaviva—13.10.1596 in Ricci, 2001), he finally had to learn that neither Ruggieri nor a Legation was on its way.

As a result, Valignano started the indispensable preparations to provide Ricci with necessary support, presents, and status for the Father's own ascent to Beijing in summer 1597. On 4 August 1597, he appointed Ricci Superior of *China Mission*—granting him the lacking discretionary power—and ordered him to go to Beijing (Ricci, 2010a). Backing this decision, the Visitor sent Nicolò Longobardo (1565-1655) and João da Rocha (1565-1623) to Shaozhou to assist Cattaneo.

In 1598, the Emperor's birthday and an earlier personal promise of Wang Zhongming-王忠铭 (1542-1601?)—a retired official of *libu*-礼部-Ministry of Rites and one of Ricci's earlier acquaintances of Shaozhou—finally brought da Rocha and Cattaneo to Nanchang and Ricci closer to fulfilling his dream.

Heading towards Nanjing to reclaim his post at *libu* by way of rectifying the imperial calendar (Ricci, 2010a), the official promissoryly offered Ricci to take him to the Southern and the Northern Capital in order to assist him in the calendar revision and to present his own presents to the Emperor (Gallagher, 1953). In so using Ricci as his personal springboard back to power while counting on the Father's unselfishness and serviceability, Ricci likewise capitalized on the official's serviceability and hidden agenda to fulfil his. Leaving behind da Rocha and Soerio to administer the Nanchang Residence, Ricci, Cattaneo, two coadjutors of mixed ancestry, i.e. Fernandes and Manoel Pereira-You Wenhui-游文辉 (1575-1633), and the official finally set out for Nanjing on 25 June 1598 (Ricci, 2010a).

Unfortunately, Nanjing was not the place to be. Still under the impression of the Japanese invasion of the Korean peninsula, xenophobia in the Southern Capital had not calmed down (Ricci, 2010a). As nobody was able, prepared, and willing to host “a person whose clothes or whose countenance might give rise to suspicion” (Gallagher, 1953, p. 300), staying in the city was out of the question.

As even the Fathers' travel companion was afraid of being accused of fraternizing with foreigners (Ricci, 2010a), the entire party left Nanjing and followed the imperial canal towards Beijing. After sixteen years of patient waiting Ricci was at last *en route* to the Dragon Throne.

Different from leaving Nanjing, the canal cruise towards Beijing became a triumphal procession—especially for Ricci whose reputation, erudition, and world map had already found its way into vice-royal residences and studies and was now acclaimed at the manifold stopovers and dearly required at banquet tables (Ricci, 2010a). However, as the party arrived in Beijing on 07 September 1598, the festive music had unfortunately turned into a cacophony. The Japanese troops had renewed their fighting on the Korean peninsula. As a result, xenophobia in the city and amongst its inhabitants was high and rising. Despite all the earlier hobnobbing, not one of Ricci's earlier acquaintances, patrons and protectors, as well as other provided contacts living in the capital were willing to receive or to be seen with the Fathers or least of all support them (Ross, 1994). Additionally, as Wang Zhongming discovered that his enemies were still in power and re-joining *libu* was still impossible, the official adhered to Chinese law (Dunne, 1962). He left within one month after having offered congratulations and presents to the Emperor—also leaving behind the Padres without protection, support, and money (Ricci, 2010a). Learning of the real governmental conditions in the capital and disenchanted with the low range of earlier facilitators and catalysts, as well as patrons and protectors, the Fathers left that veritable “Babilonia di Confusione” (Ricci, 2010a, p. 287) on 05 November 1598 southwards to Nanjing—chiselled by a dishonest businessman, and disgusted with the intrigues (Ricci, 2010a).

But reaching the Southern Capital required some detours. As wintertime was a bad time for travel, the Fathers were forced to hibernate in Linqing, Shandong-山东 Province (Ricci, 2010a). Ricci—*anxious to keep things going*—turned towards Suzhou to meet Qu Taisu, to stay at his home to cure his exhaustion, and to contemplate next steps.

Stressing the still poised, xenophobic atmosphere in Nanjing and marketing Suzhou's qualities as being “near enough to Nanjing to enable Ricci's influence to reach it, [...] [but] far enough removed to obviate the dangers attendant upon a misstep” (Dunne, 1962, p. 57), Qu Taisu managed to argue Ricci into setting up a Residence in his hometown (Ricci, 2010a).

To officially facilitate and catalyse the foundation of the Residence, Ricci and his comrade and (future) convert had to nonetheless go to Nanjing. What started as a short business trip to acquire further protection and validation from Wang Zhongming via letters of introduction to the Suzhou *shenshi* acquired an unexpected momentum. As a result of General Hideyoshi's death (16.09.1598), the Sino-Japanese war was ended and the apparently unbeaten Japanese troops (Hsü, 2000) were recalled from the Korean peninsula—leaving behind a Chinese Empire eager to reframe the near-to-defeat into a glorious victory (Dunne, 1962; Ross, 1994) and a fading xenophobia amongst its officials and elite (Ross, 1994). While Ricci and Qu Taisu arrived in Nanjing on 06 February 1599 to take temporary residence at Cheng'ensi-承恩寺 Temple, anti-foreignism had eased enough to

- allow Ricci's reputation and powerful *guanxi*-relationships to gain full recognition (Ricci, 2010a);
- enable Ricci's old friends and other high-ranking curiosity seekers to visit the Father in order to catch up with him and/or to bask in his reputation (2010a);
- permit Qu Taisu to praise Ricci to the skies as well as to friends and visitors from the top down (Gallagher, 1953); and
- secure Ricci an overwhelming reception by Wang Zhongming as well as by many other *Guanfu* of the city who all tried to outdo each other on keeping *Xitai* in town (Ricci, 2010a).

When Zhu Shilin-祝石林—*Yushi*-御史-imperial Censor and highest official in Nanjing—finally “joined the chorus of voices urging [Ricci] [...] to stay” (Ross, 1994, p. 135) and declaring him Chinese, not by birth but naturalized by status and sojourn, gaining foothold by setting up the Jesuits' fourth permanent Residence became a *fait accompli*. Ricci thus once again profited from the intercession of the growing number of facilitating and catalysing Chinese Others, old and new patrons and protectors, and Chinese comrades and (future) converts. He also capitalized on his own already highly accomplished Chineseness by way of internal and external adaptation and congruity as well as by means of an impressive fluency/mastery of spoken and literary *quanhua*.

As a result, he

- acquired, rekindled, and secured protection and validation;
- re-strengthened the basis for his “apostolate of influence” (de Saldanha, 2012, p. 157); and
- laid firm ground for his *commerce of conversion* amongst equals to be initiated top down and (personally) inside out.

As Cattaneo and the two coadjutors finally joined Ricci in Nanjing in April 1599, the Fathers’ passive *modus procedendi sinensis* of *winning China for Christ* was set, settled, and laid out and—mainly after Ricci’s death—became de facto sacrosanct with every fundamental deviation from its basic principles retaliating immediately (Brockey, 2007).

Being nonetheless aware about the fickleness of their Chinese high ranking hosts—simultaneously going hand in hand with an unstableness of their own and the Padres’ status—applying Ricci’s passive approach on its current scale did neither necessarily safeguard the *commerce of conversion* nor its representatives from being overturned. Further refining, meliorating, sublimating, and up-grading the chosen passive approach towards the highest political protection and validation possible was still necessary.

To go on clearing the soil for sowing and a future fruitful harvest (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Girolamo Costa—14.08.1599 in Ricci, 2001), hence, to enable conversion and change to happen in future, the Fathers carried on prudently with their passive, pacific, culturally adaptive, virtuous, and learned apostolate amongst equals on “high social visibility” (Brockey, 2007, p. 244).

Doing so, they took up their familiar, tried and tested but exhaustive schedule of working in the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord*. They unhesitatingly applied their *modus procedendi sinensis passivus* to win the city's high and highest Chinese for Christ as outlined in **Table 3**.

Facets of the <i>modus procedendi sinensis passivus</i>	
The Fathers went on	
>	travelling to and fro in their <i>jiaozi</i> -轿子-palanquin <i>in pontificalibus</i> to visit friends/acquaintances and to be later re-visited, stocking up their store of <i>guanxi</i> -relationships
>	writing highly praised, far-spread, and convert-attracting books of seemingly non-religious content, such as <i>Si Yuanxing Lun</i> -四元行论-essay analysing/refuting the ancient Chinese tradition of <i>wuxing</i> -五行-five fundamental elements of the Universe, and introducing the European tradition of <i>stoicheion</i> -στοιχείον-the four elements (Ricci, 2010a) in so sharing <u>practical learning and natural reason</u> , piquing/satisfying <u>mutual (scientific) curiosity and establishing (fruitful) exchange</u> while proving the truth of the Gospel/Faith by simultaneously <u>emphasizing similarities</u> and <u>stressing differences</u> with the hosting technical, cultural, religious, and philosophical environment and teachings (religiously/philosophically) <u>outside in</u>
>	presenting “la civiltà cristiana[the Christian civilization]” (Ricci, 2010a, p. 329), that is, the Corporal and Spiritual Works of Mercy (Mt. 25:34-46; Book of Tobit), the charitable Confraternities/Sodalities, the (works of) various religious orders, charitable donations to the deserving poor/destitute (religiously/intellectually) <u>inside out</u> to both <i>baixing</i> and <i>shenshi</i> by way of own example and/or conversation in so further stressing own <u>unselfishness and serviceability</u> while <u>emphasizing similarities</u> , highlighting <u>internal and external</u> (religious/ethical) <u>alignment</u> , and stressing the results of the <u>bridging project</u> regarding the Fathers, the Faith, the Gospel in relation to the Chinese value canon, Chinese practice, and Chinese hosts
>	lecturing to the knowledge and curiosity seekers in their Residence during daytime <u>top down</u> and <u>bottom up</u> and impressing Chinese hosts during regular, <i>parrhesian</i> discourses “on things Western” (Brockey, 2007, p. 46), the Confucian classics, and the Gospel in the evening (religiously/philosophically) <u>outside in</u> and (religiously/intellectually) <u>inside out</u> , in so silently merging Chinese practical morality and natural reason with “the [lacking] supernatural as taught by God” (Gallagher, 1953, p. 156) to integrate its according outcome in the Chinese <i>original-Confucianist</i> value system (Zürcher, 1993).
>	setting boundaries by positioning themselves and the Faith as an antipode to Buddhism/“Buddho-Taoist admixtures” (Zürcher, 1993, p. 75) and <i>neo-Confucianism</i> as well as a resort/salvation for those who strive for self-realization, feel the philosophical void and the commingling and confusion resulting from not finding the harmony in studying <i>Sanjiaoheyi</i> -三教合一-Three Teachings harmonious as One (Lewis, 1988; Ricci, 2010a; Teiser, 1996).

Table 31: Facets of the *modus procedendi sinensis passivus*

Table 3: Facets of the *modus procedendi sinensis passivus*, based on Brockey (2007); Gallagher (1953); Lewis (1988); Ricci (2010a); Teiser (1996); Zürcher (1993), compiled by author

In so simultaneously impressing *baixing* and mostly catering to the mind-set of the erudite *shenshi*, the Fathers went on sowing their spiritual seed to fall on good ground (Mk. 4:3-8). During their daily encounter with “the great and the good” (Brockey, 2007, p. 244) as well as with those who labour and are heavy laden (Mt. 11:28), some of the seed did indeed fall on good ground and yielded lasting fruit.

Amongst the nameless *baixing* and—despite the culture-related problems of risking/abandoning status and reputation, possessions and wealth (Mt. 19:24), and concubines when seeking transition towards a new frozen (religious) moment—from within the group of better/well-known Literati and Elite, a small but growing fold of baptized Christians was created (Ricci, 2010a).

From those who gave up to gain and carried forth the *commerce of conversion* amongst their own people of equal higher birth, rank/status, and background (Gal. 2:9), Xu Guangqi-徐光启 (1562-1633, baptised Paolo in 1603) became one of the three important role-models known as *Zhongguo Tianzhu jiao de san dazhushi*-中国天主教的三大柱石-*Three Great Pillars of Chinese Catholicism* (Lewis, 1988; Peterson, 1988). They were later involved, collaborated, and assisted the Fathers to spread the Gospel amongst equals top down, (personally) inside out, and—by making conversion and Faith a veritable *family business*—(pastorally) outside in.

In April/May 1600, Ricci met Xu Guangqi (Ricci, 2010a) whose reason for seeking transition towards a new (religious) frozen moment became one example of the

- multifaceted, time-consuming but dynamic process/the manifold causes leading towards self-realization and self-diagnosing of a Literatus and a member of the Elite at that time (Lewis, 1988; Peterson, 1988; Ricci, 2010a; Standaert, 2001b); and
- contact points between Father, Faith, and high-ranking neophytes (Peterson, 1988; Standaert, 2001b).

Trying to overcome personal crises, striving for filling a felt philosophical void, and dissolving commingling and confusion by seeking out and turning towards new alternatives, Xu Guangqi was looking for change and transformation and was hence, prepared for a desperate leap (Peterson, 1988; Standaert, 2001b; Übelhör, 1968, 1969). As a matter of fact, he was

- concerned about the deficiencies that manifested themselves in Late Ming cultural environment—also including practical learning which, at least at that time, possessed a broad, comprehensive religious connotation (Peterson, 1988; Standaert, 2001b; Übelhör, 1968, 1969);
- frustrated by failing the Metropolitan Examination (Ricci, 2010a);
- struggling with the “questions of life and death” (Standaert, 2001b, p. 182) in the context of his mother’s death (Dudink, 2001a);
- discontented with the ineffectiveness of an interior norm—as mainly propagated by *neo-Confucianism*—“to help people to do good and avoid evil” (Standaert, 2001b, p. 172) in general and Confucianist reticence regarding “dell’altra vita e della salvation delle anime” (Ricci, 2010a, p. 432) in particular (Peterson, 1988; Übelhör, 1968, 1969); and
- quested for intellectual certainty (Standaert, 2001b; Übelhör, 1968, 1969) to lift his scepticism by adding “an earnest quality [...] to the moral values he inherited from his tradition” (Peterson, 1988, p. 147).

In this regard seeking transition towards a new (intellectual) frozen moment in Christianity, Xu Guangqi’s brief stay in Nanjing only allowed Ricci for a religious crash course—solely touching catechistical basics (religiously/intellectually) inside out and planting the seed of lasting fruit that was to be reaped by da Rocha in 1603 (Ricci, 2010a; Standaert, 2001b; Übelhör, 1968, 1969).

Apart the conversion-favouring one-to-one’s and considering the entire, favourable situation in Nanjing, for nearly two years Ricci had cultivated, sublimated, and refined his

- passive *modus procedendi sinensis* of spreading the Gospel amongst equals mostly top down and (personally) inside out;

- “manner of a *junzi*[-君子] (superior man) [incorporating] the Confucian ideal of the self-disciplined aesthete with stern morality and great intellectual style” (Lewis, 1988, p. 122); and
- “persona as a *Xiru*[-西儒]” (Brockey, 2007, p. 49)-(Confucian) Scholar of the West.

As a result, the Jesuits’ fourth Residence had acquired a respectable permanence as did the Fathers. This status quo notwithstanding, Ricci did not lose track of winning highest approval of Faith and Fathers as well as of further securing permanent foothold in the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord* from the very top down.

In late spring 1600, Ricci “was [finally] eager [and prepared] to present himself [and Christianity] to the highest ranks of Chinese officialdom” (p. 49) in Beijing as equals. To nonetheless avoid a 1598-rerun, Ricci sought advice from his *Guanfu*-acquaintances and letters of introduction to take the Jesuits to Beijing, into *Zijincheng*-紫禁城-Forbidden City, and in front of the Dragon Throne (Ricci, 2010a).

Planned with an attuned military precision (Ross, 1994), Ricci finally gathered Padres, presents, and petitions and headed to the Northern Capital to win new Mandarin confederates to achieve the following:

- Make Christianity an orthodox/orthoprax constant in the Empire
- Establish the Padres as an absolute term in the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord*
- Enable the *modus procedendi sinensis* to take off
- Allow the *commerce of conversion* to become a job tenure

Finally on 18 May 1600, Ricci, Diego de Pantoja (1571-1618)—a Jesuit newcomer who accompanied Cattaneo back from Macao in March 1600 to fortify the *milites Christi* in their front ranks—, the two coadjutors Sebastião and Francisco, and a palace eunuch set sail for Beijing—leaving behind Cattaneo to care for the Nanjing Residence and Soerio to do the same in Nanchang (Ricci, 2010a).

On their trip up the imperial canal towards Beijing, the Fathers' reputation and gifts to the Dragon Throne secured first class accommodation on board. It also cleared many obstacles as presents and Padres lured local dignitaries aboard to have a look at the precious, unfamiliar items as well as to meet and greet the famous Ricci (Ricci, 2010a, Ross, 1994). Refraining from keeping a low profile (Ricci, 2010a) but parading "the dignity and seriousness of their mission to present gifts to the Emperor" (Ross, 1994, p. 138), the canal cruise started as a triumph march. Ignoring the dangers of travelling to Beijing as a non-officially summoned tribute embassy (Brockey, 2007), the Fathers went on capitalizing only on their

- high level of social visibility;
- facilitating and catalysing friends and acquaintances in the cities alongside the canal; and
- exhibited Chinese form of self-certitude.

On 3 July 1600, the festive song unfortunately ended on a bitter note the moment the travel party reached Linqing and met Ma Tang-马堂—an eunuch in charge of the imperial Customs service and an apparently vicious, dangerous, but obedient creature of its kind (Ricci, 2010a; Ross, 1994; Tsai, 1996; Wang, 1991d).

First arrested on board and than searched, the Fathers were soon transferred to Tianjin and imprisoned in the fortress of the city. On 09 January 1601, after two memorials written by Ma Tang to the Imperial Palace requiring orders and the Fathers' several unsuccessful efforts to acquire help from acquaintances in Nanjing and Beijing who all refused to defend the Padres, the missionaries were miraculously summoned to Beijing (Ricci, 2010a). On 24 January 1601—having faced nearly six months of stopover, imprisonment, disappointments, bad treatment, emotional swayings, and the power of praying—the Fathers finally entered the Northern Capital (Ricci, 2010a). Backed by a first demonstration of tacit imperial favour and approvement (Brockey, 2007), the Padres were finally able to measure up to the Order's, Valignano's, and their own expectations to hold one's religious ground in the metropolis amongst equals.

Initially billeted in a hostel for tribute embassies called the “palace for foreigners or ambassadors” (Witek, 2005, p. 95), the Fathers were amongst equals indeed.

This feeling notwithstanding, reality soon closed in on the Fathers. Ignorant of the real power relationships in the capital, surprisingly still naïve regarding the Do’s and Don’ts underlying the administrative processes that regulated dealings with the court in general, and between court and barbarians in particular, and unable to discern friends from foes et vice versa, the Padres’ plan of obtaining imperial permission and authorization to establish themselves in the city and to preach the Gospel freely in the metropolis and the entire country took another false start (Ricci, 2010a).

Bypassing the authority of the appropriate government office (Ross, 1994), Ma Tang dispatched directly to the court the Jesuits’

- presents—amongst others a roman breviary, an empty reliquary in the form of a cross, the inevitable chiming clocks and glass prisms, and a cembalo (Ricci, 2010a); and
- *Shang Daming Huangdi Gongxian Tuwu Zou*-上大明黃帝貢獻土物奏- introductory letter to the court calligraphied “in highly polished Chinese [and] drafted by a [Chinese high-ranking] friend and admirer” (Hsü, 2000, p. 98) simultaneously stressing the Fathers’ high level of *wenhua* and *wenming*, their de facto naturalized status and declaring their willingness to offer their respect as well as their geographical, astronomical, and mathematical talents to the disposition of the Emperor (27.01.1601) (Bettray, 1955; Hsü, 2000; Ricci, 2010a).

Doing so, Ma Tang’s disservice challenged administration rules and the authority of *libu* “responsible for the screening of all foreigners seeking entry to the capital to present gifts to the Emperor” (Ross, 1994, p. 139). As a result, the missionaries got caught in the crossfires of Beijing politics. Only half-heartedly supported by acquainted *Guanfu*, the Fathers became “a pawn in the unceasing contest between eunuchs and mandarins” (Dunne, 1962, p. 78) for several months.

Being finally cleared of the severe accusation of trespassing imperial law and administrative customs by *libu*, freed from the cabals and intrigues amongst *Guanfu* and eunuchs, and tacitly tolerated by a non-interfering Emperor who apparently put clocks and serviceability above solving feuds and administrative trivia (Dunne, 1962; Ross, 1994; Wang, 1991d), the Padres, coadjutors, and their servants were allowed to take permanent residence outside the area reserved for foreigners (28.05.1601).

Supported by imperial treasury and by some high ranking Chinese benefactors as well as integrated in the horde of (day) labourers and “vassalli del re della Cina” (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Claudio Acquaviva—13.02.1583 in Ricci, 2001, p. 51), the missionaries started offering their capabilities as well as their unselfishness and serviceability to *Tianzi*-天子-the Son of Heaven (Ricci, 2010a; Witek, 2005).

Finally summoned to *Zijincheng* to repair clocks, to instruct palace eunuchs how to attend to the mechanical devices, to teach other eunuchs to play the clavichord, and to sing Ricci’s newly composed religious motets (Galliano, 2005; Ricci, 2010a, 2010b), the Fathers’ status amongst equals was re-established and further increased.

Being so blessed with tacit imperial favour, recognition, and permission to stay the missionaries were once again visiting and re-visiting/visited and revisited by early and new acquaintances, respective patrons and protectors, and facilitators and catalysts (Ricci, 2010a). To such an extent re-established amongst high-ranking equals, the Padres soon resumed their time consuming schedule of upgrading work, image, and *guanxi*-relationships at neglect of preaching the Gospel (Brockey, 2007; Witek, 2005).

Immortalized by imperial command in *Gongbi*-工笔-brush painting (Ricci, 2010a), the Fathers “had [once again and] to an extraordinary degree shed their foreignness [...] [and finally acquired] a status and position within Chinese society that no other foreigners had [thitherto] achieved” (Ross, 1994, p. 140).

Being back on track, Ricci likewise

- resumed casting his literary net to bait high and higher-ranking Chinese officials top down and (personally) inside out by means of his “pre-evangelical dialogue” (Lancashire & Hu, 1985, p. 15) (religiously/intellectually) inside out or in Ricci’s words “Catechismus Sinicus” (Ricci, 1985, p. 460) *Tianzhu Shiyi*—printed in Beijing in 1603 but circulated and in parts hand-copied amongst companions and confreres, facilitators and catalysts throughout the Empire prior to its official publication (Lancashire & Hu, 1985);
- continued forging (religious/ethical) alignment and (over)emphasizing similarities between *Rujiao* and *Tianzhu jiao* and so presenting “Christianity as a faith that could be adopted by a Confucian [...] [*Guanfu*] while he remained an official of the empire and a follower of the philosophy of Confucius” (Ross, 1994, p. 145); and
- laid the groundwork for the second *Pillar of Chinese Catholicism* (Lewis, 1988) by developing a close, fruitful, and spiritual friendship with Li Zhizao-李之藻 (1565-1630 – in 1610 baptised Leone)—a senior official of the Ministry of Public Works, Director of the Imperial Canals, and District Official (Ross, 1994)—based on Ricci’s Works of Mercy in 1610 and a mutual interest in/exchange of practical learning since 1601 (Ricci, 2010a, 2010b).

That was the situation amongst equals in the Beijing where Ricci and de Pantoja were basking in their “high social visibility [underlined by author]” (Brockey, 2007, p. 244) and paraded their sameness regarding *wenhua* and *wenming*. Baiting and netting in the metropolitan pond by means of their *modus procedendi sinensis passivus*, they once again capitalized on

- prevailing mutual (scientific) curiosity and (fruitful) exchange;
- spreading and sharing practical morality, practical learning, and practical reason;
- taking sides with *original Confucianism* and siding with its proponents; and
- pursuing and proving their unselfishness and serviceability to the *Chinese Others*.

However, preaching the Gospel in the backwaters, to the Commoners, and to those who labour and are heavy laden (Mt. 11:28) outside Beijing's city walls was a different affaire.

Da Rocha and Cattaneo (Nanjing), Soerio (Nanchang), and Longobardo (Shaozhou) went on mirroring Ricci's successes amongst "the great and the good" (Brockey, 2007, p. 244). To do so, they profited from their necessary background knowledge acquired by working hard through the ratio studiorum sinensis, still rooted in the proven *modus procedendi sinensis* which already carried the Fathers to Beijing and further capitalized on

- Ricci's pullulating reputation and fame which was carried into the even most remote corners of the Empire via word-of-mouth and book cases by the numerous candidates who travelled to the examination centres and back to their villages, and *Guanfu* who were shuffled around the Empire;
- the "high social visibility [underlined by author]" (Brockey, 2007, p. 244) that came with the adapted and established Literati dress code; and
- the power of Ricci's name.

However, in spite of improved fortunes in their Residences and further successes to secure status and safety as well as patrons and protectors *intra muros* (Brockey, 2007; Ricci, 2010a; Standaert et al., 2001), the religious harvest amongst high and higher ranking equals outside Beijing was poor and frustrating (Ricci, 2010a).

To thus enliven/animate the languishing *commerce of conversion* it seemed advisable to turn towards milieus "different from [...] [the missionaries'] urban haunts" (Brockey, 2007, p. 293). It hence, became necessary to extend the line of action personally, religiously/intellectually, and locally. However, extensive proselytization

- in the city's not-so-fancy parts and *extra muros*;
 - outside the *colloquia* and away from the city's various religious currents; and
 - aside the Literati and Elite and amongst the Commoners bottom up,
- required tactical modulations of the established *modus procedendi sinensis*.

To such an extent complementing (Brockey, 2007) Ricci's propagated more strategic *modo soave cinese passivo* necessitated including new perspectives, a shifting focus, an altered image, and other, more spiritual baits to fish *baixing* in the rural tarn. After nearly twenty years of incessant preparatory labour and ambitious advancement, *winning* entire *China for Christ* both top down and bottom up seemed to come within reach.

Unfortunately, the permanent foothold so dearly bought, oftentimes regained, and enduringly preserved still rested on feet of clay. Any change in power-structures, political atmosphere, or *guanxi*-relationships as well as every deviation that went too far from “the reticent approach so emphatically recommended by Ricci” (Franke, 1967, p. 42) could still put at risk, challenge, and/or finally overturn both the Fathers' fragile status (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Francesco Pasio—15.02.1609 in Ricci, 2001) and their endeavour of bringing *Tianzhu jiao* to China.

From this basis on, the time of ***Heaven and Earth*** in the Jesuits' experience can be understood.

Appendix VIII: *Heaven and Earth* (1599-1644)

Destigmatized from living “in the enclosure for foreigners [...] [, finally] released and given the freedom of the city” (Dunne, 1962, p. 83) on 28 May 1601 (Ricci, 2010a) as well as tacitly tolerated and so even more effectively protected and validated by their imperial patron and protector Wanli Emperor (Dunne, 1962; Witek, 2005), Ricci and de Pantoja once again became busy (indirectly) entertaining emperor, eunuchs, and erudites (Ricci, 2010a).

As soon as the Fathers’ legal (residential) status within the capital became clear, undisputed, and known, earlier *Guanfu*-acquaintances re-emerged. Additionally “many more [new] distinguished scholars and administrators [as well as examination candidates] flocked to visit [...] the Jesuit [R]esidence” (Ross, 1994, p. 145) where the Padres took up again Ricci’s *Guanfu*-proof *modo soave cinese passivo*:

- Displaying their omnium-gatherum of European curiosities to the swelling stream of curiosity seekers of all ranks
- Discouraging on (European) science and (Chinese classical) philosophy—purposely waving Christianity into the conversation (religiously/intellectually) inside out
- Handing out religious tracts, and, if possible prospects enquired into the subject and the (inter)dependence between practical learning and the Gospel, voluntarily pushing (religious/ethical) alignment and (over)emphasizing similarities while relating the(ir) Faith to *Tianxue* and *original Confucianism* (religiously/philosophically) outside in

In so once more melting into the message and blending into their Chinese background to become Chinese to the Chinese, the missionaries re-exerted themselves for building up and perpetuating an attractive image of themselves and *Tianzhu jiao* (Brockey, 2007) as well as for promoting *Tianxue* with all its interrelated religious, ethical, philosophical, moral, scientific, and technical facets/manifestations to the metropolitan elite top down and (personally) inside out (Brockey, 2007; Ross, 1994).

Adhering to their established but equally well-known exhaustive schedule, the most exclusive part of the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord* was prepared to be tended and the spiritual seed was ready to be sown. To do so, the Fathers went on setting boundaries while combatting Buddhism (Liu, 2015; Ricci, 2010a) and dismissing “Daoism as no more than a grab bag of divining and fortune-telling techniques” (Brockey, 2007, p. 299) unworthy of a member of the educated class (Corradini, 1997). Constantly working towards achieving “*una religio in rituum varietate*” (Cusanus, 1453/1943, p. 93), they carried on with the following:

- (Over)emphasizing similarities while proclaiming Christianity as a palatable “message of continuity” (Ross, 1994, p. 148) “that could be adopted by a Confucian [...] [*Guanfu*] while he remained an official” (p. 145) and adherent of *Rujiao* (Zürcher, 1997a)
- Presenting Christianity (religiously/philosophically) outside in by following a line of argument that rooted in *theologia naturalis* as both “a complete philosophy [...] [that supplements the Chinese value-system] because of its fundamental agreement with ‘original’ Confucianism” (Ross, 1994, p. 146) and a “legge di unione e di pace” (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Francesco Pasio—15.02.1609 in Ricci, 2001, p. 519) that complements the original Confucian understanding of serving the cause of good government and peace in the empire (Wilhelm, 2005; Zürcher, 1993)

To such an extent “creating an atmosphere receptive to the Christian leaven” (Dunne, 1962, p. 43, conversion amongst Beijing *shenshi* of whatever rank, level and profession nonetheless came at rare intervals (Ricci, 2010a), and/or required considerable patience and staying power on both the advocates’ and the potential/future acceptors’ side (Rambo, 1993; Witek, 2005). Additionally, those who were initially drawn to the Jesuits by means of mutual (scientific) curiosity and (fruitful) exchange as well as by sharing similar positions regarding practical morality, practical learning, and the use of natural reason often refrained from converting (Ricci, 2010a).

Learning about the social impediments that came with accepting Christianity (Ricci, 2010a), e.g. repudiating their concubines, danger of professional setbacks, losing esteem of their peers, and becoming aware of the new religion-related un-Chinese Christian ritual practices, such as kneeling during confession, they ceded their share in *soteriological salvation* to “retired officials old enough to dispense with any concubines and persons no longer dependent on others who might not favor Christianity” (Brockey, 2007, p. 48).

But even if those who were “irresistibly drawn to [...] [the Fathers] by [...] [their] renown as [...] master[s] of science” (Dunne, 1962, p. 43) did not seek transition towards a new (religious) *yidongbudong*-frozen moment, or upgrade (scientific) curiosity by religious fervour, they likewise did not turn away from the Padres and their offer of/insights into practical morality, practical learning, and the use of natural reason. They rather became sympathetic facilitators and catalysts of the missionaries and their various scientific projects at court as well as their academic and religious writings. Additionally, they made themselves indispensably supportive in spreading tracts, Faith and Gospel inside the metropolitan city walls as well as *extra muros* in their ancestral provinces, regions, and hometowns (Brockey, 2007; Witek, 2005) both (personally) inside out and (pastorally) outside in.

Voluntarily accepting this ambiguity to prove their unselfishness and serviceability to the likeminded high and highest of the metropolis hence, became a necessity to

- “build and cultivate the church in their shadow and with their help” (Brockey, 2007, p. 48);
- further improve the Fathers’ own and Christianity’s reputation (Ross, 1994) amongst “the great and the good” (Brockey, 2007, p. 244); and
- strengthen the “‘apostolate of influence’ [from within]” (de Saldanha, 2012, p. 157).

Thus, encouraged by their *Guanfu*-acquaintances to satisfy Chinese scientific curiosity and to fruitfully exchange the philosophical ideas, scientific knowledge and technical expertise of the West (Wang, 1991b), the Beijing Padres quickly learned to wield this double edged sword for the greater good (Brockey, 2007) of the *China Mission* and to pursue their own (not so) hidden agenda ad maiorem Dei gloriam. Doing so, they deliberately assumed the non-pastoral duties that came with serving the court and writing non-religious treatises as claimed by the *Chinese Literati Others* (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Francesco Pasio—15.02.1609 in Ricci, 2001)—not only *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*, but also to secure protection and validation for the sake of the Fathers left behind to fish men in the rural tarn.

As the news of the Padres' positive reception in Beijing began to travel by words and letters along the threads of the Jesuits' extensive and further growing *Guanfu*-network also into the most remote corners of the Empire (Brockey, 2007), “the fortunes of the missionaries in Nanjing, Nanchang, and Shaozhou [likewise] improved” (p. 50). Knowing Ricci and de Pantoja being placed safe and secure in the *commodo luogo* and being hence, assured of protection and validation from afar, the Fathers in the provinces ventured to step out of the shadow of Ricci's wings and the social settings of their urban Residences (Brockey, 2007). To such an extent buoyed by Ricci's fame and frustrated by the meagre number of conversions *intra muros* where other religious alternatives prevailed (Brockey, 2007), da Rocha and Cattaneo (Nanjing), Soerio (Nanchang), and Longobardo (Shaozhou) eventually performed their desperate leap. Doing so, they headed to the country side to draw “new converts [...] from the three classes into which the vast majority of the Chinese population fell, [i.e.] merchants, craftsmen and peasants” (Ross, 1994, p. 166) (Mt. 11:25). To thus sell their spiritual message to *baixing* and to sow their spiritual grain more vigorously in previously untouched areas/lower social settings (locally) inside out—still avoiding the outcasts as working amongst them would be culturally not appropriate and socially not acceptable for the Fathers (Ross, 1994)—the Padres first of all capitalized on the “high social visibility [underlined by author]” (Brockey, 2007, p. 244) and status of importance that came with the colours and cuts of a pseudo-*Guanfu* robe (Brockey, 2007; Peterson, 1994).

Other than the Fathers' equalizing apparelled positioning amongst the Literati and Elite, wearing the almost-vestment of a scholar-official amongst the rural population foremost created a helpful hierarchical distance between advocate/the Father, and (potential) acceptor/the (possible) convert. In so cashing in on the “symbolic gravity of their public image as authority figures” (Brockey, 2007, p. 83) and on the to-be-expected obedience as rooted in a comparable ruler-subject relationship based on *wulun* (Wilhelm, 2005), the missionaries—simultaneously (over)emphasizing similarities and setting boundaries—got easy access to the pagan huts.

However, getting into the hearts of the future neophytes and to stay there, fostering a particular spiritual *isonomia*-ἰσονομία to prevail between Shepherd and Flock, and establishing a new, intriguing, and lasting form of identity, hence, preparing the way and making straight a highway for the Lord (Is 40:3; Mk 1:1-3) into rural China bottom up, required tactical modulations of the already established *modus procedendi sinensis*. Doing so meant adapting the degree of activeness to the expected target audience. To thus enable, implement, and guide conversion/religious transformation from within the new target group (personally) inside out, lofty one-to-one discussions amongst equals on philosophy, moral issues, and/or technical novelties while appealing to the addressee's head and intellect, emphasizing religio-philosophical similarities, and stressing conceptual (religious/ethical) alignment was not the Padres' prime focus—especially as many of the prospective rural converts were unlettered (Brockey, 2007; Witek, 2005). Instead, dealing with the Commoners and finally anchoring the message required a targeted, straight-forward, *baixing*-appropriate(d), *Tianzhu jiao*-focused, push-approach (Kotler, 2001). **Table 4** summarizes those facets of this *modus procedendi sinensis activus* to *win common China for Christ*.

Facets of the <i>modus procedendi sinensis activus</i>	
>	entering into a dialogue based on comparison and analogies drawn from the peasants' daily experience and environment (Witek 2005)
>	touching the five senses (Ricci, 2010a)
>	offering less secular benefits (Rambo, 1993)
>	embedding <i>Tianzhu jiao</i> and its visual/palpable manifestations into the prevailing religious pragmatism (Brockey, 2007; Witek, 2005) to finally annihilate idolatry and rededicate its tools to fit into Christian standards
>	proving the ineffectiveness of profane rites and the weakness as well as corruption of all rival deities (Brockey, 2007)
>	stressing the superiority of Christian morality vis-à-vis the more floating moral standards of Buddhism and Confucianism (Zürcher, 1990)—a <i>Sisyphusian task</i> as at least the moral standards of Buddhism and Confucianism were beyond reproach as were the Buddhist deities and Master Kong (Gernet, 1985; Ricci, 2005b)
>	working with groups and families, family heads, and headmen of the villages (Ricci, 2010a)
>	acknowledging prevailing rural line of commands, domestic idiosyncrasies, sex segregation, and gender taboos (Ricci, 2010a)

Table 32: Facets of the *modus procedendi sinensis activus*

Table 4: Facets of the *modus procedendi sinensis activus*, based on Brockey (2007); Gernet (1985, 2012), Rambo (1993); Ricci (2005a, 2010a); Witek (2005); Zürcher (1990), compiled by author

In so availing of the Church's classical proselytization approaches and of those lessons learned from the nascent Church the Fathers strove for creating "tangible devotions [comparable to] [...] ordinary Christians in early modern Catholic Europe" (Brockey, 2007, p. 294) (religiously/philosophically) outside in and (religiously/intellectually) inside out. To thus (over)emphasize similarities while setting boundaries in order to eventually achieve internal and external (religious/ethical) alignment, they played down their *Xiru*-image. In return, they stressed that of a "wandering holy man" (Brockey, 2007, p. 293) who did nonetheless not ramble in Buddhist fashion "from village to village with begging bowls in hand" (p. 95) but who descended to the hamlets in the lap of "symbolic legitimacy" (p. 95) to market his *soteriological promises* amongst the Commoners.

Already in late June|early July 1599—animated by his missionary zeal and earlier experiences amongst villagers outside Shaozhou—Longobardo left the Jesuit Residence, his daily routine, and the city's *shenshi* to cast his spiritual net in the villages *extra muros* (Ricci, 2010a). In doing so, he established an evangelization tactic that, although basically rooting in Ricci's *modo soave cinese passivo*, pushed the boundaries (locally, personally, and religiously/intellectually) inside out. It later became one major building block of the Jesuits' standardized proselytization approach amongst the Commoners that was bindingly laid down in the 1621 regulations of the Jesuits' Vice-Province and only refined thereafter (Brockey, 2007; Metzler, 1980).

To apply his particular “apostolate of influence” (de Saldanha, 2012, p. 157) simultaneously capitalizing on his high level of external adaptation and congruity and emphasizing similarities with the intellectual capability, the political power, and the religio-ethical and philosophical background of both Confucian scholars and *Guanfu* by means of appearance, articulation, alignment, and accoutrement, the missionary—as a prelude to getting into the villagers' huts and hearts—staged a grand, public entrance as a person of value and importance whose message would be heard and hopefully obeyed (Ricci, 2010a). To further back up message and medium by means of valorising both, a Chinese convert or coadjutor was sent into the hamlet of choice (Gallagher, 1953). There, he was to herald the arrival of “il *Predicatore dell'Ultimo Occidente*” (Ricci, 2010a, p. 381) and to set the scene by quasi staging the visitation of a (political) dignitary. Playing on the summoner's natural Chineseness and the persuasiveness of his fangyan, the messenger piqued curiosity and made his fellow countrymen assemble to expect the bearer of good tidings simultaneously defining a clear role allocation that endowed the Padre's spiritual message with an appropriate degree of (personal) value and importance already from the start.

To then catechize those pagans who never had any contact with Christianity, Longobardo partially adhered to the stages recommended by the *Catechismus Romanus* (Catechismus Romanus, 1566/1867).

Aiming at a particular supportive internal (intellectual/emotional) adaptation and congruity, the Father thus tailored and modified the common catechetical Augustinian four-stage scheme of *narratio*, *explicatio*, *interrogatio*, and *exhortatio* to fit to the following (Augustinus, 405/1934; Drews, 1934; Fischer, 1986; Ricci, 2010a):

- The Commoners' requirements and (pre-)disposition (religiously/intellectually) inside out
- His own pastoral needs (religiously/philosophically) outside in

To such an extent preparing the ground for sowing the spiritual grain, Longobardo, placed at a table facing an expectant audience (Ricci, 2010a), immediately broached the story of his particular *Journey to the East* (*narratio*) and started to literally *sound down* from his *cathedra* the true religion of God and its *soteriological promises* to the rural crowd by means of making comparisons and drawing analogies (Brockey, 2007).

Bridging the spatial and religious distance to hopefully fill the rural public's spiritual void, the Father straightforwardly went for explaining (*explicatio*) each of the Ten Commandments as both a conceptual system (Rambo, 1993) and base of moral grounding to rule life and labour (Ricci, 2010a). While emphasizing the prevailing similarities between the Decalogue and Chinese cultural precepts, such as to honour father and mother (4th Commandment) (Dtn. 5:16; Prov. 19:26, Prov. 30:17) and obeying *xiao*-孝-filial piety (Analects I: 2, 11; II:5-8 in Wilhelm, 2005), the missionary displayed his high degree of internal adaptation and congruity. He also showed (religious/ethical) alignment but carefully avoided any religious details that could possibly offend the taste or the feeling of cultural appropriateness of the rural folk (Oberholzer, 2010). In so leaving the other *three Pillars of the Faith*, i.e., the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the basic knowledge of the sacraments (Bellinger, 1997; Catechismus Romanus, 1566/1867) for later occasions, further loci, different group of people, and other communication media, the Father finished his fast-track to explaining *Tianzhu jiao* by dramatically unveiling "l'Imagine de Iddio Salvatore" (Ricci, 2010a, p. 381).

To increase the Chinese-style gravitas and the emotionally arousing character of his ritual gestures, the Padre put lighted candles and incense in front of the painting (Ricci, 2010a). At the revivalist climax (Eph. 5:14) of this dramatic performance that so

- clearly contrasted the Jesuits' established way of propagating *Tianxue* in its esoteric, Confucian demureness to the cities' *Guanfu* (Brockey, 2007);
- ostensibly impressed the unlettered and further reminded the entire audience of Chinese temple rituals (Brockey, 2007) while (over)emphasizing similarities and displaying a high degree of internal and external (religious/ethical) alignment and congruity;
- plausibly proved the Father's high degree of civilization as well as internal and external adaptation and congruity;
- willingly cashed in on the peasants' "[r]eligious [a]vailability" (Rambo, 1993, p. 62) while emphasizing similarities and avoiding being accused teaching *xiejiao*;
- readily reconciled traditional Chinese religious acts with the traditions of *Commedia dell'Arte* prevalent in Longobardo's home country;
- smoothly complied with "the tangible [popular] devotions of ordinary Christians in [...] Catholic Europe" (Brockey, 2007, p. 294) at that time; and
- gradually strove towards fulfilling the bridging project in order to accomplish an equilibrium via religio-cultural relationship to get into hearts and huts,

the missionary encouraged everyone to kneel in front of the drawing and to worship "the one whom this figure represented (Gallagher, 1953, p. 406).

Following this emotional appeal, Longobardo immediately started *exhortatio* (Ricci, 2010a). In order to accept Christ as their Saviour and initiation as Christians, he urged the villagers to abjure dead works, abandon (and to also later burn) their Idols (Hebr. 6:1), and to refrain from Buddho-Daoist religious habits and further folk traditions that could not be integrated in the plethora of Christian traditions and/or Catholic order.

In this context, Longobardo—and his successors in the rural *Chinese vineyard of the Lord*—tried to reposition prevailing religious observances rooted in the omnium-gatherum of Buddhism, Daoism, Confucianism, and other archaic forms of *Shenjiao*-神教-Shenism (Tang, 1991; Teiser, 1996), such as the tradition of *zhai*-斋-fasting, festivals, or the use of illustrations/statues (Ricci, 2010a; Standaert, 2008b). To such an extent accomplishing equilibrium via religio-cultural relationship and emphasizing similarities while setting boundaries with the habits' original religious mainspring, eventually fostered fruitful (religious/ethical) alignment.

The Father's pragmatism notwithstanding, certain manifestations of pagan past could not be repositioned or dispensed with. This held particularly truth for Chinese habits and traditional way of lives that contradicted Catholic precepts especially when it came to follow the Decalogue (Dtn. 5: 6-21), i.e. keeping/worshipping family idols (1st Commandment), swearing oaths in temples (2nd Commandment), and polygamy (6th Commandment). The Padre being non-conciliatory on the non-negotiable Christian fundamentals hence, became the cardinal stumbling block—for both *baixing* and *shenshi*—to seek full transition and their major excuse to back out (Ricci, 2010a).

After having introduced *Tian|Shangdi* to a larger group of curious, receptive pagans, the Padre left the meeting place and started advocating the lacking but still easy-to-digest parts of his religious message to smaller, more manageable numbers of possible acceptors from both the village's various social strata and from its different social clusters (Ricci, 2010a) (religiously/intellectually) inside out. In order to win single individuals, whole households, and/or entire places for Christ bottom up and (pastorally) outside in, the Father singled out from amongst the marvelling crowd those who immediately declared “to be received into the Church” (Gallagher, 1953, p. 406) and who thus exhibited the respective desire to give up to gain. Additionally, they zeroed in on those who simply showed as much interest, potential, or useful disposition as necessary to partake in the civilizing project of joining “the ranks of the catechumens” (p. 406).

To settle this consideration process (Mt. 22:14), Longobardo addressed the different motives, the (group-)individual motivators, and benefits-sought of conversion (Rambo, 1993; Ricci, 2010a) (religiously/intellectually) inside out simultaneously re-stressing the importance of (adhering to the non-negotiable) Catholic obligations (Brockey, 2007).

Literally being all things to all men, to by all means save some (1 Cor. 9: 19-23), he not only capitalized on the Commoners' "innate inclination [...] to adore some kind of [...] [higher being]" (Gallagher, 1953, p. 406) and furthered (religious/ethical) alignment, but also wisely tolerated, for the time being, an acceptable degree of undesired and/or misleading congruity and complementarity that came with both his acts of altruistic unselfishness and serviceability and the material benefits that seemed to be linked to Christianity (Ricci, 2010a). To by all means light the spiritual fire (Ricci, 2010a), to spread it, and to finally inflame some more "with a love of the Gospel" (Gallagher, 1953, p. 406) (religiously/intellectually) inside out and (religiously/philosophically) outside in, the missionary supported the pagans willingness to strive for the new frozen moment. To do so, the Padre actuated a synallagmatic movement that aimed at

- satisfying the peasants' inherent desire for transcendence (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Francesco Pasio—15.02.1609 in Ricci, 2001) by facilitating a solid way to God (Rambo, 1993);
- providing for "emotional gratifications" (p. 83) by offering relief of guilt and "the promise of salvation [...] [granted if adhered] to a strict moral code [primarily inherent in the Ten Commandments]" (Brockey, 2007, p. 294);
- presenting a "cognitive framework [...] [and] meaning system [grounded in practical morality]" (Rambo, 1993, p. 82) to rule life and labour by obeying the standards of the new Faith (Brockey, 2007);
- meeting the villagers' pursuit for "something more or something better than one's present situation" (Rambo, 1993, p. 166); and *nolens volens*
- allowing the rustics to side with a more powerful/protective deity, to profit from strong rituals, and to put the Father on a continuum somewhere between shaman and healer (Ricci, 2010a).

However, to *win* the village's erudite few *for Christ* however and/or to make them at least become facilitators and catalysts of the initiated *commerce of conversion* on grass root level, Longobardo had to broaden his religious battlefield beyond “guaranteeing rudimentary indoctrination” (Brockey, 2007, p. 294). Besides serving those motives, motivators, and benefits-sought of conversion that energized the Commoners and/or addressed the villagers’ emotional/religious susceptibility in general, baiting bigger fishes in the rural tarn top down required the Padre to perform the following:

- Verify Christianity against the given Chinese religious cognitive groundwork by entering into a comparably less sophisticated discussion with the village’s learned (religiously/philosophically) outside in (Rambo, 1993; Ricci, 2010a)
- Confirm, secure, emphasize, and valorise the rural upper class’s given hierarchical status, self-image, and importance within their community during and after a possible conversion by making them the first to share readers, rituals, and the divine realm (Ricci, 2010a)
- Endow new roles to the rural “great and the good” (Brockey, 2007, p. 244) that match their pre-evangelized profile of qualification by creating headmen *presbyters*-πρεσβύτερος (Ex 18:13-26; for the dispositions see Epistle to Titus 1:5-16) and/or by emancipating and delegating catechesis to them when Shepherd and Flock are separated (Brockey, 2007).

Notwithstanding the multi-faceted motives, motivators and benefits-sought that prevailed amongst the individuals, groups/families, and/or entire hamlets, joining the ranks of the catechumens became the first solemn step towards a new frozen moment (Gallagher, 1953). In a particular ceremony, i.e. *shoujing*-受经-receiving the canonical texts (Standaert et al., 2001), Longobardo presented his prospective converts with an easy-to-read-and-to-understand doctrine pamphlet, such as Soerio’s 1601 *Tianzhu shengjiao yueyan*-天主圣教约言-Brief Introduction to the Holy Religion of the Lord of Heaven (Brockey, 2007; Criveller, 1997; Ricci, 2010a).

In so providing the catechumens with a short, neat, and catchy manual in dialogue form between missionary and (future) convert on the basic concepts of Christian belief and prayers for their own spiritual formation and possible home-schooling, Longobardo literally got beyond the threshold and into all parts of the future Chinese neophytes' huts. In so conveniently circumnavigating Chinese cultural restrictions/gender taboos that prevented foreigners and non-kin Chinese males to deal directly with Chinese women in their domestic environment (Ricci, 2010a), those simple brief tracts qualified male catechumens and later converts to become the Father's mouthpiece within their own domestic settings by means of

- spreading the Gospel in a *Sinicized*-customized “apostolate of influence” (de Saldanha, 2012, p. 157) (religiously/intellectually) inside out; and
- capitalizing on their status as *pater familias* to catechise—as facilitators and catalysts—their household (personally) inside out and (pastorally) outside in (Ricci, 2010a, Brockey, 2007).

Their eyes fixed on achieving religious maturity

- inculcating “basic prayers such as the Ave Maria and Paternoster [...], the Symbolum], the Seven Deadly Sins, the Corporal and Spiritual Works of Mercy, the Ten Commandments, and the Cardinal and Theological Virtues” (Brockey, 2007, p. 294) to their (female) servants, wives and children (Ricci, 2010a) as well as to themselves;
- preparing them and oneself for later baptism; and
- turning catechism a family business (pastorally) outside in by making mothers/wives nucleus of the Faith within the confines of their houses, and children—parroting medium and message to farmhands and families—a naturally unprepossessed, facilitating and catalysing spiritual fifth column

was only one step towards being accepted within the Church. Following Catholic rules (Jungmann, 1986), the catechumens were additionally admitted to attend those parts of the *Liturgy of the Word* allowed for catechumens and committed to hear catechism lessons until baptism (Ricci, 2010a).

The moment Longobardo considered the pagans to be secure on “their trajectory to conversion” (Rambo, 1993, p. 166) and their commitment to *Tianzhu jiao* binding enough—a period that apparently did not match the prescribed twenty days to three months of the 1567 Council of Goa until baptism should/could be administered (Jungmann, 1986)—successful *interrogatio* led to baptism/enactment of a new way of life and separation from the past by ritual of incorporation (Rambo, 1993).

When finally everything was said and done, new Chinese souls were won for Christ, and Longobardo was about to move to the next village, the missionary handed out rosaries, medals, Agnus Dei, and other devotional objects as well as since 1603 his *Tianzhu shengjiao rike*-天主圣教日课-“Raccolta di preghiere cattoliche per tutti i giorni” (Ricci, 2010a, p. 415)—a Breviary based on the work of Luigi di Granda O.P. (1504-1588) to serve the neophytes as “armi spirituali” (Ricci, 2010a, p. 382).

Although leaving behind a strong impression, religious instruction manuals, and tangible spiritual ammunition, holding up devotion and making the converts “abide by [...] [the] strict moral code” (Brockey, 2007, p. 294), hence, to get them to live to the new teaching, and to make them permanently lay aside malice, guile, hypocrisies, envies, and evil speakings (1 Petr. 1:14; 1 Petr. 2:1-2) when he himself was tending to the Lord’s vineyard in the neighbouring Chinese village, was far from being an easy task (Brockey, 2007). He was aware that

- conversion is a precarious affaire as the new frozen moment must be defended, nurtured, and affirmed;
- the neophytes must be prevented from either slipping into syncretism/paganism (Rambo, 1993) or pragmatically adding the Christian God to other (local) deities to upgrade their “existing plethora of means for dealing with the supernatural” (Brockey, 2007, p. 301); and
- village-external broadside and (possible) family-internal division might challenge the Faith of the newly converted (Lk. 12:49-53).

Thus, the missionary had to implement a fall-back system that synchronized Catholic tradition with Chinese local requirements to prevent apostasy.

An appropriate as comparable solution was easily found in the history of the nascent church (Gnilka, 1996). Anchoring the bridging project in the daily parish work, Longobardo left the little parish in the hands of *presbyters* and some ardent converts for involvement, collaboration and assistance (Brockey, 2007; Ricci, 2010a). In so holding the line until the Father came back to check on his Flock and to minister those sacraments solely to be administered by a priest (Ricci, 2010a), those *presbyters*

- assured patronage and protection against broadside and hostility from amongst the rustics by means of own rank/power, exemplary spirituality, and by becoming the Faith's declared patrons and protectors;
- prevented the sheep from going astray by means of co-optation and cohesion as well as via emancipation and delegation; and
- increased Flock and its religious sophistication (religiously/intellectually) inside out by being emancipated and delegated to provide simple spiritual guidance as found in the circulating religious tracts and primers.

Notwithstanding the missionary endeavour and the manifold dispositions to win rural China for Christ, sowing the Gospel into the more fruitful soil *extra muros* and far away from Beijing still called foes, competitors, and rivals to action. It provoked their resistance.

Other than in Europe or the New World at that time, Longobardo and those Fathers that followed his example of actively spreading the Gospel amongst the Commoners could not overpower their antagonists or break their resistance by applying an *ius reformandi*. Summoning the authority and/or calling up means of coercion were hence, out of the question. The Padres rather had to join ranks with the other orthodox religious movements that competed for adherents and patrons (Brockey, 2007; Tang, 1991). Even if the adopted *Guanfu*-image and appearance did the integrative job, social and religious mimicry at the same time increased stakes and competition in the battle for souls. To such an extent stemming the wall build from an omnium-gatherum of Buddhist-Daoist-Confucianist-Shenist Salvationism generally bore many forms of frustration (Ricci, 2005b, 2010b; Tang, 1991).

Sparing with Buddhism however, was the most difficult, time-consuming, and gruelling part in the missionaries' apostolic endeavour to win rural *China for Christ* and to counter respective foes, competitors, and rivals (Liu, 2015; Ricci, 1985, 2005b, 2010a, 2010b). Warding off Buddhism to missionize the Commoners thus required dealing with

- long lasting traditions that rooted in the millennial presence of Buddhism in Chinese huts and hearts (Clart, 2009);
- power of rituals, importance of idols, and the manifold ways to secure divine interaction that invested Christianity with an undesired/undesirable nearness to Buddhism; and
- *heshang*-Buddhist monks' subliminal denunciation of Christianity to be a worthless/non-powerful faith that could be summarized on four pages—even in the eyes of a Commoner a severe accusation considering Chinese bibliophily.

To do so necessitated displaying virtue and sanctity, power of persuasion, and a carefully allotted degree of sophistication and wit—both on the level of the future converts and *seng* (Ricci, 2010a).

Besides mounting this spiritual campaign the Padres working in the rural mission fields had to cope with rather mundane problems, too. Even if the “association between Christian rituals, devotional objects, and doctrine implanted in the minds of peasants” (Brockey, 2007, p. 98) helped to *win* parts of rural *China for Christ*, common denunciations, allegation, accusations, and persecutions from amongst the villagers in general and from amongst the more erudite class in the villages and the provincial cities in particular still appeared on the Fathers' apostolic agenda (Ricci, 2010a; Standaert et al., 2001).

Fortunately, rural uproar, riot, verdicts or outright lies of potent foes, competitors, and rivals could be eased and cleared. Additionally, the Fathers could be exculpated in

- larger villages where some (low level) Literati and Elite were amongst the inhabitants or the possible gang leaders by referring to the
 - a. publicity of the Catholic doctrine and its favourable reception amongst the local Guanfu-patrons and protectors;
 - b. Fathers' good repute and virtue; or
 - c. overshadowing figure and reputation of *Li Madou* (Ricci, 2010a);
- hamlets amongst the Commoners by patience, plainness, power of persuasion, prayer books, and a hefty dose of pragmatism (Ricci, 2010a).

In this context, Longobardo and his other confreres were busy *winning* rural *China for Christ* bottom up (personally, religiously/intellectually) inside out and (pastorally, religiously/philosophically) outside in. To such an extent taking into consideration “time, place, and persons” (Letter of Ignatius Loyola to Those sent to the Missions—08.10.1552 in Young, 1959, p. 269) when deciding missionary activities, adhering to one’s own decision (SE No. 170) and orientating oneself towards the ordinary *Chinese Others* but not turning a blind eye to the souls in need amongst the high and highest in rural and provincial China (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Ludovico Maselli—March [?] 1605 in Ricci, 2001), hunting for souls (Brockey, 2007) outside Beijing had finally swapped

- softening the heart of an individual long enough to attract him to the Gospel (Acts 28:27; Is. 6:10) (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Antonio Maria Ricci—24.08.1608 in Ricci, 2001) with passing the Faith as a revivalist group-experience and reconciling family business (Ricci, 2010a);
- learned discussions with catechetical work (Ricci, 2010a);
- attracting Literati and Elite top down to *Tianxue*'s practicality with revealing *Tianzhu jiao*'s *soteriological promises* unto the Commoners (Mt. 11:25) bottom up;
- philosophical essays and other non-religious primers with religious tracts and Breviaries (Ricci, 2010a);
- practical learning with real *iuuare animas* and tangible spiritual assistance to make the burden light and the yoke easy (Mt. 11:30) (Ricci, 2010a);

- scholastic/intellectual demureness with “studied Chinese-style gravitas” (Brockey, 2007, p. 293), the visible political power of a *Guanfu*, and the spiritual power of a wandering holy man generally (over)emphasizing similarities while proving (religious/ethical) alignment, as well as external and internal adaptation and congruity.

In so catechizing, the prevailing Jesuits’ *modus procedendi sinensis* was finally evolved into a *modo soave cinese completo*—a fully-fledged Chinese Accommodation approach that could be attuned to the opportunity as it presented itself, the prevailing intricacies, and multiple audiences, their disposition, requirements, and skills—to successfully enable, implement, and guide conversion in the Chinese environment top down and bottom up.

In the reflexion of the Dragon Throne and outside the crimson gates of *Zijincheng* however, Ricci, de Pantoja, and since 1604, Gaspar Ferreira (1571-1649) who took over the task as Master of novices for the three Chinese Brothers Sebastião, António Leitão—Xu Bideng-徐必登 (1578/81-1611) and Domingos Mendes—Qiu Liangbing-丘良稟 (1582-1652) (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Claudio Acquaviva—15.08.1606 in Ricci, 2001) stuck to Ricci’s last to deal with the swelling stream of curiosity seekers, students/examinees, and the still dripping trickle of souls in need (Ricci, 2010a).

Save and secure in the bosom of the Empire, Fathers and Brothers followed the given *modo soave cinese passivo*—tacitly tolerated/comfortably subsidised by the Emperor who bestowed *sanguan*-散官-courtesy title upon Ricci and ennobled him to a non-executive *Guanfu* in 1601 (Ricci, 2010a) and supported by benevolent *Guanfu*-facilitators and catalysts, patrons and protectors (Hsü, 2000; Ross, 1994; Standaert et al., 2001; Wang & Mignini, 2010a), such as

- high-ranking dignitaries: Feng Qi-冯琦 (1558-1603), Minister of Rites, Li Dai-李戴 (c.1531-1607), Secretary of the Board of Personnel, Shen Yiguan/Shen Jiaomen-沉蛟门 (?-1616), *Daxueshi*-大学士-Grand Secretary; and
- outstanding intellectuals, future converts: Feng Yingjing-冯应京 (1555-1606), Li Yingshi-李应试 (1559-ca.1620), Li Zhizao, Xu Guangqi.

Eager to

- attract “the great and the good” (Brockey, 2007, p. 244) to *Tianxue*;
- assure the high and highest of their trustworthiness, *harmlessness*, and reputation (Ricci, 2010a); and
- convince erudites and sceptics of Faith’s and Fathers’ *orthodoxy/orthopraxy* (Standaert 2008),

hence, to eventually build the entire *commerce of conversion* upon a lasting rock (Mt. 7:24-25) (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Duarte de Sande—29.08.1595 in Ricci, 2001), the missionaries busied themselves winning “good Christians rather than a horde of indifferent baptisms” (Hsü, 2000, p. 99), safeguarding validation, and assuring patrons and protectors top down, (personally) inside out, and (religiously/philosophically) outside in.

Convinced that “fare molto frutto per via de libri e de nostre scientie” (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Ludovico Maselli—March [?] 1605 in Ricci, 2001, p. 377), the Beijing Fathers deliberately kept a low proselytization profile. Following the suggestions of their *Guanfu-facilitators and catalysts* (Ricci, 2010a), they increasingly seized the manifold non-religious opportunities to prove their unselfishness and serviceability to host and host country by satisfying mutual (scientific) curiosity and establishing a (fruitful) exchange between Europe and China (Brockey, 2007; Wang, 1991b).

In so being steered by the *Chinese Others* towards accepting scientific projects of different sorts (Ross, 1994; Wang, 1991b) and thus encouraged to write an abundance of academic tracts together with/under the linguistic guidance of their *Guanfu-acquaintances* (Ross, 1994) became the Padres’ exhausting day-to-day business.

Primarily drawing upon Ricci’s sound knowledge in astronomy, mathematic, and cartography that attracted “rispetto più che ordinario” (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Claudio Acquaviva—22.08.1608 in Ricci 2001, p. 496), the particular *comrades in science* and future *comrades in Faith* developed a fruitful publishing zeal.

The *Patres Pekinenses* on the other hand—being sure that “con questo diamo credito alle cose della nostra religione” (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Ludovico Maselli—March [?] 1605 in Ricci 2001, p. 377)—rolled up their silken sleeves and, pursuing their not so hidden agenda, convinced their Chinese interlocuteurs of God’s Glory and *Tianxue*’s integrativeness into original Confucianism (Ross, 1994) (religiously/intellectually) inside out and (religiously/philosophically) outside in. To do so, they relied on those artefacts, books, and collections that prudently and without fanfare introduced unknown Western knowledge and authors to China (Ricci, 2010a) and inwardly exposed their Chinese contemplators and readers with “tutte le cose della [...] santa fede” (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Francesco Pasio—15.02.1609 in Ricci, 2001, p. 517):

1. various versions of Ricci’s World Map, e.g.
 - *Kunyu wanguo quantu*-坤輿万国全图-*Complete Geographical Map of all the Kingdoms of the World* cut in 1602 as a larger, refined version of the 1584 map and printed in six panels—translating “all terms and place names into Chinese [...] [by choosing] characters which had earlier been used to approximate the sounds of foreign Buddhist terms” (Standaert et al., 2001, p. 754), converting the sphere into two dimensions, turning circles into lines, and for the first time putting China [near the centre] [...] of the map to [...] make the Chinese understand their relation to the world (Day, 1995, p. 96);
 - *Liangyi xuanlan tu*-两仪玄览图-*The World Observing Map* cut in 1603 by request of Li Yingshi printed in eight panels with him writing one of the five prefaces on the map and Feng Yingjing contributing a sixth while being imprisoned to atone for his bold opposition against some powerful palace eunuchs (Day, 1995; Hsü, 2000; Ricci, 2010a);
 - *Kunyu wanguo quantu*-坤輿万国全图-*Complete Geographical Map of all the Kingdoms of the World* cut in 1608 on special request of the Wanli Emperor and printed on silk as a larger, refined version of the 1602 map (Day, 1995; Ross, 1994)—compensating for the still pending audience by adding “as many notes favourable to Christianity as possible [...] to impress the emperor with Christian civilisation” (Day, 1995, p. 96);

2. reader's digest versions of Western classical authors, e.g.

- *Ershiwuyan*-二十五言-*Twenty-five Sayings* written and published with the help and preface of Feng Yingjing and postface of Xu Guangqi in 1605 “as a Christian parallel to the popular Chinese Buddhist work [*sishierzhangjing*-四十二章经-]*The Sutra of Forty-two Chapters*” (Ross, 1994, p. 146) and for general non-Christian Chinese audience and taste, summarizing passages from classical European authors, mainly *Epictetus*' (c.55-c.135) *Encheiridion*-*Ἐγχειρίδιον* that deal with the damnability of the passion and the nobility of virtues, above all mercy, righteousness, wisdom, and faith (Standaert et al., 2001);
- *Jirenshipian*-极人十篇-*Ten Essays on the Extraordinary Man*|*Ten Discourses by a Paradoxical Man* (published in 1608) summarizing a collection of practical sentences, useful to a moral life, familiar to Christians but new to the Chinese (Ricci, 2010a) as a Christian apologetic introducing accounts of examples, comparisons, and extracts from the Scriptures, from Christian philosophers and doctors, and from classical Greek and Roman authors (Standaert et al., 2001; Wang & Mignini, 2010a)—apparently “the most widely read of Ricci's books in his own lifetime” (Ross, 1994, p. 153) and the most illustrious accumulation of pre- and postfaces in Ricci's works (Ricci, 2010b);

3. translations of Western books on natural sciences, such as

- *Jiheyuanben*-几何原本-*Elements of Geometry* as based on the first six books of Euclid's *Elementale Geometricum*, written and published in 1607 with the help and preface of Xu Guangqi (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Claudio Acquaviva—08.03.1608 in Ricci, 2001);
- *Celiang fayi*-测量法义-*The Meaning of Measurement Methods* as based on the third book of Christopherus Clavius' (1538-1612) *Geometria Practica* and details from *Epitome Arithmeticae Practicae*, written with the help of Xu Guangqi in 1608 and officially published 1617 (Ricci, 2010a);

- *Tongwensuanzhi*-同文算指-Rules of Arithmetic Common to Cultures as based on Christopherus Clavius' *Epitome Arithmeticae Practicae*, written with the help of Li Zhizao and officially published in 1614 (Standaert et al., 2001);
 - *Yuanrong jiaoyi*-圆容较义-*The Meaning of Compared Figures Inscribed in a Circle* as based on Christopherus Clavius' *In Sphaeram Ioannis de Sacro Bosco commentaries*, written with the help of Li Zhizao and officially published in 1614 (Standaert et al., 2001);
4. some important religious apologetics, tracts, and explanatory texts, such as
- *Tianzhu shiyi*-*The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven* drafted since 1595 (D'Elia, 1942, FR 1:379 N. 493), circulated in multiple versions amongst Chinese friends and finally published in 1603 with the financial support, linguistic assistance and written preface of Feng Yingjing (Lancashire & Hu, 1985; Letter of Matteo Ricci to Nicolò Longobardo—02.09.1602 in Ricci, 2001) the “Catechismus Sinicus” (Ricci, 1985, p. 460) was to cater to the needs and intellect of the erudite class (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Francesco Pasio—15.02.1609 in Ricci, 2001), presenting the teachings of the *theologia naturalis* in a dialogue form between a Chinese and a Western scholar by using rational argument and Chinese Classics in a *Thomistic* fashion (Standaert et al., 2001) to prove the Existence of God, expose Christian truths, e.g. immortality of the soul, Heaven and Hell, hardship and salvation, and further refute Buddhism and Daoism (Ricci, 1985);
 - *Tianzhu jiaoyao*-天主教要|*Shengjingyuelu*-圣经约录-*Christian Dogmatics*|*Selection from the Holy Scripture*—a catechetical writing in the fashion of the revelatory *theologia super-naturalis*, published in 1605 (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Ludovico Maselli—March [?] 1605 in Ricci, 2001) as a standardized version of a Catechism to be used in the entire Empire amongst missionaries, catechists, and catechumens to exhort and edify the Chinese souls, “to literate catechumens” (Standaert et al., 2001 p. 609), and to serve in the ceremony of *shou jing*—mostly using “Latin sounds of religious terms without translating their meaning” (p. 628) to provide for

ecclesiastical terms that were new to the Chinese and bringing together texts taken from the Bible: Ten Commandments, Pater Noster, the Eight Beatitudes, and texts with strong Biblical foundation: Ave Maria, the Corporal and Spiritual Works of Mercy, the Creed, the Sign of the Cross, the Seven Capital Sins, the Seven Virtues, the three Faculties of the Soul, the three Theological Virtues, the Seven Sacraments (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Fabio de Fabii—09.05.1605 in Ricci, 2001, 2010a; Standaert et al., 2001),

- *Pangzi yiquan*-庞子遗诠 (c.1609)-*The Explanation of the Creed* containing an extensive story of the Passion and Crucifixion of Jesus as based on all four Gospels, and *Tianshen mogui shuo*-天神魔鬼说 (1610)-*Stories about Angels* detailing the respective parts in Ricci's *Tianzhu shiyi* both tracts written and published by de Pantoja (Standaert et al., 2001).

Being fully in line with the *modo soave cinese passivo*, Ricci's and de Pantoja's enormous literary productivity nonetheless became a double-edged sword (Brockey, 2007).

The Fathers' strive for introducing practical morality, practical learning, and natural reason to China in order to propagate *Tianxue* amongst the metropolitan *Guanfu*-Elite top down (religiously/philosophically) outside in by sharing things Western with/by demand of the erudite *Chinese Others* came at a cost. Adding to the time-consuming odds and ends of running the *China Mission*—by decision of Valignano since 1597 headed by Ricci and as of 1603/1604 run independently from Macao with Ricci, while supported in his daily work regarding the non-Beijing Residences by Manoel Dias Senior (1559-1639), directly reporting to the Head of the Society's Province of India (Dunne, 1962; Ross, 1994)—and the Fathers' myriad social commitments that emerged from being Chinese to the Chinese to *win China for Christ* top down meant also cutting down the time for missionizing, converting, baptizing, and preaching in a metropolitan environment abounding in numerous mundane possibilities to bridge spiritual voids (Brockey, 2007; Witek, 2005).

Having to deal with townspeople apparently more reluctant to seek transition to Christian Faith than their fellow countrymen outside the Capital, e.g. in Baoding where de Pantoja and Ferreira started their proselytization efforts in 1605 (Ricci, 2010a) and in- and outside the other three Residences, the missionaries had to seize every possibility to pragmatically

- squeeze in proselytization efforts into their tight schedule of day-to-day businesses to light new spiritual fires; and
- allot time and avenues to providing the already existent small Flock with focused religious guidance to keep the spiritual fire burning.

To light new spiritual fires, increasing the possibility for purposely waving Christianity into conversations, research, and books, and exposing the learned Chinese to *Tianxue* (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Giulio Fuligatti—12.10.1596 in Ricci, 2001) top down, was one but time-consuming and hence, limited approach (Brockey, 2007).

The intellectual, temporal, and monetary input notwithstanding, sticking to Ricci's *modo soave cinese passivo* top down eventually encouraged four exemplary (future) facilitating and catalysing, validating, patronizing and protecting middle-aged comrades and converts from amongst the high and highest of the Beijing Mission's catchment area to accept Christianity and to later sow the spiritual grain in their homes (pastorally) outside in. Even if only two of them were baptized by Ricci himself his

- eruditeness (as in the case of Li Yingshi);
- personality (as in the case of Li Zhizao);
- moral conformity (as in the case of Xu Guangqi);

and/or the Jesuit Fathers'/other Chinese converts' religious virtue/spiritual zeal (as in the case of Yang Tingyun) literally paved the way of these four and in their lee many others into Church and font.

Their proselytization became exemplary for converting Literati and Elite

- in the two Capitals/major cities *intra* and in the Provinces *extra muros*;
- at the top of the social ladder and “at a somewhat lower level [...] [i.e.] *literati* of local renown, holders of lower degrees [...] [*Xiucan* and *Juren*-举人-master’s degree], retired scholars, schoolmasters, and other representatives of the ‘average gentry’” (Zürcher, 1993, p. 83); and
- until from “the 1630s [...] the contacts with the *literati* elite weakened” (Standaert, 2008b, p. 172) as both their support was no longer vital to allow for validation, patronizing and protection of the Jesuits/*China Mission* and the missionizing focus altogether shifted towards *winning* an apparently more easily to convert common *China for Christ*.

The cases of Li Yingshi, Xu Guangqi (as outlined above), Li Zhizao, and—mainly after Ricci’s death—Yang Tingyun-杨廷筠 (1562-1627) can thus be seen as effective and lasting role models (Peterson, 1988) of successfully

- making known *Tianxue* amongst the monetary/intellectually well off;
- addressing the (latent) desire for self-realization and self-diagnosing amongst members of the cultured class;
- filling the felt philosophical void and paving the way for overcoming commingling and confusion that both befell those of vast reading because of not finding harmony in studying *Sanjiao*-三教-Three Teachings in general and/or (classical) *Rujiao* in particular; and
- guiding receptive members of the high and highest social stratum towards a new frozen moment,

top down as well as (personally, religiously/philosophically, locally) inside out and (religiously/philosophically, pastorally) outside in.

To thus catechize and save the superior souls, the Fathers remained true to themselves and the Jesuit pragmatism. They enlarged, tailored, and modified the Augustinian four-stage scheme to better fit the Literati’s and members of the Elite’s requirements and (pre-)disposition (Augustinus, 405/1934; Drews, 1934), as well as their own pastoral needs *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*.

Li Yingshi (1559-1620)

One of the first to follow *sheng jiao*-*圣教*-*Holy Religion* (Peterson, 1988) at the newly established Beijing Residence was Li Yingshi (1559-1620) (Bettray, 1955). Native of Huguang Province and descendant of a family with military distinction he had served five years as *Canmou*-*参谋*-Captain and member of the General Staff during of the Sino-Japanese war on the Korean peninsula (Bettray, 1955) and quit service shortly after. This “mandarino [...] nobile, letterato, e molto pratico in tutte le cose della Cina, specialmente nelle tre sette” (D’Elia, 1949, FR 2:261 N. 693) retired to Beijing where he lived with his wife, mother, and children on a sizable state pension inherited from his father who served at court in high military position (Ricci, 2010a).

With his life and mind at ease, he started his “trajectory of conversion” (Rambo, 1993, p. 166) by meeting Ricci and learning about European *scientia* and marvelling at the *curiosa* and other scientific artefacts on display in the Jesuit Residence (Ricci, 2010a). Being true to his *modus procedendi sinensis*, Ricci applied his *modo soave cinese passivo* to bait Li Yingshi with simple (scientific curiosity and the personified promise of establishing and fostering a fruitful exchange at eye level (Elman, 2005; Ricci, 2010a).

As Li Yingshi started to take the bait, Ricci’s usefulness and serviceability richly clothed in academic discourses and emblazed with shared insights into Western practical morality, practical learning, and the use of natural reason (*narratio*)—all so different from “the attitude of the [erudite] Chinese of their time who concentrated chiefly on [discussing] philosophy and [disputing lofty] moral problems” (Chan, 1988, p. 161)—naturally, tacitly but effectively turned *Kerygmatic*.

In so following his own *modus catechizandi*, the Padre exemplified God’s existence in/impact on the world (*explicatio*) (Elman, 2005; Kim, 2004); literary jolting the potential convert “with deep insights-[*lengran de shenzhi*-冷然得深旨]” (Luk, 1988, p. 199).

To such an extent aiming at

- emphasizing “the subject of the primary cause behind the perfect order of the universe” (Brockey, 2007, p. 34);
- preparing a common ground (Zürcher, 1993) to which the Gospel was simply adding “the [lacking] supernatural as taught by God” (Gallagher, 1953, p. 156) while unsheathing the *Anima naturaliter christiana* (Thauren, 1927); and
- leading back the seeker-querist “to the familiar universe of [...] [his] own tradition” (Meynard, 2010, p. 92),

the Father’s established erudite-proof line of argument of “science [...] [leading] to God, and God [...] [being] the foundation of all science” (Charbonnier, 2007, p. 167) did nonetheless not fall immediately on fertile (spiritual) soil.

Even if Li Yingshi’s interests showed a latent desire for transcendence, his soul was not easily won. Deep “in pagan error, [...] superstitious star reading” (Gallagher, 1953, p. 434), *fengshui*-风水-geomancy (Ricci, 2010a), and “tanti errori et abusi in che si era allevato nella gentilità” (D’Elia, 1949, FR 2:262 N. 693), Li Yingshi apparently regarded European *scientia* mainly as a conglomerate of useful information to add to his religious eclecticism (Luk, 1988), practice of profane rites, and to his own self-completion as a Confucianist and Literati of (inherited) rank and self-image. Thus, “[a]ttracted to Ricci first by the appeal of science, [and impressed by his personality and knowledge but not because of a prevailing criticism of thought and culture of his time,] he put up a stubborn battle of the intellect against the [Father’s] arguments in behalf of Christianity” (Dunne, 1962, p. 102).

Reinforcing his catechizing efforts, Ricci therefore took to “persuasion [...] [,] [r]hetoric and casuistry” (Brockey, 2007, p. 309) to obey Li Yingshi’s pattern of logic and to soften his intellect and finally his heart (religiously/philosophically) outside in. During this patient *Tianxue*-related *narratio* and *explicatio*, he explained that

- “the Devil is [...] concerned in [...] sorcery [and wizardry] by deceiving people” (Gallagher, 1953, p. 434);

- Christianity is providing a system of meaning to complement Chinese tradition (Peterson, 1988; Rambo, 1993); and
- only *Tianxue* is leading “to a real [comprehensive] knowledge of physics and metaphysics” (Gallagher, 1953, p. 434).

Facing the Padre’s relentless salvos of (non-)verbal persuasion simultaneously triggering dissatisfaction and a (philosophical) void previously not felt, Li Yingshi’s intellectual line of defence finally collapsed as his latent desire for transcendence was met (Rambo, 1993; Ricci, 2010a).

After being catechized and well instructed in “le cose necessarie al battesimo” (Ricci, 2010a, p. 439), the newly-converted did not tarry but called on the name of the Lord to wash away his sins (Acts 22:16). Preparing for his final desperate leap, Li Yingshi was christened Paolo on 21 September 1602 (Ricci, 2010a). As the Gospel came not unto him in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance (1 Thess. 1:5), Li Yingshi testified his *revivalist* “[t]radition transition” (Rambo, 1993, p. 14) in a written *professio fidei* (Ricci, 2010a) that took the character of a *zisong*-自讼/*zize*-自责-self-indictment|self-reproach. In so completing the catechetical act by combining *interrogatio* and *exhortatio*, and merging *zixing*-自省-Confucian tradition of self-examination (Charbonnier, 2007) with a Buddho-Daoist approach of cleansing body, soul and conscience (D’Elia, 1949, FR 2:263 N. 695; Wu, 1979), the catechumen made clear in acts and letters his

- dissatisfaction with/abandoning of his *Sanjiao-Shenjiao* syncretic past; and
- search for fulfilment by following *Tianzhu zhidao*-天主之道-Way of the Lord.

Doing so, he (over)emphasized (some) similarities of his religious provenance (Rambo, 1993). But first and foremost, he showed his strive towards self-realization and self-diagnosing that finally led to

- overcoming personal crises rooting in a comprehensive deception as aroused during his discussions with Ricci on science and Faith; and
- seeking transition towards a new frozen moment (religiously/philosophically) outside in.

The written *professio fidei* and the cathartic act of receiving baptism notwithstanding, Li Yingshi's civilizing project was still incomplete. To be completely won for Christ, his decision making and commitment (Dtn. 30:15-20) to *Tianxue* was further confirmed via a likewise cathartic desperate leap. He executed his last/official act of surrender and *apostasy*-αποστασία (Rambo, 1993) by burning those books, images and artefacts from his library related to his pagan past (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Fabio de Fabii – 09.05.1605 in Ricci, 2001) in order to finally/irrevocably

- manifest his “ideological encapsulation” (Rambo, 1993, p. 106);
- receive emotional gratification, relief of guilt, and salvation; and
- partake of the *soteriological* promise of following *Tianzhu zhidao*.

After baptism and formal disaffiliation, he further sustained his surrender (Ricci, 2010a) by his own congruity and complementarity as well as by showing unselfishness and serviceability to Fathers, Faith, and own family. Doing so, he

- lived “by the precepts [...] learned from the missionaries” (Peterson, 1988, p. 130)—mirroring life and law of the Jesuit Residence at his own house and providing the Padres with valuable insights into/arguments against *Sanjiao*;
- followed the Confucian dictum *Sihai yijia*-四海一家-*all within the four seas are one family* (Zürcher, 1993), assumed emancipation and delegation, and thus, catechized his family and household in Beijing (pastorally) outside in—also missionizing outside the confines of his house (1 Thess. 1:7-8) (personally) inside out; and
- lead by good example in merging medium and message himself.

Determinedly manifesting his new religion and status quo, he completed his religious transition/civilizing project on Easter Day (10.04.) 1605. Having learned about the clean(s)ing power of the *Sacrament of Penance and Reconciliation* by reading the 1605 *Tianzhu shiyi*, he assiduously confessed for days on end (Ricci, 2010a). As a result, Li Yingshi was finally allowed to receive for the first time the *Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist* (D’Elia, 1949, FR 2:310 N. 716).

After this, he pushed for the *Sacrament of Confirmation* and could hardly be restrained from going to Macao to see the Bishop. Instead, he went to his hometown to attend to his diseased mother (Ricci, 2010a). There, he carried forward zeal and mission by further acting out emancipation and delegation—catechizing his family and household in his home Province (Ricci, 2010a), baptizing dying children, and sounding down the true religion of God and its *soteriological promises to shenshi* and *baixing* alike (Ricci, 2010a).

To such an extent spreading the Gospel (locally) inside out, *winning* related, both familiar and unknown *China for Christ* top down and bottom up (pastorally) outside in, and helping the Fathers to understand *Sanjiao* and refute both its teachings and adherents (religiously/philosophically) outside in, the particular *Chinese Other* became a fervent follower of the Faith. As “una grande predica del Santo Evangelio” (D’Elia, 1949, FR 2:263 N. 694) and a valuable facilitator and catalyst to Father and Faith, he

- showed much involvement, collaboration and assistance;
- strove for implementation and accomplishment; and
- assumed new roles that finally led to emancipation and delegation – and the unmet desire to become a martyr (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Giovanni Battista Ricci—10.05.1605 in Ricci, 2001).

Li Zhizao (1565-1630)

Ricci’s second spiritual child of prominence and religious distinction was born in Renhe/Hangzhou, Jiangnan/Zhejiang Province and descendant from a family with military distinction (D’Elia, 1949, FR 2:168 N. 628). Other than Li Yingshi, Li Zhizao climbed up the *Guanfu*-ladder fast and successfully (Ricci, 2010a). He passed provincial examination as *Juren* in 1594 and became *Jinshi*-进士-doctor in 1598 (D’Elia, 1949, FR 2:168 N. 628). In the same year, he joined the *Guanfu*-roundabout to assume a position in Nanjing and a higher post in Beijing’s Ministry of Public Works the following year (Ricci, 2010b).

By birth and education follower of Confucianism, lover of science, and its practical applications (Charbonnier, 2007)—mainly geography and astrology where he had already published acknowledged academic works (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Claudio Acquaviva—08.03.1608 in Ricci, 2001)—Li Zhizao was a desired candidate for the Fathers' *Guanfu-proof modo soave cinese passivo* of attracting Literati and Elite “con le nostre scienze” (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Girolamo Costa—06.03.1608 in Ricci, 2001, p. 459). Even if the catechizing ground work and Ricci's *Sinicized* missionizing toolbox to *win* erudite *China for Christ* was comparable with other conversions from amongst “the great and the good” (Brockey, 2007, p. 244) top down and (personally, religiously/intellectually) inside out, Li Zhizao's proselytization became exemplary as it faced much hindrances, impediments, and trials on his, and required much patience, personality, and persuasiveness on Ricci's side.

To be finally received as an early-convinced but late-starter to the Church in 1610, Li Zhizao entered the Jesuit Residence and his nine-annual “trajectory of conversion” (Rambo, 1993, p. 166) already in the company of Feng Yingjing in summer/autumn 1601 (Ricci, 2010a). Surrounded by the *curiosa* on display, marvelling at the scientific artefacts, and caught by Ricci's world map (Ricci, 2010a), Li Zhizao learned about China's smallness and its *de facto* positioning in the world (Ricci, 2010a), and about “the subject of the primary cause behind the perfect order of the universe” (Brockey, 2007, p. 34). Following his *modo soave cinese passivo*, Ricci baited Li Zhizao with a personified promise of satisfying (scientific) curiosity and establishing (fruitful) exchange regarding European *scientia* and its practical application on eye level (Ricci, 2010a). Desirous of learning more about Western geography/cartography, Li Zhizao started to spend his spare-time at the Jesuit Residence “imparare questa scientia” (Ricci, 2010a, p. 373). Ricci, true to his *modus catechizandi* and erudite-proof line of argument that “science leads to God, and God is the foundation of all science” (Charbonnier, 2007, p. 167), seized every chance to (religiously/philosophically) expose the official to *Tianxue* and to “attract [...] [the possible convert] into the fisherman's net” (Peterson, 1988, p. 140) outside in.

In so building up and perpetuating an attractive image of himself and *Tianzhu jiao* while promoting *Tianxue* with its interrelated religious, ethical, philosophical, moral, scientific, and technical facets to an attentive listener, the Father

- merged *narratio* and *explicatio* to exemplify God's existence in/impact on the world (Elman, 2005; Kim, 2004);
- “jolted [...] [the potential convert] with deep insights” (Luk, 1988, p. 199); and
- flattened over time the initial teacher-pupil relationship towards an equal friendship (Dunne, 1962).

To such an extent driving Li Zhizao's conversion, this particular *commerce of conversion* became a simultaneously bridging and mutual civilizing project by way of

- (scientific) curiosity that quested “for an immutable law” (Peterson, 1988, p. 141) involving the heavens;
- (fruitful) exchange that realized the existence of “the same minds and the same principles in the Eastern and Western seas” (p. 142); and
- personal interest, appreciation, and admiration that went beyond simple professional civilities.

Seen from Li Zhizao's perspective, it further created “a willingness to accept the eternal, universal ‘Lord of Heaven’” (Peterson, 1988, p. 142) and thus provided for future fruitful (religious/ethical) alignment. Seen from missionaries' perspective, the Fathers appropriated Li Zhizao's suggestions, support, and specific activities. To do so, they focussed their unselfishness and serviceability, transdisciplinarity and crossing boundaries, and their use of practical morality, practical learning, and natural reason on spreading European *scientia* in the Empire top down to finally *win* erudite and official *China for Christ* (personally) inside out and (religiously/philosophically) outside in (Brockey, 2007). In so creating a win-win situation, the synallagmatic, bridging and mutual civilizing project not only attracted Li Zhizao to the Fathers, the Gospel, and later to the church, but also resulted in a *Chinese-Other's*-validated perfected *modo soave cinese passivo* and a likewise sublimated erudite-tested Chinese missionizing toolbox that would both be in use until the Jesuits leave China.

The Father's eruditeness softened Li Zhizao's intellect. Close personal contact touched his heart and reading *Tianzhu shiyi* made him further

- seek "knowledge about religious or spiritual issues" (Rambo, 1993, p. 14);
- explore religious alternatives that were in accord with original Confucianism (Peterson, 1988).

Doing so provided for (religious/ethical) alignment between *Rujiao* and *Tianzhu jiao*. These intellectual triggers notwithstanding, Li Zhizao was first and foremost

- early won for Christ by Ricci's perfected personality that rooted in his internal and external adaptation and congruity, morality, confidence in/adherence to what is true (Legge & Suzuki, 1959), and in his complementing accordance with original Confucianism (Peterson, 1988; Ricci, 2010b; Zürcher, 1993);
- late converted to the new Faith by a jolting individual experience and self-realization that was triggered during a personal crisis (Rambo, 1993; Ricci, 2010a).

Concerning the first, as curiosity gave way to interest and appreciation to admiration, Li Zhizao invited Ricci to a dinner in his honour in the week beginning on the Sunday after Holy Cross Day (14.09.1601) (Bettray, 1955; Ricci, 2010b). Hence, as the dinner took place during the third fasting period of the *ieiunia quattuor temporum*, Ricci refrained from eating meat and stuck to the Catholic requirement of eating fruits and vegetables (Ricci, 2010b). In the eyes of Li Zhizao behaving like a strange man and a Buddhist (monk), the Father took the catechizing possibility and started an intellectual dispute with his Chinese interlocuteurs (Ricci, 2010b). During this conversation, Ricci outlined to his potential *Guanfu*-convert

- why (his) fasting is not comparable to Buddhist *zhai* (Ricci, 2010b);
- what the three reasons for fasting in Catholicism are, i.e. *via purgativa*, *via illuminativa*, *via unitiva* and why these reasons are in line with a Confucian understanding of *zhai* (Ricci, 2010b); and
- why a Confucianist can perform Catholic rules/requirements of fasting and so remain a follower of Confucius and devout Christian (Ricci, 2010b).

In so stressing/over-emphasizing differences and (over)emphasizing similarities to further his bridging project while accomplishing equilibrium via religio-cultural relationship (religiously/philosophically) outside in, Ricci's particular (religious/ethical) alignment proved to Li Zhizao and the other guests his steadfastness and independent conduct, his veneration for what is right, and his opposition to false teachings (Peterson, 1988).

This merged in his own personality and behaviour *narratio* and *explicatio* to present "Christianity as a faith that could be adopted by a Confucian [...] [*Guanfu*] while he remained an official of the empire and a follower of the philosophy of Confucius" (Ross, 1994, p. 145). After this particular revelation of Ricci's non-departure from what is true (Legge & Suzuki, 1959), Li Zhizao started his "trajectory of conversion" (Rambo, 1993, p. 166) towards a new frozen moment. Due to his regular interaction with Ricci he not only became acquainted with European *scientia*, but also attracted to *Tianxue* and the *soteriological* promise of the Lord of Heaven. Finally convinced to "reach [...] [an equalized/balanced] communion of faith and culture" (Law, 2009, para. 6) by following *Tianzhu zhidao*, it was through this particular mutuality and successful (religious/ethical) alignment that seeking transition and conversion to a new but already known and now completed religion (De Civitate Dei – XIV, 17) became possible for Li Zhizao. In 1603, he finally ventured the (desperate) leap and strove for the new frozen moment.

Despite his willingness, his Confucian world view in general and obeying *xiao* in particular barred him from completely giving up to gain (Mt. 19:16-20). As he was not prepared to separate from his concubine—trading the secular necessity to produce a male heir for his spiritual salvation—the Father was likewise not able to trade the 6th Commandment for a *Guanfu*-proselyte (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Claudio Acquaviva—08.03.1608 in Ricci, 2001). Hence, baptism was out of reach (Ricci, 2010a). However, what could have had the potential to end a promising professional relationship and personal friendship became the beginning of a cleansing, confirmatory six-year period of following the new religious awareness by living as a Christian in the grace of God (Rahner, 2008).

Li Zhizao and Ricci stayed friends and worked together on scientific projects—much to the horror of de Pantoja who expected *the tempter* to do his foul deeds in the study next door (Dunne, 1962). Additionally, Li Zhizao became a fervent facilitator and catalyst of the *China Mission* as he started to spread Ricci's Fame and Faith in the provinces when he presided *Juren*-examination in Fujian Province as Chief Examiner in 1603 (Ricci, 2010a). Also in times of personal misery and social crisis and while living in exile in his hometown between 1606 and 1608, he did not cease his facilitating and catalysing, catechizing efforts to convince *China of Christ* (Ricci, 2010a). In contrary, he decided to

- republish *Tianzhu shiyi* with his preface (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Girolamo Costa—06.03.1608 in Ricci, 2001); and
- use his reputation, influence, status, preface, and book to spread Faith and Gospel amongst Jiangnan/Zhejiang Province's Literati and Elite (personally) inside out (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Claudio Acquaviva—22.08.1608 in Ricci, 2001).

In summer 1608, he was finally called back from exile to Beijing where he took up his official office and personal schedule of

- learning things Western from the Fathers and perfecting their understanding of *wenhua* and *Chinese Rites* (Bettray, 1955);
- working together with Ricci on compiling, correcting, and publishing Western scientific books in Chinese (D'Elia, 1949, FR 2:169 N. 628);
- spreading Fame and Faith top down amongst his peers (personally) inside out and kin (pastorally) outside in (Ricci, 2010a); and
- catechizing “quasi tutti del suo Palazzo” (Ricci, 2010a, p. 553) bottom up and some of his kin formerly heavily devoted to Buddhism (pastorally) outside in (D'Elia, 1949, FR 2:476 N. 895).

Despite all preparatory work and devout Christian behaviour, Li Zhizao's concubine still was an impeding topic and hence, conversion still out of reach. It was not until early spring 1610 that Li Zhizao's conversion found its climax, religious completion, and internal (ethical and emotional) adaptation and congruity in a great personal crisis.

During Lent 1610 (24.02.–10.04.), Li Yingshi fell ill (Ricci, 2010a). Without any friends or family in Beijing to care for him, Ricci took him into his care and—literally sitting day and night at his bedside—treated him as a family member and back to life (Dunne, 1962; Peterson, 1988). In so simultaneously fulfilling the

- Christian duty of attending a sick to perform this particular *Work of Mercy* (Mt. 25:36); and
- Confucian bond of *youyi*-友谊– friendship to obey this specific, coequal *wulun* amongst like-minded friends (Wilhelm, 2005),

Ricci completed Li Zhizao's *affectional conversion* (Rambo, 1993). To such an extent substantiating his compatibility with heaven and his non-strangeness/non-foreignness to fellow men (Legge & Suzuki, 1959), the Father merged medium and message to emphasize similarities, demonstrate internal and external (religious/ethical) alignment, and epitomize an accomplished equilibrium via religio-cultural relationship. In so performing a tacit act of personified *narratio* and *explicatio*, he eventually proved compatibility of *Tianzhu jiao* and *Rujiao* as well as trueness of following *Tianzhu zhidao*.

As the disease was on its critical point, “Ricci urged [...] [his friend] to accept the faith” (Peterson, 1988, p. 139) and to give up his religious past and concubine to gain salvation in Christ (D’Elia, 1949, FR 2:501 N. 926-927). Performing (t)his desperate leap, Li Zhizao promised to get rid of polygamy in case of recovery (Ricci, 2010a). And recovering he did.

In March 1610 (D’Elia, 1949, FR 2:178 N. 632), two months prior to Ricci’s death, Li Zhizao’s nine-years civilizing project ended. Becoming “ultimo figlio spirituale del Padre” (Ricci, 2010a, p. 608), Li Zhizao was christened Leone and at least received into the Church (Ricci, 2010a).

Virtually on his sick bed, Leone Li Zhizao executed his last/official act of surrender and apostasy. He finally and irrevocably

- manifested his “ideological encapsulation” (Rambo, 1993, p. 106);
- received emotional gratification, relief of guilt, and salvation; and
- partook of the *soteriological* promise of following *Tianzhu zhidao*.

Adhering to his solemn promise, he freed himself from Confucian constrictions, got rid of his concubine (D'Elia, 1949, FR 2:168/178/535 N. 628/632/957), and later cleansed his palace of Buddhist imagery (Brockey, 2007).

As a result, the second *Pillar of Chinese Catholicism* was firmly grounded (Lewis, 1988) and did not totter as his spiritual succour and friend fell ill and finally passed away. On the contrary, with “Ricci gone [...] [Leone] maintained his commitment to Christianity” (Peterson, 1988, p. 139), and his devout catechizing intention. Building the Church upon this rock (Mt. 16:18) (pastorally) outside in, his son was christened 20 May 1610 (D'Elia, 1949, FR 2:169 N. 628).

Later in spring 1611, Leone carried further his catechizing involvement, collaboration and assistance (locally) inside out. Resigning from his office in Nanjing to go home to arrange for his late father's funeral, and observe *shouxiao*-守孝-the triannual mourning period, he relocated three Jesuits and his catechizing efforts back to his hometown (pastorally) outside in (Mungello, 1994b; Peterson, 1988).

Inviting Fathers Cattaneo and the newly arrived Nicolas Trigault (1577-1628) to perform the matters relating to the rites of death solely in a Catholic fashion and the Chinese Brother Sebastião to explain the ceremony to the gathered family and friends (Mungello, 1994b), Leone testified his “[t]radition transition” (Rambo, 1993, p. 14) in a visible *professio fidei* that avoided any interweaving of rituals. Not departing from what he accepted to be true (Legge & Suzuki, 1959), he prevented commingling and confusion both regarding the applicable religious rites and amongst their attendants. He implemented and accomplished his new Faith *coram publico* by making the funeral a statement of (his) Christian piety (Charbonnier, 2007; Peterson, 1988). In so stepping out of the shadow of the Jesuits, Leone established himself as one role model of possible/successful emancipation and delegation (Peterson, 1988) to spread Faith unto family and kin, *shenshi* and *baixing* alike (Gal. 2:9) and independent of direct foreign/non-Chinese pastoral guidance. The indigenous foreign-Padres-independent way of *winning China for Christ* already casted its shadows before.

Over time assuming the role of presbyter and catechesis in his hometown and province, Leone cultivated the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord* with or without the Fathers but always on his own authority (personally and locally) inside out and (pastorally) outside in (Chan, 1988; Charbonnier, 2007; Peterson, 1988) until he died in Beijing on All Saints' Day (01.11.) 1630—

- consoled by Paolo Xu Guangqi who admired both his religious zeal and eruditeness (Charbonnier, 2007); and
- bewept by the Jesuit Fathers who owed him official assignments, protection and (religious) validation as well as a high level of both *wenhua* and *wenming* (Charbonnier, 2007).

Besides these highly concentrated, personalistic (Rambo, 1993), time-, money, and intellect-consuming approaches to sow and harvest amongst “the great and the good” (Brockey, 2007, p. 244) top down, convincing *baixing* of Padre and Preaching represented the other, more mundane possibility to light new spiritual fires in the Empire bottom up. However, to successfully cast the spiritual net amongst the Commoners *intra* and *extra muros* and to so start their “trajectory of conversion” (Rambo, 1993, p. 166) necessitated a more systems-oriented, literally catholic endeavour. As outlined above, doing so required the following:

- Revealing *Tianzhu jiao's soteriological promises* as a revivalist experience that eventually opened up into a new frozen moment
- Expecting fervent *baixing*-catechumens to market Christianity within the confines of their houses and families (personally) inside out and (pastorally) outside in (Ricci, 2010a) as a particular civilizing project

Even if this spiritual sowing was an equally time-consuming and its growth a non-controllable affair (Mk. 4:3-8), the harvest was, if successfully broad in, more fruitful compared to that amongst the Literati and Elite (Brockey, 2007).

Providing context and catalyst of an externally stimulated, personal and social crisis (Rambo, 1993), another possibility to increase the tallies of baptism and to make known Fathers and Faith to a broader metropolitan audience presented itself in the biblical form of the 1604 natural disaster (Ricci, 2010a).

Facing the results of flood and famine fuelling epidemic the Padres excelled themselves. They left their study, opened their Residence and spread food and Faith amongst the afflicted and poor (Ricci, 2010a). In so performing the *Works of Mercy* in word and deed simultaneously exposing those that labour and are heavy laden (Mt. 11:28) to “la charità [sic] christiana” (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Claudio Acquaviva—26.07.1605 in Ricci, 2001, p. 411), the missionaries merged medium and message to advocate *Tianzhu jiao* amongst the neglected indigent (Ricci, 2010a). To such an extent *winning* needy *China for Christ* and convincing unconcerned, mostly middle-class Chinese bystanders of their virtue, ambition, and *harmlessness*, the Padres

- proved their unselfishness and serviceability to city and souls during acute crises and disunity, and
- encouraged those from all social strata ready and willing to overcome personal and social crisis to seek transition and accept the Faith towards a new frozen moment.

The(se) mission-related quick-wins notwithstanding, the tallies of baptism from all social strata and in the shadow of books and prevailing broadsides (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Claudio Acquaviva—26.07.1605 in Ricci, 2001) were small and hard-earned. Keeping the new spiritual fire burning was an equally difficult affair.

Though those who finally made the desperate leap and gave up their religious past to gain a new spiritual future became fervent followers (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Fabio de Fabii—09.05.1605, Ricci, 2001), they now confronted the Fathers with a distinctive, time-consuming demand for spiritual guidance.

As a result, a viable possibility to increase Flock, fan fervency and meet the rising spiritual demand all within the missionaries’ limited time-scale had to once again be born out of necessity. To thus channel “concentrated attention [...] [and] focused spiritual guidance” (Brockey, 2007, p. 52) amongst the mainly middle-class converts, the Fathers carried forward de Pantoja’s efforts and Ferreira’s success in setting up a kind of confraternity outside Beijing (Bettray, 1955).

Apparently initiated by the missionary as a sort of parish to administer to the nearly 150 Christians in that area (Ricci, 2010a), the confraternity was set up and run by the rural *Chinese Others* as an association reminiscent of a Chinese benevolent society that simultaneously promoted works of Christian piety (Sir. 4:1-4; 8-10), such as (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Claudio Acquaviva—18.10.1607 in Ricci, 2001)

- granting obligatory hospitality to those Christians coming from the surrounding villages to ask for shelter, attend mass, and receive the Sacraments; and
- encouraging its members to congregate to pray with or without a priest and to minister at least eight times a year.

Recognizing a feasible role model for co-optation and cohesion in front of their front-door, the Beijing Fathers took the chance of (over)emphasizing similarities with a Chinese best practice and followed Lucas Li's—a Chinese convert—(Ricci, 2010a) idea of merging

- *Tongshan hui*-同善会-a common form of a Chinese benevolent society of Confucian-Buddhist inspiration (Smith, 1987); and
- a Jesuit Marian sodality popular in Europe at that time (Köster, 1984).

This combination reinforced “a traditional pattern within the Chinese context” (Standaert et al., 2001, p. 457) and thus created the mission's first fully fledged devotional sodality on Chinese soil in 1609 (Brockey, 2007; Witek, 2005) that supported as well as pragmatically adapted the traditional Chinese framework to the new Catholic environment (Zürcher, 2000). In so moving “beyond the existing channels provided by lineage organisations, religious institutions and the state” (Standaert et al., 2001, p. 456), “*La Confraternita della Madre di Dio*[-*Shengmu hui*-圣母会]” (Ricci, 2010a, p. 558)—founded on *Nativitatis Beatae Mariae Virginis* (08.09.)—aimed at the following:

- Performing *Works of Mercy*—at least the Chinese-culture appropriate deeds, such as burying the Christian dead to secure adherence to Catholic orthopraxy and gathering money to support the poor and the burials (Smith, 1987; Standaert et al., 2001; Witek, 2005; Zürcher, 2000)
- Enabling spiritual cultivation/fostering devotion—mainly by gathering every first Sunday to listen to the Fathers, to hear them exhort catechumens, and to receive the Sacraments (Ricci, 2010a)

To such an extent kicked off by a *Chinese Other* and validated by the Chinese *per se ipsum*, the Fathers profited from the existent spiritual orientation/current within Late Ming society (Zhang, 2005; Zürcher, 1990, 2000). In this context, Padres and converts apparently did not do/need a lot of persuading to

- merge *hui* and *sodalitas* for the greater good of the entire Mission—emphasizing similarities, fostering internal and external (religious/ethical) alignment, and so accomplishing equilibrium via religio-cultural relationship;
- convince all parties involved “to set up such bodies by themselves” (Standaert et al., 2001, p. 457)—allowing for emancipation and delegation amongst the Chinese converts and enabling involvement, collaboration, and assistance regarding the Chinese persons of trust; and
- spread its idea throughout China by Father and Flock *to win* both remote and family *China for Christ* top down and bottom up—(locally) inside out and, by flashing over the spiritual fire into the houses and families of their *sodales*, (pastorally) outside in.

Having its nucleus outside Beijing, the dissemination of this particular pragmatic and virtually propitious idea took its start in Nanjing in 1610 (Ricci, 2010a).

There, the residing Fathers da Rocha, Vagnone, Feliciano da Silva (1579-1614), and Pedro Ribeiro (1570-1640), the Brothers Manoel and Francisco, and the facilitating and catalysing Chinese *Guanfu-comrade and convert* Xu Guangqi inaugurated another *Shengmu hui* (Bettray, 1955; Ricci, 2010a) to expose Nanjing people to Christianity, to perform *Works of Mercy* in order to light new spiritual fires, to boost the tallies of baptism, and to keep the spiritual fire burning within the Southern Capital.

Notwithstanding the first signs of emancipation and delegation outside the Capital, the *Patres Pekinenses* were still busy

- officiating Beijing Residence with its long-lasting, intrinsic and preeminent duty of a) securing Fathers and mission outside the Beijing City Walls by means of hobnobbing with the Capital's high and highest to span a network of patrons and protectors across the Empire, and b) proving unselfishness and serviceability by means of scientific transdisciplinarity and crossing boundaries to the high and highest; and
- “preparing the way for an expanding movement of conversions” (Dunne, 1962, p. 93) (personally/locally) inside out by means of shifting the locus of proselytization away from the religiously low-yielding, pastorally demanding, mainly elitist Centre(s) of the Empire and into the more rewarding/fruitful common, down-to-earth parts of the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord*.

Facing the increasing numbers of converts and clerics within the Capital and the stream of visiting officials, *Jinshi*-examinees attending the triennial *huishi*-会试 |*gongshi*-宫试|*dianshi*-殿试-metropolitan|palace|temple exams (Elman, 2000), curiosity seekers, *Guanfu*-acquaintances, and the poor in need (Witek, 2005) swelling even more, moving the Beijing Residence out of the dependence of unreliable Chinese landlords and closer to public attention became a necessity (Ricci, 2010a).

Assisted by Xu Guangqi and other *Chinese Others*, the Fathers finally managed to negotiate a loan that compensated for the loss of financial support from Macao caused by the 1604 capture of one of the silk-bearing ships that shuttled between the Peninsula and Japan (Dunne, 1962). Being further derided by intercession of a benevolent official and having tacitly gained “immunità ecclesiastica” (Ricci, 2010a, p. 488) by the same imperial licences, the Padres were allowed to take possession of the new Residence and Chapel near *Xuanwumen*-宣武门-Xuanwu Gate on 27 August 1605 (Ricci, 2010a). There, they were finally able to accommodate all Christians in Beijing.

Having thus successfully shifted the centre of Christianity “in un sito molto frequentato” (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Claudio Acquaviva—15.08.1606 in Ricci, 2001, p. 424), the stream of visitors and venerators to Chapel and Clerics further increased.

Besides seeing old and new facilitators and catalysts as well as respective comrades and converts of the city’s entire social strata coming and going, the new site also saw the first manifestation of Chinese Christian self-confidence and a careful interweaving of Chinese and European funeral rituals—fruitfully accomplishing equilibrium via religio-cultural relationship and taking the next step towards “the gradual creation of a Chinese Church” (Brockey, 2007, p. 76) by means of (religious/ethical) alignment.

As a particular part of a mutual civilizing project initiated by a *Chinese Other*, Xu Guangqi organised a ritually appropriate, culturally non-offensive Catholic funeral service that retained external *Chinese Rites* and ceremonies simultaneously allowing for (religious/ethical) alignment and respective adaptation and congruity to venerate his late father Xu Sicheng-徐思诚 (1535-1607-baptized Leone by Ricci end of March 1606). Permitting himself to be dressed in Asian mourning white and the coffin to be made and presented in the necessary Chinese way, the rituals proper nonetheless followed basic Roman Catholic rules for *Requiem Mass*. In so giving prove to the completion of a successful civilizing project by being each other’s mutual civilizer and civilizee, he carefully exerted himself to reconcile ritual and funeral feast with the Fathers (Ricci, 2010a) for “di non fare nessun rito contra le regole della Christianità” (p. 491). After the funeral feast, Xu Guangqi left for his hometown Shanghai, Jiangnan Province to bury the dead, to adhere to the social conventions of obeying *shouxiao* (Ricci, 2010a) and to prepare a new lot in the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord* (Brockey, 2007).

In the Capital however, the Beijing Jesuits carried on with their exhaustive tasks of visiting and re-visiting, discussing and writing, printing and engraving, planning and building as well as converting and catalysing top down and bottom up. But finally, the demanding daily work load on Ricci’s side took its toll.

On 3 May 1610, the Father “si mette a letto esausto” (Ricci, 2001, p. 543) in the same breath announcing his coming death. Li Zhizao, virtually compensating for Ricci’s devotional care during his own illness in the same year, sent over Beijing’s best physician and his own medicine but to no avail (Ricci, 2010a). Also a “consultation of six [...] doctors resulted [...] in disagreement and produced three different diagnoses” (Dunne, 1962, p. 106) but brought no amelioration.

As the news of Ricci’s illness spread across the city, more and more Christians and companions flocked to the Residence to do their *Corporal Works of Mercy*. Ricci, on the other hand, prepared himself to depart in peace (Lk. 2:29-32) (Ricci, 2010a). On 09 May 1610, he received *viaticum* and the following (!) day *unctio infirmorum* (D’Elia, 1949, FR 2:539 N. 961). On 11 May 1610, at seven o’clock in the evening, Ricci, having exhorted and blessed the surrounding confreres de Pantoja, Sabatino de Ursis (1575-1620), Brother Manoel and a further Brother, finally breathed his last (Ricci, 2010a); giving way for the next generation of missionaries to *win China for Christ*, and hoping that his death would serve Christianity in China. And serving it did!

Already the following days of incessant visits of condolence by both *shenshi* and *baixing* as well as the entire official preparations for Ricci’s funeral became a manifestation/confirmation of the deceased’s Chineseness, his accepted status amongst all social strata within the Capital and beyond (D’Elia, 1949, FR 2:547 N. 967), the internal and external (religious/ethical) alignment of the funeral rites, and the high level of external adaptation and congruity of the *China Mission* per se. On 14 June 1610—having coffined the Father, celebrated the *Requiem Mass* together with Padres and neophytes, transferred the coffin from the chapel “secondo l’usanza cinese [...] nel salone della casa [where the walls were hung with white linen (Cronin, 1984)] ed esposto sopra un altare per la visita degli amici” (Ricci, 2010a, p. 609), and decided to not transport the coffin back to Macao but to follow official Chinese customs and to bury Ricci as a foreign official in the country (Brockey, 2007; Cronin, 1984; Ricci, 2010a)—Leone and de Pantoja authored a memorial to the Dragon Throne (Ricci, 2010a).

Doing so, they requested Wanli Emperor to honour *Li Madou* with “a worthy burial ground [...] to receive his body” (Dunne, 1962, p. 106) in order to reward *Xitai* for

- shedding his foreignness and excelling in *wenhua* and *wenming* to become Chinese to the Chinese and a civilizee to Chinese high social visibility;
- sharing his practical morality, practical learning and European *scientia*, and the use of natural reason with his Chinese interlocuteurs for the sake of a piquing and satisfying mutual (scientific) curiosity and establishing a (fruitful) exchange;
- offering his scientific and spiritual unselfishness and serviceability to China as a true vassal of the Emperor; and
- exposing Literati and Elite to *Tianxue* and replenishing Commoners with *Tianzhu jiao* (Jer. 31:25) to win all China for Christ top down and bottom up as well as (personally) and (religiously/philosophically) inside out and outside in.

The supporting memorial presented by *libu* and *Daxueshi* Ye Xianggao-叶向高 /Ye Taishan-叶台山 (1559-1627) himself added further official weight to the request (Ricci, 2010a).

For the time being quieting foes, competitors, and rivals, such as the Dowager Empress herself (Cronin, 1984), the requests were granted in summer 1610 (Ricci, 2010a). Additionally, a plot of officially confiscated land outside *Fuchengmen*-阜成门-*Fuchengmen Gate* known as “Tempio della Buona Dottrina” (p. 641) was assigned to mourning Fathers and Church by imperial rescript on 19 October 1610 (Ricci, 2010a) to officially become the Jesuit Cemetery at *Zhalan*-栅栏 (D’Elia, 1949, FR 2:617 N. 993 and Tavola XXIII).

On All Saints' Day 1611, after having negotiated durable tax exemption for the realty further quieting foes, competitors, and rivals, prepared the burial ground, and remodelled the Chapel by destigmatizing/cleansing its interiors from its Buddhist past, the coffin was brought over from the Jesuit Residence following European customs (Ricci, 2010a).

With clerics and Chinese paying their last respect, Ricci was finally entombed in Chinese soil “secondo il rito ecclesiastico” (Ricci, 2010a, p. 666). “[C]on il massimo splendore possibile, [and] con l’organo ed altri strumenti musicali” (p. 665), he was

- honoured by the *Chinese Others*, e.g. by the Governor of Beijing Huang Jishi-黄吉士 who authored an inscription reading *Muyiliyan*-墓义立言 to praise Ricci’s righteousness and eruditeness (Cronin, 1984); and
- venerated by confreres and converts alike for his “grande aiuto alla religion cristiana” (Ricci, 2010a, p. 667).

The astonishing act of imperial acceptance, appreciation, and amity for a non-official envoy notwithstanding, the joint efforts of Chinese facilitators and catalysts, “the imperial grant [...] [,Ricci’s quasi-official state funeral, the nonetheless modular eulogies carved in stone, and the to-be-attended tomb *per se* (Brockey, 2007; Ricci, 2010a)—all (over)emphasizing similarities and proving the success of the bridging project—did serve] as a protection for the religion” (Dunne, 1962, p. 106); at least in a China-wide communicated understanding of the Missionaries. As the Father’s passing merged medium and message beyond his death, Ricci was right to say that his death would serve Christianity—in the words of João Rodrigues (1561-1633)—even more than his life (Brockey, 2007). As all Chorales were sung and all incense was burned, de Pantoja and de Ursis were allowed to remain in Beijing—comfortably alimented by the state pension bestowed upon *Li Madou* (Brockey, 2007).

In so profiting from Ricci’s renown, his money, his established “apostolate of influence” (de Saldanha, 2012, p. 157), or at least benefitting from the Late Ming’s custom to keep foreigners in the country to avoid any leaking out of information (Franke, 1967), the Fathers went on proving their unselfishness and serviceability to the Dragon Throne and marketing both *Tianxue* top down and *Tianzhu jiao* bottom up to *shenshi* and *baixing* alike.

Notwithstanding this continuity of the *modo soave cinese completo*, smooth transition of Superiorship from Ricci to Longobardo and undisturbed handover of Ricci's lifework to the second generation of Jesuits allowed for a slight but significant shift of missionaries' spiritual battlefield and self-concept (Brockey, 2007). Baiting and netting Chinese souls outside lofty discussion halls, reception rooms, and observatories/astronomy bureaus as well as in the Provinces and *extra muros* became the post-Ricci Jesuits' foremost concern (Brockey, 2007; Standaert et al., 2001). Additionally—with the balance between court and country, scientific endeavours and spiritual guidance shifting in favour of the last-mentioned—simple involvement, collaboration, and assistance of successfully catechized *Chinese Others* in spreading Faith made room for obligating emancipation of sufficiently zealous Chinese catechumens. It further allowed for comprehensive delegation of religious responsibilities to the nascent Chinese Church's most fervent representatives. In so charting the *China Mission's* course, Ricci's "Chinese descendants, children born of water and the Holy Spirit" (Cronin, 1984, p. 263) (John 3:5) started to *win China for Christ* on own authority (personally and locally) inside out and (pastorally) outside in. Exemplary representatives of this apostolic, missionizing, and spiritual zeal could be found—amongst others—in Shanghai and Hangzhou respectively.

Already in 1607/1608 Paolo Xu Guangqi laid the foundation for the Shanghai parish (Ricci, 2010a) and a *China Mission*-related success story. Shortly after having assumed office as *jiantao*-检讨-Examining Editor at *Hanlin Yuan*-翰林院-Hanlin Academy (Dudink, 2001a), Paolo retired from his post to return home to obey *shouxiao* for his late father Leone (Ricci, 2010a). On his way back to Shanghai via Nanjing, he invited Cattaneo to accompany him not only to minister the *Requiem Mass*, but also to reclaim and cultivate a new lot in the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord* (Ricci, 2010a). Together with Cattaneo and other Jesuit Fathers, Paolo proselytized within the confines of his palace and beyond the walls of the Xu-family estate amongst the Shanghainese people (personally) inside out (Bettray, 1955; D'Elia, 1949, FR 2:510-516 N. 934-945; Übelhör, 1968, 1969; Wiest, 2005).

In so proving involvement, collaboration, and assistance to Church and Cleric top down and bottom up, he at first assisted the Fathers to convert and baptize a significant number of Chinese souls (Gallagher, 1953). But soon, simple assistance of the *Chinese Other* in the Padres' *commerce of conversion* made room for a facilitating and catalysing implementation and accomplishment of Faith and Mission on his own authority (Bettray, 1955; Ricci, 2010a; Standaert et al., 2001; Übelhör, 1968, 1969). Thus, adding “an earnest quality and a discipline to the moral values he inherited from his [Confucian] tradition” (Peterson, 1988, p. 147) and leaving his mark on the Shanghai Mission he

- not only ensured that his family, household, and acquaintances regularly received the Sacraments (Übelhör, 1968, 1969), but also
- constructed *Xujiahui*-徐家汇-the Xu-house-Church on the west side of the Xu-family estate in the following years (1608-1609) to give shelter to the religiously matured, the spiritually needy, and the monetary poor (Klauck, 1981; Standaert et al., 2001; Übelhör, 1968, 1969; Wiest, 2005); and
- founded local *sodalities* and *lay congregations* to obtain “for their members prudence and faithfulness, [...] [to teach] the precepts of the Church [and basic prayers], [...] [to draw] away from superstition” (King, 1998, p. 63) and to perform the *Works of Mercy* in Shanghai and *extra muros* (Übelhör, 1968, 1969).

Also after Ricci's dead, Paolo's missionizing zeal did not ebb away. As his particular manifestation of being patron and protector of Fathers and Faith, facilitation and catalysis, implementation and accomplishment as well as emancipation and delegation, he

- housed and protected the Jesuits during uprising and xenophobic attacks as well as against foes, competitors, and rivals (Dunne, 1962);
- supported and validated the *China Mission* by money, *maobi*-毛-ink brush, and meditation as well as by marketing the Fathers' serviceability and usefulness to Emperor and Empire alike (Übelhör, 1968, 1969); and
- passed Faith and missionizing zeal on to the next generations of the Xu-family (pastorally) outside in.

Hence, as the last of the *Three Great Pillars of Chinese Catholicism* died on 8 November 1633 in Beijing, his granddaughter Candida Xu-徐甘第大 (1607-1680) followed in his footsteps. Epitomizing a new, self-confident generation of Chinese missionaries (King, 1998; von Collani, 2012a; Zurndorfer, 1993b) who were about to assume individual religious responsibility and emancipation and delegation from the foreign missionaries as *emancipatio religiosa sinensis*. she sounded down the Gospel literally on eye level and kept the spiritual fires burning on her own authority.

Also in Hangzhou, Ricci's legacy was well administered and propagated (Mt. 25:14-30). First rooting in small but important successes it finally bore rich fruit both top down and bottom up. To plant and cultivate this new lot in the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord*, Leone Li Zhizao proved to be a worthy representative of Ricci's missionizing zeal and its useful medium. In late spring 1611—resigning from his office in Nanjing to go home to observe *shouxiao* and to arrange for his late father's funeral—he relocated three Jesuits who accompanied the newly converted with the blessings of the Ricci-succeeding new superior Longobardo and his catechizing efforts back to his hometown (Mungello, 1994b; Peterson, 1988). There, he carried further his involvement, collaboration and assistance (locally) inside out and happily resolved the “trajectory of conversion” (Rambo, 1993, p. 166) of Yang Tingyun; fellow townsman of Renhe, academic peer, devout Buddhist, erudite neo-Confucianist with a desire for transcendence (Ricci, 2001), and the to-be third *Pillar of Chinese Catholicism* (Lewis, 1988).

Yang Tingyun (1562-1627)

Yang Tingyun's academic, administrative, and religious career was straightforward and in its characteristics typical for time, place, and social stratum. In 1579, he became *Juren* and received the *Jinshi*-degree in 1592. Based on his academic achievements, he speedily climbed up the ladder of high and higher dignities in Late Ming administration—in 1592-99 assuming the post of *Zhifu* in Anfu, Jiangxi Province and that of *Yushi*-御史-Censor in 1602 (Ricci, 2001) until he resigned from office in 1609 when corruption, decadence, and decay further escalated (Peterson, 1988).

Religiously he followed family tradition and philosophically the movement and interest of his peers. Being an ardent Buddhist, financially supporting temples, and hosting Buddhist monks, he also became a follower of *neo-Confucianism* (Charbonnier, 2007)—all with an actively questing (Rambo, 1993) interest in restoring “a sense of ‘right’ to a society adrift” (Peterson, 1988, p.135), and “seeking a moral certainty” (p. 135), “promoting [...] moral self-cultivation (p. 132) to ease the feeling of a gradually widening philosophical void (Chan, 1988). Like many of his *Guanfu*-peers he too made Ricci’s acquaintance but apparently with not lasting (catechizing) effect. Already around 1602, he met Ricci apparently at court while being appointed *Yushi*. He visited him at the Jesuit Residence (Standaert, 1988) to hear him

- discoursing on (European) *scientia* and (Chinese classical) teachings and thinking;
- purposely waving Christianity into the conversation (religiously/philosophically) outside in; and
- promoting *Tianxue* amongst “the great and the good” (Brockey, 2007, p. 244) of the Northern Capital top down and (personally) inside out.

But even if learned discussions on Chinese classics allowed for sympathy between two likeminded intellects, Ricci’s *modo soave cinese passivo*, his learned scientific remarks on European *scientia*, or other promises of the Jesuits’ time-tested unselfishness and serviceability—something that Leone and the two Paolos, or other preceding converts drove towards seeking transition (Standaert, 1988)—did not net Yang Tingyun (Mungello, 1994b) as it simultaneously frustrated Ricci (Standaert, 1988). *Tianxue* and Ricci apparently left no lasting impression.

“With his concern for interior rectitude [and transcendence] rather than learning” (Charbonnier, 2007, p. 170), Yang Tingyun was following a different path and embarking on a different civilizing project to eventually seek for meaning and purpose as well as to fill the still widening philosophical/spiritual void (Peterson, 1988; Rambo, 1993).

As the Lord's ways are higher (Is. 55:9), the religious virtue/spiritual zeal of a Chinese convert and friend, some outspoken truths, and a mixture of *intellectual* and *affectional conversion* but no evident personal/social crises finally convinced Yang Tingyun to apostate his Buddho-neo-Confucianist belief (religiously/philosophically) outside in. It made him accept Christianity (Bettray, 1955; Charbonnier, 2007; Ricci, 2001; Standaert, 1988) as “an externally determined source of moral values [...] [and—as a system of meaning (Rambo, 1993)—as] an alternative to the [prevailing] relativism and introspection” (Peterson, 1988, p. 136).

In 1611, while conveying his condolences on the death of Leone's father, Yang Tingyun not only met a mourning fellow townsman and friend but also the three Jesuits (Standaert, 1988). Apparently impressed by Leone's conversion, devoutness, and uncompromising confidence towards *Tianzhu jiao*, and spiritually aroused by some figurative manifestations of the new Faith, Yang Tingyun was finally ready to learn more about the *Lord of Heaven* (Standaert, 1988). He invited the Jesuits to stay in his house and to teach him precepts and principles of Christianity both (religiously/intellectually) inside out and (religiously/philosophically) outside in (Peterson, 1988). But despite or even because of the Literati and Elite-appropriate intellectualization of the Faith, Yang Tingyun had difficulties with accepting Christianity (Standaert, 1988).

During extensive intellectual discussions with the Jesuits and by deepening his comprehension by reading respective tracts, he had constructed himself a highly-refined understanding of God and Christianity—much in the tradition and understanding of the Buddhist doctrine (Charbonnier, 2007; Rambo, 1993). He was hence, surprised to learn about and at the same time objected

- “the [impossible] veneration of the Buddha [or any honour to the idols in general], the [mystery of the] incarnation of the Word, [...] redemption” (Standaert, 1988, p. 54), and—comparable to St. Paul's Greek audience on the Areopagus (Acts 17:32)—“the resurrection of the body” (p. 89); and
- Christ sharing the unworthy and scandalizing fate and cross of a criminal (Dtn. 21:23; Gal. 3:13; 1 Cor. 1:23).

So, Cattaneo had to go even more into far-reaching *explicatio* to contextualize Christ, Cross, and the *soteriological* Covenants of the Lord (Bettray, 1955).

Based on these doctrinal lectures (religiously/intellectually) inside out and “dopo lunghe ed animate discussioni” (Ricci, 2001, p. 581), Yang Tingyun himself accomplished a spiritual but intellectually driven equilibrium between *Tianzhu jiao* and his Buddhist understandings/neo-Confucianist philosophy, Chinese tradition, Antiquity, and natural teaching (Charbonnier, 2007; Rambo, 1993).

In so too “being ‘jolted with deep insights’” (Luk, 1988, p. 199) while *per se* emphasizing intellectual and religious similarities (Rambo, 1993), he rationalized the essential characters of *Tianzhu jiao* to be love for God as manifested in the love for one’s neighbour (Mk 12:30-31; Gal. 5:14), that is expressed both in obeying the hierarchical requirements of *xiao* towards God (Charbonnier, 2007), and performing the Corporal and Spiritual *Works of Mercy* towards one’s neighbour (Charbonnier, 2007).

Following his own *intellectual conversion* (Rambo, 1993) and based on his deliberated (religious/ethical) alignment, Yang Tingyun was eventually prepared to embark on the civilizing project and to follow the new religious awareness by living as a Christian in the grace of God (Rahner, 2008). However, baptism was nonetheless out of reach (Peterson, 1988; Rambo, 1993)—despite the lengthy

- supporting recourses to Chinese culture, classics, and congruity; and
- learned input of the Fathers’ theological and dogmatic *narratio* and *explication*

applied by the Padres and called for by Yang Tingyun to move towards the kernel of the disputed problems (religiously/philosophically) outside in.

The intellectual struggles notwithstanding, the 6th Commandment and Yang Tingyun’s concubine as its palpable worldly antithesis stood between him and the baptismal font. It thus prevented the philosophical void from being bridged.

Being in line with Ricci’s “pochi e buoni” (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Girolamo Costa—06.03.1608 in Ricci, 2001, p. 455), the missionaries were not willing to compromise.

Complaining the Fathers' apparent obstinacy regarding the 6th Commandment to his friend and later god-father Leone, it finally was this particular *Chinese Other* who took credit for bringing a solution to the knotty situation (Standaert, 1988)—facilitating and catalysing affectional conversion (Rambo, 1993) and paving the way towards a new frozen moment. On this verbal route to Emmaus that aligned Yang Tingyun's active questing with *sheng jiao* (Rambo, 1993), Leone's clear direct *narratio*, amicable *explicatio*, precise *interrogatio*, and uncompromising *exhortatio* eventually opened Yang Tingyun's eyes (Lk. 24:31). It ultimately revived his interest in Christianity (D'Elia, 1949, FR 2:178 N. 632).

Due to Leone's catechizing efforts, Yang Tingyun finally understood and accepted both the virtuousness of the Padres as perfected men (Chan, 1988; Legge & Suzuki, 1959) and the *soteriological* and moral wholeness of *Tianzhu jiao* as well as its non-susceptibility (Standaert, 1988) as "an externally determined source of moral values" (Peterson, 1988, p. 136). To fill the philosophical void and to walk "on the path of goodness" (Charbonnier, 2007, p. 173) simultaneously manifesting his "ideological encapsulation" (Rambo, 1993, p. 106) in a visible *professio fidei*, he sealed his "[t]radition transition" (p. 14) with acts of surrender and apostasy (Rambo, 1993). Doing so, the newly converted broke with Buddhism and asked for baptism. Observing the new religious laws, he cleansed his house from Buddhist imagery and the omnipresent Buddhist monks (Standaert, 1988) and separated from his concubine—accommodating the secondary wife and his two male children in a separate dwelling (Peterson, 1988; Standaert, 1988). In so giving up to gain a new frozen moment, he was christened Michele in June 1611 (Peterson, 1988; Standaert, 1988).

Much to the trend-setting catechizing activities/efforts of persuasion of the no longer solely involving, collaborating, and assisting but already missionaryly-emancipated Leone, the third *Pillar of Chinese Catholicism* was unremovably grounded. The indigenous, foreign Padres-independent way of *winning China for Christ* already applied by Leone gathered way.

After baptism and formal disaffiliation, Michele further sustained his surrender (Charbonnier, 2007) by his own congruity and complementarity as well as by showing support to Fathers, Faith and own family. To prove this newly-gained religious/missionary self-assurance, a growing involvement, collaboration, and assistance, and a self-assumed emancipation and delegation, Michele obeyed the *Missionary Commission* and took up the work of an apostle in his home, hometown and beyond (Charbonnier, 2007). Hoping to veritably merge medium and message while living by the precepts of the Faith (Chan, 1988), he catechized his family and household in Hangzhou and further missionized outside the confines of kin and house (Zürcher, 1993).

Following *Sihai yijia*, he started as an emancipated and delegated pater familias with thirty members of his immediate family successfully establishing a clockwork missionary to pass Faith and Fathers already to the second generation of the Yang-family (Zürcher, 1993). Adhering to this particular spiritual *patria potestas*/family business, he then moved on to his kin, and—as it was common within the respective social stratum—finally sounded down the Faith amongst his friends of same background and place (Zürcher, 1993). In total, he convinced over 100 people to follow *Tianzhu zhidao* (Standaert, 1988) top down and bottom up but always (personally) inside out and (pastorally) outside in.

Beyond these spiritual/immaterial deeds, Michele additionally merged Chinese cultural heritage and the precepts of the Gospel to cultivate and enlarge the newly established *Chinese vineyard of the Lord*—once again with and/or without the direct interaction of the foreign missionaries (Standaert, 1988). As a benevolent and zealous facilitator and catalyst of the Faith, the comrade and convert funded the missionaries in Hangzhou and granted them the use of his estate as their base of operations and later hiding-place in the 1616-1623 persecution (Brockey, 2007; Standaert, 1988). Doing so, he simultaneously proved his reciprocal Christian support and became a veritable patron and protector of Fathers and Faith.

Additionally, Michele, his wife and children

- displayed their friendship with the Padres (Brockey, 2007);
- founded churches/chapels (Standaert, 1988; Zürcher, 1993);
- arranged for a cemetery that later became the Jesuit Cemetery at *Dafangjing*-大方井 (Standaert, 1988);
- allowed for printing (religious) books further explaining/defending *Tianzhu jiao*, such as *Xiaoluan bu bingming shuo*-枭鸾不并鸣说-*The Owl and the Phoenix do not sing together*, and introducing European *scientia*, such as *Tongwen suanzhi bianxu*-同文算指编序-*Rules of Arithmetic Common to Cultures* (Standaert, 1988; Zürcher, 1993);
- provided for schooling of the poor (Standaert, 1988); and
- established the first Christian *Renhui*-仁会-Benevolent Society in Jiangnan/Zhejiang Province to perform Corporal and Spiritual *Works of Mercy* amongst the needy and the poor (Standaert, 1988; Zürcher, 2000).

Having lived as a Christian for the rest of his life and being consoled with *confessio oris*, *absolutio*, and *unctio infirmorum*, Michele happily changed Earth for Heaven in winter 1627/1628 (Standaert, 1988).

Even if his death marked the beginning of a shifting focus relative to the future protection and validation of Christianity, Church, and Clerics with the other two *Pillars of Chinese Catholicism* falling in 1630 and 1633 respectively neither the Hangzhou parish nor *Tianzhu jiao* was put in jeopardy by Michele's demise (Brockey, 2007). On the contrary, the duty of burying the dead, of defending father and Faith against the pagan outside world, and of carrying forward zeal and mission amongst the Chinese *baixing* and *shenshi* in Hangzhou and beyond fell on Michele's son Giovanni (Standaert, 1988). Holding one's Christian ground against well-meaning friends and guardians of culture and virtue, Giovanni avoided commingling and confusion as he gave "his father a solemn Christian funeral ceremony" (p. 94). Doing so, he broke with/modified the traditional Chinese funeral rites to fit with the Christian setting, e.g. putting a picture of the Saviour on an altar to be venerated (Standaert, 1988, 2008a).

Setting clear boundaries, Giovanni made a statement in favour of Christianity. Marking the future of *China Mission*, he carried further Christianity and conversion into the second generation and beyond the confines of the privacy of his house (1 Thess. 1:7-8) as did his sister Agnes who devoted herself to leading Christian women/Christian virgins “consecrated to God and dedicated to charitable works” (Standaert et al., 2001, p. 394) in Hangzhou (King, 1998).

With Ricci’s legacy and lifework well administered, propagated, and further substantiated as well as Mission and Missionaries

- openly protected, sponsored, and promoted by a selected number of zealous *Guanfu-comrades and converts* in Beijing and in the Provinces,
- gladly expected and supported by a growing number of devout *baixing*-neophytes (Standaert et al., 2001) in the widespread parishes *intra et extra muros*; and
- momentarily validated by Wanli Emperor in the eunuch-guarded reclusion/remoteness of *Zijincheng*,

“the Jesuits’ [all-prevailing] fears of imminent expulsion had[—at least for the time being—]been allayed” (Brockey, 2007, p. 63). The growing reputation of Fathers, Faith, and Faculty, the noble, powerful, eloquent, and brave Mission-legitimizing *Guanfu*-patronage and protection, as well as increasing catechizing successes top down and first and foremost bottom up gave reason to hope and delight (Brockey, 2007; Ross, 1994; Standaert et al., 2001).

The growing euphoria notwithstanding, rising feelings of invulnerability, increasing imprudence, and manifestations of arrogance towards the *China Mission’s* (in)visible foes, competitors, and rivals amongst some of the Fathers, such as Alfonso Vagnone (1568-1640), the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord* was not that sheltered. On the contrary, its growing could be destroyed when wind blows (Ps 103:15-16)—and what started as a gentle breeze soon grew into a veritable storm.

In this regard, earlier events in Guangzhou were but the first signs of a prevailing trial that were mostly borne from Chinese xenophobia, such as the

- 1605 accusation of Cattaneo to organize and head a revolution against the Empire together with the Portuguese of Macao, Dutch merchants and some Japanese (Ricci, 2010a); and
- 1606 death of Brother Francisco tormented and executed as foreign spy in so becoming the first martyr on Chinese soil (Ricci, 2010a).

But even if exotic appearance and the link with Macao periodically brought Chinese resentments to the fore, xenophobia was not the Fathers' foremost problem (Brockey, 2007; Ross, 1994). Rather being accused *xie* "in a religious, ritual, social, and political sense" (Standaert, 2008b, p. 174) and so "to be treated as a subversive sect" (p. 174) was what finally raised a storm that drove the *China Mission* into heavy waters and the Padres outside the country or into hiding.

In 1607, the first gust already ripped through Fujian Province and Nanchang (Brockey, 2007; Ricci, 2010a). There, a group of twenty-seven, mostly young *Xiucai*—anxious to safeguard their future in the closed system of given truths and learning (Dunne, 1962)—presented two memorials, one to *Buzheng shi*-布政使-secular official head and one to the ritual head of *Xiucai*, to denounce *Tianzhu jiao* to be *xie*. To back their claim, they accused the Fathers (Brockey, 2007; Ricci, 2010a) to

- work against the stability of the Empire;
- unlawfully acquire their Residence;
- hold secret gatherings and house sectarian elements, e.g. of *Bailian jiao*;
- openly oppose Buddhist clergy and teaching as well as simply dismiss/ignore Daoist priests and cult;
- illegally assume image and position of *Wenguan*-文官-learned Mandarins;
- degrade Confucianism to make the Literati and Elite join "*una lege diabolica*" (Ricci, 2010a, p. 538); and
- lure the Commoners away from their ancestors and altars to worship "certe imagine di un Tartaro o Saraceno" (p. 538).

Even if well-meaning, supportive, patronizing and protecting *Guanfu*-acquaintances took side with Jesuits and Mission, and the Fathers got off lightly, the verdict remained in favour of the accusers (Ricci, 2010a). Despite all Jesuit self-assurance on the matter, the memorials found their ways into the networked hands of those foes, competitors, and rivals

- in favour of a “stricter interpretations of [...] [Confucianism] [...] [or a] reinvigoration of lay Buddhism” (Brockey, 2007, p. 67) in their area of influence outside Nanchang (Brockey, 2007);
- perturbed about “another faction of literati, [and/or] another subversive popular movement” (Zürcher, 1971, p. 195); and
- anxiously waiting behind the scene for “a pretext for action [against the *China Mission* and its representatives] and a leader influential [...] and courageous enough to attack” (Dunne, 1962, p. 126).

The pretext was finally furnished by Vagnone. Basking in an aura of false security and overwhelming feelings of apologetic omnipotence that mainly arose from Ricci’s reputation and Christian *shenshi*’s patronage and protection he

- deviated exceedingly from Ricci’s prudent *modo soave cinese passivo*—especially since Valentim de Carvalho (1559-1630) in 1615—at that time exiled Provincial of Japan and responsible for the missionaries in China—required the Fathers to concentrate on preaching instead of teaching (Peterson, 2011);
- open-aggressively but nonetheless successfully proselytized amongst the Nanjing people top down and bottom up—mainly since the beginning of his Superiorship in 1609 (Dunne, 1962; Peterson, 2011; Zürcher, 1993); and
- made Nanjing the fastest growing Flock and parish in China at that time with an increasing number of lay sodalities and a second Christian Church of Western style in the Empire built on a site purchased by Leone Li Zhizao (Dunne, 1962; Peterson, 2011; Zürcher, 1993).

On the opposite side, leadership was supplied by Shen Que-沈奎 (1565-1624)—since July 1615 vice minister of the Nanjing *libu* (Brook, 2005; Dudink, 2001b; Dunne, 1962; Peterson, 2011).

In medio June 1616, Shen Que launched his attack against the Jesuits in the Empire (Brook, 2005) while being increasingly

- alerted by the surging number of “Chinese literati [...] teaching the ideas from the [Great] Western Ocean” (Peterson, 2011, p. 111);
- alarmed by the Jesuits’ growing influence amongst Nanjing *shenshi* and *baixing* (Peterson, 2011);
- annoyed by the Fathers’ apparent misappropriation of Confucian rank, colours and rhetoric (Peterson, 2011; Zürcher, 1997a) in general;
- disgusted by Vagnone’s distinct and visible heterodox activities (Brockey, 2007; Dunne, 1962) in particular;
- ambitious to restore (his own, mainly Song-interpretation of) Confucian orthodoxy and related Buddhism in the Southern Capital during arising crises and disunity (Brockey, 2007; Dudink, 2001b; Dunne, 1962); and/or
- convinced to have found a way to get back at his now converted *Guanfu*-rivals for earlier affronts (Dudink, 2001b; Peterson, 2011);
- driven by his ambition to get at the top of the imperial job ladder (Dunne, 1962).

He started with denouncing

- Vagnone, Manoel Dias Junior (1574-1659), and later Álvaro de Semedo (1585-1658) in Nanjing and, mainly because of their involvement in the 1611 calendar reform/astronomical calculations (Brook, 2005);
- de Pantoja, de Ursis, and Dias Senior in Beijing (Brook, 2005; Dudink, 2001b; Peterson, 2011); at the end including
- all remaining thirteen Padres catechizing in the Empire (Dudink, 2010b).

Over the following months, he compiled three memorials in lockstep with other like-minded adversaries and in ascending fierceness to be presented to the Dragon Throne (Brook, 2005; Peterson, 2011).

Availing of boiler plates and stock phrases of Confucian orthodoxy (Zürcher, 1971), libel and slander (Dunne, 1962), he proposed nothing less than capital punishment or at least

- expulsion of the foreign heretics from the imperial Capitals and later of all Fathers from the whole country (Brook, 2005; Peterson, 2011);
- denunciation of “their pernicious influence” (Brockey, 2007, p. 68); and
- restoration of orthodoxy by undoing “the harm they had done to the social order” (p. 68).

To justify his *animus* and necessary activities, he added further monstrosities to the laundry list of hostilities already neatly summarized during the Fujian Province/Nanchang trial, e.g. illegally residing in the two Imperial Capitals and the entire country, spying for the Macanese, injuring imperial influence, menacing the Ming Empire, and corrupting Chinese tradition mainly by propagating their dangerous novel, i.e. Western, teachings on astronomy, eliding the difference between Chinese and barbarians, gaining conversion amongst the poor through bribes and charity, misleading and confusing common people, and primarily usurping the words/meaning of *Tian* | *Shangdi* to describe their own, foreign idol (Dudink, 2001b; Dunne, 1962; Peterson, 2011).

The first memorial however, fell on deaf ears (Dunne, 1962). As the second petition was positively received by the Beijing *libu* end on August 1616 (Brockey, 2007; Brook, 2005; Dunne, 1962), the Nanjing persecution/incident (1616-1623) took its course and caused wide repercussions (Brook, 2005). Armed with the desired sign-off Shen Que ordered immediate intervention on 24 September 1616 (Peterson, 2011). Giulio Aleni (1582-1649) and Longobardo—at that time in Nanjing—left the Southern Capital to set out for the north (Dunne, 1962). Vagnone, de Semedo, two Chinese coadjutors, and some twenty Chinese converts were imprisoned (Brockey, 2007; Peterson, 2011).

Aware of the vivid inter-*libu* correspondence and learning about the Nanjing Christians' fate, the model-Guanfu-comrades and converts, patrons and protectors to Faith and Fathers Paolo, Leone, and Michele were put on high alarm (Peterson, 2011).

While the *Pillars* took up *maobi* to defend Mission and missionaries and prepared for converting their palaces into hiding-places to harbour fugitive Fathers as well as zealous Nanjing citizens initiated demonstrations in favour of Fathers and Faith, also starting to openly avow themselves to Christianity and martyrdom, the final Imperial edict of 3 February 1617 created precedents (Brockey, 2007). Following the decree, the Nanjing and Beijing Jesuits were “to be shackled inside wooden cages and carted [to the South]” (p. 68) in order to be then expelled to Macao and—contrary to Chinese customs—be dispatched to Europe (Dudink, 2001b). The verdict’s decidedness notwithstanding, the edict left room for interpretation and manoeuvre (Dunne, 1962). With Shen Que in charge of the Nanjing trial, Vagnone and de Semedo were questioned, caned, and finally condemned to Guangzhou as ordered. In Beijing however, the order was implemented differently. Yielding to Beijing officials’ soft pressure, de Pantoja and de Ursis left the Capital towards the southern coastal area but in better shape (Dunne, 1962). The Chinese Christians Shen Que’s henchmen got hold of in Nanjing had to abandon their hope to win the crown of martyrdom and to solely face survivable sentences *in situ* that ranged from forced labour service to *dabanzi*-大板子-birching (Peterson, 2011).

The cases in these ways settled and the Fathers driven out of the two Capitals, the Residences in the Imperial Cities were destroyed (Nanjing) or closed down (Beijing) as were the three other Residences as soon as the edict was promulgated across the Empire (Dudink, 2001b; Dunne, 1962). To rule off the Christian episode completely, the proceeds of selling the chattels and other recyclables were used to restore Confucian shrines/tombs as well as to line official and semi-official pockets (Dudink, 2001b). Orthodoxy—as Shen Que saw it—was visibly re-established. As soon as the remaining Jesuits and coadjutors found out about the fate of their confreres in the two Capitals they gathered up dresses and portable religious paraphernalia and went into hiding in their converts’ houses across the Empire (Brockey, 2007; Dunne, 1962). They stayed there and/or made their further way to Michele’s palace in Hangzhou where most of them finally gathered in 1618 (Dunne, 1962).

The clerics on the run and suddenly in charge, Paolo, Leone, and Michele faced implicit emancipation and delegation and went in full cry (Brockey, 2007). To patronize and protect the remainder of the *China Mission*, the reputation of *Tianzhu jiao*, but also to defend themselves and their reputation (Dudink, 2001b), the *Pillars* took virtually every measure to avoid the publication of the Imperial edicts in their hometowns (Brockey, 2007; Dudink, 2001b; Standaert, 1988). Assuming the role of *Fidei Defensores*, they printed up

- defences of *Tianxue* and its representatives, such as Paolo's 1616 *Bianxue zhangshu*-辨学章疏-*Apologia* (Standaert et al., 2001); and
- pamphlets in the character of Michele's 1622 *Xiaoluan bu bingming shuo*-梟(鴉)鸾不并鸣说-*The Owl And The Phoenix Do Not Sing Together* (Standaert, 1988) which was aimed at appeasing the 1621 wave of persecution against foreigners to repudiate covert allegation/overt arrangements that put Christianity on the same level with heterodox sects, such as *Bailian jiao* (Brockey, 2007; Brook, 2005; Dunne, 1962; Peterson, 2011; Wang, 1991d).

The feverish activities in Beijing, Shanghai, and Hangzhou notwithstanding, in September 1617 Shen Que proclaimed to the people of Nanjing that *Tianzhu jiao* "is prohibited in China [...] [and that everyone is] forbidden to honor [Christ] [...], to receive baptism, to assemble on Sundays and feast days" (Dunne, 1962, p. 145). While this move was intended to be the *grand finale* to Shen Que's Empire-wide *tabula rasa*, the slate was only wiped clean in Nanjing (Dunne, 1962). To set the balance, only four Fathers were exiled while the others—due to the unshakeable and impavid loyalty of their Chinese acquaintances, comrades and converts, facilitators and catalysts of all social strata (Dunne, 1962)—managed to stay in the country, kept a low profile, avoided arousing suspicion, and prepared (themselves for) the resurrection of the *China Mission* (Brockey, 2007; Peterson, 2011).

At first limited to the confines of Michele's palace in Hangzhou, the Fathers did neither abandon themselves to despair nor to mutual recriminations. On the contrary, as Shen Que's *grand finale* faded away "the apostolate of the moment was continued" (Dunne, 1962, p. 148).

Jesuit stamina and valour notwithstanding, to not tempt fate, the Fathers started to leave the palace and visited the Flocks currently deprived of their regular priests under cover of darkness or in the veiling of *jiaozi* to dispense the Sacraments, to catechize, and to enrol neophytes (Brockey, 2007; Dunne, 1962). With confidence and courage gradually returning amongst the Jesuits and new political developments and familiar foes starting to marginalize the Christian threat in the eyes of the Chinese opponents (Dunne, 1962), the Padres enlarged their radius of movement in 1618.

As official China turned their eyes towards the north-eastern border to fret about reunified Jurchen/Nüzhen-女真 tribes entering the Empire under the leadership of Aisin Gioro/Aixin Jueluo-爱新觉罗-leader Nurhaci-努尔哈赤 (1559-1626) to

- state *Qidahan*-七大恨-*Seven Grievances* (April 13|May 7,1618) at bow-and-arrow-point (Dunne, 1962; Gernet, 1997; Roth, 1979; Struve, 1998);
- eventually rebel against the domination of the Ming Dynasty (Gernet, 1997; Hsü, 2000; Roth, 1979; Struve, 1998); and
- herald the rise of the Qing Dynasty (Hsü, 2000),

and entire China suffered from a series of natural disasters and dreaded celestial omens that accompanied both catastrophes (Brockey, 2007), da Rocha, another priest, and two Chinese coadjutors availed themselves from confusion and distraction that swept through offices and Empire, as well as crises and disunity that started to clench its people and went deeper into Jiangnan Province to attended to the widespread Christian communities (Brockey, 2007). To such an extent being in the area and at it, they seized every opportunity to advocated *Tianzhu jiao* amongst the afflicted. Applying Longobardo's successful *baixing*-directed evangelization tactic they

- exposed those that labour and are heavy laden (Mt. 11:28) to “la charità [*sic*] christiana” (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Claudio Acquaviva—26.07.1605 in Ricci, 2001, p. 411); and
- convinced further unconcerned, mostly middle-class Chinese bystanders of their virtue, ambition, and *harmlessness* (Ross, 1999).

In so *winning* needy *China for Christ* (personally and religiously/intellectually) inside out during acute crises and disunity (Ross, 1999), the Padres once again proved their unselfishness and serviceability to villages and souls therein. They encouraged those ready and willing to overcome personal and social crisis to seek transition and to accept the Faith towards a new frozen moment (Dunne, 1962).

In 1619, reinforced in their missionizing zeal by absent troubles and encouragement of their Chinese hosts but first and foremost impressed by the valour of the Chinese Christians and assured of their dispersed Flocks' constancy in Faith and friendship in times of trial,

- four Jesuits left Hangzhou to venture into a thitherto neglected Shaanxi-陕西 Province in order to follow the invitation of Phillipus Wang Zheng-王徵 (1571-1644)—a local facilitating and catalysing Christian who gave up Buddhism and Daoism to gain salvation in Christ after having read de Pantoja's 1614 *Qike*-七克-Seven Sins (Peterson, 2011; Zürcher, 2000)—to visit the nascent Jingyang parish and to catechize there (Dunne, 1962); and
- Pierre van Spiere (1584-1628) and Brother Sebastião went into the lion's den to do their parish work in Nanjing (Dunne, 1962).

Due to Fathers' and Christian *Chinese Others'* daring, propitious (political and environmental) circumstances and the facilitating and catalysing Guanfu-comrades and converts' patronage and protection as well as Chinese involvement, collaboration, and assistance, 1619 saw a harvest of 277 souls and 268 conversions in 1620. In 1621, nearly 600 neophytes were *won for Christ*, including

- the establishment of a new mission centre near Shanghai by the Chinese convert Ignatius Sun Yuanhua-孙元化 (1581-1632) and Francesco Sambiasi (1582-1649) to later train Chinese novices from Macao in the spiritual disciplines of the Jesuit Order and since 1622 European Fathers in Chinese (Standaert et al., 2001; Dunne, 1962); and

- Aleni's baptism of eighteen relatives and acquaintances of Thomas Han Lin 韩霖 (1601-1644) and Stephanus Han Yun 韩云 (†~1632) who already successfully catechized amongst family and friends (personally) inside out and (pastorally) outside in prior to the arrival of the Father in Jiangzhou, Shanxi-山西 Province (Standaert et al., 2001; Zürcher, 1993).

Finally, the diverse parishes grew by some 500 converts in 1622 (Dunne, 1962).

Also without the Fathers' engagement the dispersed lots in the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord* were neither unguarded nor spiritually running dry. The vine of broad involvement, collaboration, and assistance, and unprepossessed emancipation and delegation planted earlier by the Fathers amongst the Chinese converts silently took deep root, and gradually filled the land (Ps. 80:9) (Brockey, 2007). As a result, the Beijing and Nanjing confraternities developed into the hotbed of co-optation and cohesion and so became the role-model for Chinese Christians and Padres (Brockey, 2007).

Still facing official broadside and prosecution, the local Christians bethought themselves of the true asset and reason of their now-Christian *hui* (Smith, 1987; Standaert et al., 2001). Doing so, they hold "their confraternity meetings 'all [...] [the] time, [...] [gathered] on their [own] appointed days [and places] to [pray, recite the rosary,] discuss the things of God[, and to exhort and inspire one another] in order to conserve themselves in the faith'[, virtue, and stamina]" (Brockey, 2007, p. 70). All in all reliving the trials of the early church, the nascent communities of Chinese Christians within the Imperial Capitals and *extra muros* did neither totter nor yield. Standing their ground, they invigorated themselves *viribus unitis* with the fruits of emancipation and delegation spiritually *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*, but first and foremost pragmatically for their own survival and good. During these years, future and shape of a *Chinese Christian Church* jelled (religiously) inside out.

Notwithstanding the 1616/1617 attack and the 1621 wave of persecution aimed at destroying *Bailian jiao*, the *China Mission* was not only alive but well-fed and much to the Fathers' pleasant surprise growing in/towards own (Chinese) self-awareness, self-assurance, self-confidence, and self-dependence.

Adding to this

- Trigault's safe return from Europe in 1619 introducing a new generation of Jesuit missionaries from Portugal, Italy, and Germany, such as João Fróis (1591-1638), Rodrigo de Figueiredo (1594-1642), Simão da Cunha (1587-1660), Francisco Furtado (1589-1653), Adam Schall von Bell (1592-1666), Johann Terrenz Schreck (1576-1630), Giacomo Rho (1592-1638), and Wenceslas Pantaleon Kirwitzer (1588-1626), to the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord* (Attwater, 1963; Standaert et al., 2001; Vãth, 1933/1991); and
- the official dissociation from the Province of Japan in 1619 leading to a greater independence, enhanced status, and organisational sustainability of the new Vice-Province of China and its first real Vice-Provincial Dias Junior who succeeded da Rocha after his untimely death (Metzler, 1980)

further brightened the *China Mission's* and Church's future and outlook. The missionaries' prayers thus answered, stamina rewarded, and Mission's status enhanced, there was no doubt that Shen Que was finally refuted. In the eyes of the Fathers and certain *Guanfu-facilitators and catalysts*, the arch-enemy's fall from favour in 1622/23 only officialised the obvious in the end (Dunne, 1962).

With their ranks replenished and their hands freed the Jesuit priests could re-emerge from hiding and return into the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord*—eagerly attending to their Flocks and parishes as well as founding new ones (Brockey, 2007; Dunne, 1962).

The missionaries were once again well prepared to be sent forth as sheep in the midst of wolves (Mt. 10:16), further backed by the 1621 regulations for the *China Mission* (Brockey, 2007; Dunne, 1962; Metzler, 1980)

- summarizing forty years of experience in *winning China for Christ*;
- highlighting the do's and don'ts in catechizing *shenshi* and *baixing*;
- bestowing the right of printing books in Chinese after Jesuit proofreading but without requesting *imprimatur* from outside China; and
- attenuating the possibilities and impact of potential future persecutions.

Materially equipped to make their venture work, the Fathers left Hangzhou to (re)win China for Christ (Brockey, 2007). To do so, they were admonished by their three model-Guanfu-comrades and converts to be wise and harmless and to follow a *Missionary Commission* that was not only by coincidence reminiscent of Ruggieri's and Ricci's initial *modus procedendi sinensis/modo soave cinese*:

- Reclaim a foothold in Beijing
- Foster new/revive old relationships with well-meaning Chinese facilitators and catalysts amongst “the great and the good” (Brockey, 2007, p. 244) to (re)start the “apostolate of influence” (de Saldanha, 2012, p. 157)
- (Re)gain protection and validation of the high and highest to secure patrons and protectors in the Provinces top down
- “[F]an out across the provinces ‘in the shadow of some local or retired mandarin, through whose intercession they can win friends’ [and new converts]” (p. 77) (locally and personally) inside out

Breathing a sigh of relief to be no longer at the centre of official attention and suspicion (Brockey, 2007), Leone took up *maobi* to provide the missionaries' right of residence with a last but important legitimation. Capitalizing on the crisis and disunity that rooted in the ongoing Manchu invasions, he submitted a memorial to the new Tianqi-天启 Emperor (1605-1627)

- praising the Jesuits for technical knowledge, mathematic skills, and expertise in constructing ordnance (Chan, 1988; Brockey, 2007; Brook, 2005);
- proposing to summon the apparently more than useful foreign all-rounders to Beijing to serve as tactical advisers in the war against the Manchu hordes (Brook, 2005; Chan, 1988; Dunne, 1962); and
- urging those in power to bite the bullet and invite the Europeans to provide the Court with Portuguese cannons and cannoneers (Brockey, 2007; Brook, 2005; Chan, 1988; Dunne, 1962).

Facing a scandalized group of Jesuits, Leone seconded their indignation by pragmatically pointing out that getting into this particular bellicose business of providing martial practical learning and *scientia* to the Dragon Throne in times of crisis and disunity would be nothing but a means to an end (Dunne, 1962).

Only for the greater good of the entire (future) Mission (Dunne, 1962), it would solely serve the following purpose:

- (Re)strengthen the impression of the Order's unselfishness and serviceability (Brockey, 2007)
- (Re)affirm Christianity's particular congruity and complementarity as an *orthodox/orthoprax* constant in the Empire (Standaert 2008b; Zürcher, 1993)
- (Re)confirm Ricci's mantra of being "vassalli del re della Cina" (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Claudio Acquaviva – 13.02.1583 in Ricci, 2001, p. 51) and "loyal subjects of the Emperor" (Ross, 1994, p. 134)
- (Re)gain confidence of and commissions within the state bureaucracy (Brockey, 2007)

In this regard, taking sides with a non-religious business and the Ming was just a necessity to pursue (hidden) agendas. Their venturous preparedness for transdisciplinary and a disposition for crossing boundaries should therefore only be considered as a small sacrifice to

- strengthen position and status of both Fathers and Faith;
- confirm *Tianzhu jiao* marginal religion that is reputed *zhengtong* in the context of the Chinese (religious/ritual, social, and political) dominating value-canon (Standaert 2008b; Zürcher, 1993); and
- make the "atmosphere [once again] increasingly favorable to [spread] Christianity [...] and receptive to the Christian leaven" (Dunne, 1962, p. 43).

In so toeing the particular *Chinese Others'* party line to bring out of the Jesuits' treasure what is new and what is old (Mt. 13:52), Longobardo, Schall, and Schreck went to Beijing to join Dias Junior in the re-opened Residence at *Xuanwumen* and to play their part in this Chinese version of War and Peace in front of *bingbu*-兵部-Board of War (Attwater, 1963; Brook, 2005; Dunne, 1962). To such an extent tied up in semi-diplomatic/semi-military affairs at the Imperial *commodo luogo*, the particular *milites Christi* once again provided for a sense of security and legitimation regarding the rest of the *China Mission*.

Profiting from their confreres' business in Beijing, the other Jesuits fanned out across the Empire to tend to their Flocks and to bait new souls, once again accepting invitations of Chinese comrades and converts, following well-meaning Guanfu-facilitators and catalysts to more or less remote areas and new official appointments (Dunne, 1962; Vāth, 1933/1991).

Trigault was one of the first to find his way back into the rural trenches (locally inside out). In 1623, he headed to Henan-河南 Province to establish a Residence in Kaifeng, centre of the Jewish community (Dunne, 1962). Even if he failed in the beginning, he planted the spiritual seed that Sambiasi was able to grow and whose fruit he was able to harvest a few years later (Dunne, 1962). In 1624, Trigault accepted an invitation of Thomas and Stephanus Han to come to Shanxi and to carry forward Aleni's spiritual work. At the turn of the year replaced by Vagnone, who had sneaked back into the country with a changed name but unchanged zeal, Trigault swapped Province and hosts and joined Phillipus Wang Zheng in Shaanxi (Dunne, 1962; Zürcher, 2000). There, he visited Xi'an, Shaanxi Province, established a new Jesuits Residence in the old/first Imperial City (Dunne, 1962; Hsü, 2000) and marvelled at the unearthed Nestorian Stele of 781 (Criveller, 2003; von Collani, 2012b) that fortunately gave evidence of the presence of *Jingjiao*, Christianity of the Eastern Syriac Church, in China during Tangchao-唐朝-Tang Dynasty (618-907) (Corradini, 1997).

In 1625 (1623?), Aleni followed the invitation of Qu Taisu's son to Zhangshu, Jiangxi Province (Dunne, 1962; Shih, 1997). After having provided a basis for the Christian community there, he left the Christian nucleus in the emancipating and delegating, presbyterian care of Qu Taisu's nephew Thomas Qu Shisi-瞿式耜 (1590-1651) and headed to Fujian-福建 Province to start his personal missionary success story by invitation and in the company of the former *Daxueshi* Ye Xianggao (Chang, 1997; Dudink, 1997; Lin, 1997; Luk, 1988; Peterson, 2011). Due to his own external and internal adaptation and congruity, a high degree of unselfishness and serviceability (Dudink, 1997; Lin, 1997; Menegon, 1997; Shih, 1997; Zürcher, 1997b) but mostly due to the facilitating and catalysing help and status of the famous *Chinese Others* (Dudink, 1997;

Peterson, 2011), Aleni finally overcame initial difficulties and barring xenophobia and gained a foothold in the coastal area. Even if his Chinese patrons and protectors did not seek transition towards *Tianzhu jiao*, Aleni nonetheless benefitted from Ye Xianggao's interest in *Tianxue* (Chang, 1997; Lin, 1997; Luk, 1988; Menegon, 1997; Rule, 1997). Doing so, the Padre

- capitalized on the *Guanfu*'s prestige and reputation amongst both *baixing*- and *shenshi*-inhabitants of the Province (Dudink, 1997);
- profited by the Literati's eulogy nicely written on "a silken scroll [...] [praising] the missionary and his teaching" (Dunne, 1962, p. 191).

In so damping those hostilities that initially surrounded the Father (Menegon, 1997), Aleni's "'apostolate of influence'" (de Saldanha, 2012, p. 157) finally won the hearts, minds, and souls of most of those who met him (Menegon, 1997). Successfully merging medium and message (Zürcher, 1997c) while capitalizing on his confirmed status, reputation, and activities "as a missionary, a teacher, a moral guide, and a source of exotic knowledge" (p. 596) amongst the coast dwellers (Zürcher, 1997b), Aleni

- established a Residence in Fuzhou, Fujian Province (Lin, 1997; Menegon, 1997; Peterson, 2011);
- converted many in the coastal towns, villages, and hamlets (personally and locally) inside out both top down amongst *Wenguan* and mostly bottom up (Dudink, 1997; Dunne, 1962; Lin, 1997; Peterson, 2011; Shih, 1997) amongst the Commoners (Ross, 1994); and
- abided with/by his Flock until his death in 1649 (Peterson, 2011).

The fires of conversion to such an extent burning, the Vice-Province expanded dramatically. In 1626, *China Mission* was able to

- compensate for the spiritual and residential losses experienced during the Nanjing incident and its aftermath (Dunne, 1962);
- increase the number of Residences to ten Houses (Brockey, 2007); and
- virtually multiply conversions and baptisms—mostly amongst rural folk bottom up (Brockey, 2007; Ross, 1994).

Focusing on their new courageous migration movement throughout the Empire to bring the spiritual power of *Tianzhu jiao* into the most distant Provinces was nonetheless not the only factor of success to revive the *commerce of conversion* after the latest set-back (Brockey, 2007). To herald *Tianzhu jiao*, to easily reach possible converts and neophytes and to be literally within grasp, the Padres also bethought themselves of a facet of Ricci's already well-established/well-proven *modus procedendi sinensis*. Profiting from a new wave of *Guanfu*-interest in *Tianxue* (Dunne, 1962), and fanned by revigorated Chinese-Jesuit printing efforts (Standaert et al., 2001)—mostly facilitated and catalysed by the missionaries' most prominent *Guanfu*-comrades and converts (Peterson, 2011)—new translations and given reprints of well-known religious tracts and scientific works travelled in the book cases to the Chinese comrades' and converts' private homes or (new) official sphere of actions. As a result, those books assuaged (scientific) curiosity, prepared future fruitful exchange, marketed *Tianxue* to the erudite few, and gave *Tianzhu jiao* a Catholic backing (religiously/philosophically) outside in (Brockey, 2007). Even if Chinese elaborated interest in practical learning and the Literati and Elite's desire to learn European *scientia* from *the Wise men of the West* remained an important facet of the Fathers' printed *modo soave cinese completo*, the 1621 regulations as well as the growing demands amongst the newly converted once again “adjusted the balance between the academic pursuit [necessary to regain ground after the Nanjing incident and the following persecutions] [...] and the proselytizing efforts of the missionaries [after Ricci had passed away]” (Brockey, 2007, p. 62). As a result, scientific publications were by and by outnumbered by texts on Catholic doctrine and devotion that aimed at the following:

- Meeting the spiritual needs of both *shenshi*- and *baixing*-converts
- Establishing a correct piety while instilling a desire for the sacraments
- Assuring the neophytes' understanding of/adherence to Catholicism
- Filling in the chasm that had been created by renouncing other/earlier religious practices/habits
- Remediating the lack of an ordained priest during most of the year

By help of these books, the Jesuits increased and diversified their followers' spiritual practices on grass root level, in the confines of the houses, and *en famille* (Brockey, 2007). In so advancing the newly converted from applying basic religious practices to following more sophisticated forms and towards the kernel of disputed/religious problems, the Fathers strengthened involvement, collaboration and assistance, and fostered emancipation and delegation both (religiously/intellectually) inside out and outside in as well as (pastorally) outside in. In so conceding particular freedom relating to implementation and accomplishment of Faith and forming to the neophytes in the villages and within the now-Christian huts and houses, the Padres turned conversion and Faith a family business while (Brockey, 2007). To gradually replace *Tianxue* with *Tianzhu jiao* simultaneously integrating Christianity into the cultural categories and religious environment of the growing numbers of *baixing*-converts, domestic sphere of the *pater familias*, and the individual, spiritual responsibility of the mistress and mother, hence, to achieve a facilitating and catalysing, involving, collaborating and assisting *emancipatio religiosa sinensis*, the Padres availed themselves of religious books/tracts as exemplarily summarized in **Table 5**.

<i>emancipatio religiosa sinensis—exemplary texts</i>	
>	da Rocha's 1619 <i>Tianzhu shengjiao qimeng</i> - 天主圣教启蒙- <i>Instruction for the Young on the Holy Religion of the Lord of Heaven</i> —a catechism in question-answer style to instruct children
>	de Rocha's 1619 illustrated but in its artistic finish extensively sinicised <i>Song nianzhu guicheng</i> - 诵念株规程- <i>Method/Rules for Reciting the Rosary</i> —based on Jerónimo Nadal's S.J. (1507-1580) 1593 <i>Evangelicae Historiae Imagines</i>
>	Sambiasi's 1624 <i>Lingyan lishao</i> - 灵言蠹勺- <i>On the Soul</i> —a treatise dealing with the nature of the three kinds of souls: the vegetative, the sensitive and the rational soul
>	Aleni's 1627 <i>Dizui Zhenggui</i> - 抵罪正轨 涤罪正规- <i>Correct Rules for Confession</i>
>	Longobardo's 1628 <i>Tianzhu shengjiao nianjing zongdu</i> - 天主圣教念经总牍/ <i>Rike</i> - 日课- <i>Collection of Prayers for the Holy Teachings of the Lord of Heaven/Daily Exercises</i> —an edited work mainly adapted from Luis de Granada's O.P. (1504-1588) <i>Memorial de la vida christiana</i> and <i>Introduccion del simbolo de la fe</i>
>	Aleni's 1629 <i>Misa jiyi</i> - 弥撒祭义- <i>Explanation of the Mass</i>
>	Vagnone's 1629 <i>Shengren xingshi</i> - 圣人行实- <i>Collection of the Lives of seventy-two Saints</i>

Table 33: *emancipatio religiosa sinensis—exemplary texts*

Table 5: *emancipatio religiosa sinensis—exemplary texts*, based on Menegon (2006); Standaert et al. (2001), compiled by author

Additionally, having faced power and stamina of the Beijing and Nanjing sodalities in times of crisis and persecution, the missionaries further decided to reinvigorate *hui* as a

- spiritual haven and a hotbed for conversion;
- means for involvement, collaboration, and assistance; and
- way towards emancipation and delegation; *emancipatio religiosa sinensis*.

But first and foremost, they advocated this particular original Chinese concept (Smith, 1987) that so neatly fitted into “the Jesuits’ brand of Catholic lay piety” (Brockey, 2007, p. 81) as a complementary *modus procedendi* to

- remedy the loss of other/earlier religious practices/habits;
- promote the implementation and accomplishment of the Corporal and Spiritual *Works of Mercy*;
- assure cohesion amongst its *sodales*;
- relieve some of the delegable tasks of an ordained priest and transfer them to the Chinese laity; and
- enable co-optation of some of the priest’s spiritual power through prayers, words and deeds.

Doing so, zealous Chinese Christians and Fathers seized the opportunity to initiate and facilitate a spiritual civilizing project that allowed for involvement, collaboration and assistance, emancipation and delegation and co-optation and cohesion amongst Chinese Christian converts and vis-à-vis their parish priests. As a result, this particular civilizing project

- enabled *Tianzhu jiao* to strike deeper roots in Chinese soil;
- strengthened the bonds between Mission, Missionaries and Middle Kingdom;
- attracted pagans to the Church and increased tallies of baptism—mainly bottom up;
- prepared the transition from Christianity as an individual Faith to Christianity as the Faith of a/the group—comparable to the development in the early Church (Denzinger, 2005; Kelly, 1991); and
- developed a Roman Catholic Church with Chinese Characteristics.

To such an extent going the full distance to define and fill in their new roles (Brockey, 2007; Dunne, 1962), the missionaries in the Provinces busied themselves with leading their parishes, *winning rural China for Christ* bottom up and spiritually securing the future of the Chinese Church—a pastoral care that could also mean laying down one’s life with/for the Flock (John 10:11).

In the Northern Capital, the *Patres Pekinenses* once again followed the suggestions of their *Guanfu-comrades and converts* who had come back to power since the accession to the throne of Chongzhen-崇禎 Emperor (1611-1644)—the last of the Ming—in 1627 (Hsü, 2000; Ross, 1994) to assume their old roles and (hidden) agendas as Court Jesuits (Brockey, 2007; Witek, 2005). Doing so, they

- revived scientific exchange in order to prove own unselfishness and serviceability to Court and Dynasty in times of change and warlike turmoil (Dunne, 1962; Ross, 1994; Witek, 2005); and
- assured patrons’ and protectors’ support and validation in order to enable the *commerce of conversion* to pass off undisturbed as clockwork outside the imperial studies and observatories, *extra muros*, and far away from the Imperial Capitals in the Provinces (Ross, 1994).

It is in this regard that since 1629/1630 Longobardo’s, Schreck’s, and after Schreck’s untimely death, Rho’s and Schall’s work in the newly established *liju*-历局-calendar (reform) office (Attwater, 1963; Peterson, 2011; Vāth, 1933/1991)—

- together with their *Guanfu-facilitators and catalysts* Leone Li Zhizao and Phillipus Wang Zheng (Peterson, 2011; Ross, 1994);
- supported and validated by Paolo Xu Guangqi after being straightforwardly pitched as remedy for the inherent weaknesses and major errors in the Chinese calendar by Paolo himself (Dudink, 2001a; Dunne, 1962; Peterson, 2011); and
- patronized and protected by imperial edict to “carry out the reform of the [Imperial] Calendar” (Ross, 1994, p. 165) issued 27 September 1629 (Dunne, 1962)—

did fulfil Ricci's 1605's plea for astronomer and the related provision regarding "darebbe grande reputatione, aprirebbe più [...] entrata nella Cina e staressimo più fissa e liberamente" (Letter of Matteo Ricci to João Álvares—12.05.1605 in Ricci, 2001, p. 408). It also gave the last/ultimate backing to Fathers until the end of the Ming Dynasty.

The 1638/1639 imperial *baiben*-拜本-four characters embroidered in gold upon a silk banner bestowed by the Emperor on the Beijing Residence and further put on every Jesuit Residence (Dunne, 1962)—reading somehow plurivalently *Qinbao Tianxue*-钦褒天学-"Imperial praise for the celestial doctrine" (p. 310)—was in this regard the icing on the cake. To such an extent proving unselfishness and serviceability to China and being officialised throughout the Empire by Chongzhen's own hand, the Jesuits' position at Court and within the structure of Chinese society was secure(d) (Ross, 1994).

Due to the spiritual war on multi-front—gathering way after the Nanjing incident as well as fuelled by the 1621 regulations and their updates decided in the course of the intra-Jesuit *term-dispute/term-controversy* during Jiading Conference held between December 1627 and January 1628 at the house of Ignatius Sun Yuanhua and promulgated by Visitor André Palmeiro (1569-1635) in 1629 (Brockey, 2014), aiming at "seeking to chart the course for the mission's future" (Brockey, 2007, p. 85) while sharpening the division lines between *Tianzhu jiao* and *Sanjiaoheyi* in general and *Rujiao* in particular (Bernard-Maitre, 1949; Brockey, 2014; Metzler, 1980)—Ricci's and Valignano's vision had apparently come true.

However, other than expected by the Mission's founding fathers, the tallies of conversion amongst the high and highest remained meagre and the spiritual/missionary radiance at the top was low (Brockey, 2007). It was amongst the ordinary Chinese people who finally made up the majority of the Chinese converts that the Church grew (Ross, 1994). In so focusing on the Provinces as well as on the Commoners and their families/kin (Ross, 1994), the harvest was truly great, but the labourers were few (Lk. 10:2).

As a result, six new labourers, such as Etienne Faber (1597-1657), Michel Trigault (1602-1667), the nephew of the late Nicolas Trigault, and Inácio da Costa (1603-1666), the later Vice-Provincial (Brockey, 2007, 2014; Standaert et al., 2001), were sent forth into the Lord's harvest (Lk 10:2) in 1631. Bringing new funding, provisions and ideas amongst the now twenty-one European Fathers (Brockey, 2007, 2014; Dunne, 1962), the newcomers replaced the late Schreck and Nicolas Trigault who so dramatically died heart- and pridebroken in the course of the intra-Jesuit term dispute apparently as a result of his unability to convince his confreres of the legitimate use of, e.g. *Tian(zhu)/Shangdi* to explain God and the concept of creation *ex nihilo* to the Chinese (Bernard-Maitre, 1949; Corradini, 1997; Cummins, 1993; Dunne, 1962; Rosso, 1948). As a result, the *China Mission* had finally regained most of the power, status, and reputation in the Empire. The *commerce of conversion* was well prepared to move forward and to take up speed, being based

- on eleven Residences in fifteen Provinces, i.e. Beijing, Jiangzhou, Xi'an, Kaifeng, Shanghai, Jiading (Jiangnan Province), Nanjing, Hangzhou, Nanchang, Jianchang (Jiangxi Province), and Fuzhou (Brockey, 2007); and
- on a *modo soave cinese completo* that still adhered to Ricci's mantra of "pochi e buoni" (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Girolamo Costa—06.03.1608 in Ricci, 2001, p. 455).

As the last *Pillar* died in 1633, the Fathers were as well established in the Empire as never (Dunne, 1962). Consequently, courting Mandarins, hobnobbing with the administrative Elite, and befriending the authority to

- collaterize, patronize and protect their "apostolate of influence" (de Saldanha, 2012, p. 157);
- spiritually score amongst the most promising and fruitful social strata of *baixing* and middle-class Chinese bottom up (Ross, 1994); and
- secure the protection of their socially less important converts throughout the Empire (Brockey, 2007; Dunne, 1962)

were no longer a basic necessity and/or the Padres' daily preoccupation but solely on the agenda of those Jesuits working in Beijing (Brockey, 2007, 2014).

Having finally left the hard shadow of their *Guanfu*-patrons and protectors, the Jesuits further increased their missionizing vigour and zeal (Brockey, 2007). To focus their catechizing energies, the Fathers followed the 1635 order of their Vice-Provincial Francisco Furtado (1584-1635). Doing so, they widened their zone of proselytization, impact, and effectiveness regionally/locally, personally, and spiritually/religiously inside out

- along the transportation axis that linked the already established as well as former Jesuit Residences (Brockey, 2007); and
- into regions where already a nucleus of a self-sustaining Christian community could be found—mostly a) gathered around a patronizing and protecting *presbyter* formerly left behind to care for the spiritual well-being of his Flock until a priest would return on his yearly visitation to administer the sacraments and b) based on the logic of a facilitating and catalysing Chinese *hui* (Brockey, 2007; Smith, 1987; Witek, 2005).

Despite this emphasis on Jesuit pragmatism and reason, as well as the missionaries' adherence to the well-established *modo soave cinese completo* to attract the rustics to and keep them with Faith and Church, the most supportive factor to mostly *win rural China for Christ* was the current (political/military) climate (Brockey, 2007; Fagan, 2002). As during the last years of Chongzhen's reign clouds of utter chaos, regional rebel groups, and Manchu invaders swept across the already long-decaying Ming China, the Vice-Province's expansion in souls and soil gained likewise momentum (Brockey, 2007; Fagan, 2002).

Failed economic policy, plebeian discontent, the impact of the Little Ice Age that was about to reach its peak period of cold- and dryness (Domrös & Peng, 1988), such as "serious drought, then catastrophic floods, epidemics, and famine" (Fagan, 2002, p. 50), and further natural disasters of the likeness of biblical plagues as well as the "internecine wars" (p. 50) that came with the Manchu cavalry exhausted the (monetary) capacity of the weakened Ming state, overburdened its incompetent army, and killed millions of people (Brockey, 2007; Fagan, 2002; Hsü, 2000; Wakeman, 1979).

While the Emperor looked up for answers and down for more evil tidings, recreancy, signs of dissolution, and shifts of allegiances, the Jesuits profited from the absence of possible “reprisals from Chinese authorities” (Brockey, 2007, p. 93). To do so, they capitalized on the understandable desire, “[e]motional availability” (Rambo, 1993, p. 61), and need of the Chinese to find support in the prevailing crisis, to fill the apparent spiritual void, or to turn to a powerful religious teaching for (fast) *soteriological* salvation (Rambo, 1993).

In view of the decomposition of political forces, a Dynasty that “had lost its legitimate right to rule” (Wakeman, 1979, p. 43), a country that was apparently fast forwarded directly to Armageddon, and a human desire to fill a philosophical/spiritual void so vividly felt/experienced the longer Heaven seemed to turn its back on the imperial sacrifices and a deaf ear to common Chinese devout ejaculations, the Padres redoubled their proselytization efforts (Brockey, 2007). As a result, they established more and more mission circuits in rural areas (locally) inside out (Brockey, 2007; Dunne, 1962). With crises and disunity prevailing and external change and transformation threatening both country and inhabitants following *Tianzhu zhidao* became a religious alternative for a growing number of Chinese from all ranks top down and bottom up (Brockey, 2007; Hsü, 2000) to

- find a more powerful save spiritual haven (Rambo, 1993); and
- shelter oneself from personal and social crises (Rambo, 1993).

In so born from disasters and destruction in times of unsteadiness, the Jesuits’ *commerce of conversion* and the *China Mission* “experienced one of [...] [the] steadiest periods of expansion [and success]” (Brockey, 2007, p. 93). *Tianzhu jiao* by and by became “an identifiable [...] feature on the Chinese religious landscape” (p. 93).

As the tallies of baptism soared (Brockey, 2007; Dunne, 1962), the Ming Dynasty perished. In April 1644, the Northern Capital was doomed to be captured by Li Zicheng-李自成 (1606-1645) (Lorge, 2005; Wakeman, 1979).

Rather than face capture, humiliation, and probable execution at the hands of the newly proclaimed but transient Shunchao-顺朝-Shun Dynasty (1643-1645) (Hsü, 2000; Lorge, 2005; Wakeman, 1979), Chongzhen put the defense of the city in the hands of the eunuchs (Witek, 2005), fled to Meishan-煤山/Jingshan-景山-Coal Hill behind *Zijincheng* and to eventual suicide (Wakeman, 1979). Hanging himself from *zuihuai*-罪槐-a Guilty Chinese Scholartree (Hsü, 2000), Chongzhen and the Ming Dynasty were no more.

While the imperial drama found its climax in Beijing, the Jesuits remained with their parishes and Flocks (Brockey, 2007). Giving spiritual comfort and practical advice they sat out the whole play alongside their converts and sometimes died with them (John 10:11) as did de Figueiredo who drowned alongside his Flock as Ming soldiers cut the dykes along the Yellow River to hold back advancing Manchu troops (Brockey, 2007).

As the short-lived Shun Dynasty was eventually overthrown by the Qing and the dust of upheaval and downfall had finally settled throughout the Empire, the missionaries were all set “to reassemble their dispersed communities amid the ruins” (Brockey, 2007, p. 93). Already reinvigorating their *commerce of conversion* the moment the Manchu were able to look up for the first time from their more strategic work of securing and stabilizing the newly-won Empire, the Jesuits were nonetheless likewise eager to secure and stabilize status quo and “political legitimacy before the Qing” (p. 93) as well as to reconcile their “apostolate of influence” (de Saldanha, 2012, p. 157) with the new political order. To do so, they stuck to the well-proven

- image of being “vassalli del re della Cina” (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Claudio Acquaviva—13.02.1583 in Ricci, 2001 p. 51); and
- strategy of proving *harmlessness* and offering services to the reigning class (Peterson, 2011).

Being foreigners themselves, the Qing were not inclined to allow xenophobia to cloud their thinking and the choice of means to prove/secure their own legitimacy in the eyes of the indigenous Chinese (Hsü, 2000).

Seeing no particular threat in a handful of Europeans but a respective blessing in their practical learning, the Jesuits and their apparently useful *Tianxue* were allowed to stay (Dunne, 1962; Peterson, 2011; Standaert et al. 2001; Wang, 1991b).

Already in September 1644 (Attwater, 1963; Peterson, 2011; Ross, 1994; Vāth, 1933/1991; Witek, 2005; Zurndorfer, 1993a), the Manchu Prince Regent and *de facto* ruler Dorgon/Duo'ergun-多尔衮 (1612-1650) allowed Schall to keep the Jesuit Residence that he had successfully protected a Japanese sword in hand and secured by influence/intervention of Fan Wencheng-范文程 (1597–1666)—a Ming official who had become *Daxueshi* in the Qing administration. He also (re)appointed Schall *jianzhang*-监长-director of *Qintianjian*-钦天监-Imperial Bureau of Astronomy—despite his strenuous resistance to assume title and office.

In so capitalizing on own daringness, first signs of protection and validation by Manchu-patrons and protectors, Manchu (scientific) curiosity and (fruitful) exchange as well as the Order's expedient unselfishness and serviceability to take side and pursue (hidden) agendas, Schall followed suit his Chinese *Guanfu*-friends who also secured their status by offering their services to the new Dynasty (Witek, 2005, 2011). Having thus “ensured the continuation of Christianity in China, at least in the territory under Qing control” (p. 136) from the top down, the Jesuits were finally able to refocus on their core business of winning and keeping China for Christ bottom up.

Being successful in re(confirming) their position at Court—first with the Prince Regent and later with the Shunzi-順治 Emperor himself (1638-1661)—consolidating spiritual gains and own Jesuit interpretation of *Tianzhu jiao* amongst their Chinese converts and avoiding Faith and Flock to religiously fray and spiritually frazzle posed a new challenge to *China Mission* and missionaries as for most of the Chinese converts Christianity was but only a generation old. The firmness in Faith and consistency in applying/adhering to its rites was still unstable as the step between superstition and Christianity was equally small.

Concerning the missionaries, they too had to keep an eye on *Tianzhu jiao* itself and how it was (to be) sowed in the Empire to finally fall on fertile (spiritual) soil. All in all, if Ricci's aim of displacing "the learning stemming from the duke of Zhou and Confucius [...] [and making] the Learning from Heaven to be the main doctrine, not just 'another strand'" (Peterson, 2011, p. 134) should be met, it was hence, necessary to keep Flock and Faith together. This hold particular truth as

- persecutions against *Tianzhu jiao*, its representatives, and its followers frequently flaring up (Brockey, 2007);
- the second and the first of the third generation of Jesuits were taking up their missionizing and pastoral employment—some under unhappy omens and/or with a false understanding of their own/*Tianzhu jiao's* invulnerability/inviolability—during early Qing Dynasty (Dunne, 1962);
- tallies of baptism and the need for providing mainly second-generation converts with more elaborated forms of piety and religious devotion (religiously/intellectually) inside out steadily increasing while the numbers of missionaries remained comparatively low (Brockey, 2007);
- mendicant orders were entering the Empire in the lee of the 1600 Papal Bull *Onerosa pastoralis officio* of Pope Clement VIII (1536-1605) (12.12.1600) revoking Pope Gregory XIII's (1502-1585) 1585 Bull *Ex pastoralis officio* (28.01.1585) that restricted other Orders' entrance to China via Lisbon, from new Spain and the Philippines and so *de facto* granted the Jesuits' exclusive right to missionize in China and Japan and hence, enabled an uniform proselytization approach to be formed, as well as the 1633 Papal Bull *Ex debito pastoralis* of Pope Urban VIII (1568-1644) (22.02.1633) *de facto* permitting all Orders and *clerici regulares*-ordained Fathers to enter China (Catto, 1946/2011; Lach & van Kley, 1998; Rowbotham, 1966; Standaert et al., 2001; Tamburello, 1997; von Collani, 2012b); and
- new coalitions being at work in Rome to diversify the *China Mission* or at least to align it with the conservative forces that form up at the Holy See (Brockey, 2007, Dunne, 1962; Ross, 1994; Standaert et al. 2001).

Seen from the Jesuit perspective this all was at its best a challenge and at the worst a severe threat to the all-Jesuit goal of enabling *Tianzhu jiao* to strike deeper roots in Chinese soil, and developing a Roman Catholic Church with Chinese Characteristics.

From this basis on, the time of ***E pluribus unum*** in the Jesuits' experience can be understood.

Appendix IX: *E pluribus unum* (1610-1702)

While the *China Mission's* founder laid confined in the Beijing Residence with the Fathers busy securing a worthy burial place and preparing decent *Exsequiae* to honour the deceased Superior and long-term role model, the *China Mission* was not left un-presided. Prior to his death, Ricci had arranged to leave the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord* in the skillful hands of a missionary who was known for not being always in accord with his *modo soave cinese passivo*—especially with his

- focus on an apostolate that should be carried out “prudentermente e con poco rumore e con buoni libri e ragioni” (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Francesco Pasio—15.02.1609 in Ricci, 2001, p. 514) to present *Tianxue* (religiously/philosophically) outside in to Literati and Elite top down as both “a complete philosophy [...] [that supplements the Chinese value-system] because of its fundamental agreement with ‘original’ Confucianism” (Ross, 1994, p. 146), and a “legge di unione e di pace” (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Francesco Pasio—15.02.1609 in Ricci, 2001, p. 519) that complements the original Confucian understanding of serving the cause of good government and peace in the Empire (Zürcher, 1993); and
- “use of the concept of ‘original Confucianism’ to justify the use of *Tian* and *Shangdi* for God” (Ross, 1994, p. 155) all the more as widely accepted *neo-Confucianist* acceptance, reading, and interpretation of the classical texts apparently blurred the original meanings (Metzler, 1980; Ross, 1994).

Despite these (first) solely Order-internally disputed positions (Metzler, 1980) that cashed in on the bridging project, (over)emphasized similarities, and broad (religious/ethical) alignment, Longobardo and Ricci agreed about the

- secular character of the majority of those rites that arose from *xiao* to either honour the elders/ancestors or Confucius (Eastman, 1988; Ross, 1994); and
- need to regard the Beijing Residence and its Fathers as the outpost to legitimize the Jesuits in China and to acquire/secure patrons and protectors for all Fathers, their “‘apostolate of influence’” (de Saldanha, 2012, p. 157), and their Chinese Flock from amongst the high and highest (Brockey, 2007).

Finally adjusting the balance between the academic pursuits that had been Ricci's forte, eagerly carried forward first by de Pantoja, de Ursis, and Dias Senior and later by Schall and Verbiest and their successors at *Qintianjian* (Brockey, 2007; Jami, 2005; Ross, 1994), and the proselytizing efforts of those missionaries who laboured amongst *baixing* (Brockey, 2007), the new Superior

- merged Ricci's propagated passivo-strategic *modus procedendi* to bait Literati and Elite with *Tianxue*—or at least to secure their benevolent protection and validation top down—with a more activo-tactical proselytizing approach to attract Commoners towards *Tianzhu jiao* bottom up; and
- shifted the balance slightly in favour of the latter and towards a *modo soave cinese completo* as it was understood outside the Capital.

Doing so finally evoked new missionary zeal amongst those Padres who followed Ricci into the Empire. It led the *China Mission* to new pastures with the expansion of the Christian communities *extra muros* and in the Provinces becoming the Jesuits' foremost concern. After nearly thirty years of incessant preparatory labour and ambitious advancement, *winning* entire *China for Christ* both top down and bottom up seemed to come within reach.

Notwithstanding the Jesuits' emerging optimism in the lee of Ricci's burial, the honours that came with *Li Madou's* renown and the *Pillars'* open patronizing and protection of Fathers and Faith, the necessities to close ranks, to keep Flock and Faith together, and to unify the *China Mission* and its far-flung Christians behind Padres and in one Faith became all too soon visible, tangible, and paramount for survival. Even with the Ricci-owing erudite status the Jesuits enjoyed throughout the Empire, local commotions and opposition against *Tianzhu jiao* and its representatives remained a concomitant phenomenon. After Ricci's death however, they started infecting the entire Empire. The source of infection was found in the Southern Capital.

Inebriated by his own missionizing successes in Nanjing, Vagnone gained an apodictic certainty that the time of Ricci's *modo soave cinese* “was past and that a much more direct and flamboyant approach [to tend the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord*] was the way ahead” (Ross, 1994, pp. 156-157).

While aggressively exposing Nanjing people to Christianity, Vagnone also “added a great deal of denigration of Buddhism and its bad effect on true Confucianism” (p. 157) to his mostly laudable pastoral activities. Recklessly treading on some high-ranking toes, his public Christian activities attracted suspicion and fatal action (Ross, 1994). What first seemed to be a further personal battle of one xenophobic *Guanfu* against Fathers and Faith—mannerly fought by *maobi* and memorials—soon grew into a veritable crusade that found its consent in the Imperial edict on 3 February 1617 (Brockey, 2007) decreeing the European Jesuits to be expelled from the Empire (Dudink, 2001b). Even if the edict left room for interpretation and manoeuvre (Dunne, 1962), the effects of the ban were unambiguous but—other than the Jesuits’ fate in Japan where Shogun Tokugawa Hidetada (1579-1632) had banished all priests in 1614 (Ross, 1994)—fortunately beneficial and trend-setting.

As soon as the remaining Jesuits and coadjutors found out about the enacted anti-Jesuit position, they went into hiding in their converts’ houses across the Empire (Brockey, 2007; Dunne, 1962), stayed there, and/or made their further way to Michele’s palace in Hangzhou where most of them stranded in 1618 (Dunne, 1962). At first staying at the Yang family estate only, the Fathers did neither abandon themselves to despair nor to mutual recriminations. Keeping a low profile was no excuse for whiling away one’s time. On the contrary, being drawn together, the Fathers took the chance to both close ranks and discuss the basics and future of the *China Mission*—since 1619 Vice-Province of China (Brockey, 2007; Dunne, 1962; Metzler, 1980). Doing so, the Fathers agreed upon a wide range of foundation rules for the Vice-Province (Metzler, 1980). Based on forty years of experience in *winning China for Christ*, infused with the desire to avoid old problems and to limber up for their own independent future and elated by Pope Paul V’s (1552-1621) unfortunately invalid decree *Romanae sedis antistes*, issued on 27 June 1615 and heralded by Trigault upon his return to Macao on 22 July 1619, that allowed Chinese language and robes in liturgy, and a translation of the Bible into Chinese (Cohen, 2008; Ross, 1999), the rules stressed (religious/ethical) alignment and thus signified a great step forward on the bridging project.

First and foremost, the regulations “delineated the obligations of all members of the [...] [*China Mission*] from the superior to the [Chinese] coadjutors [...] [while addressing] a [broad] range of issues [and including] recommendations intended to unify the Jesuits’ methods for propagating Christianity [as well as the Jesuits *per se*]” (Brockey, 2007, pp. 74-75). **Table 6** summarizes the 1621 regulations as officially adjudicated by Superior General Mutio Vitelleschi (1563-1645).

The 1621 regulations—standardizing ecclesiastical issues	
The regulations clarify the	
>	correct use of <i>Hanzi</i> as well as the need to define a <i>ratio studiorum sinensis</i> —a language learning program to instruct new-arrivals
>	outward appearance of the priests and the need to study and familiarize oneself with local customs and appropriate (Chinese) behaviour
>	need to regularly perform devotional exercises and to observe the order-specific <i>Liturgia Horarum</i> —an important aspect as with its far-flung residences and Fathers the <i>China Mission</i> strongly relied on missionary independence and trust
>	Chinese coadjutors’ duty to beware of any form of arrogance, “to maintain a courteous rapport with the Christians in their communities” (Brockey, 2007, p. 75), and to actively proselytize amongst the Chinese
>	right of printing books in Chinese after Jesuit proofreading but without requesting <i>imprimatur</i> from outside China

Table 34: The 1621 regulations—standardizing ecclesiastical issues

Table 6: The 1621 regulations—standardizing ecclesiastical issues, based on Brockey (2007), compiled by author

Besides these clarifications regarding internal and external adaptation and congruity, the correct use of spoken and literary *guanhua*, as well as the need for a *ratio studiorum sinensis*—finally submitted to Visitor Jerónimo Rodrigues (1567-1628) for evaluation and implementation by Dias Senior in 1624—the 1621 regulations “standardized [for the first time] pastoral issues [and offered solutions regarding] the proper way to conduct rural missions, [that is,] the use of the Portuguese liturgical calendar, and the correct way [to phoneticize European appellations in Chinese and] to teach baptismal names to converts to avoid mispronunciation” (Brockey, 2007, p. 75). The latter was finally achieved in 1629 by Palmeiro who ordered the compilation of a list of to-be-employed names of Saints in Romanization to be used with Chinese converts (Brockey, 2007, 2014). The rules also brought agreement to the historical question whether Jesuit missionaries should

- avail themselves of Western science to both spread Christianity and so secure the *China Mission* (Brockey, 2007, 2014); and
- allot their time to composing (scientific) books or discussing secular themes with the Chinese erudite to propagate Christianity (Brockey, 2007, 2014).

In short, the 1621 regulations put finally straight whether the Vice-Province’s self-image and future as well as the Padres’ missionizing successes are built

- on either “studying Chinese thought and entertaining the curiosity of [Literati and Elite]” (Brockey, 2007, p. 56), hence, on promoting *Tianxue top down*, or
- on preaching *Tianzhu jiao* amongst the Commoners bottom up.

In order to not strip the *China Mission* of its historical foundation, but to also enable a more spiritual future, the regulations compromised on the use of science to proselytize but only to the extent “that it [did] not consume a missionary’s time entirely” (Brockey, 2007, p. 76).

Besides this *Solomonian judgement* (1 Kings 3:16-28), the rules confirmed Ricci’s understanding of both Confucianism being a secular philosophy and the participation in Confucian rites in particular and ancestor worship in general one of its concrete manifestations (Metzler, 1980; Ricci, 2010a; Ross, 1994).

Thus, declaring (religious/ethical) alignment with *Rujiao* licit officialised the Jesuit position towards *Chinese Rites* in general. As the regulations allowed—for the time being—newly converted *Guanfu*-officials to take part at/perform the ceremonies to honour Confucius (Cummins, 1993) and *baixing*-converts to keep their *paiwei*-牌位-ancestor tablets in a place far away from the devotional objects received upon their conversion and after baptism (Brockey, 2007; Eastman, 1988; Cummins, 1993), this approach endorsed a stance that allowed the boundaries between orthodoxy and superstition to remain blurred.

Additionally, the regulations further proposed to not expose neophytes to all spiritual obligation up-front but to raise the standards of devotion and piety incrementally (religiously/intellectually) inside out and with caution to avoid apostasy (Brockey, 2007).

Finally, the regulations “set out mechanisms to blunt the impact of future persecutions” (p. 76). To do so, the statutes carried forward Beijing and Nanjing examples of *hui*-organisation. To such an extent (over)emphasizing similarities but nonetheless furthering the bridging project, as well as (religious/ethical) alignment, the rules proposed the further creation and spread of well-instructed/firmly joined spiritual communities that

- took into consideration the situations and requirements of Chinese Christians *intra* and *extra muros* (Brockey, 2007);
- transformed the loosely connected religious structures in the cities/villages—the existent nucleus of a Christian community mostly gathered around a *presbyter* formerly left behind while being moderately empowered and delegated to care for the spiritual well-being of his Flock until a priest would return on his yearly visitation to administer the Sacraments; and
- later formed the backbone of a non-missionary-dependent, self-sustaining, self-expanding *Chinese Christian Church* (Brockey, 2007).

To do so, *hui intra muros* took over a more elaborated form of *devotional confraternities* with a pious dedication to a) Mary (Marian sodality), b) performing the *Works of Mercy* (charitable confraternity), or c) penitential discipline/self-mortification (penitential brotherhood) (Standaert et al., 2001; Zürcher, 2000).

Extra muros hui took the regular/permanent form of *organizational confraternities* with a pious dedication to a) Mary (Marian sodality) channelling the devotional activities of adults (male and female separately) as well as assuring their “access to the confessional and the Eucharist at least once a year” (Brockey, 2007, p. 363)—this *de facto* represented a parish organization headed by a Chinese pastoral council, presided by a community-elected Chinese *huizhang*-会长—a church warden and two deputies who normally came from the erudite social strata or the (former) *presbyters* and relied on a set canon of duties (Brockey, 2007), and mostly supervised and propelled by the villages’ Chinese Christians *per se*—and later, i.e. since the 1640s, b) teaching Christian doctrine to children born into Chinese Christian families (*Tianshen hui*-天神会-Confraternity of the Angels) providing “a uniform structure for children’s spiritual education” (p. 347).

The far-sightedness of the Vice-Province’s 1621 regulations notwithstanding, the standardizing statutes of Hangzhou were at this point in time primarily compiled to hedge the *China Mission’s* current status quo. They were to provide unity and strength to the nascent church, its fervent followers, and the Fathers (Brockey, 2007). Doing so, the rules were expected to

- assure a healthy development of the communities and a balanced increase of baptisms (pastorally) outside in and (religiously/intellectually) inside out;
- enable even the most far-flung Flocks to resist outside attacks; and
- protect Faith and Church from deletion.

Unfortunately, the rules did not solve all issues that rived the Fathers (Metzler, 1980). Since Valignano and Ricci had started to apply classical Confucian concepts to Christianity and so gullibly (over)emphasized similarities, the most prevalently used Chinese denominations to conform the Christian God to a Chinese understanding were under dispute (Metzler, 1980; Ross, 1994).

With Ricci gone and the exiled Fathers equipped with sufficient time to dispute their different readings of the Chinese classics, this intra-Order controversy became more involved and sharp (Brockey, 2007; Metzler, 1980).

The discussion—carried out verbally and on paper both with increasing fierceness—found its first climax during Jiading Conference (Brockey, 2014; Metzler, 1980) and its settlement shortly after with Palmeiro ordering “that all discussion cease and the designation *Tianzhu* be used to signify God” (Brockey, 2007, p. 88).

Notwithstanding this dispute, after Shen Que and the last flames of persecution had finally disappeared in 1623, the Padres were well prepared to finally (re)emerge from exile (Dunne, 1962). Replenished with new missionary zeal, priests, and a renewed Jesuit corporate sense of unity on the most important catechizing/pastoral issues, the Fathers—now under the leadership of Vice-Provincial Dias Junior—returned to their Flock and prepared to (re-) *win China for Christ* (Brockey, 2007).

In 1629, after having visited the Residences in Nanxiong, Jianchang Province, Nanchang, Jiangnan Province, and Beijing to acquire more first-hand impression about the status quo and future of the Vice-Province of China (Brockey, 2014), Palmeiro summoned the most senior Fathers to Hangzhou to “receive a new set of rules designed to update the 1621 regulations [...] [in order] to chart the course for the mission’s future” (p. 85). While confirming the ground rules of the 1621 foundation statutes and its general protective key-note, the Visitor further committed the Padres to

- remain cautious and discreet when preaching and catechizing (religiously/intellectually) inside out and (religiously/philosophically) outside in (Brockey, 2007, 2014; Metzler, 1980); and
- not antagonize the Order’s foes, competitors, and rivals in the religious arena (Brockey, 2007, 2014; Metzler, 1980).

Sharpening the division lines and so setting boundaries between *Tianzhu jiao* and *Sanjiaoheyi* in general and *Rujiao* in particular (Bernard-Maitre, 1949; Metzler, 1980) acquired much importance. All in all, Palmeiro’s 1629 reaffirmation of the mission’s state of the affairs augured well for the missionaries’ work in the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord* (Brockey, 2007, 2014).

During the following years, backed by new priests, funds, and provisions, the *Chinese Christian Church* increased in followers and in territory (Brockey, 2007). As tallies of baptism soured amongst “the three classes into which the vast majority of the Chinese population fell” (Ross, 1994, p. 166), new Jesuit Residences and parishes were planted (Brockey, 2007). The vine so harshly cut back in the course of the Nanjing incident finally flourished more vigorously.

Still backed by the restless work of their non-converted Guanfu-facilitators and catalysts as well as patrons and protectors, their Guanfu-comrades and converts in general, and by the *Pillars* in particular, the Jesuits (re-)gained their position at the Dragon Throne (Dunne, 1962). Officially entering the state bureaucracy during the Calendar Reform Project (1629-1635) (Dunne, 1962; Peterson, 2011; Ross, 1994; Vāth, 1933/1991) and so proving once again own unselfishness and serviceability as “vassalli del re della Cina” (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Claudio Acquaviva—13.02.1583 in Ricci, 2001, p. 51), the Padres were finally able to protect Fathers and Flock outside Beijing on own account (Brockey, 2007). As the last *Pillar* had breathed his last in 1633, the Fathers had eventually learned to walk outside the shadows of their Mandarin friends. As a result, the missionaries finally

- delisted themselves from further *Guanfu*-intercession (Brockey, 2007);
- focussed their missionary zeal on the more promising Commoners bottom up (Brockey, 2007); and
- prepared themselves to not lose ground and to keep ranks closed in times of crises and disunity that came in the wake of a descending Ming and ascending Qing Dynasty.

Capitalizing on the effects of political disintegration, the Jesuits seized the opportunities that grew from chaos, change, and transformation, as well as related personal and social crises (Brockey, 2007). Unimpeded from Chinese official suspicion and reprisal the Jesuits left their Residences and moved around from village to village—redoubling their catechizing efforts in order to *win rural China for Christ*.

While the atmosphere of demise and decline fertilized the growing *Chinese vineyard of the Lord*, the Padres both improved their poor baptismal tallies (Standaert et al., 2001) and established more/new mission circuits in rural areas (locally) inside out (Dunne, 1962). Dressed in the robes and speaking the guanhua-tongue of the native *Guanfu*-elite, the visiting Fathers banked on their high social visibility. This traditional approach notwithstanding, to convince rural rustics of the potency of the Christian God and to attract even greater numbers to *Tianzhu jiao* required capitalizing on their

- disposedness to use dramatic practices (Hartmann, 2008; Murphy, 2008);
- intrepidity to interact with the local Deities (Brockey, 2007, 2014); and
- vocation to administer powerful rituals (Brockey, 2007, 2014).

To further enable potential converts to seek transition and to willingly follow *Tianzhu zhidao*, the Padres performed formidable (religious/ethical) alignment—rededicating devotional objects and prayers—and incessantly exhorted the neophytes to remain true to the Faith and to beware the inscrutable judgments of the Lord of Heaven (Brockey, 2007). To such an extent forming “a recognizable popular Chinese Christian identity [off the *Tianxue* image]” (p. 98) (religiously/intellectually) inside out and religiously/philosophically) outside in, the Padres fostered involvement, collaboration, and assistance, allowed co-optation and cohesion and enabled the *China Mission’s* “children born of water and the Holy Spirit” (Cronin, 1984, p. 263) (John 3:5) to by and by complete the Jesuits’ bridging project.

Being confronted with the *China Mission’s* self-made problem of success, Furtado soon understood that the growing numbers of neophytes became a pastoral burden to the twenty-five Jesuits and the five Chinese coadjutors who cultivated the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord* in 1639 (Brockey, 2007). To hence ensure that new converts were not left alone spiritually/pastorally and to further meet the growing demands of spiritually more developed Chinese communities not only for residing priests the Vice-Provincial urged the Fathers to suggest a practical approach to simultaneously “maximize their [catechizing] efforts [...] [and] to rationalize their pastoral methods” (Brockey, 2007, pp. 99-100).

To succeed in the first without neglecting the latter, the “confraternity model of community organization” (Brockey, 2007, p. 100)—as already applied in Beijing and Nanjing—was finally decided to become the key to unity and strength as well as to periodic pastoral supervision and regular spiritual care in/for the entire Empire *intra* and *extra muros* (Brockey, 2007, 2014). In so further charting the *China Mission’s* Chinese course, the missionaries availed themselves of a

- traditional understanding of the nascent Church to be *ekklesia*-ἐκκλησία-a mystical communion of those called out (Gemoll et al., 2010)/selected by Christ/by the power of the Gospel (Gnilka, 1996; Hainz, 1972);
- Chinese impulse to associate (Smith, 1987; Standaert et al., 2001); and
- concept generally familiar to the *Chinese Other* (Standaert, 2002a).

Consequently, the Padres paired Chinese involvement, collaboration, and assistance and emancipation and delegation with an indigenous form of co-optation and cohesion while (over)emphasizing similarities to achieve (religious/ethical) alignment. To such an extent introducing female confraternities throughout their mission circuits, the Padres delegated much of the parish and spiritual work to Chinese coadjutors, *huizhang*, and lay catechists (Brockey, 2007). Through this emancipating and delegating act that fostered comprehensive involvement, collaboration, and assistance, the missionaries disburdened themselves from much of the parish and spiritual work that did not primarily necessitate a personal interaction with a consecrated priests (Brockey, 2007), such as *Sacrament of Penance and Reconciliation* and *the Eucharist*.

Notwithstanding this move towards a non-missionary-dependent, self-sustaining, self-expanding *Chinese Christian Church*, it was not without any problems to

- expect the nascent communities to be self-sufficient and to practice their newly gained Faith in a right, orthodox way;
- incorporat “the [co-optation and] cohesion of the mission church” (Brockey, 2007, p. 414) into a Chinese community model that at best praises the virtue of hospitality but all too often solely provided the stage for profligacy, drunkenness, gluttony, or plain blatany (Brockey, 2007; Zürcher, 2000); and

- cede “an important part of [...] [priestly] ritual power” (Brockey, 2007, p. 357) and spiritual/pastoral responsibilities to coordinate rituals, such as baptisms and burials, to native auxiliaries.

To keep in check involvement, collaboration, and assistance as well as the results of a growing emancipation and delegation, the Fathers opted for rules, regulations, and formalism as well as for mutual control (Brockey, 2007; Zürcher, 2000). Doing so avoided that

- communities took religious liberties the moment the priest had left the village;
- neophytes and *hui* slipped back to superstitious practices; and
- *huizhang* and lay catechists abused assigned authority and/or pervert *Tianzhu jiao* into heresy.

To assure unification, orthodoxy, ongoing indoctrination, and close supervision; in short, to make *hui* the only closely-monitored, official “locus of [*ekklesia* and hence of] almost all [orthodox] ordinary communal piety” (Brockey, 2007, p. 337), the Padres availed of the Jesuits’ European experience in/the Order’s well-proven method (Laurent, 2002; Müller, 1892) of “shaping lay piety and organizing students in its colleges” (Brockey, 2007, p. 329).

Thus, accomplishing equilibrium via religio-cultural relationship while civilizing their own Order-internal approaches to high Chinese social visibility, the rural Flock was grouped in classes (Laurent, 2002; Müller, 1892)—based on gender to deal with male and female neophytes “in a socially acceptable manner” (Brockey, 2007, p. 333)—, organized around certain pious activities, such as gathering at pre-set dates for prayer, sermon lesson, or doctrine lesson (Brockey, 2007), and centred around the members’ particular need for initial or more complex religious indoctrination, their respective demand for pastoral care, and the locus to offer those pastoral services (Brockey, 2007). Being further equipped with unambiguous, written statutes (Zürcher, 2000), *hui* institutionalized prayer routines, reception of the *Sacraments*, ongoing supervision, and mutual exhortation from within (Brockey, 2007).

To further strengthen communities' self-reliance simultaneously compensating for decreasing constant priestly supervision as the number of converts and confraternities grew, the Padres decided to entrust some of the more zealous and pious *huizhang* with more and advanced duties that went beyond (Brockey, 2007) simple organizational/administrative or superintending responsibilities, and/or acting as intermediary between the community and the closest missionary. In so stepping in for the priest or a coadjutor, *huizhang* were empowered and delegated to accomplish the following:

- Stimulate exercises of piety and devotion and to keep the parishioners aware of/in line with the *annus ecclesiasticus* (Brockey, 2007)
- Undertake admonition and “serve as the group’s moral censor” (p. 343)
- Coordinate prayers for the sick and the dying (Brockey, 2007; Zürcher, 2000)
- Organize and sometimes handle burials in strict observance of the Christian orthoprax funeral norms while simultaneously preventing undesired/unacceptable/superstitious native practices to creep in (Brockey, 2007; Standaert, 2008a; Zürcher, 2000)
- Baptize the “critically ill” (Brockey, 2007, p. 359) and those *in articulo mortis* only (Standaert et al., 2001)

Concerning the latter, delegating the power of conversion and emancipating to baptize—in general proselytizing and indoctrinating—became a critical issue on the side of the missionaries as time and Manchu hordes advanced.

As more Chinese performed the desperate leap to betake themselves to *Tianzhu jiao*, and Christian communities matured towards a multi-generational body (pastorally) outside in, the need for further lay catechists became a matter of urgency (Brockey, 2007). To hence ease the pressure resting on the shoulders of missionaries’/coadjutors’ and *huizhang*, the Jesuits started to recruit catechists from amidst the local communities. Emancipated and delegated, these catechists were expected to do the following:

- Spiritually oversee the growing Flock (Standaert et al., 2001)
- Preach the Gospel to the local community (Brockey, 2007)
- Indoctrinate children born into Chinese Christian families (Brockey, 2007)

- Convert rustics to follow *Tianzhu zhidao*
- Perform the Christian rite of admission and adoption (Eph. 1:5), hence to administer the *Sacrament of Baptism* (Brockey, 2007; Standaert et al., 2001)
- Carry out tasks *de jure canonicis* innate to the Padres

To nonetheless assure catechists' religiously orthodox standardization, line-toeing, and quality, catechetical brotherhoods—such as de Figueiredo's 1640 *Confraternity of St. Thomas* or Girolamo Gravina's (1603-1662) *Confraternity of the Twelve Apostles*—were established throughout the Empire and later officially confirmed as a valuable medium (Brockey, 2007). By the time the Qing had successfully realized its claim to power across most of the Empire, the confraternity model, its varieties and backup-versions had eventually become “the dominant form of communal piety” (Brockey, 2007, p. 337), spiritual/religious supervision, a way to “improving personal and public morality [...] [, and an approach to channel] moral activism” (Zürcher, 2000, p. 280) that started in a single township but soon covered prefecture, Provinces, and finally entire China (Zürcher, 2000).

Starting in the two Imperial Capitals the institutionalized Chinese *ekklesia* gradually developed into an indigenous *modus procedendi sinensis* to *win China for Christ*, and to keep China and Chinese converts with *Tianzhu jiao* on own Chinese authority (personally and locally) inside out, (pastorally) outside in, and virtually from the cradle to the grave.

Born from necessity to manage the Jesuits' enterprise of conversion and their growing Flock and to provide a modicum of security to Chinese Christians, *hui* gradually extended a pragmatic, interpersonal solution to a broader range of its members' sociological, more profane, requirements. The community model fostered Christian solidarity, and allowed for far-reaching involvement, collaboration, and assistance. It further offered effectively “mutual psychological support [and help] during time [...] of great anxiety, [i.e., during dynastic transition and/or while facing a (constant) threat of prosecution]” (Brockey, 2007, p. 337).

Whatever encouraged and motivated Chinese rustics to seek transition in the first instance, the community model soon became a

- role model for (internal) survival of the *Chinese Christian Church*, not only “during the long absences of priests [...] [but also] during the exile of 1665-1671, when [...] [the *hui*-organisation] guaranteed to a large extent the continuance of religious life” (Standaert et al., 2001, p. 459); and
- rampart against (external) violation of unity.

Unfortunately, both currents were alternately put to the test faster than expected. While the doomed Ming Dynasty was balancing on the edge of disaster, demise, and decline, the Jesuits likewise profited from

- predicting solar eclipses, calculating calendars that were in use until the 20th century, training young Chinese in Western mathematics and astronomy, and showing mechanical capabilities and other bellicose tasks hence, continuously proving their unselfishness and serviceability to the Dragon Throne for the sake of securing the entire *China Mission* (Cummins, 1993; Ross, 1994);
- offering their spiritual cure and marketing *Tianzhu jiao's soteriological* promises to Chinese rustics bottom up for the sake of alleviating personal and social crises of those in (spiritual) need (Brockey, 2007); and
- (re)opening Residences in formerly abandoned and more remote areas (locally) inside out—as done by António de Gouvea (1592-1677) re-establishing the mission in Wuchang, Huguang Province, Lodovico Buglio (1606-1682) founding a mission in Chengdu, Sichuan-四川 Province, or Longobardo opening a Mission in Jinan, Shandong Province (Brockey, 2007)—for the sake of gathering and protecting neophytes, even as a hen gathered and protected her chickens under her wings (Mt. 23:37).

To such an extent appraising the omens of success the Fathers did neither see the signs of crises and disunity that lingered on the threshold to China nor anticipate conflict and banishment that was built into the Jesuits' unselfishness and serviceability.

The Jesuits were apparently caught off guard when theory became practice and the first Franciscan and Dominican habits rubbed against the shores of Fujian Province in the early 1630s (Criveller, 2003; Standaert et al., 2001; Tamburello, 1997; Tiedemann, 2009a, 2009b), even if they were probably aware of the

- Papal Bulls *Onerosa pastoralis* and *Ex debito* as well as their impact on their commerce of conversion (Standaert et al., 2001; von Collani, 2012b);
- Papal Bull *Inscrutabili divinae* (22.06.1622) and hence, of the foundation of *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* (*Propaganda*) by Pope Gregory XV (1554-1623) and the future establishment of Apostolic Vicariates, i.e. bishoprics, headed by Apostolic Vicars—titular bishops possessing the power/dignity of a residential bishop *in partibus infidelium* and reporting directly to the Pope— as a medium of a) spreading Catholicism and fighting Protestantism independent of national rivalries and by the help of European-trained and -ordained indigenous clergy, b) circumventing the royal and ecclesiastical privileges bestowed on Spain and Portugal by the Holy See, i.e. the Spanish *Patronato Real*/the Portuguese *Padroado Real*, c) bringing the missionary task (back) under the control of Rome, and d) facilitating centralization, improving supervision, and reducing regional (missionary) variances while simultaneously “ordering the missionaries to [...] [learn] the local languages and to be free in permitting the converts to retain rites, manners, and customs not contrary to religion and morality” (Lach & van Kley, 1998, p. 227) (Heimbucher, 1965b; Lach & van Kley, 1998; Ross, 1999; Standaert et al., 2001; Tamburello, 1997; Thaurén, 1927).

Attracted by the Jesuits’ European propaganda about their catechetical successes in China (Brockey, 2007), spurred on by the freedom granted by the Papal Bulls, and eager to establish trading relationship between the Spanish Crown and coastal China (Dunne, 1962; Lach & van Kley, 1998; Menegon, 1997; Ross, 1994; Tamburello, 1997), the first of the mendicants to make his way to Fuzhou was Angelo Cocchi O.P. (1597-1633) in 1631 (Ross, 1994; Standaert et al., 2001; Tamburello, 1997; Tiedemann, 2009a).

In 1633, the Franciscan was followed by Juan Bautista de Morales O.P. (1597-1664) and Antonio Caballero de Santa Maria O.F.M. (1602-1669) (Raguin, 1990; Standaert et al., 2001; Tamburello, 1997; Tiedemann, 2009a). In 1634, this spiritual brigade was completed by Francisco Díaz O.P. (1606-1647) and Francisco Bermúdez de la Madre de Dios O.F.M. († 1657).

All ready to make both converts and trouble, the Friars requested proselytization sharing (Dunne, 1962; Ross, 1994). For this purpose they asked Aleni to assign mission districts in the coastal area where the mendicants could work side by side in separated mission districts with the Jesuits (Brockey, 2007; Tiedemann, 2009a).

This good order and established procedure amongst confreres notwithstanding, the Jesuits saw nothing more than brash intrusion and a threat to their entire *China Mission* (Brockey, 2007). Being well aware of the Friars' all-or-nothing|*tabula rasa* approach, their religious fervency, and their europeanistic-ethnocentric arrogance deleteriously paired with both an inexcusable simplicity regarding Chinese culture, customs, and *quanhua* and an apparent ignorance of the Church's own early struggles to gain indigenous foothold as well as her preparedness to establish "*una religio in rituum varietate*" (Cusanus, 1453/1943, p. 93), the writings of the Fathers of the Church, and the accommodation policies of *Propaganda* (Dunne, 1962; Heimbucher, 1965b; Lach & van Kley, 1998; Schatz, 2000b; Thaurén, 1927), Aleni doubted the mendicants' willingness to adopt "the Jesuits' carefully cultivated public image or [even] adhere to their [...] rules for missionizing" (Brockey, 2007, p. 102). Marking the exception to the rule, only Cocchi dared some tentative steps into external adaptation and congruity, encouraged his confreres to follow the Jesuit way and animated his brothers to submit themselves to a ratio studiorum sinensis or at least to learn some *quanhua* (Menegon, 1997; Ross, 1994). All in all knowing their preference to preach in habit and by cross-waving, Aleni declined (Brockey, 2007; Criveller, 2003; Dunne, 1962; Rule, 1997).

Displeased with the Father's rejection, unwilling to follow his and Cocchi's recommendation to completely adopt the Jesuit *modo soave cinese*, scandalized by the Society's casuistry and apparent laxness in handling *Chinese Rites*, and jolted by the Padres' decadence of patronising (religious/ethical) alignment that manifested itself in their highly visible wilful ignorance regarding the Chinese converts' apparently heretic-bacchanal practices of venerating ancestors and honouring Confucius (Brockey, 2007; Criveller, 2003; Cummins, 1993; Dunne, 1962; Eastman, 1988; Menegon, 1997; Ross, 1994; Rule, 1997; Tamburello, 1997), none of the Friars were willing to leave the apparently misguided Chinese souls in Jesuit clutches.

To muster forces, Caballero and Morales headed back to Manila to set off a process of dogmatic finger-pointing and bossiness mainly fought out between Manila, Paris, Rome, and between orders and sovereigns (Cummins, 1993; Raguin, 1990). Equipped with the voluminous outcomes of interviews with rustic Chinese converts and a cross-order *concilium* held December 1635-February 1636 on the neophytes' unability "to make the necessary distinction between the universal, absolute, and immutable in Christianity and the particular, relative, and adaptable in its cultural forms" (Dunne, 1962, p. 228), the two Friars were ready to present "'Seventeen Questions' [to the Holy See] that basically attacked the Jesuit approach to the Chinese [R]ites" (Standaert et al., 2001, p. 682) including the mission-related going-ons in China (Dunne, 1962; Metzler, 1980) that brought neither *pax* nor *bonum* to the *China Mission* even if its shock waves reached the Empire much later and was to haunt the entire *China Mission* until its inglorious end.

To such an extent confirmed from afar, the other mendicants accompanied some minor Jesuit *Guanfu-comrades and converts per pedes apostolorum* to Fu'an to establish a mission and to tend to this part of the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord* in their own fashion (Cummins, 1993; Dunne, 1962; Menegon, 1997, 2009; Ross, 1994; von Collani, 2009).

Even if China was too vast to allow this little bunch of mendicants clinging to a remote coastal area to endanger the Jesuit *China Mission* as well as its unity and safety, the Friars' constant fault-finding, imprudence and incorrigibility unfortunately did (Menegon, 1997; Raguin, 1990).

In 1637-1638, due to the Friars' incessant confusion of principle with obstinacy and zeal with imprudence when preaching the Gospel (Dunne, 1962), cross in the hand and injuries and imprecations on the lips, aversions against Christianity once again boiled up amongst Chinese officials in Fujian (Menegon, 1997; von Collani, 2008). But instead of winning the crown of martyrdom for themselves (Latourette, 1929), the mendicants only made local Christians suffer, "bear the brunt of official anger and [...] weep over the ruins of their churches" (Dunne, 1962, p. 242). To avoid the worst, Aleni picked up the pieces by both implementing "a province-wide apologetic campaign in the aftermath of the persecution" (Menegon, 1997, p. 220) and once again calling on the validation, patronage and protection of well-meaning *Guanfu-facilitators and catalysts* to save the entire *China Mission* from falling in disgrace (Menegon, 1997). While the persecution took its course in Fu'an, Gaspar de Alenda O.F.M. and Bermúdez left the scene as fast as they have entered it only to remerge with quasi the same problem at another spot (Standaert et al., 2001). On 14 August 1637, the two Friars—unauthorized and on their way to the Northern Capital undiscovered by Chinese authorities—reached Beijing (Dunne, 1962; Menegon, 1997). There, they requested Schall's and Furtado's help to intercept two anti-Christian memorials written by a minor Fu'an *Guanfu*-official (Dunne, 1962; Menegon, 1997, 2009; Vāth, 1933/1991), and to stabilize their mendicant mission in Fujian Province with money and official documents (Brockey, 2007; Menegon, 1997, 2009). Being aware of the immanent danger of cold calling foreigners and annoyed with the Friars' constant opposition, imprudence, and innuendos, Schall and Furtado—like Sambiasi with Caballero in Nanjing in 1634 (Dunne, 1962)—took all (monetary) steps necessary to get rid of the imprudent intruders before the case could officially reach the court, harm the Beijing Church, discredit its Jesuit priests, and affect all Chinese converts *intra* and *extra muros* (Dunne, 1962; Vāth, 1933/1991).

But even if the Friars were expelled unharmed, their gratitude vis-à-vis the Jesuits was short-lived. On their way back to Fujian and into real captivity, they convinced themselves that the Jesuits were the master mind behind their inglorious dispatchment and the root cause for all the mendicant calamities in China (Dunne, 1962; Menegon, 1997). Eager to spice up Caballero's and Morales's propaganda, Alenda and Bermúdez were ready to tell entire Europe first-hand, in all details about this unchristian stance (Dunne, 1962; Raguin, 1990).

These re-encounters with non-Chinese foes, competitors, and rivals notwithstanding, the Jesuits were able to ward off bigger dangers to their well-kept image and mission—at least within the Empire. For the next decades, the mendicants were but a thorn in the side of the Jesuits' *commerce of conversion* and an annoyance still easy to brush off. As long as the mendicants were not able to convert large numbers of Chinese rustics, the unwise ado of some dispersed Friars was somehow a negligible yet external annoyance—but unfortunately the die was cast.

Learning about the Jesuits' apparent heterodox trespassing, probabilism, moral laxism, and adulteration of the Lord's word from Morales' report of 15 February 1639 to the Roman Curia and *Propaganda* second-hand and in the darkest colours possible, Pope Innocent X's (1574-1655) frontal canonical attack against the Jesuits' interpretation of *Chinese Rites* came on 12 September 1645 (Bernard-Maitre, 1949; Cummins, 1993; Raguin, 1990; Ross, 1994).

By Papal Breve, the practices favourable to Chinese customs, the culturally necessary liberties, such as working on feast days to avoid clashes with the Chinese authority, reducing “the ritual of baptism for women to the very minimum [...] [to avoid touching] a woman's breast, ear, mouth or hand” (Ross, 1994, p. 181), and thus, the Jesuits' well-edified (religious/ethical) alignment were universally condemned (Bernard-Maitre, 1949; Ross, 1994) as was the positive law of the Church enforced (Menegon, 2009)—at least “until the Apostolic See ordaines otherwise” (Cummins, 1993, p. 82).

Fortunately, this sentence added by a wavering Pope provided the loophole on which the Jesuits could both postpone the papal ruling and send Martino Martini (1614-1661) to Rome in 1651 (Cummins, 1993; Dunne, 1962; Raguin, 1990; Ross, 1994; von Collani, 2000c, 2008) in order to defend the order's position concerning *Chinese Rites*, gain dispensation from the Breve, and ask canonical permission for the Society's *modo soave cinese*. Due to Martini's diplomatic skills, influential friends, and Ricci's reputation, Pope Alexander VII (1599-1667) finally declared *Chinese Rites secundum exposita Martini* as practices purely civil and political (Brockey, 2007; Demarchi, 2000; Dunne, 1962; Vareschi, 2000; von Collani, 2008).

Unfortunately, the favourable new decree of 23 March 1656 kept the 1645 decree valid and on equal footing (Vareschi, 2000). Stressing that the first Breve was decided solely based on Morales's description as was the 1656 based on Martini's explanation only, the contradictory decrees prepared the ground for more mis-interpretation, endless disputes, and increasingly severe recriminations (Cummins, 1993; Dunne, 1962; Vareschi, 2000). For the time being however, the papal ruling lifted a burden from the *China Mission* and backed Martini's second assignment in Europe at the right time. Being further expected to travel Europe on a propaganda campaign, the Procurator visited Courts and Jesuit Colleges to gather money and missionaries for China (Cummins, 1993; Demarchi, 2000; Dunne, 1962; von Collani, 2000c, 2008).

The resulting ecclesiastical manoeuvres/ambages notwithstanding, the mendicant-anecdotes of the late 1630s/early 1640s and its Roman extension were quickly overlaid with the direct implication/collateral damages of the dynastic cataclysm and the Jesuits' struggle to once again gain political legitimacy before the (new) Dynasty that followed the setting of the Ming (Brockey, 2007). Having eventually dissociated themselves from the deplorable remainder of the Ming Dynasty and a non-promising instrumentalization for papal prayers and martial support to restore peace and Dynasty (Hsü, 2000; Ross, 1994; Struve, 1993; Zhu, 1990; Zürcher, 2002), the Fathers emerged both *intra* and *extra muros* with minor collateral damages (Dunne, 1962).

Finally taking (new) sides and pursuing (a not so hidden) agenda, the Beijing Fathers mirrored the movements of their *Guanfu*-friends who also secured their status by offering their services to the Qing (Witek, 2005, 2011). In so re-establishing themselves as compliant servants (Ross, 1994), the *Patres Pekinenses* marketed their unselfishness and also Manchu-important yet astronomic/mathematic serviceability to provide the nascent Qing with official confirmation, legitimacy, and proof of their own Chineseness (Brockey, 2007).

Benefitting from the intercession of the new imperial patron and protector (Dunne, 1962), the continuation of Christianity in Qing-China as well as the fundamentals to apply the “apostolate of influence” (de Saldanha, 2012, p. 157) in the Empire was eventually ensured in Beijing. Consequently, the Jesuits of the entire *China Mission* were finally able to refocus on their core business of *winning* and keeping *China for Christ*. In the years that followed the Manchu-conquest, the Padres’ *commerce of conversion* further advanced and prospered (Standaert et al., 2001).

Primarily owing to those Chinese who saw in their survival a proof of revival, in *Tianzhu jiao*’s *soteriological promises* an antidote to crisis and disunity and in seeking transition a consequential move to finally overcome personal and social crisis, the Fathers garnered abundant fruit across all social strata top down and bottom up both in the already tilled parts of their *China Mission* and in thitherto uncatechised corners of the Empire (Brockey, 2007).

Once again capitalizing on their high degree of internal and external adaptation and congruity, availing themselves of their fruitful-friendly relationship with (un-)converted *Guanfu*-facilitators and catalysts, e.g. Basílio Xu Zuanzeng-许缙曾 (1627-1700), great-grandson of Xu Guangqi, and counting on their Jesuit-innate ability to adapt to/take advantage of changing, contingent circumstances, the Fathers immediately went about consolidating their presence in the Provinces. Doing so, they re-established Residences, and founded new mission houses “along major axes of communication” (Brockey, 2007, p. 122) (locally) inside out.

To such an extent relying on the Furtado's 1635 criteria for expansion, da Cunha founded new Residences in Fujian Province's mountainous interior, Christian Wolfgang Herdrich (1625-1684) missionized in Kaifeng—also amongst the Jewish community (Corradini, 1997)—, Jacques le Faure (1613-1675) rekindled Christianity in Jiangxi Province finally settling in Ganzhou, and Jacques Motel (1622-1657) successfully gained ground in Wuchang, Hubei-湖北 Province (Brockey, 2007). The Christian leaven was working (Dunne, 1962) and so were the Fathers.

To organize and pastorally/spiritually manage the newly founded/re-founded far-flung Christian communities in lockstep with their Chinese neophytes, the Padres applied the recommended yet already well-proven standardizing and unifying *hui*-approach (Brockey, 2007). In compensating for their thin staffing level, the some twenty-five residing Jesuits and their five coadjutors (Standaert, 1991b; Standaert et al., 2001) created “a system of [consolidating/unitizing] parish units” (Brockey, 2007, p. 114) headed by *huizhang* and staffed with lay catechists. Doing so, the Fathers went on (over)emphasizing similarities with the Chinese past.

They also stressed their/*Tianzhu jiao*'s (religious/ethical) alignment (Brockey, 2007). To such an extent endowing their parishes “with a strong element of [co-optation and] [...] cohesion” (p. 114-115) involvement, collaboration, and assistance became the *condicio sine qua non* for survival without constant priestly care and in times of crisis and disunity while comprehensive emancipation and delegation gave room to non-missionary-dependent, self-sustaining, self-expanding corporate growth and spiritual maturity. As a result, in the early 1660s, some of the primary parishes had not only survived persecution and Manchu-hordes but also matured along the stages of spiritual development and generation (Brockey, 2007), as well as in the light of a ripening, facilitating and catalysing, involving, collaborating, and assisting *emancipatio religiosa sinensis*.

Amongst those parishes that had evolved over time from a conglomerate of neophytes trying to find their own way into the new Faith (*I-Faith*) into a multi-generational community of believers united by the same Faith (*We-Faith*) and handing down *Tianzhu jiao* following *wulun* (pastorally) outside in the Fathers detected the first real traces of a grounded, living, and growing *Chinese Christian Church*.

Confronted with a growing desire to accomplish *emancipatio religiosa sinensis*, a need for more difficult/complex forms of Faith, a particular catechism for children, and the appropriation of Chinese Festivals, the Padres assisted their most zealous communities, *huizhang*, and lay-catechists in completing their spiritual journey. To do so, the Fathers supported their fervent followers in

- implementing “new types of collective piety [...] [and] groups [that] [...] involved the observance of more rigorous devotional schedules” (Brockey, 2007, p. 115), such as prayer groups, i.e. Marian sodalities, penitential brotherhoods, and charitable confraternities (Brockey, 2007; Standaert et al., 2001)—all more or less rooting within/stressing native tradition, “commonplace notions of morality [...] [and/or] explicit standards of Confucian ethics” (Brockey, 2007, p. 377);
- organizing *Tianshen hui* to teach Christian doctrine to children born into Chinese Christian families—mainly relying on da Rocha’s 1619 *Tianzhu shengjiao qimeng* (Brockey, 2007; Standaert et al., 2001); and
- merging traditional *jie*-节-Chinese Festivals of the lunisolar calendar with Christian Feasts while “purifying and Christianizing rituals” (Rule, 1997, p. 214)—primarily re-integrating the Chinese Christians into the dominating framework of Chinese cultural orthodoxy, propriety, and conventions (Brockey, 2007), meeting “opponents’ objections and [safeguarding] [...] the integrity of [*Tianzhu jiao*] (Rule, 1997, p. 214).

Concerning the latter movement, Trigault and Albert d’Orville (1621-1662) rededicated during the same time with similar pomp and paraphernalia (Doré, 1987) the 1660 *Yuanxiao jie*-元宵节-Lantern Festival in Jiangzhou to become Candlemas (Feast of the Purification of the Virgin/*Purificatio Mariae*) (02.02.).

In Jinan, Jean Valat (c.1614-1696) merged the original meanings of the ancestor-focused *Qingming jie*-清明节-Tomb Sweeping Day with All Souls' Day (02.11.) *de facto* celebrating the same purpose of *commemorazione omnium fidelium defunctorum* not in spring but in late autumn and by leaving out the extravagances/pagan rites (Doré, 1987; Doyle, 2012; Eastman, 1988).

To such an extent pruning the living plant (Rom. 11:17-24) instead of uprooting it (Doyle, 2012; Law, 2009), the Fathers both accepted and integrated local customs into *Tianzhu jiao*. Voluntarily but deliberately (over)emphasizing similarities, establishing a veritable bridging project to accomplish equilibrium via religio-cultural relationship, and indicating (religious/ethical) alignment, they finally reached “a communion of faith and culture” (para. 6). This reinforced traditional values (Zürcher, 2001) for the sake of their Chinese converts. As a result, this particular civilizing project reintegrated their Chinese communities in the cultural value-canon (Hainz, 1972). It first and foremost muzzled foes, competitors, and rivals.

Following this particular *modo soave cinese passivo* unfortunately further blurred the lines between *Tianzhu jiao* and *Sanjiaoheyi*—at least in the eyes of the mendicants and those Chinese (converts) who were not fully aware of the religious grey area and Catholic subtleties. But with the tallies of baptism increasing, the number of believers soaring above 100,000 in the mid-1660s (Standaert et al., 2001), and the Flocks maturing, the Fathers felt well-integrated into Chinese society and secured (Brockey, 2007). Official acknowledgment and Shunzhi-顺治 Emperor's (1638-1661) display of friendship and esteem for the Society of Jesus per se, single Fathers, and *Tianzhu jiao* in general further added to this sense of security:

In 1655, Gabriel de Magalhães (1610-1677) and Buglio were granted a residence in Beijing decorated with the first publicly visible Christian monument after the Nestorian Stele and consecrated *Dongtang*-东堂 (Dunne, 1962)-*East Church*.

At that time already honoured by official titles, such as *Tongyidafu*-通议大夫-*Grand Master for Thorough Counsel* due to his office at *Qintianjian* since 15 September 1651, Schall enjoyed even more signs of imperial confidence, esteem, and friendship (Attwater, 1963; Vāth 1933/1991; Zhu, 1990; Zurndorfer, 1993a). Already basking in the Emperor's admiration as a private person, an elder and a wise man, the Father was further created *Tongxuanjiaoshi*-通玄教师-*Master of Universal Mysteries* on 02 April 1653, *Tongzhengshi*-通政使-*President of the Imperial Chancery* in October 1657, *Guangludafu*-光禄大夫-*Imperial Chamberlain* on 02 February 1658—assuming the rank of a Mandarin of the First Class entitled to wear the red button on his hat and a *buzi*-补子-embroidered badge of the highest scholar rank showing the gold-embroidered crane with open wings on his *pufu*-普服-black court robe (Cammann, 1991; Dunne, 1962; Ross, 1994; Vāth, 1933/1991; Zhou & Gao, 1987). Thus, rewarded with *sanguan* for their unselfishness and serviceability to the Dragon Throne, further integrated into the Qing-bureaucracy and tied firmer to the new Dynasty, the Fathers were on the verge of bursting with joy and self-confidence (Ross, 1994). As the latter beamed down from Beijing into the Empire, further voices added to the festivity of the *Hallelujah* intoned throughout the Empire.

In 1659, Martini returned from his round trip to Europe (Demarchi, 2000; Dunne, 1962; von Collani, 2000c). Besides bringing good tidings of an apparently solved rites dispute and words of the new Papal Breve *Super Cathedram*—promulgated by *Propaganda* on 09 September 1659 and clarifying that adapting to local customs and respecting the habits of the countries to be evangelized is paramount—the Father also brought new missionaries into the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord*. Following Martini's *Missionary Commission*, the Flemish priests Philippe Couplet (1622-1693), François de Rougemont (1624-1676) and Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688), as well as the French Fathers Jacques le Faure (1613-1675), Humbert Augery (1618-1673), Louis Gobet (1609-1661), and the brothers Claude (1618-1671), Jacques (1619-1692), and Nicolas Motel (1622-1657) completed the front ranks, restored the losses, and rejuvenated the aging Jesuit cadre in China (Brockey, 2007; Chan, 1990).

For the Jesuits in China—unaware as they were of the intensity with which the unsolved *Rites Controversy* raged in Europe (Bernard-Maitre, 1949; Dunne, 1962; Raguin, 1990)—the morrow’s spiritual harvest seemed secured and the rites dispute finally closed. However, ignoring the “repeated appeals from the general for documentation to assist the Roman theologians who were trying to defend their cause” (Dunne, 1962, p. 299) soon backfired on the Fathers. Unfortunately, not everything was sunshine and roses.

Having emerged successfully, restored and encouraged from one crisis and trial, the *China Mission* soon fell into new ones. The successes in the missionizing fields and the pyrrhic/false victory won in the lofty realms of Roman ecclesiastical circles notwithstanding, the next blow regarding the *China Mission*—threatening its survival and shaking it to the very foundations—came neither from Rome nor from the mendicants. Repeating the Society’s own *China Mission* history, the setback was once again Jesuit self-made and literally came out of the blue.

After 1658, Schall’s influence upon the now grown-up Shunzhi Emperor gradually cooled down (Attwater, 1963; Dunne, 1962). Having rebuked the Emperor for a particular violation of the 6th Commandment in a sort King David did with Bathsheba (2 Sam. 11) (Ross, 1994), the Father—“unafraid to challenge the Emperor over judgements or behaviour with which he disagreed” (Ross, 1994, p. 172)—started to loose the Emperor to the influence of the eunuchs and Buddhist monks (Dunne, 1962; Zhu, 1990).

The waning imperial protection and validation became finally visible after Shunzhi Emperor’s untimely death in 1661. Lacking imperial intercession and still lacking the patrons and protectors from amongst the Manchu elite (Standaert et al., 2001; Zurndorfer, 1993a), the (Court) Jesuits were once again an easy prey the moment the *Guanfu*-wolves pack turned against them. To hit the *China Mission* at its most vulnerable point—the Court Jesuits in general and Schall in particular (Brockey, 2007)—, a pretext/reason and an instigator was needed. Both were provided on the Jesuits’ own impetus.

Tidily integrated into Qing-bureaucracy, instrumentalized for the safety of the entire *China Mission* and entrusted with cultivating goodwill amongst the high and highest, Schall became the stumbling block, flashpoint, and primary target of *liyu*-*历狱*-Calendar Case the moment he got the Muslim astronomer Wu Mingxuan-吴明烜 dismissed from *Qintianjian* and the Muslim Department closed down in 1657 (Attwater, 1963; Dunne, 1962; Standaert et al., 2001; Zurndorfer, 1993a). This manoeuver to side-line foes, competitors, and rivals provided the reason/pretext for a new campaign against the Jesuits. It finally brought the Fathers into exile and the *China Mission* on the verge of demise and decline.

Primarily rooting in a “conflict [that] reflected the inherent tension between the Confucian scholar in search of [...] principle [...] and the technical expert stressing the need of [...] method [...] and [...] numbers” (Standaert et al., 2001, p. 515) and still existent “feelings of confusion and disorientation [among the Elite] in an age of upheaval and *dérangement*” (Zurndorfer, 1993a, p. 157) instead of accruing from a Sino-Western religious dispute, a general *odium fidei*, or hollow xenophobia all further fuelled by Schall’s own vanity and arrogance disastrously paired with (medieval) religious contempt, and an unablensness to accommodate oneself to Chinese tolerance the Jesuits had profited from (Brockey, 2007; Dunne, 1962; Gernet, 1985; Văth, 1933/1991; Zurndorfer, 1993a), the instigator to *liyu* was easily found in the devout Confucianist Yang Guangxian-杨光先 (1597-1669) (Attwater, 1963; Mungello, 1982; Young, 1983; Zurndorfer, 1993a). Friend to the removed Muslim astronomers and an envier of Schall’s “exclusive control of the official[, i.e. Western] methods of practicing astronomy” (Brockey, 2007, p. 127), this disputatious but minor court figure began his escalating campaign in the backroom of *Qintianjian* in 1659 (Mungello, 1982; Zurndorfer, 1993a).

Attacking Western scientific methods and mocking Christianity (Standaert et al., 2001), e.g. by compiling the 1659 *Xuan zeyi*-*选择依*-*Deliberation on Hemerology*, Yang Guangxian soon spiced up the academic dispute.

To do so, he bombarded the Dragon Throne with memorials, e.g. the 1660 *Zheng guoti chenggao*-正国体呈藁-Draft of Memorial for the Safety of the Country, denouncing Schall as public enemy and threat to the Qing Dynasty (Zurndorfer, 1993a). Putting himself in the role of a defender of neo-Confucian orthodoxy, his accusations soon reached *libu* (Dunne, 1962; Mungello, 1982; Zhu, 1990; Zurndorfer, 1993a). But with the Emperor still alive and well-disposed *Guanfu*-friends in power and at hand, such as *Yushi Xu Zhijian*-许之渐 (*1613) who even contributed a highly *Tianzhu jiao*- and Jesuit-friendly preface to the apologetic 1663/1664 *Tianxue chuan'gai*-天学传概-A Summary of the Spread of Heavenly Teaching that traced back the origins of the Christian Church in China to the time of *Fu Xi*-伏羲 (2852-2738 BC) (Mungello, 1982)—compiled by Schall's Chinese Christian assistant at *Qintianjian* Giovanni/João Li Zubai-李祖白(?-1665) and at least co-authored by Buglio and Magalhães (Gernet, 1985; Rule, 1986, 2009; Vāth, 1933/1991; Zurndorfer, 1993a)—, the broadsides did not fall on fertile ground (Dunne, 1962; Standaert et al., 2001; Young, 1983). It was only after 1661 however, while the *Aobai*-鳌拜-Oboi regent (1610-69) together with three other Manchu Princes governed as a perfect dress rehearsal of *Sanguo Yanyi*-三国演义-Romance of the Three Kingdoms (Luo, 1995) in the stead of *Kangxi*-康熙 Emperor (1654-1722) with *Aobai* being *Cao Cao*-曹操 (155-220), that *liyu* boiled over (Attwater, 1963; Dunne, 1962; Gernet, 1985; Zhu, 1990; Zurndorfer, 1993a). In 1664 however, one of Yang Guangxian's accusations finally found an attentive ear with the highest levels of imperial power (Standaert et al., 2001; Zurndorfer, 1993a). In his article *Qingzhu Xiejiaozhuang*-请诛邪教状-A Complaint Requesting Punishment for the Evil Religion, Yang Guangxian not only directly refuted *Tianxue chuan'gai* but accused Schall of nothing less than intrigue, spying, and sorcery (Attwater, 1963; Gernet, 1985; Ross, 1994; Zurndorfer, 1993a), i.e. having caused the death of Shunzhi's favourite Consort by calculating an inauspicious day and site for the burial of the Emperor's child in 1658 and—due to this—the premature death of the Emperor himself (Standaert et al., 2001; Zhu, 1990; Zurndorfer, 1993a).

Unable to ignore these (Shamanistic) monstrosities that threatened the foundation of State and Dynasty and virtually scared the Manchu deeply, Aobai delegated the case to *libu* which got down to immediate action (Dunne, 1962).

On 15 September 1664, *libu* not only reduced Schall in rank but also detained him, Buglio, Magalhães, Verbiest, and seven of their Chinese assistants (Attwater, 1963; Brockey, 2007; Dunne, 1962). While Fathers and assistants were confined and questioned, twenty-five/six provincial missionaries of all Orders, i.e. twenty-one Jesuits, three/four Dominicans of Zhejiang and Shandong Province—overlooking the Chinese Friar and later titular bishop of *Basilinopolis* and Vicar Apostolic of Nanjing Gregorio López O.P.-Luo Wenzao-罗文藻 (1615-1691) and his other three Dominican confreres of Fujian Province—and the Franciscan Caballero, were summoned to Beijing where they arrived by midsummer 1665 to stand their trial (Menegon, 2009).

In the meantime, Yang Guangxian, eager to nail down his claim, had published *Budeyi*-不得已-*I Cannot Do Otherwise*—a title taken from Mencius—, i.e. a collection of twenty-two pamphlets discrediting the Jesuits at court, *Xixue* in particular and *Tianzhu jiao* in general (Attwater, 1963; Brockey, 2007; Gernet, 1985; Mungello, 1982; Young, 1983; Zurndorfer, 1993a). Even if this writing was immediately seconded by

- Buglio's *Budeyi bian*-不得已辯-*Budeyi Refuted* (Elman, 2005; Standaert et al., 2001; Young, 1983); and
- Verbiest's *Lifa Budeyi bian*-历法不得已辯-*Method to Calculate the Calendar-Budeyi Refuted* (Jami, 2005; Young, 1983)

the cast was set. What was in the dock was *shixianli yixiyang xinfa*-时宪历依西洋新法-Western astronomical teaching—the foundation of the Jesuits unselfishness and serviceability to the Dragon Throne—and in the broadest sense the Jesuits' *modo soave cinese* in general (Elman, 2005; Jami, 2005; Standaert et al., 2001; Zurndorfer, 1993a).

In so having reached the conflict's climax, no on-heaven test imposed on the Jesuits to proof trueness and practicality of their astronomical calculation could stop the claim (Attwater, 1963; Dunne, 1962).

As the other missionaries finally arrived at the Northern Capital, they learned that in April 1665 Aobai *had* banned the Western methods of calendar calculation, re-instituted the old *datong*-大统 calendar and replaced Schall by a self-admittedly overstrained Yang Guangxian as *jianfu*-监副-Assistant Director of *Qintianjian* (Attwater, 1963; Dunne, 1962; Elman, 2005; Gernet, 1985; Kessler, 1976; Young, 1983; Zurndorfer, 1993a). Additionally, the regent had sentenced Schall and his Chinese auxiliaries at *Qintianjian* to death by *lingchi*-凌迟-dismemberment of the living body (Attwater, 1963; Dunne, 1962) and the other Jesuits to forty lashes and exile to Manchuria (Brockey, 2007; Dunne, 1962). To make things worse, the intrigues of foes, competitors, and rivals had let Aobai to order that all churches in the provinces were to be closed and Christianity forbidden (Dunne, 1962; Zurndorfer, 1993a).

Learning about this frontal attack against the lynchpin of the Jesuits', unselfishness and serviceability and fruitful exchange with the Dragon Throne as well as facing the nadir and their own perspective, heaven showed particular mercy with Fathers and Friars. A comet accompanied by a series of earthquakes, splitting the wall of the imperial palace, lead to a general pardon regarding the death penalty on 18 May 1665 (Attwater, 1963; Dunne, 1962). This verdict affecting the court Jesuits only, Schall was sentenced to house arrest and allowed to join Verbiest, Buglio, and Magalhães at *Dongtang* (Brockey, 2007). Li Zubai and four of Schall's Chinese auxiliaries however, did only slightly profit of the imperial clemency. Following Chinese juridical custom, they were beheaded as traitors in mid-May 1665 (Attwater, 1963; Rule, 2009). Concerning the other foreign missionaries, the final verdict on 12 September 1665 reduced their sentence to exile to their native countries via Macao (Brockey, 2007). Thus, expelled from Beijing, Fathers and Friars finally stranded at the Jesuit Guangzhou Residence on 25 March 1666 and stayed there until 1671 (Dunne, 1962; Standaert et al., 2001).

Profiting from the provincial governor's protection and validation, the decreed expulsion was not effected and the *de jure* confined remained in Guangzhou praying, studying, missionizing, discussing, and later arranging for their re-emergence (Brockey, 2007). While the band of missionaries in Southern China were eventually recovering from their Beijing-experience, making arrangements for detention, and praying for release, the paralysed Schall died in Beijing on 15 August 1666, the feast day of *Assumptio Beatae Mariae Virginis*—having asked for forgiveness and spiritual aid from his colleagues and taken the blame for *liyu* in his written *zixing* already on 02(21?) July 1665 (Attwater, 1963; Dunne, 1962). During the following three/four years, fate, fortune, and faults brought the Beijing Jesuits back on track and into their offices. The moment Yang Guangxian's incompetence to produce a faultless calendar following the Muslim method (Elman, 2005) became apparent, Verbiest was ready to step in.

On 29 December 1668, the now-governing Kangxi Emperor ordered Verbiest to verify Yang Guangxian's calendar for his eighth year in power (Brockey, 2007; Dunne, 1962; Kessler, 1976; Zurndorfer, 1993a). The Father—still keeping his unselfishness and serviceability to the Dragon Throne in times of labour and hardship—seized the opportunity to take sides, to pursue the Jesuits' (hidden) agenda of recovering former status and standing at court. In his memorandum submitted to the Dragon Throne on 27 January 1669, Verbiest pointed out the mistakes, e.g. the calendar showed two vernal (*chunfendian*-春分点) and two autumnal (*qiufendian*-秋分点) equinoxes and did not take into consideration the different time zones of the Empire (Kessler, 1976). In a veritable Chinese way he further claimed that the false calculations were able to disturb the harmony between *tian* and *Dao*-道-the Way (Dunne, 1962; Jami, 2005; Zhu, 1990; Zurndorfer, 1993a). On 08 March 1669, after several investigations had substantiated Verbiest's critique, the Emperor decreed the *shixianli yixiyang xinfa* to be the sole approach to prepare future Imperial Calendars (Dunne, 1962; Henderson, 1980; Kessler, 1976; Zhu, 1990). Verbiest had eventually trumped his opponent.

Following the imperial verdict, Wu Mingxuan was flogged and Yang Guangxian removed from *Qiantianjian* and Beijing—dying on his way back to his home town Huizhou, Southern Jiangnan Province (Dunne, 1962; Zurndorfer, 1993a). Verbiest however, was re-established at *Qiantianjian* in March/April 1669 and eventually made *jianzhang* and Schall's successor to the post in August 1669 (Jami, 2005; Shen, 2005). In an additional reconciliatory act, “the case against Schall and his colleagues [was] reviewed [...] [, all] of Schall's titles and ranks were posthumously restored [...] [, the] confiscated properties [...] given back to the missionaries” (Dunne, 1962, p. 367-368) and the Chinese astronomers fully rehabilitated (Attwater, 1963).

Two years later, all missionaries were allowed to return to their Residences and Flocks, all churches were given back and re-opened, and Verbiest had become one of the Kangxi Emperor's personal tutors—later joined by Claudio Filippo Grimaldi (1638-1712) and Pereira both acting as tutors in mathematics to the Emperor (Ross, 1994; Rule, 2012; Zurndorfer, 1993a). Restoration seemed complete (Zhu, 1990). Finally, “an atmosphere receptive to the presence of the Jesuits” (Zurndorfer, 1993a, p. 164) and *Tianxue*, “especially mathematics and astronomy, by the intellectual elite of Confucian China” (Henderson, 1980, p. 16) was restored.

But in 1666, these events were but dreams of the future. The chances of returning into the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord* were far from being realistic. Having to cope with the “first important attack on the entire Christian complex, including the sciences” (Standaert et al., 2001, p. 515), any further propagation of *Tianzhu jiao* seemed to be a distant prospect.

As a result of *liyu*, the Beijing Fathers were under close supervision and confined to their Residence at *Dongtang*. However, the exiled Fathers and Friars in Guangzhou fared better. Profiting from the provincial governor's benevolence towards the priests, the “strictures placed on the Jesuits and their coreligionists” (Brockey, 2007, p. 130) were gradually relaxed. Soon the missionaries were able to both walk freely in the city and resume their missionizing activities in the area unimpeded (Brockey, 2007).

But besides regular outings, the clerics were saved by hope: and hoping for what they did not see patience was the order of the day (Rom. 8:18-25) as was the possibility to review their missionary strategies and to discuss the *China Mission's* future (Metzler, 1980).

Since their last conference more than three decades had passed and new comrades-in-mission appeared on the landscape. Additionally, Christian communities had spread widely, grown significantly, and matured distinctively. To hence, counteract religious and pastoral fraying and frazzling, more appropriate methods to deal with the pastoral problems and challenges of the time were required (Metzler, 1980; Verhaeren, 1939). In so not only sharing Guangzhou Residence but also a desire to anchor orthodox Catholicism in Chinese soil, the members of the three religious Orders held a *concilium* between 18 December 1667 and 26 January 1668 “to reach an agreement [...] about a new general strategy for propagating Christianity in China” (Brockey, 2007, p. 132). During this month, they discussed and decided approaches/solutions (Metzler, 1980; Ross, 1994) of how to

- deal with the demands/needs and social idiosyncrasies of the nascent *Chinese Christian Church*;
- catechize and teach doctrine to a fast-growing Flock (religiously/intellectually) inside out;
- strengthen Chinese involvement, collaboration, and assistance;
- assure licit co-optation and strengthen cohesion;
- enable further emancipation and delegation of pastoral duties to Chinese laity;
- standardize pastoral practices to enable a smooth transition/replacement of priests of different national and congregatory background; and
- cope with the sensitivities of the different Orders.

Considering the harsh disputes prior to *liyu*, the missionaries reached a surprisingly smooth consensus on most of the *practico-ecclesiastical* aspects during their inter-Order exchange (Brockey, 2007; Metzler, 1980). Unfortunately, this uniformity in Ricci's spirit (Ross, 1994) was of little value and short-lived.

The ruptures over *Chinese Rites* in general and over (religious/ethical) alignment, as well as direction of the bridging project in particular still prevailed and eventually grew wider and deeper the moment Fathers and Friars were allowed to leave their confinement (Cummins, 1993; Metzler, 1980).

Plotting one against the other both sides went on (re-)presenting their (polemic) “views on this contested issue to ecclesiastical authorities and the European public in the hopes of receiving another pronouncement in its own favor” (Brockey, 2007, p. 133). But their attempts to side-line opponents were to no avail. Positions were already set and the respective (deprecative, supportive, or neutral) audience won. As a result, on 20 November 1669, Pope Clement IX (1600-1669) reaffirmed the conflicting rites decrees of 1645 and 1656 respectively—ordering that both adjudications should be observed according to the questions, circumstances, and in the light of the respectively preceding decrees (Demarchi, 2000; Raguin, 1990; Ross, 1994; Vareschi, 2000).

In the face of this *Pyrrhic victory*, Fathers and Friars were even more confused. What was meant to appease the struggle finally added more fuel to the fire; it brought the *China Mission* closer to its inglorious end.

The discord between the religious orders and the related portents of future dissolution notwithstanding, the Jesuits' efforts to standardize/unify the propagation of *Tianzhu jiao* and to better manage the consolidation of their *China Mission* prevailed.

Considering the status quo and their own pastoral requirements, the Padres went on developing “new uniform procedures” (Brockey, 2007, p. 133) for their Christian communities to eventually fulfil their idea of (religious/ethical) alignment. **Table 7** summarizes these pastoral guide-lines, instructions, and directions that extended into every facet of community life at grass-root level (Metzler, 1980; Verhaeren, 1939).

New uniform procedures—pastoral guide-lines	
The pastoral guide-lines clarified and adjusted	
>	how Christian live manifests itself at home, amongst family members, along <i>wulun</i> and “de là s’étendre au voisinage” (Verhaeren, 1939, p. 455)
>	how to follow the correct steps in catechizing (religiously/intellectually) <u>inside out</u> as well as (pastorally) <u>outside in</u> , baptizing, and spiritual terminal care
>	the need to avoid inter-religious marriages between a Christian women and a pagan man
>	the function of <i>paivei</i> as <i>wei</i> -位-seat of the ancestor and not his/her soul, thus, avoiding the Christian words <i>shen</i> -神 or <i>ling</i> -灵
>	how funeral and post-funeral ceremonies were to be conducted considering both Christian adherence to <i>xiao</i> and the necessary modifications from the traditional Chinese patterns
>	how the <i>Liturgia Horarum</i> -Liturgy of the Hours and the <i>Annus Liturgicus</i> -the Liturgical Year were to be followed including the respective regulations concerning both the related prayers and fasting, abstinence, the <i>Sacrament of Penance and Reconciliation</i> as well as the <i>Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist</i>
>	that the right to teach doctrine to Christian children was reserved to members of <i>Tianshen hui</i> only

Table 35: New uniform procedures—pastoral guide-lines

Table 7: New uniform procedures—pastoral guide-lines, based on Brockey (2007), Metzler (1980); Verhaeren (1939), compiled by author

Additionally, the Fathers took the opportunity to streamlining and demerging *hui* that had mushroomed in lockstep with the *China Mission’s* expansion and diffused with the different nationalities of its labouring priests (Brockey, 2007; Metzler, 1980; Verhaeren, 1939). To re-focus orientation and benefit the divergent *hui* were further standardized to four/five and only allowed to branch out to meet the special needs and status of its respective members, e.g. literati, bachelors, women (Brockey, 2007; Standaert et al., 2001).

In this regard, all *hui* were united to follow one aim (Brockey, 2007; Standaert et al., 2001). Doing so, they were to become

- penitential (Brotherhood of the Passion-[*Tianzhu Yesu*] *Kuhui*-天主耶稣哭会);
- doctrinal (to teach doctrine to the children: Confraternity of the Angels-*Tianshen hui*; to catechize non-Christian adults, to act as proper representatives of the priests, and—as a particular side effect—to supervise the religious activities of their fellow Christians in their home communities and during their wanderings: Confraternity of St. Francis Xavier-*Sheng Fangjige hui*-圣方济各会);
- charitable (Brotherhood of Mercy-*Renhu*); or
- broadly devotional (Confraternity of the Blessed Virgin-*Shengmu hui*).

Finally, Feliciano Pacheco (1622-1687), the new Vice-Provincial—further adapting Furtado’s 1635 rules—decreed amongst others that

- no prophecy of the scripture is of any private interpretation (2 Petr. 1:20) and hence, preaching is to be reserved exclusively to priests—channelling Chinese Christians’ emancipation and delegation towards catechetical work (Brockey, 2007); and
- a special hat had to be worn obligatorily during saying Mass—abandoning European ecclesiastical rules, submitting the Vestments to the Chinese cultural imperative, and further stressing external adaptation and congruity also during Mass (Brockey, 2007; Standaert, 2008a).

This summarized the obligations of lay Catholics and the new uniform pastoral practices to be used in China to forge a new uniformity amongst their priests and parishioners—simultaneously accomplishing equilibrium via religio-cultural relationship and achieving co-optation and cohesion to the most tolerable degree. By way of *Zouhuizhiren*-走会之人-members of *Sheng Fangjige hui* who worked as itinerant catechist, the rules finally found their way out of the exile to the Chinese Christians (Brockey, 2007).

These trend-setting rules notwithstanding, the Fathers had to also trouble themselves with the current spiritual/pastoral survival of their Flocks.

Even if the lax conditions of their confinement allowed them to walk the city and to establish mail traffic with their Chinese communities by means of some well-meaning facilitators and catalysts, the parishioners outside Guangzhou were nonetheless cut off from the *Sacraments* and the pastoral guidance of their priests (Brockey, 2007; Verhaeren, 1939). The solution to this stricture as well as a possible approach to prevent apostasy or at least the cooling of Faith (Rambo, 1993) presented itself in the

- brotherly help of the offshore-Chinese priest, companion and spiritual confrere Gregorio López-Luo Wenzao who was able to circulate Jiangnan Province under cover of his own *Chineseness* in order to administer to the Christian communities;
- more comprehensive involvement, collaboration and assistance and by further emancipation and delegation of pastoral responsibilities to *huizhang* and Chinese lay catechists (Verhaeren, 1939); and
- strengthening of congregations as “important means of church organisation [...] [, co-optation and cohesion,] and basis of the Christian communities during the long absences of priests” (Standaert et al. 2001, pp. 458-459).

During the Guangzhou exile, these approaches “proved crucial to maintaining the devotional schedules instituted by the missionaries” (Brockey, 2007, p. 135). Due to the commitment and facilitating and catalysing initiative of the Chinese comrades and converts in general, as well as the involvement, collaboration, and assistance of the lay auxiliaries in particular, Christian communities did not only live to Christian rules, but also grew daily (Brockey, 2007).

Impressed by fervour and industriousness of their Flocks as well as by the fruits of pre-exile emancipation and delegation, the Fathers made a virtue out of necessity and delegated “an ever greater proportion of their pastoral responsibilities to [lay catechists and *huizhang*]” (Brockey, 2007, p. 135). In so shifting the responsibility of proselytizing and propagating *Tianzhu jiao* in words and deeds to Chinese Christians (personally) outside in—both ordained or not—the Jesuits not only strengthened co-optation and cohesion but primarily altered their own self-concept and job-description (Brockey, 2007).

During the Guangzhou exile, the Padres had finally become “managers of far-flung and ever-expanding Christian communities” (p. 136). They had eventually established an irrevocable process that finally opened out into discrete *emancipatio religiosa sinensis* and towards a *Chinese Christian Church*.

Besides streamlining their pastoral work in the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord* and backing their *commerce of conversion* by Chinese converts, the Fathers used their seclusion to polish their most valuable and effective weapon, i.e. knowledge of indigenous philosophy in general and Confucianism in particular (Brockey, 2007; Rule, 1986). To hence, guarantee future (religious/ethical) alignment and to better accomplish equilibrium via religio-cultural relationship, the Fathers enlarged their 1624 *ratio studiorum sinensis* and started to compile a *vademecum* for future missionaries that supplemented Prospero Intorcetta’s (1625-1696) 1662 *Sapientia Sinica*. To do so, they brought together the translation of *lunyu*-*论语*-*Analects of Confucius* and *daxue*-*大学*-*Great Learning* with *zhongyong*-*中庸*-*Doctrine of the Mean* to become a larger, romanized, and commented version called *Sinarum Scientia Politico-Moralis* (Mungello, 1988).

But as weeks stretched to years, planning and regulating seemed to be occupational therapy only. All hope was fixed on Verbiest to regain earlier status and the Kangxi Emperor to take control over the Empire. In August 1669, words reached Guangzhou that the political wind and the imperial position towards the foreign priests had shifted (Dunne, 1962). Owing to Verbiest’s incessant work, the Court Jesuits had finally (re-)gained the Emperor’s confidence (Jami, 2005; Zurndorfer, 1993a). Capitalizing on his status as Schall’s successor, Verbiest had petitioned Kangxi Emperor already in 1670 to allow the priests to return to their Flocks (Ross, 1994). On 31 January 1671, the request was finally granted (Brockey, 2007; Ross, 1994).

Unfortunately, the *Hallelujah* that came with the imperial pardon ended on a bitter note. Being permitted to practice their religion and to preach the Gospel to their already existing followers only, the edict barred the Jesuits from making new converts and to build new churches (Standaert et al., 2001).

To make things worse, Chinese Christians were “prohibited [...] from holding meetings and from wearing devotional objects” (Brockey, 2007, p. 136).

Propagating *Tianzhu jiao* eventually became an unofficial, illicit act (Standaert et al., 2001). Despite Verbiest’s manifold attempts, the imperial decree was never fully revoked but only softened in return to the numerous mundane proves of Jesuit unselfishness and serviceability to the Dragon Throne (Ku, 2012; Rule, 2012). The “[pastoral] successes in the following decades [notwithstanding]” (Standaert et al., 2001, p. 516) and the numerous Chinese words and deeds of (tacit) approval and toleration of *Tianzhu jiao* still to come (Brockey, 2007), the *China Mission* would never recover from the *liyu*-setback (Ross, 1994).

The foundation of Christian life and its development thus challenged, the missionaries nonetheless learned to appreciate the carrot that came with the stick. To foster their run of good luck, the Fathers decided to follow Ricci’s well-proven recommendations and to upgrade their front line at Beijing (Rule, 2012). Proving their unselfishness and serviceability to the Qing while counting on the enticing force of piquing and satisfying (scientific) curiosity and (fruitfully) exchanging practical learning (Henderson, 1980), the Fathers recommended their most talented (newly-arrived) priests immediately to the Emperor to serve the Court as foreign experts “introducing new technologies, liaising with foreign powers, advising and translating” (Rule, 2012, p. 41).

Straining the *China Mission*’s staffing level to the maximum, Claudio Filippo Grimaldi (1638-1712) was ordered to join Buglio, Magalhães and Verbiest at *Qintianjian* in 1671 with Tomás Pereira (1645-1708) following his confreres to the Imperial *commodo luogo* on a more artistic mission on 06 January 1673 (Ku, 2012).

While guaranteeing the survival of the *China Mission* this move nonetheless weakened Fathers and Flocks in the Provinces where every blessing and ministering hand was needed in 1675 to support seventeen priests and three coadjutors in their superhuman effort of tending to over 110,000 Christians (Standaert et al., 2001).

But for the time and locus being, the return on placing Fathers at the inner court to perform the traditional role of “vassalli del re della Cina” (Letter of Matteo Ricci to Claudio Acquaviva – 13.02.1583 in Ricci, 2001, p. 51), Court officials, and non-religious centre of competence that already once brought the Fathers back to rank and status was as expected. Once again tied up in imperial military affairs, Verbiest re-enacted Schall’s earlier fate of slipping into providing martial practical learning and European *scientia* to the Dragon Throne in times of crisis and disunity.

Confronted with an inner-China revolt that threatened Kangxi Emperor’s sovereignty, his claim to power over whole China, and his throne (Kessler, 1976) the Father soon found himself in the midst of *Sanfanzhiluan*-三藩之乱-*Revolt of the Three Feudatories*—a civil war mainly rooting in an irrepressible *yihanzhihan*-以汉制汉-the Ming-borrowed respectively adapted Qing-policy of letting the Han govern the Han (Lach & van Kley, 1998; Menegon, 2009). As loyal subject, Verbiest finally complied with Kangxi Emperor’s order in 1674. Putting into service his technical talents *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*, he casted over 300 *hongyipao*-红夷炮-foreign style cannons and produced respective munition during the eight years of *Sanfanzhiluan* (Kessler, 1976; Spence, 1988).

Rewarding this undesired unselfishness and serviceability, the Fathers’ readiness for transdisciplinarity and preparedness for crossing boundaries, as well as also honouring the Padres for their (fruitful) exchange of less destructive European *scientia*, imperial favours seemed to pour down as *guanxi*-relationship with Kangxi Emperor was further cemented (Brockey, 2007).

Unfortunately, the visible signs of imperial patronage towards the Court Jesuits remunerating the Fathers’ willingness to stress their exchange of practical learning beyond services befitting of a religious man and their strive to further blend in with the Qing court to (re-)gain high social visibility got at least the Beijing Fathers into a predicament. During a visit to the Jesuit Residence on 12 July 1675, Kangxi Emperor bestowed upon the Fathers an honorific inscription by his own hand reading *Jing Tian*-敬天-*Revere Heaven* (Standaert et al., 2001).

Even if the Jesuits had already decided during the Nanjing incident against using *tian* to describe God, the Beijing Jesuits' fear of repudiation and the Order's penchant for probabilism prevailed. Biting the bullet for the greater good of the entire *China Mission*, the Fathers accepted the imperial reward, complied with the Chinese cultural imperative (Standaert, 1997, 2008b; Zürcher, 1994) and compromised to the detriment of their autonomy, virtue, and credibility (Dunne, 1962; Ross, 1994). To herald *Tianzhu jiao's* at least tacit approval as well as the Order's comeback into the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord* to friends and foes, in- and outside China, the Confucian-motivated motto was soon displayed on the outer wall of their Beijing Residence, quickly sent to the Residences *extra muros*, and promptly reported to Europe (Brockey, 2007).

The marketing campaign notwithstanding, a much desired queuing of European missionaries was held off. The staffing level in the Provinces remained a problem. By 1678, the ratio of priests to Chinese Christians reached its lowest mark with fifteen priests ministering to a rocketing number of demanding Chinese converts yearning for spiritual guidance and the reception of the *Sacraments* (Standaert et al., 2001). To counter the self-made problem as membership with the confraternities and brotherhoods meant also regular reception of the *Sacraments*, the Fathers had to decide further alleviating steps (Brockey, 2007). Three options were open to discussion (Brockey, 2007): 1. delegating more pastoral tasks to native auxiliaries, 2. requesting help from other mendicant Orders, 3. ordaining a Chinese clergy. Having already

- decided to strengthen *emancipatio religiosa sinensis* by putting coadjutors, *huizhang*, and lay catechists in charge of more delegable spiritual works,
- equipped subsidiaries with Verbiest's 1677 (*Tianzhu*) *Jiaoyao xulun*- (天主) 教序论-a *vademecum* to follow a logical order when teaching doctrine (religiously/intellectually) inside out; and
- ceded remote circuits to the mendicants—in 1677 the Franciscans worked in Shaanxi, Shanxi, Jiangnan, Huguang, Zhejiang, Jiangxi, Fujian, and Guangdong (Maas, 1932) while the Dominicans ministered in Zhejiang and Fujian (Standaert et al., 2001),

those routes seemed well-trodden and apparently pushed to the limit (Brockey, 2007). As an alternative the ordination of a native clergy was left.

Even if the ecclesiastical prerequisites were to some extent in place since the 1615 Bull *Romanae sedis antistes* or could possibly be revived or sought anew, such as the concession to use Chinese language and robes in liturgy, the papal dispensation regarding Latin, the permission to compile a translation of the Bible as well as the *Missale, Rituale et Breviarium Romanum* into classical Chinese (Chan, 1990; Cohen, 2008; Ross, 1999), the idea of a native clergy was nevertheless unhappily burdened with historical failures, such as the fall of the Japan Mission in 1614 (Ross, 1994), and unfortunately peppered with an even greater array of (ir-)rational fears and (nationalistic) concerns (Brockey, 2007). Hence, much concern was given to the questions of how to

- harmonize the duration of priestly formation with the “Chinese notions of maturity, wisdom, and education” (Brockey, 2007, p. 144); and
- reconcile the tension that resulted from requesting Chinese “men with literati pedigrees [...] [to also submitting] themselves to the Society’s [time consuming] standard curriculum” (p. 144) and to further years of studies

in order to assume a position of authority in the eyes of Chinese Christians (Brockey, 2007; Chan, 1990). These practical issues notwithstanding, the need to guarantee a unified and loyal/obedient body of missionaries became the real break-block of an un-prepossessed discussion (Brockey, 2007; Chan, 1990). During an agonizingly slow discussion that

- started already during the Guangzhou exile;
- followed Intorcetta on his way to Rome on his 1672 marketing tour,
- was fuelled by the Father’s line of argument that mainly bore on the potential Chinese priests’ indigenous assets, the related advantages of relieving European confreres, and the exemplary efforts of Friar Gregorio’s work in times of persecution and exile;
- revived in 1674 with the Procurator returning to China empty handed; and
- finally gained momentum on the initiative of Pacheco during a written *concilium* in summer 1677,

disagreement between supporting parties, i.e. Moderns-French/Flemish arrivals, and disapproving ones, i.e. Elders-Padres coming from countries of the Habsburg influence, became apparent (Brockey, 2007).

In so already anticipating the new balance of power in Europe—formed after the Peace of Westphalia (1648) and prior to the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714)—the new Visitor Sebastião de Almeida (1622-1683?) eventually concluded in 1678 that “the majority of the missionaries [...] agreed that it was time to begin accepting Chinese men into their ranks” (Brockey, 2007, p. 149). Even if the outcome was immediately submitted to Rome for approval, its implementation received a reprieve.

The idea of an exacting emancipation and delegation was eventually dug out under the effect of Gregorio López-Luo Wenzao’s ordination as bishop in 1685 and found its way back on the agenda during Intorcetta’s Vice-Provincilate in 1686-1689/91. As a kind of interim/somehow half-hearted solution aimed at reconciling every position three Chinese men were taken to Macao to study theology for nearly two years and eventually sent as brothers and deacons to Nanjing to finalize their priestly formation. On 01 August 1688,

- Simão Xavier da Cunha-Wu Yushan-吴渔山 (1632-1718);
- Blaise Verbiest-Liu Yunde-刘蕴德 (1628-1707);
- Paulo Banhes-Wan Qiyuan-万其渊 (1631-1700),

were consecrated by Bishop Gregorio in Nanjing (Standaert et al., 2001).

Unfortunately, the *Rite of Ordination* did little to reconcile the cleavage between Moderns and Elders. Every party was more than ever eager to prove the validity of their position on the backs of the newly ordained (Brockey, 2007).

Even if da Cunha’s and Verbiest’s performance and behaviour was faultless, Father Banhes became the stumbling block and a living proof of the scepticism amongst the Elders. The moment the priest had disappeared and eventually returned to the fold some months later, the cast was set (Standaert et al., 2001). Ordination of indigenous Fathers became a contested issue and a minefield—at least for the next forty years (Brockey, 2007).

For the time being, the staffing problem remained unsolved and the future ordination of three Chinese men a drop in a bucket. The number of Jesuit priests stagnated while the number of Christians further boomed (Standaert et al, 2001, Standaert, 1991b). Helpful, non-contested, airtight solutions to ease this mismatch were in great demand. To thus recruit new labourers to be send into the harvest (Mt. 9:37-38), the Jesuits once again turned towards the time-honoured method of securing new manpower by sending a Procurator to Europe (Brockey, 2007; Foss, 1990). In 1680, entrusted with this special beauty contest the thankful|thankless task fell to Couplet who left Macao on 5 December 1681 and reached the Netherlands on 08 October 1682 (Foss, 1990). During his nearly ten years of stay in Europe (Malatesta, 1990), Couplet publicized and defended the Jesuit Mission, propagated the zeal of Chinese Christians, and marketed the equality of Chinese teachings and thinking in words, deeds, and writings. To do so, he visited Christian Kings and Courts, solicited financial donation, passed through Jesuit Colleges across Europe to identify new recruits for their Chinese commerce of conversion, and introduced Europe to Michael Shen Fuzong-沈福宗 (ca.1658-1691)—a Chinese *Xiucai*-convert and later Jesuit brother (Foss, 1990; Golvers, 2009; Mungello, 1985). He also

- distributed *Historia nobilis feminae Candidae Hiu christianae Sinensis* (Paris, 1688)—a little biography of Paolo Xu Guangqi's granddaughter/Basilio Xu Zuanzeng's mother Candida Xu-徐甘第大 (1607-1680) (Mungello, 1985) amongst the fervent and sensationalists; and
- introduced Confucius/Confucian philosophy to European ivory towers and studies by means of *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus* (Paris, 1687)—the first Western translation/edition of three of *sishu* including *daxue*, *zhongyong* and parts of *lunyu* (Mungello, 1988; Rule, 1986; von Collani, 1990; Witek, 1990).

Without reserve praising to the skies China's (cultural, philosophical, and ethical) progressiveness, glamourizing the *China Mission*, and glorifying the Jesuits' irreplaceability, Couplet's mission was a success and a mixed blessing at the same time (Brockey, 2007; Chan, 1990; Foss, 1990; Malatesta, 1990).

To such an extent bringing China to Europe to eventually bring Europe to China, Couplet's eulogies (and writings)

- impressed the learned, such as Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646-1716) who became the centre of network spun across European universities and courts to spread "[i]deas about China and sinology [...] [to] important scholars and princes and even learned ladies" (von Collani, 2001, p. 151);
- kindled *sinophilia* amongst an European audience of rank and culture (Mungello, 1985; Perkins, 2004; von Collani, 1990, 2000b, 2001); and
- lighted a new missionizing flame within the throne rooms and Jesuit institutions alike (Brockey, 2007; Foss, 1990).

Unfortunately, the Father's successful marketing move and Domingo Fernández Navarrete's O.P. (1618-1689) excoriating first-hand description of the Jesuits' apparently scandalizing *modus procedendi sinensis* (Cummins, 1993; Kley & van Lach, 1998a) had some undesired side-effects, too. With the Jesuits' apparently successful *commerce of conversion* once again being the centre of ecclesiastical concern, the Roman Curia and other religious orders became assured that they had to claim a part or all of the *China Mission* (Brockey, 2007) to either share the proceeds or to stop Jesuits' heterodoxy. Being usually well acquainted with foes, competitors, and rivals either trying to gain a place at the Chinese fleshpots or challenging the Jesuits' well-proven *modus procedendi sinensis* or both, the 1680s geopolitical realities dangerously limited the Fathers' possibilities to ward off broadsides and/or undesired intrusion that both came from a significantly altered, war-worn Europe (Lach & van Kley, 1998).

Having tended to the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord* for nearly a century by mercy of the *Portuguese Estado da Índia*, the Fathers were inescapably linked to the rise and fall of their royal and ecclesiastical protectors of Habsburg breed and grace. Now confronted with France as the new rising superpower in Europe struggling for prestige, power, and place in both the continent and the world, and the divesture of Portuguese ecclesiastical monopolies in East Asia, the value of Portuguese intercession, the *Padroado*, and its related unique missionizing proposition was significantly weakened.

Notwithstanding this shift in European political power, ecclesiastical developments more directly affected the Jesuit *China Mission*, the Fathers' *modus procedendi sinensis* in the Empire, and their exclusive status at the Qing Court and amongst their Chinese converts (Lach & van Kley, 1998). Already by the early seventeenth century, the Roman Curia became more and more convinced that the traditional mission-related division of labour was a hindrance to the Church's *Missionary Commission* (Ross, 1994). To free the world-wide proselytization movements from the strictures of the *Padroado/Patroato Propaganda* was established in 1622 (Brockey, 2007; Tamburello, 1997). What was initially supported and advocated by many Jesuits unfortunately took some false turns and soon got out of hand—at least from the Jesuit perspective.

With these escalating preparations and broadening possibilities in place, it did not take long until the next wave of European rivals would be washed against China's shores challenging, turning upside-down, and finally destroying the balance of power so carefully woven by the Jesuits during their laborious but successful years in China (Tamburello, 1997).

Table 8 summarizes the steps towards the *China Mission's* denationalization that alarmingly threatened the Fathers' position in the Empire (Lach & van Kley, 1998) and their *modus procedendi sinensis* to win and keep *China for Christ*.

Steps towards denationalizing the <i>China Mission</i>	
The denationalization of the <i>China Mission</i>	
>	gained momentum in <i>Propaganda's</i> late 1650s decision to eventually establish "an autonomous jurisdiction over [the Church's] world mission" (Ross, 1994, p. 185) independent of any <i>Patronato/Padroado</i> rules and sensitivities and bypassing other traditional concordats with states (Ross, 1994)
>	accelerated in 1657 with the papal decision to split three new bishoprics off the diocese of Macao—Tongking, Cochin-China, and China—to be governed each by Vicars Apostolic—secular priests with the ecclesiastical powers of titular bishops <i>in partibus infidelium</i> until "improved conditions would permit the naming of a residential bishop" (Lach & van Kley, 1998, p. 228)—directly appointed by the Pope to rule over all the Churches and priests in the territory and subject to <i>Propaganda's</i> directives only (Lach & van Kley, 1998)
>	was collateralized in 1658/1659 by the foundation of the Société des Missions Étrangères de Paris (M.E.P.) as "an organization of secular priests and lay persons dedicated to [missionary work in foreign lands, i.e. mainly in Indo-China and China]" (Lach & van Kley, 1998, p. 231) and—at least in the beginning—affected/enlightened by the "influence ignatienne" (Lécrivain, 2011, p. 71) of its founding fathers, such as Father Alexandre de Rhodes S.J. (1591-1660), Abbé François Pallu (1626-1684), and Abbé Pierre Lambert de la Motte (1624-1679) (Etcharren, 2011; Lécrivain, 2011), independent of the control of the traditional missionary and colonial powers of Spain and/or Portugal, and unchallenged/undisturbed by any temptation of political interference and/or any commitment for respective instrumentalization <i>in situ</i> (Heimbucher, 1965b; Marin, 2011a) to "entreprendre toute action apostolique dans un esprit de fidélité à Rome, entrer dans la compréhension des mœurs et coutumes de ces pays d'Asie, [...] créer un clergé local capable de prendre en charge la communauté chrétienne naissante [in order to reduce both the influence of the mendicants and the impact of persecutions]" (Marin, 2011a, p. 5-6)
>	was confirmed by the Papal Bull <i>Injuncti nobis</i> (23.12.1673) that allowed secular priests, "in addition to members of any Catholic religious order" (Brockey, 2007, p. 157) to missionize in China and that demanded the recognition of <i>Propaganda's</i> rights to a) send missionaries to the Far East by any route bypassing Lisbon, b) establish freely Vicars Apostolic throughout East Asia, and c) receive the obedience of the Portuguese bishops and clerics (Brockey, 2007; Lach & van Kley, 1998)
>	became a given fact and legally binding in 1674 with the Jesuit General Giovanni Paolo Oliva (1600-1681) formally requiring the Jesuits in the <i>Chinese vineyard of the Lord</i> to take an oath of obedience to the Vicars Apostolic (Brockey, 2007; Lach & van Kley, 1998)

Table 36: Steps towards denationalizing the *China Mission*

Table 8: Steps towards denationalizing the *China Mission*, based on Brockey (2007); Etcharren (2011); Heimbucher (1965b); Lach and van Kley (1998); Lécrivain (2011); Marin (2011); Ross (1994); Schatz (2000b); Tamburello (1997), compiled by author

With *Propaganda* having paved the way, the first to come were members of the M.E.P. (Schatz, 2000b; Tamburello, 1997). Their travelling to and arrival in China carried the necessary ingredients for classical drama, its *dramatis personae* were as follows:

François Pallu (1626-1684)

In 1658, Monsignor (Msgr.) François Pallu was ordained bishop of *Heliopolis* (Baalbek) and created Vicar Apostolic of Tongking with Laos, and four Provinces of south-eastern China, i.e. Guangxi, Sichuan, Yunnan-云南, Guizhou-贵州, Huguang-湖广 (now Hubei and Hunan-湖南), under his jurisdiction (Etcharren, 2011). However, due to the ongoing persecutions during the Aobai Regency, he was not able to take his vicariate in Tongking nor to go to Macao and China. After some back and forth travelling that brought him twice to Asia and back to Europe, into Spanish imprisonment and, whilst being involved in settling the Jesuits' refusal to compromise on their links with the Portuguese crown in order to submit themselves to the authority of the Vicars Apostolic in East Asia, to Rome, thus virtually around the globe, Pallu finally returned to East Asia in 1680. There, he was to become General Administrator to coordinate the Eastern ecclesiastical enterprise and to bear his new title Vicar Apostolic of Fujian with eight (nine?) southern Chinese Provinces under his jurisdiction (Lach & van Kley, 1998).

Pierre-Marie Lambert de la Motte (1624–1679)

In 1658/1660, Msgr. Pierre-Marie Lambert de la Motte was ordained Bishop of *Berytus* (Beirut) and created Vicar Apostolic of Cochin-China to account for four Provinces of south-eastern China, i.e. Zhejiang, Fujian, Guangdong, Jiangxi, and Hainan Dao-海南岛-Hainan Island—since 1680 assigned to Pallu—but eventually got stuck at Siam in 1662, took up his see in Cochin-China not until 1677 (Etcharren, 2011) and soon returned to Siam where he died in 1679 (Lach & van Kley, 1998).

Ignace Cotelendi (1630-1662)

In 1660, Msgr. Ignace Cotelendi was ordained Bishop of *Metellopolis* (Medele) and created Vicar Apostolic of Nanjing with three regions of north-eastern China and Korea under his responsibility but died *in via* (Etcharren, 2011) and was succeeded by Gregorio López-Luo Wenzao after his consecration in 1685.

On 24 January 1684, after a series of false starts, delays, casualties, and the prevention of access, the first European Vicar Apostolic to really set foot on Chinese soil was Msgr. Pallu and his Franciscan coadjutor Bernadino della Chiesa (1644-1721) (Lach & van Kley, 1998; Standaert et al., 2001). Coming from a rebellious Chinese client state and entering the Empire “outside the standard channel of communication [necessary for this enterprise]” (Brockey, 2007, p. 157) caused some confusion amongst the Chinese coastal officials and forced the Jesuits to take immediate action and clarification in order to avoid any impression of joint liability that could put the entire Vice-Province on edge (Brockey, 2007). Fortunately, the coastal *Guanfu* were already well versed in keeping apart foreigners of the ecclesiastical sort (Brockey, 2007). However, what could really endanger the Jesuits’ presence and position and hence, *Tianzhu jiao* in China was Pallu’s

- position to inform the Qing-authorities of his precedence over any Western cleric working in his jurisdiction in as much as this could re-confirm the Chinese fear of Westerners forming a secret army, plotting take-over, or at least causing public unrest (Brockey, 2007); and
- papal assignment to enforce the oath of obedience to the Vicar Apostolic with the French Vicars Apostolic being neither in favour of the Jesuits’ *modus procedendi sinensis* nor regarding their unshakeable loyalty towards the Portuguese crown and *Padroado* (Lach & van Kley, 1998).

While the China Jesuits did not comply with the French jurisdiction that circumvented their obedience to the bishop of Macao—even under pain of excommunication—and referred their case to Rome for final clarification, Pallu’s death on 29 October 1684 and Rome revocating the undesired oath on 06 January 1689 prevented worse to happen (Lach & van Kley, 1998).

For the time being, the Jesuits were able to free themselves of *Propaganda's* tightening grip.

The arrival of French Jesuits in China destined to serve the Dragon Throne however, brought the Jesuits' *China Mission* closer towards disintegration (Jami, 2005; Lach & van Kley, 1998; Tamburello, 1997) with Padres and Pères performing self-destruction on highest level. Due to

- Verbiest's numerous written cries for recruits and money to disburden the chronically understaffed but overworked *China Mission* (Golvers, 2012);
- Couplet's marketing campaign in Europe (Foss, 1990; Lach & van Kley, 1998; von Collani, 1981); and
- Jean-Baptiste Colbert's (1619-1683) intercession with the French King Louis XIV (1638-1715) to capitalize on the Jesuits' shortage in manpower and to send French Jesuits "to gather geographical and astronomical information for the use of the royal Academy of Science" (Kessler, 1976, p. 148),

the Sun King decided to appoint five Jesuits as *Mathématiciens du Roi* to go to Beijing as royal emissaries and a French academic outpost in the Empire for the honour of *Le Roi-Soleil* and not only *ad maiorem Dei gloriam* (Jami, 2005; Tamburello, 1997; von Collani, 1981; Wiest, 2005). Thus, acquitting themselves of their royal patron's desire and already openly dissociating themselves of any relationship with the *Padroado* and/or connection with the Vice-Province prior to setting sail, Jean de Fontaney (1643–1710), Joachim Bouvet (1656–1730), Jean-François Gerbillon (1654–1707), Louis-Daniel Le Comte (1655–1728), and Claude de Visdelou (1656–1737) set off at Brest for Siam on 03 March 1685 to travel to China (Jami, 2005; Lach & van Kley, 1998; Ross, 1994; von Collani, 1985). Having so bypassed the Portuguese channels of travel and entrance to China and so mirroring the audacity and naivety of the mendicants seeking entrance to China some fifty years ago, the French Fathers arrived at Ningbo, Zhejiang via the revolt-ridden/stricken Chinese client state Siam on 23 July 1687 (Brockey, 2012; Ross, 1994). Unable to produce an official imperial letter of invitation to enter China and to go to Beijing (Kessler, 1976), the French Fathers were first impeded by *Zhifu* and *libu* from travelling north (Brockey, 2007).

As word of the Pères' unofficialized intrusion reached Beijing, Verbiest brought to bear his *guanxi*-relationship with Kangxi Emperor and convinced his (former) pupil and friend of the French Fathers' *harmlessness*, their apparent unselfishness and genuine serviceability to the Dragon Throne (Brockey, 2007; Lach & van Kley, 1998; Ross, 1994; Spence, 1974). Performing his penultimate deed for the greater glory of the Jesuit *China Mission* Verbiest eventually managed to get the Pères out of detention and over to Beijing (Jami, 2005). In so profiting from Verbiest's request, status, and compatriotism as well as from imperial curiosity, the French Fathers arrived in Beijing on 07 February 1688—just in time to witness Verbiest's ultimate deed for protection and validation of the Jesuit *China Mission* (Jami, 2005; Lach & van Kley, 1998).

Attending the Father's official state funeral at *Zhalan* (Ross, 1994; Standaert, 2008a), the Pères had a first possibility to appreciate the high degree, visible advantage, and inherent danger of the Court Jesuits' external adaptation and congruity that resulted from their centennial civilizing project and strive for high social visibility and that became apparent in Kangxi Emperor's *xudian*-恤典- funeral sponsorship of Verbiest's entombment (Standaert, 2008a). But mourning as well as “all the Funeral Honours which are commonly rendered in China' [...] [to a] deceased member of the nobility or an official” (p. 186) could not conceal the rising tension between the newcomers and the established.

Mainly rooting in nationalism and self-concept, the divide between the French arrivals and the multinational presents—pejoratively all called Portuguese by the French (Brockey, 2007; Rule, 2012)—not only drove a wedge into the Jesuits, but also “helped to exacerbate the divisions between the missionaries” (Brockey, 2007, p. 160). Doing so, the Pères were about to thwart the institutional integrity of the Order (Brockey, 2012) simultaneously challenging the *China Mission's* essentials necessary to

- ward off the intrigues of (non-)Chinese foes, competitors, and rivals;
- defend the propagation of *Tianzhu jiao*; and
- secure Chinese Christians by virtue of a given Jesuit status, position and influence.

Unfortunately, Intorcetta's well-laid plans to send four French Jesuits into the missionary trenches and to only keep one at *Qintianjian* were already doomed from the very beginning. Despite earlier written assertions, the Pères had no inclination whatsoever for missionary work or for ministering to a Chinese Flock (Brockey, 2007).

Once settled in Beijing, they rather insisted on their “autonomy on the grounds of their allegiance to the French crown [and job-description]” (p. 160-161), and their quite unusual commitment “to obey only French superiors” (Brockey, 2012, p. 31). Verbal skirmish that soon bordered on menace eventually forced Visitor Francesco Saverio Filippucci (1632-1692) to come to terms with the situation (Brockey, 2007) finally acquiescing to the need of staffing the *China Mission* with qualified candidates (Brockey, 2012). In so turning a deaf ear to Peirera's objection and the sensitivities of the other non-Francophile Fathers—ignoring the ambiguity that came with his contradictory signals towards the Pères and the other *Patres Pekinenses*—Filippucci bowed to necessity, French boldness, and Kangxi Emperor's nicely embellished order to keep Gerbillon and Bouvet in Beijing to join Pereira at *Qintianjian* (Ku, 2012; Lach & van Kley, 1998; von Collani, 1985). At least standing up to a minimum consensus and following imperial concession, Fontaney was ordered to Shanghai while Visdelou and Le Comte had to go to Shanxi (Lach & van Kley, 1998; Witek, 1988).

Despite the increasing intra-Order tension in Beijing, delicately covered in front of the Emperor, the new arrivals on imperial ground floor more and more assimilated themselves with their new environment and *manju gisun*-ᠮᠠᠨᠵᠤ ᠭᠢᠰᠤᠨ Manchu language (Ku, 2012). They collaborated successfully with Pereira to satisfy imperial (scientific) curiosity and to establish (fruitful) exchange regarding all sorts of Western practical learning (Ku, 2012). As a result, they made themselves and the Society indispensable to the Court and dear to Kangxi Emperor (Ku, 2012; Rule, 2012).

So quickly did the French win imperial favour by proving unselfishness and serviceability and linguistic abilities that Jean-François Gerbillon (1654–1707) was asked to substitute the late Verbiest and to join Pereira as well as the other Chinese intermediaries headed by Songgotu/Suo'etu-索额图 (1636-1703) and the Christian Tong Guogang-佟国纲 (?-1690) (Standaert et al., 2001) to meet representatives of the two tsars—Peter I. (1672-1725) and Ivan V. (1666-1696)—and to translate and so bridge the large cultural, religious, linguistic, mercantile, and diplomatic gaps between China and Russia (Ku, 2012; Myasnikov, 2012; Perdue, 2012) in order to settle years of boundary disputes in the Amur river area for mutual benefit (Lorge, 2005; Myasnikov, 2012) and “under terms of equality for both empires” (Perdue, 2012, p. 504).

De facto rooting in a communality that came with a mutual enemy, i.e. the Zunghar Mongols, the negotiations started from a position of mutual distrust between the Romanow and Qing Empire (Perdue, 2012) as well as between the Russians and the Jesuits (Sebes, 1962).

During the negotiations, Gerbillon and Pereira performed “a remarkable role of cultural transmission[, diplomacy; mediation] and interpretation” (Perdue, 2012, p. 505). Finally achieving a multi-facet win-win situation that suited the Chinese, the Russian, and eventually the Jesuits and their Chinese *commerce of conversion* (Perdue, 2012), the Fathers

- relied on and thus, confronted the Chinese for the first time with both the “principles which at that time had become essential elements of the Law of Nations [*Jus Gentium*] [...] [and] the whole manner of procedure during the negotiations and the conclusions of the treaty” (Sebes, 1962, p. 111);
- appealed “to common interests, and common cultural values, to make [...] [Нерчинский договор|*Nibuchu Tiaoyue*-尼布楚条约-the *Treaty of Nerchinsk*] possible” (Perdue, 2012, p. 505); and
- insisted on and used Latin—still the European diplomatic *lingua franca* of the time—as the mutual contractual language to eventually formulate/promulgate the treaty on August 27, 1689—only adding versions in Manchu (!) and Russian (Lorge, 2005; Myasnikov, 2012; Sebes, 1962).

As a result, the missionaries proved their unselfishness and serviceability to the Dragon Throne (Myasnikov, 2012; Sebes, 1962) by

- making available their diplomatic and linguistic tasks;
- providing assistance in intermediation and reconciliation; and
- proving transdisciplinarity and virtually preparedness to cross boundaries.

Back in Beijing, the diplomatic victory of “preserving the ‘national honour’” (Perdue, 2012, p. 509) mainly won by the Jesuits earned the gratitude of Kangxi Emperor. The Court Jesuits had finally proved their unlimited indispensability and applicableness as a foreign silver bullet for nearly all intents and purposes (Ku, 2012; Myasnikov, 2012; Sebes, 1962).

In the wake of the successful negotiation at the Russian-Chinese border the situation between the French and the other Jesuits in Beijing stabilized while the Emperor became more favourable to and demanding regarding the *Patres Pekinenses* (Ku, 2012; Rule, 2012). “Kangxi [E]mperor [...] increasingly appreciated the knowledge and benefits which the Western missionaries could provide” (Ku, 2012, p. 73). To thus satisfy imperial scientific and artistic curiosity as well as respective thirst for knowledge, the group of Court Jesuits, i.e. Pereira, Antoine Thomas (1644-1709), Joachim Bouvet (1656–1730), and Gerbillon later completed by Giandomenico Gabiani (1623-1694) and José Soares (1656-1736),

- were regularly summoned to the imperial quarters (Ku, 2012);
- frequently accompanied the Emperor on his many imperial tours of inspection (Menegon, 2012); and
- extended their unselfishness and serviceability as well as the (fruitful) exchange of *Xixue* beyond the realm of mathematic and astronomy by giving lessons in philosophy, medicine, chemistry, anatomy, and agriculture as well as offering insights into/services related to architecture, music/instrument making, art, and handicraft, such as enamel paintings (Jami, 2005; Rule, 2012; Vanderstappen, 1988; von Collani, 1985; Zettl, 2012).

Constantly ordered to put their teaching notes and further Western (scientific/artistic) works into Manchu language, the Fathers compensated for the Emperor's deficient mastery of *guanhua*. Doing so, they also took the opportunity to create a new linguistic unique feature on their side (Kessler, 1976; Ku, 2012; Spence, 1974). To such an extent strengthening the long-forged *guanxi*-relationship with the Manchu, the Fathers won heart and mind of a willing pupil and so further provided for an imperial patron and protector as well as the facilitating and catalysing support of a benign Emperor (de Saldanha, 2012).

In so following the Valignano-Ricci way of proving own unselfishness and serviceability to become irreplaceable *ad maiorem Dei gloriam* the more the *China Mission* was safe and propagating *Tianzhu jiao* secured.

The resulting success of this time-proven approach notwithstanding, treading this path was still a risky business. The more the *Patres Pekinenses* shackled their fate to a patronizing and protecting, capricious Chinese Emperor, the more the *China Mission* became vulnerable to both intrigues amongst begrudging Chinese *Guanfu*-officials/courtiers and Roman centralism. However, for the time being, the stratagem worked out—for both the Jesuits and the Chinese (de Saldanha, 2012).

Even decisions taken in far-away Rome further backed the Jesuit position and provided a much desired lull of combat. In 1690, Pope Alexander VIII (1610-1691) performed a veritable *volte-face*

- re-establishing the Portuguese rights of the *Padroado*—despite protests of *Propaganda* and M.E.P. (Lach & van Kley, 1998); and
- limiting the jurisdiction of the Vicars Apostolic by papal bull *Romani Pontifices* (10.04.1690)—promoting Nanjing and Beijing to dioceses and suffragans to the archbishopric of Goa under Portuguese jurisdiction and further allowing the Sees to be assigned to the Jesuit as rewards for their unshakeable loyalty to the Portuguese Throne (Lach & van Kley, 1998).

As a result, the influence of mendicants and seculars in the Empire was reduced as was the control ratio of the Roman Curia (Lach & van Kley, 1998).

With ecclesiastical disruptive actions reduced to a minimum and new Jesuit missionaries on their way from Lisbon (Brockey, 2007), Chinese Christianity was about to face a time of peace and growth (Ross, 1994).

Knowing little about the alleviating/supportive developments in Europe, the benevolent and likewise obliged Kangxi Emperor openly favoured the Court Jesuits, “met with them informally, [...] acquiesced unofficially to their Christianizing activities” (Lach & van Kley, 1998, p. 265), and so strengthened “the network of influence and benevolence patiently built by the Jesuits among the highest circles of the nobility and officialdom” (de Saldanha, 2012, p. 155). As a result, the Emperor also de facto tolerated the missionaries’ permanent violation of the imperial pardon that had brought the Jesuits out of the Guangzhou exile and ended *liyu*, but also made propagating *Tianzhu jiao* an unofficial, illicit act (Standaert et al., 2001). Unfortunately, “[t]his protective aura accumulated in the light and shadow of the Emperor and his [ever watchful] court” (de Saldanha, 2012, p. 157) was a delicate entity. On the long run only dependent on imperial benevolence, the short-term radiance and impact of this particular “apostolate of influence” (p. 157) was highly vulnerable to flunkey’ish slander, accusations, and intrigues, and constantly menaced by legalism and reason of state. As a result, the Jesuits at Court and in the Provinces as well as *Tianzhu jiao* in general was only secure(d) as long as both Fathers and Faith were neither a threat to public order (Lach & van Kley, 1998) nor a nuisance to any provincial *Guanfu*-officials. Unfortunately, both pretences were easily constructed but fortunately ended in the official legitimization/acceptance of *Tianzhu jiao* as another *religio licita sinensis*. In 1691, the Jesuit *China Mission* faced a rerun of the 1607 Nanchang and 1616/1617 Nanjing events that eventually drove the Fathers out of the country or into Yang Tingyun’s house. In August 1691, a minor Jiangnan/Zhejiang-*Guanfu* seized chance and existing law. He openly denounced *Tianzhu jiao* as well as its proponents as being *xie*. While performing the traditional reflex action of appealing to a higher force and existing imperial edicts “that prohibited calumnies against his religion” (Brockey, 2007, p. 166), Intorcetta for the time being gaged the low-ranking foe, competitor, and rival to only make his superior speak up even louder.

Turning the tables on the Father, the governor of Jiangnan/Zhejiang Province not only upbraided the missionary, but also issued a decree that prohibited any Chinese from following *Tianzhu jiao*, performing any Christian religious acts, and/or displaying any form of adherence to the now forbidden religion (Brockey, 2007). Creating precedents, the *Zhifu* ordered some punitive measures (Brockey, 2007; Mungello, 1994b; Young, 1983), such as

- arresting the Jesuits in Hangzhou and posting the names of local Chinese Christians;
- attacking the Church of the Saviour and closing and dismantling a chapel;
- destroying woodblocks used in printing Christian literature; and
- punishing those who did not adhere to the edict.

While the governor walked the talk, Intorcetta appealed to the other higher authority he could think of to prevent the Hangzhou incident from spreading. Doing so, he wrote to Pereira in early 1692. In his letter, he beseeched his confrere to appeal to the Emperor in order to make him “intervene on behalf of the missionary and his Christians” (Brockey, 2007, p. 166). What came as a dress rehearsal of *the Book of Esther* with Intorcetta playing Mordecai, Pereira took over Esther’s role and memorialized Kangxi Emperor for validation, patronizing and protection. On 2 February 1692, the Father asked for nothing more than official/open toleration of Christianity in China (Mungello, 1994b; Standaert et al., 2001). Knowing about earlier defeats when pursuing the matter, Pereira banked on his and Thomas’ status and cordial *guanxi*-relationship with the Emperor, imperial benevolence, and decades of Jesuit merits, unselfishness and serviceability (Ku, 2012; Standaert, 2012b). Eager to save Intorcetta’s Hangzhou Flock and eventually the entire *China Mission*, the petition stressed the following (Mungello, 1994b; Standaert, 2012b):

- *Tianzhu jiao* is not a subversive foreign religion
- The Emperor “was not [known for being] biased against foreigners [...] [thereby delicately raising] the sensitive issue that the imperial family was itself [...] foreigners in China” (Mungello, 1994b, p. 62-63)

- The Jesuit Fathers had performed a broad array of secular—sometimes bellicose—activities for Qing Dynasty with the result of in return strengthening its dynastic position in China
- The honours bestowed on the Jesuits for earlier services
- Respect for Jesuit ancestors was a cultural imperative also for the Emperor

Yielding to Pereira’s last push for officially legitimizing/accepting *Tianzhu jiao* as a *religio licita* and to consenting to Songgotu’s/Suo’etu’s positive intercession after heated discussion at Court between Emperor and *libu*, the request was performed—without visible casualties (Es. 7:2) (Lach & van Kley, 1998; Mungello, 1994b; Ross, 1994; Standaert, 2012b). On 22 March 1692, Kangxi Emperor finally promulgated the *Edict of Tolerance (Edict)* (Standaert, 2012b)—in aim and design comparable to the following (Eusebius Caesariensis, 324/1997 Winkelmann, 2013):

- The *Edict of Toleration* issued by the Roman Tetrarchy of Galerius, Constantine and Licinius on 30 April 311 in Nicomedia—officially ending the Diocletian persecution by declaring Christianity *religio licita*
- The Edict of Milan-*Edictum Mediolanense* issued by Constantine on February 313—officially legalizing Christianity in the Roman Empire and decreeing to treat Christians benevolently within the Roman world

However, compiled in a tone of at best “positive neutrality” (Brockey, 2007, p. 167) without containing “virtually nothing about the Christian religion” (Gernet, 1985, p. 137), the *Edict* simply

- repeated the 1692 Pereira-Thomas petition (Standaert, 2012b);
- complimented on the Jesuits’ manifold proves of transdisciplinarity and willingness to cross boundaries as well as their unselfishness and serviceability to the Dragon Throne (Standaert, 2012b);
- stressed the Fathers’ harmlessness who “did not cause chaos or engage in heterodox behaviour in the provinces” (Standaert, 2012b, p. 336); and
- stipulated that “existing churches throughout China were given protection, and [all existing] Christians were permitted freedom of worship” (Lach & van Kley, 1998, p. 265).

This accorded Christianity a definite, legal status of a private cult (Standaert et al., 2001) comparable to that enjoyed by the Lama, Buddhist, and Daoist temples (Standaert, 2012b). In so primarily rewarding the Jesuits for their long-term contribution to the Qing Dynasty, *Tianzhu jiao* was

- “removed [...] from the category of false, heterodox, and seditious sects, such as [*Bailian jiao*]” (Mungello, 1994b, p. 64);
- integrated into the Chinese religious value-canon (Standaert 2008b; Zürcher, 1993);
- subordinated to the Confucian state orthodoxy and ideology (Ross, 1994; Standaert et al., 2001; Zürcher, 1994); and eventually
- submitted to the Chinese cultural imperative Ross, 1994; (Standaert et al., 2001; Zürcher, 1994).

But other than expected, the *Edict* “did not concede permission to [further] propagate *Tianzhu jiao* [...] [but rather tolerated] the practice of Christianity as it had been before 1691” (Brockey, 2007, p. 167)—taking the Ricci’an *modo soave passivo* and its toleration of secular Confucian Rites as a constant. For the time being however, the Fathers more or less ignored the *Edict*’s underlying inconsistency and hidden blasting power.

Celebrating their triumph *ad maiorem Dei gloriam* and basking in the glow of their success, “unaware that the glow belonged to the autumn rather than the spring” (Mungello, 1994b, p. 64), the victory was trumpeted and the Order’s interpretation of the imperial decree quickly communicated in- and outside China (Brockey, 2007). To such an extent capitalizing on imperial toleration and apparent religious upgrading, the number and influence of the Chinese Christians and the Jesuits steadily grew (Lach & van Kley, 1998).

While tallies of baptism flowed the number of missionaries nonetheless remained a trickle. In the eight years after the *Edict*, the number of Chinese Christians soared to more than 200,000 souls while the number of missionaries of the Vice-Province only hopped from twenty-six to some forty (Standaert, 1991b).

Even if word of a tolerated Christianity received a favourable echo in Europe—bringing forth some strange fruits and raising some unrealizable expectations, such as the possible conversion of Kangxi Emperor himself—the first wave of missionaries, such as Manuel Rodrigues (1638-1698), Francisco Simões (1650-1694), Francisco Pinto (1662-1731), Miguel de Amaral (1657-1730), Antonio Provana (1662-1720), Francisco Xavier Rosario Ho (1667-1736), Pieter van Hamme (1651-1727), Simon Bayard (1662-1725), and José Ramón Arxó (1663-1711) reached Chinese shores due to Couplet's 1680s marketing campaigns, the written efforts to bring China to Europe, and the rising *sinophilia* amongst Europe's intellectual and aristocratic elite only (Brockey, 2007; Foss, 1990).

Regardless the catalyst, the increase in *milites Christi* was nothing but a drop in the ocean. Considering that still five missionaries were working exclusively in Beijing, any significant alteration of the way of ministering to the dispersed and fast-growing Chinese Flocks was virtually impossible. To nonetheless avoid the mendicant's and secular's further root-taking as well as to carry forward the established project of rationalizing missionary work and consolidating the mission fields, the newcomers were mostly send into the Provinces to disburden the aging confreres (Brockey, 2007) and “to maintain any semblance of control over their mission church” (p. 169) vis-à-vis the seculars and mendicants in the country, Chinese Christians, and the Roman Curia. To do so, the Fathers took to the time-proven, re-confirmed *modus procedendi sinensis* and

- treked around rural mission circuits (Brockey, 2007);
- consolidated “Christian communities that had survived without pastoral care” (p. 169);
- staffed “residences in strategic areas[, such as areas along the axis of communication, around the Northern and Southern Capital, and Shanghai] to forestall the arrival of other religious orders” (p. 169); and
- established new communities in hitherto untouched areas (locally) inside out, such as Bei Zhili-北直隶-the northern part of Zhili (now comprising Hebei, Henan, Shandong, Beijing, and Tianjin), Shanxi Province, and in Changsha and Xiangyang in Huguang Province (Brockey, 2007).

In order to simultaneously consolidate their every growing circuits, to encourage further growth, and to manage expansion, Flocks and the “heightened desire on the part of some Chinese Christians to practice more sophisticated forms of [...] piety” (Brockey, 2007, p. 171), the missionaries had to even more rely on the zeal and support of local lay catechists, *huizhang*, *presbyters*, and pious local Christian comrades and converts to

- propagate *Tianzhu jiao* bottom up both (pastorally) outside in and (religiously/intellectually) inside out;
- manage (newly) established parishes; and
- administer to the “throng of [Chinese] Christians who sought to receive the [S]acraments” (p. 172).

To such an extent sharing their *Missionary Commission* with the locals and amongst the numerous *hui*—established for their respective purposes in the 1630s and streamlined in the lee of *liyu*—did not come without problems.

Fostering involvement, collaboration, and assistance as well as allowing for necessary emancipation and delegation bore some undesired fruits (Brockey, 2007). While most of the emancipated and delegated Christian laymen adhered to the conceded *licit* ritual powers in the correct and expected way—using the proper formula and ritual gestures when baptising, reporting baptisms to the priest upon his visitation—years of de facto autonomy in a Christian diaspora only interrupted by sporadic visits of an overworked and tightly-scheduled priests, had encouraged certain unmindful Chinese Christians to push the boundaries of their religious zeal into unwanted grey zones (Brockey, 2007).

The boundaries between “the role of the clergy and that of ordinary Christians” (p. 174) to such an extent blurred, the Fathers had to cope with an increasing number of ingenuous Christians that acted on their own account—at least when unwatched and uncontrolled—not only catechizing, baptizing, and/or providing for spiritual terminal care, but also casting out demons, preaching, and sometimes performing entire services (Brockey, 2007).

At the risk of dampening the zeal of their Chinese lay auxiliaries, decisions had to be taken to weed out heretical activities until they could spoil the entire *Chinese vineyard of the Lord* or—even worse—were noticed by foes, competitors, and rivals to be reported either to *libu* or to Rome.

Facing the dilemma of either encouraging the propagation of *Tianzhu jiao* (personally and religiously/intellectually) inside out or assuring the purity of Faith and clerical job-descriptions, excommunication was the sole weapon to stop the *de jure canonici* spreading abuse of ritual powers, the commission of heresy, or the violation of ecclesiastical laws (Brockey, 2007). Knowing about the difficulties of enforcing imposed exclusion, considering the absence of constant pastoral surveillance, the Vice-Province's Visitors repeatedly warned priests to closely watch their sacred paraphernalia and prevent the Chinese *missals* from circulating amongst the Chinese Christians (Brockey, 2007). Additionally, lay catechists were constantly admonished to obey ecclesiastical rules and to check their parishioners to prevent them from trespassing. The excrescences of a nascent, growing Church and the fact that “control over *Tianzhu jiao* was slipping from [...] [the Fathers'] grasp” (Brockey, 2007, p. 174) did not prevent the missionaries of the Vice-Province from fanning out as far geographically as they had ever been during the seventeenth century. Between 1699 and 1702, thirty-six Fathers and six coadjutors were stationed at twenty-nine Residences in the Provinces and at the four Colleges in Beijing, Nanjing, Hangzhou, and Ganzhou—accounting for 266 Churches, fourteen Chapels, and 290 Oratories—and ministered to more than 300,000 Christians. To do so, they worked closely with sympathizing Friars, ceded some Christian communities and mission stations to the mendicants and finally came to terms with the Vicars Apostolic (Brockey, 2007; Lach & van Kley, 1998; Standaert et al., 2001). However, while the Jesuit *China Mission* seemed well-organized, established, wanted, and protected and validated by its manifold patrons and protectors, and Christianity to be on the verge of becoming “a respectable native religion” (Rule, 1986, p. 129), decisions of a new Pope threatened unity and the deceiving peace. They eventually drove the *China Mission* into heavy waters and its European representatives into difficulties.

Encouraged by the *Edict's* possible positive impact on the Chinese willingness to seek transition towards *Tianzhu jiao* simultaneously incited by a much-desired if not expected demand for more missionaries and priests, Innocent XII (1615-1700) complied with a rising French self-confidence and unwinded decisions taken by his predecessor (Lach & van Kley, 1998).

Openly favouring France and its spiritual and secular hegemonic ambitions, the Pope not only reshuffled ecclesiastical responsibilities by creating eight Apostolic Vicariates in 1696—re-limiting the jurisdiction of *Padroado*-bishops (Lach & van Kley, 1998), but also encouraged members of the recently established *Congregation of the Mission/Lazarists*—founded by St. Vincent de Paul (1581-1660) on 17 May 1625, authorized by Papal Bull *Salvatoris Nostris* (12.01.1632), and finally confirmed by Papal Breve *Ex commisso Nobis*—to *Evangelizare pauperibus* in China in 1697 (Heimbucher, 1965b; Oligschläger, 1986a, 1986b)—further kindling the missionaries' struggle for souls, status and foothold, as well as creating confusion amongst the Chinese (Brockey, 2007).

Innocent XII further allowed the Jesuit Superior General Tirso González de Santalla (1624-1705) to place the French Jesuits under the jurisdiction of their own superiors in 1700—naming Gerbillon the first official superior of the French Mission and according powers comparable to those of a Vice-Provincial (Brockey, 2007)—and to establish their own, independent, uncontrolled *China Mission* in the shadow of the Vicars Apostolic (Brockey, 2007; Lach & van Kley, 1998)—weakening the Jesuits' closeness and unity, thus challenging the entire Jesuit *China Mission*.

While these decisions created precedents and unilateral feelings of uneasiness amongst the Jesuit Fathers of the Vice-Province, Innocent's XII further decision paved the way into the entire Jesuits *China Mission's* downfall (Ross, 1994). Having complied with the French request program dealing with *Chinese Rites* and providing an unequivocal decision to the rites question once again became a necessity (Lach & van Kley, 1998).

As news of the *Edict* did not appease ongoing debates in Europe, Innocent XII assigned Charles Maigrot M.E.P. (1655-1730)—since 1687 Vicar Apostolic of Fujian and (later) titular bishop of *Conana*—“the unenviable task of inquiring into the associated problems of terms and rites” (Lach & van Kley, 1998, p. 268).

No friend to *Clerics Regular* and averse to Portuguese influence, Maigrot decided against the Jesuit position and hence, against “the assimilation approach of Valignano and Ricci” (Ross, 1994, p. 177). Eager to prevent Christianity from being integrated “as the fourth god in the [...] [Chinese] pantheon (Lach & van Kley, 1998, p. 268) and so facing the danger of being annihilated, Maigrot issued a formal *Instruction (Mandatum seu Edictum)* to all priests of his *Vicariate* on 26 March 1693, stating that the papal approval of *Chinese Rites* as based on Martini’s expositions are null and void (Metzler, 1980; Rosso, 1948). Following this logic, Maigrot promulgated a series of prohibitions against *Chinese Rites* that are summarized in **Table 9**.

<i>Mandatum—Maigrot’s prohibitions against Chinese Rites</i>	
>	“[B]anning [all] Christians from taking part in the [semi-annual] rites honouring Confucius and those [apparently superstitious sacrifices] honouring their ancestors” (Ross, 1994, p. 177)
>	Prohibiting the display of Kangxi Emperor’s honorific inscription <i>Jing Tian</i> in churches (Rule, 1986)
>	Disapproving the toleration of <i>paiwei</i> (Rule, 1986) or at least tolerating them “only on the condition that they bear only the name of the dead (without the expression <i>ling wei</i> [-灵位-]‘the seat of the soul’) together with a profession of faith” (Rosso, 1948, p. 131)
>	Denouncing the <i>atheism</i> as well as the superstition in the Confucian classics, mainly in <i>Yi Jing</i> -易经- <i>Book of Changes</i> (Rosso, 1948; Rule, 1986) and emphasizing “Catholic doctrine on God” (Rosso, 1948, p. 132)
>	Forbidding the use of <i>Tian/Shangdi</i> as terms for God (Lach & van Kley, 1998; Rosso, 1948)

Table 37: *Mandatum—Maigrot’s prohibitions against Chinese Rites*

Table 9: *Mandatum—Maigrot’s prohibitions against Chinese Rites*, based on Lach and van Kley (1998); Ross (1994); Rosso (1948); Rule (1986), compiled by author

While the latter prohibition was no novelty to priests and Christians as such and no radical divergence from Jesuit practice, the other provisions were. They

- threatened the foundations of the Jesuits' *modo soave cinese*;
- attacked “the intellectual basis of the whole Valignano-Ricci tradition” (Ross, 1994, p. 190);
- contested the *Edict* (Rule, 1986); and
- (re)ignited the *Rites Controversy* (von Collani, 1994).

Further challenging the fragile balance between Jesuits and other missionaries and adding much fuel to the *Rites Controversy* in Europe, the Jesuits, both in Europe and China, responded quickly to Maigrot's *Mandatum* (Metzler, 1980; Rosso, 1948). In China, the Fathers, supported by local mendicant sympathizers, at least questioned Maigrot's authority and jurisdiction or declared themselves exempt (Metzler, 1980; Rosso, 1948). In Europe, Jesuit-inclined coalitions and Maigrot-supporters clashed (von Collani, 1994). To second the anti-Jesuit coalition, Le Comte started a pamphleeting attack against the Vicar Apostolic and in favour of the French Jesuits who were apparently the ones to be lauded for gaining the Emperor's *Edict* (Lach & van Kley, 1998). Roused by increasing contradiction, opposition, and disobedience, and threatened by public reaction, academic interference, and intellectual, mainly protestant, enlightened side-taking, e.g. Leibniz ecumenically supported the Jesuits in his *Novissima Sinica* (Leibniz, 1697/2010) stressing that “Confutii honores religiosae adorationis nihil habere videntur” (Leibniz, 1697/2010, p. 18) and seconded his position via published letters (Perkins, 2004; von Collani, 1994) during years of correspondence clarifying that—while the Chinese have their own historical form of natural theology (*Théologie naturelle*) that could help to introduce Christianity (Leibniz, 1715/2002, p. 63; Perkins, 1994; Mungello, 1977)—similarities between Chinese and Christian thinking override the limitations posed on traditional interpretations of *Chinese Rites* even if some Chinese perform them in a superstitious way (Letter of Leibniz to Antoine Verjus—*De cultu Confucii civili*—11.01.1700, pp. 112-114 in Leibniz, 1990), the Pope finally turned to the only office that could solve the issue *ex officio* (Lach & van Kley, 1998).

In 1697, the Cardinals of the *Sacra Congregatio Romanae et universalis Inquisitionis* | *Congregatio Sancti Officii* started to examine the documents submitted by both sides (Lach & van Kley, 1998). During the last years of Innocent's XII pontificate, the *Holy Office* went on debating the arguments, considered the pros and cons, mulled over the long, detailed, and mainly accurate but unfortunately poorly translated guide provided by Giovanni Francesco Nicolai da Leonessa O.F.M. Ref. (1656-1737)—Vicar Apostolic of Huguang—and summarized the material in a list of *quaesita* and *rationes dubitandi* (Rosso, 1948). While the Cardinals, Consultors, and Qualificators took pains to decide the fate of the Jesuits not so much the future of the *China Mission* (Metzler, 1980; Rosso, 1948), the Beijing Jesuits performed their own desperate leap to settle the issue.

On 30 November 1699—following Le Comte's suggestion (Rosso, 1948)—the *Patres Pekinenses* turned to the sole authority that apparently could settle the dispute once and for all by providing first-hand judgement (Rosso, 1948). Doing so, Grimaldi, Pereira, Thomas, Bouvet, and Gerbillon petitioned Kangxi Emperor asking his opinion on the Jesuits' traditional understanding of the *Confucian Rites*, the sacrifice to the dead and the setting up of tablets of the ancestors, the civil character of the respective veneration, the meaning of *Jing Tian*, and on the correctness of their interpretation of certain key terms in the Confucian classics (Ross, 1994; Standaert, 2012a; von Collani, 1985).

After having consulted the leading Confucian scholars at *Hanlin Yuan*, Kangxi Emperor provided the Jesuits with a written report to be sent to Rome (Ross, 1994; Standaert, 2012a). In his official declaration of 30 November 1700, the Emperor not only confirmed the civil character of the rites in question, their "harmony with the Great Way" (Rosso, 1948, p. 143), but also affirmed the civil code of conduct that comes with adhering to *wulun* (Rosso, 1948).

Doing so, he

- approved the Jesuit statements that Confucius is venerated as a teacher “and not in order to seek happiness, intelligence, rank and emolument” (Rosso, 1948, p. 144);
- stressed that the performance of the ceremony of sacrifice to the dead is a means of showing sincere affection for members of the family, and intended for remembrance and *xiao* (Rosso, 1948);
- clarified that *Tian|Shangdi* is a *metaphor* or *pars pro toto* to describe “the Creator and Lord of Heaven, of Earth, and of all things” (p. 144); and
- concluded that the honorary inscription *Jing Tian* only means exactly this: “Reverence Heaven” (p. 145).

To back the de facto “doctrinally inconsequential though politically prejudicial [imperial] declaration” (Rosso, 1948, p. 15) that showed Kangxi Emperor’s limited understanding of the concepts as they were applied/understood by the native Chinese, his non-Chineseness, the Jesuits’ long-term influence on a fervent pupil, and—above all—results of an accomplished equilibrium via religious-cultural relationship in favour of the Padres and a successfully achieved (religious/ethical) alignment, the Fathers added further writings by various Christian and non-Christian Confucian scholars. They all confirmed the imperial position and judgement (Ross, 1994; Standaert, 2012a) “unanimously praising the Jesuits’ correct understanding of the Chinese rites” (Standaert, 2012a, p. 16).

On 29 July 1701, the ten Beijing Fathers signed and finally sent the entire report, the *Brevis Relatio*, in Manchu—the Emperor’s response—, Latin, and Chinese to the Roman Curia and a copy to Maigrot (Raguin, 1990; Rosso, 1948; Standaert, 2012a). While the latter doubted the context and translation, the imperial declaration sent to Rome produced an effect contrary to the expected in Beijing (Rosso, 1948).

The Jesuits’ written defence reached the Roman Curia by autumn 1701, along with the report of the Vicar Apostolic of Jiangxi Álvaro de Benavente O.S.A. (1646-1707). But this was to no avail.

Considering the scandal it produced in the shadow of the Holy See, the Jesuits appeal was even worse than to no avail (Ross, 1994). In the eyes of the Roman Curia

- the Jesuits had gone too far to petition a pagan prince about Christian matters (Ross, 1994); and
- the Chinese Emperor had gone too far to rule about Christian concepts (Rosso, 1948).

While Innocent's XII death brought a temporary lull, the election of Pope Clement XI (1649-1721) brought the issue once again centre stage and the *Holy Office* as close to a final decision on the issues as possible. Soon after having slipped into the *Shoes of the Fisherman*, Clement XI ordered a resumption and speedy conclusion of the *Rites Controversy* (Raguin, 1990; Rosso, 1948).

Spurred by papal expectations, *Holy Office* and *Propaganda* decided against the toleration of *Chinese Rites* by September 1701 (Metzler, 1980; Raguin, 1990; Rosso, 1948). While the Cardinals awaited an appropriate time for putting their official ruling into a decree, Clement XI created facts.

A Papal Legate was sent to the East in order to settle the Rites issues that had apparently infected the entire Asian region (Metzler, 1980; Ross, 1994), and to reorganize the various missions under ecclesiastical jurisdiction (Rosso, 1948)—both without causing much polemic and/or a great stir. As a “direct result of Maigrot's accusations in Rome” (von Collani, 1994, p. 182), Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon (1668-1710) was appointed to

- report on the general state of the missions (Rosso, 1948);
- “disentangle the thorny question of the Malabar Rites posed in India” by Roberto de Nobili, S.J. [(1577-1656)] (p. 153) who had followed Ricci's *modo soave* in Southern India; and
- inquire into *Chinese Rites* and—as a *de facto* by-product—finally “settle the differences among the missionaries and dispose them to accept and observe the forthcoming decree” (p. 149).

During the consistory of 05 December 1701, Clement XI created the young prelate of learning, piety and noble Savoyard breed *Nuncio*, Apostolic Visitor to the East Indies and Imperial China, and *legatus a latere* with plenipotentiary powers (Jenkins, 1894/2005; Raguin, 1990; von Collani, 2014). To serve ecclesiastical procedure de Tournon was further consecrated bishop and created *Patriarch of Antioch* on 27 December 1701 (Jenkins, 1894/2005; Rosso, 1948).

On 04 July 1702, endowed with all the tokens of papal affection, trust and power, confirmed in rank by Papal Bull *Speculatores Domus Israel* (02.07.1702), and backed by letters to the Kings of France, Spain and Portugal, the Emperor of China, and the Bishops of the East Indies and China—asking all their cooperation and obedience to the Legate’s ruling—, de Tournon finally left Rome (Jenkins, 1894/2005; Rosso, 1948) to eventually take away the hedge of the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord* and to break down the wall thereof so that it lay waste and *Tianzhu jiao* finally be trodden down (Is. 5:5-6).

From this basis on, the time of ***Paradise Lost*** in the Jesuits’ experience can be understood.

Appendix X: *Paradise Lost* (1702-1742)

The *Hallelujah* that came with the *Edict's* promulgation in 1692 was soon disturbed by a cacophony of “controversy and constant disappointment, claims and counter-claims” (Spence, 1994, p. 15). Facing its largest geographic spread in 1702—with some ninety Jesuit priests and six coadjutors ministering to their Chinese Flock (Standaert, 1991b) and six *Patres Pekinenses* additionally proving their unselfishness and serviceability to the *China Mission's* imperial protector on the Dragon Throne in order to secure the propagation of *Tianzhu jiao* and its (Chinese) followers—China had nonetheless become too small to

- absorb the inflow of European (religious and secular) priests and (traditional and newly founded) congregations that came in the wake of Papal Bull *Injuncti nobis*—all eager to win their share of spiritual China; and
- house the contradicting (ecclesiastical) positions and ambitions between a) the Jesuits of the French Mission and those of the Vice-Province, b) Jesuits and the different ecclesiastical institutions, c) conflicting European nations eager to either defend their traditional or strive for new political supremacy.

Learning from the *Edict* that “Kangxi had not granted permission for any specific nation[, order, or form of episcopal jurisdiction] to reside[, proselytize, or exert ecclesiastical power] in China but only the ‘successors of [...]’ Matteo Ricci of happy memory” (Brockey, 2007, p. 184) in general and his *modo soave cinese* in particular, the *Chinese Rites* with their true nature/character, their integratability into the Catholic orthodox value-canon, and their importance in the context of the nascent *Chinese Christian Church* forming its branches (Brockey, 2007) became the logical battlefield for

- “shatter[ing] the Portuguese monopoly over Asian Catholicism” (Brockey, 2007, p. 185) and the influence of the *Padroado*-bishops in China;
- repressing the Jesuits' de facto control over the *China Mission* and the propagation of *Tianzhu jiao*; and
- finally establishing direct central Roman control over Catholic orthodoxy, dogmatic theology, and the entire Chinese Church.

Asserting his supreme authority to “rein in the Jesuits’ perceived aberrations” (Brockey, 2007, p. 165) in East-Asia in general and in China in particular, as well as to avoid a schism over the Rites question to once and for all settle the dispute, Clement XI created precedents on 20 November 1704 (Rosso, 1948).

Following the ruling of the *Holy Office*, the Papal Bull *Cum Deus optimus* confirmed Maigrot’s Rites-discrediting edict—except the point that dealt with the Confucian classics (von Collani, 1994)—and eventually approved the universal condemnation of *Chinese Rites* as well as its superstitious details and handling, such as the display of the *Jing Tian*-tablets on the Jesuit churches (Malatesta, 1994; Standaert, 2012a). For the time being not made public “in the hope that de Tournon could order and obtain implementation of its prescriptions [beyond the existent tangles of ecclesiastical/episcopal jurisdiction in China and amongst the clerics of all rank and order as well as vis-à-vis the Dragon Throne], before its publication could engender new polemics in Rome and in Asia” (Malatesta, 1994, p. 214), the Legate nonetheless

- knew about his general duties in East-Asia and his papal mentor’s expectations the moment he had left Europe on a French vessel on his sensitive mission on 09 February 1703 (Rosso, 1948); and
- was quickly informed about the details with the text being sent post-haste to the Indies upon papal sealing (Lach & van Kley, 1998).

Despite Maigrot’s lobbying at the Holy See for an at least China-wide confirmation of his own Fujian-decree, the different ecclesiastical hierarchies/episcopal jurisdictions in China had largely achieved a viable work relationship in the shadow of the *Edict* and the contradicting papal dispensations (1645 and 1656) that served both parties to defend either position vis-à-vis *Chinese Rites* (Brockey, 2007; Metzler, 1980; Raguin, 1990; von Collani, 1994). In this regard, de Tournon’s arrival in China, his and Maigrot’s behaviour at Court, and the Legate’s positioning vis-à-vis the clerics of all rank and Order in China jolted the fragile peace. His appearance was to “fatally compromise the mission” (Brockey, 2007; p. 165) once de Tournon’s *animus* and orders became known amongst the Europeans and the Chinese (von Collani, 1994, 2014).

The de Tournon Legation (1705-1707)

Coming from India and Manila where the Legate had managed to both “restore the ecclesiastical discipline according to the instructions of the Holy See” (Rosso, 1948, p. 153) and annoy those who sided with the Malabar Rites and the *Padroado*-jurisdiction, de Tournon arrived in Guangzhou on 08 April 1705. There, the Legate developed a great deal of activity (Jenkins, 1894/2005; Witek, 2011; Rosso, 1948; von Collani, 2014) as follows:

- Setting up a headquarter by acquiring a house for *Propaganda*
- Getting a picture of the current status and problems in China by consulting with the most learned missionaries of the different orders
- Censoring/Confiscating Bouvet’s *Tianxue benyi*-本义-an essay exemplifying (religious/ethical) alignment by claiming “that the Chinese, both old and new, had known the true God under the terms [*Tian* and *Shangdi*]” (Witek, 2011, p. 156) as counter-dogmatic and unauthorized (von Collani, 1985)
- Filling vacancies by appointing superiors for vacant Vicariates
- Preparing for his mission to the Dragon Throne by appointing Sichuan’s apostolic Vice-Visitor Luigi Antonio Appiani C.M. (1663-1732) as interpreter
- Seeking permission to go to Beijing to see Kangxi Emperor by sending a petition to Father Thomas—head of the non-French Jesuits—requesting him to present the document to the Dragon Throne

After some skirmish between the *Patres Pekinenses* of the Vice-Province and those of the French Mission, de Tournon’s request was eventually submitted to the Emperor on 17 July 1705 who issued a favourable reply five days later summoning the Legate to the Northern Capital where he arrived in the truest sense of the word as a foreigner on St. Barabara’s day (04.12.1705) (Jenkins, 1894/2005; Rosso, 1948).

On 31 December 1705, de Tournon was received by the Emperor with all pomp befitting a foreign ambassador. Questioned about his mission’s intentions and purpose, the Legate chose to lull Kangxi Emperor.

Doing so, he emphasized the Papal desire to inaugurate “a relationship between the Holy See and the Qing empire [...] [as well as to designate] one of the European priests to serve as the superior for all Catholic missionaries in China” (Brockey, 2007, p. 186). The Emperor—happy to finally be able to establish harmony and collaboration amongst the missionaries and convinced that one of the experienced and trustworthy Jesuit Padres would be appointed Superior to all missionaries in China—showed himself amenable to de Tournon’s ideas (Brockey, 2007; Jenkins, 1894/2005; Rosso, 1948; von Collani, 2014).

However, what started as “a cordial entente at the first [reception]” (Brockey, 2007, p. 186) on the basis of (Witek, 2011) inaugurating diplomatic exchange between the Dragon Throne and the Holy See and by authorizing the to-be-established *Apostolic Nunciature* in Beijing to centralize all missionary activities, finally took a wrong turn the moment Kangxi Emperor insisted on his choice of *personalia* regarding the potential Superior (Brockey, 2007).

While the personnel issue dampened de Tournon’s jurisdictional plans to reduce the Jesuit status and position in China, the issue of *Chinese Rites* ignited the diplomatic disaster that followed the first reception (Jenkins, 1894/2005; Raguin, 1990; von Collani, 2014). Already on 01 January 1706, the Emperor—eager to finally discuss *Chinese Rites*, to ultimately arbitrate the ethical/religious matter that came with their different interpretation both in Europe and amongst the missionaries in China, and willing to reconfirm his *Brevis Relatio*-interpretation of the “secular nature of the Confucian ceremonies [...] and the purely memorial nature of the Chinese ancestor cult” (Brockey, 2007, p. 187)—started to indirectly inquire into de Tournon’s and hence the Pope’s stance on the issue by means of two high-ranking *Guanfu*-officials (Jenkins, 1894/2005; Rosso, 1948). Over the year trying “to avoid the knotty question” (Rosso, 1948, p. 160), de Tournon performed as many *ambages* as possible, but to no avail.

On 29 June 1706, the Legate and Maigrot were finally summoned to *Zijincheng* to attend a second imperial audience (von Collani, 2014). There, they were asked to “defend their opposition to the rites” (Brockey, 2007, p. 187).

Unable to speak proper *guanhua* and incapable of producing passages from *sishuwujing* to support their negative attitude towards *Chinese Rites*, they not only failed to convince Kangxi Emperor (Brockey, 2007), but also made him finally arbitrate the cause by stressing “that it was unbecoming to change any Chinese customs, since they did not appear to be contrary to Christian tenets” (Rosso, 1948, p. 165).

This performance ended Kangxi Emperor’s strive for concord on the Rites-issue. Even worse, it “changed his favourable attitude towards the missionaries and [he eventually] became suspicious about the authorities in Rome” (von Collani, 1994, p. 182). Maigrot’s bad performance during his own meeting with the Emperor on 26 July 1706 at the imperial summer residence in Chengde/Jehol eventually put the Legation over the edge (Jenkins, 1894/2005; Raguin, 1990; Rosso, 1948; von Collani, 2014). After the audience, Kangxi Emperor was finally

- convinced of Maigrot’s “ignorance of language and [his] obstinate views on the rites” (Rosso, 1948, p. 169);
- disappointed of the Legate’s stubbornness and incapability “to find a conciliatory[,harmonious] solution to the controversy” (p. 169); and
- assured that “the [P]ope wanted to alienate his subjects from his rule” (von Collani, 1994, p. 182).

As a result, he ordered de Tournon, his entourage and Maigrot to be sent back to Europe via Macao (Jenkins, 1894/2005; Rosso, 1948; von Collani, 2014).

While the Legate and his suite started their tediously slow 111 days travel down the Imperial Canal to Nanjing on 28 August 1706—hold back, molested, and to a certain extent disgraced (Malatesta, 1994; Rosso, 1948)—Kangxi Emperor took to two measures to finally rule off the issue:

1. Inform the Pope about de Tournon’s insubordination by sending two representatives, i.e. António de Barros (1657-1708) from the Vice-Province and Antoine de Beauvillier (1657-1708) from the French Mission, to Rome in order to separate the apparent misguided from the de facto fair-minded

2. Officially ask all missionaries to adhere to Ricci's *modo soave cinese* as outlined in the *Edict* in order to separate the apparent tares from the de facto wheat (Mt. 13:24-30).

While the first measure dramatically failed with both emissaries dying in shipwreck on the Portuguese coast (Brockey, 2007), the Emperor's second measure further aggravated the situation.

On 17 December 1706, Kangxi Emperor strove for re-establishing *harmony under the heaven* and thus ordered all missionaries to be questioned as to their orthodoxy in order to obtain *piao*-票-license (von Collani, 2014) certifying their

- desire to stay in China for life (Malatesta, 1994);
- willingness to (further) follow Ricci's bridging project as manifested in his *modo soave cinese* (Brockey, 2007; Rosso, 1948; Witek, 2011): and
- preparedness to adhere to Ricci's understanding of *Chinese Rites* (Brockey, 2007; Rosso, 1948; Witek, 2011).

Facing the Emperor's decisiveness "to control [...] [the missionaries] more tightly [...] to catalogue their names and residences" (Spence, 1974, p. 81) and to make them sign a certificate to officially-visibly separate the wheat from the tares, de Tournon eventually summoned up "the full flourish of his powers in order to demand obedience" (Brockey, 2007, p. 188) from all clerics and Chinese converts in the Empire.

To "ensure that the missionaries would reply in a uniform fashion" (Malatesta, 1994, p. 224) to the imperial interview and in a way that would be in line with the decisions taken by the Holy See on the Rites-issue, the Legate turned a deaf ear to the warnings of both the Jesuit Vice-Provincial José Monteiro (1646-1720) and the Vicar Apostolic of Nanjing António da Silva S.J. (1654-1726) to risk the end of the *China Mission* and the lives of its missionaries (Malatesta, 1994).

Convinced of his rightness he finally published his *Regula* on 07 February 1707 as "the first condemnation of the *Chinese Rites* promulgated in the fullness of Rome's authority" (p. 221).

Unfortunately, the mutually exclusive positions represented by the imperial *piao* and de Tournon's *Regula* presented the Jesuits with both a moral and canonical dilemma. Caught between two masters whom they were willing to serve, the Jesuits learned their lesson from the Franciscans' reluctance to abandon their Flock (Brockey, 2007). Further trusting in the notorious ambiguity of papal rulings in general and the ambiguities in the two papal decrees on *Chinese Rites* in particular—to a certain extent doubting the legitimacy of de Tournon's decrees (Malatesta, 1994), and/or expecting the *Padroado*-jurisdiction to declare the Legate's *Regula* null and void—the Jesuits outside Nanjing decided to take *piao* (Brockey, 2007). This serious decision notwithstanding, Padres and Emperor still hoped for bringing round the Pope and to make him re-consider his apostolic position towards *Chinese Rites* (Rosso, 1948). Having learned of de Barros's and de Beauvillier's death, a second mission was sent to Rome on 27 October 1707 (Malatesta, 1994). For this purpose Antonio Francesco Provana (1662-1720), François Noël (1651-1729), José Ramón Arxó (1663-1711), and the Chinese assistant Luigi Fan Shouyi-樊守义 (1682-1753)—later ordained Jesuit priest in 1717 in Turin—were chosen to present Kangxi Emperor's objections to de Tournon's position and the Beijing Fathers' pleas to return to the favourable decrees before the Holy See; to no avail (Brockey, 2007; Mungello, 2001; Rule, 1994, 1995). Having submitted “a *Libellus supplex* [of sixty-nine documents to the Holy See] requesting that the papal Decree of 1656 might be recalled in force” (Rosso, 1948, p. 183) and further vindicated the position during the Holy Office's plenary session on 23/25 February 1709, Provana was informed that

- “a final decision on the rites was already taken and materialized in the Decree of 1704” (p. 183) that considered a) Noël and Kaspar Castner's (1665-1709) extensive lobbying during their stay in Rome to defend the Jesuit position concerning *Chinese Rites* and b) the Fathers' 1703 and 1704 memorials that further “included a large number of texts written by Chinese Christians [of different social strata all around China], which treated in detail various aspects of the rites controversy” (Standaert, 2012a, p. 23); and
- de “Tournon had acted in accord with his orders” (Brockey, 2007, p. 192).

Despite the *Patres Pekingenses*' desperate efforts to bring round the Emperor or at least to deescalate the situation (Letter of Jean-François Gerbillon to de Tournon—22 December 1706 as cited in Malatesta, 1994, pp. 234-239), Thomas's prophecies of doom considering the end of the Chinese Church and "the ruin of the mission" to de Tournon upon learning about the *Regula* (Letter of Antoine Thomas to de Tournon—9 March 1707 as cited in Malatesta, 1994, pp. 240-241), and the outcome of Provana/Arxó's particular procession to the Holy See, the die was cast (Malatesta, 1994)—in both Europe and China.

Already on 12(19) March 1707, de Tournon was finally exiled to Macao (von Collani, 2014). After a humiliating tour further down the Imperial Canals, the Legate arrived in Macao on 30 June 1707 and died there a cardinal in 1710—rewarded by the Pope with the *scarlet galero* already in 1705 and at the same time disgraced by Chinese and *Padroado*-officials for his relentlessness and disastrous role in China (Malatesta, 1994; Rosso, 1948). Having taken away the hedge of the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord* (Is. 5:5-6), the "Legation was a complete failure" (Rosso, 1948, p. 178).

Piao and *Regula* drained the *China Mission* of the majority of its pastors. Having chosen between the Holy See and the Dragon Throne, thirty-one missionaries, the majority of the Dominicans and Augustinians, along with the Vicars Apostolic decided to toe the apostolic party line and to be send into exile to Macao until December 1708 (Brockey, 2007; Menegon, 2009; Rosso, 1948)—"leaving scores of Chinese Christians without priests [and spiritual support]" (Brockey, 2007, p. 165). While some evaded taking *piao* and went into hiding, such as the Dominicans in Fujian and Guangdong (Brockey, 2007; Menegon, 2009), "twenty-nine priests and four coadjutors form the Vice-Province, twenty-three priests and two coadjutors form the French [M]ission, and eighteen Franciscans [took *piao*, waited for what is not seen (Rom. 8:24-25), and] remained in China [and in their Residences—either at Beijing or in the Provinces—diligently ministering to their Flocks] (Brockey, 2007, p. 190). But the favourable news from Rome failed to appear.

In a pontifical act on 25 September 1710, Clement XI rather rejected all appeals against the *Regula*, officially confirmed the condemnation of *Chinese Rites*; ordered a strict compliance with the regulations; and eventually included a form of oath enjoined on all missionaries to follow his papal decisions (Witek, 2011)—stressing that “the mission must be free not only of formal superstition, but from the very suspicion of such a thing” (Cummins, 1978, p. 107). The slow mail traffic between Rome and Beijing prevented authenticated copies of *Cum Deus optimus* and the official confirmation of de Tournon’s *Regula* from reaching both the *Patres Pekinenses* and the Emperor.

However, the imposition of *piao* and the related decrees expelling the de facto unregenerate Fathers who were not willing to comply with the Chinese position already greatly affected the *Chinese Christian Church* (Rosso, 1948), and “severely damaged the reputation [of both *Tianzhu jiao* and the Fathers] (Brockey, 2007, p. 190). After the Jesuits were forced to deliver the message of the imperial decree into the Provinces themselves (Malatesta, 1994), local *Guanfu* were charged with the following (Brockey, 2007; Spence, 1974):

- Conducting a census comparable to those regularly performed to collect data on Buddhist and Daoist clerics
- Registering the Christian missionaries
- Expelling those who did not apply for *piao*
- Closing the churches of recalcitrant/expelled priests

In doing so, local authorities soon received the impression that long-time favour of imperial patrons and protectors, related protection from any form of official scrutiny and harassment, and official validation of both Fathers and *Tianzhu jiao* was about to wane (Brockey, 2007). To hence comply with imperial orders simultaneously anticipating future imperial decisions, some local *Guanfu* not only checked the imperial certificate of those seen/heard preaching *Tianzhu jiao*, but also started to monitor every step of the Fathers in order to keep watch over their activities (Brockey, 2007). Additionally, they took the chance to settle old scores and started to molest the missionaries in spite of their *piao* (Brockey, 2007).

The clouds that had gathered at Court finally cast their shadows over the Empire (Brockey, 2007). While suspicion about *Tianzhu jiao* rose, its expansion was stifled. Being put on par with Buddhism and Daoism, Fathers and Faith were eventually deprived of the

- fruitful ambiguity that had surrounded *Tianzhu jiao* since Valignano's time;
- aura of classiness that came with stressing differences vis-à-vis the Buddho-Daoist admixtures and by discarding *Shenjiao*.

Despite the *Edict* and *piao*, following *Tianzhu zhidao* was no longer a supplementing alternative to the Literati and Elite. Losing their patrons and protectors was hence a nasty shock—even if the *China Mission* was no longer dependent on high-ranking patronage and protection since 1633. Thus, unable to bank on either their “apostolate of influence” (de Saldanha, 2012, p. 157) or to capitalize on their traditional status at Court to safeguard their pastoral work *intra* and *extra muros*, the Fathers had soon to realize that “the forces that had enabled the Vice-Province to expand its numbers of Chinese Christians [both top down and bottom up had] rapidly weakened” (Brockey, 2007, p. 165). Being reduced to an early Valignano/Ricci-period—with *Tianzhu jiao* subordinated “to the Confucian state [orthodoxy and] ideology” (Standaert et al., 2001, p. 520)—the missionaries were forced onto the defensive.

Deprived of any legroom, the Fathers nonetheless tried to go back to normal:

- Staying at their Residences and ministering to their Chinese Christians—mainly to the Commoners and those fervent higher-ranking that did not/no longer care for career and promotion within Qing-administration
- Gathering their spiritual children together (Mt. 23:37)
- “[S]eeking to preserve for as long as possible the mission church it had built” (Brockey, 2007, p. 165)

Despite the disastrous events in faraway Beijing and the excrescence that came with the activities of some overeager *Guanfu*, missionary life went on along the overall pattern of pastoral care and cautious but maintaining growth (Brockey, 2007; Standaert et al., 2001).

Eager “to tighten the bonds of solidarity that held their [F]locks together” (Brockey, 2007, p. 193) and to keep the spiritual fires burning that had been ignited during earlier years and were kept alive by involvement, collaboration, and assistance of emancipated and delegated Chinese coadjutors, *Zouhuizhiren*, lay-catechists, *huizhang*, and members of *hui*-organisation, the Fathers travelled to the rural mission circuits to administer the Sacraments. There they encouraged their Chinese Christians to pass along the Faith within the confines of their houses and families (pastorally) outside in, and continued to supervise the demanding schedules of devotions held in their urban churches. Notwithstanding pastoral diligence, involvement, collaboration, and assistance as well as further emancipation and delegation amongst Chinese Christians, the repercussion of increased official attention hampered the Fathers’ “capacity to attract new converts from areas without established Christian communities” (Brockey, 2007, p. 191) (locally) inside out. Moreover, the glare of official attention accelerated apostasy of those recently converted who lived in remote areas and suffered from rare pastoral attention (Brockey, 2007).

As was the Flock reduced to its hard core as was the corpus of priests. While it would only be a question of time when nature would reduce the aging corpus of missionaries to a skeleton, being unable to market any good news from the *China Mission* to Europe except the conversion of members of Prince Sunu’s-*蘇努* (c.1648-1725) family/household (Brockey, 2007; Rosso, 1948) further aggravated the situation. Stigmatized with papal disapprobation, burdened with the image of disobedience and threatened with possible excommunication, the inflow of new missionaries to refill the ranks of the *milites Christi* had finally run dry (Brockey, 2007). However, new blowbacks and difficulties arose from

- members of outlaws sects that had infiltrated Christian communities in Shandong in 1714 via the baptistery and perverted Christian teachings, religious symbols, and devotional objects for their unchristian purposes, and, upon official detection in 1717-1719 (Mungello, 2001), “further damaged the reputation of Christianity, its preachers, and its adherents” (Brockey, 2007, p. 195); and

- memorials calling for the proscription of the Jesuits' religion and presented to the Dragon Throne by provincial *Guanfu* starting already in 1709, such as Zhang Boxing's-张伯行 (1651-1725) memorial to this issue (Witek, 2011) and becoming more pronounced over the years, such as the 1711 petition compiled by *Yushi* Fan Shaozuo-樊绍祚 calling for a full proscription of *Tianzhu jiao* (Brockey, 2007; Rosso, 1948; Witek, 2011).

A concerted action of local authorities, Christian comrades and converts, the local missionary Girolamo Franchi (1667-1718), and the bishop of Beijing, della Chiesa, nipped the sectarian activities in rural Shandong in the bud. **Table 10** details further activities, which only temporarily silenced pamphleeting.

Silencing pamphleeting—official activities	
>	A formal decree already promulgated on June 24, 1708 reiterating the regulations for taking <i>piao</i> to stop some scattered burgeoning harassments outside Beijing by allowing “those who had not previously applied for a certificate the opportunity to request it” (Rosso, 1948, p. 182) and granting “protection and freedom to those who held stamped certificates” (p. 182)
>	A new set of calligraphies painted by the Emperor himself referring to <i>Tianzhu</i> instead of the controversial <i>Tian</i> to reward the Fathers for their “faithful service to the throne” (Brockey, 2007, p. 195) that became even more diligent in the wake of the de Tournon Legation, and presented to the Jesuits upon the completion of <i>Nantang</i> -南堂- <i>Southern Church</i> at the College of Beijing on May 2, 1711 (Brockey, 2007)
>	The reaffirmation of the <i>Edict</i> for missionaries holding <i>piao</i> in the wake of the Fan-memorial in 1712 (Standaert et al., 2001; Witek, 2011)
>	The Fathers' <u>unselfishness and serviceability</u> to the Dragon Throne not only at <i>Qintianjian</i> but also <i>extra muros</i> in the Provinces where Francisco Cardoso (1677-1723), Kaspar Castner (1665-1709), and Romain Hinderer (1668-1744) were busy travelling the Provinces between 1708 and 1717 to complete <i>Huangyu quanlan fensheng tu</i> -皇舆全览分省图- <i>Complete Imperial Map of the Empire</i> on imperial commission during 1708 and 1717 (Brockey, 2007, Standaert et al., 2001)
>	The work of the Italian coadjutor and artist Giuseppe Castiglione (1688-1766) who arrived at Beijing in 1715 together with the physician and Jesuit lay brother Giovanni da Costa (1679-1747) and blended European sensibility in painting and architecture with Chinese technique and themes to fulfil a particular, artistic cultural merger (Brockey, 2007; Vanderstappen, 1988)

Table 38: Silencing pamphleeting—official activities

Table 10: Silencing pamphleeting—official activities, based on Brockey (2007); Rosso (1948); Standaert et al. (2001); Vanderstappen (1988); Witek (2011), compiled by author

Besides these de facto official activities, the concept of friendship between Kangxi Emperor and the Fathers, at least vis-à-vis those in imperial service, still prevented the Emperor from letting the Jesuits down and/or to settle the Rites-issue once and for all (Spence, 1994). Still convinced that the Pope might reconsider the *Rites Question* in the light of the 1700 imperial comments on the issue, the Provana/Arxó-delegation, and the Jesuits' incessant petitioning to the Holy See, Kangxi Emperor even put away

- Teodorico Pedrini's C.M. (1671-1746) confession on 04 November 1714 that the Papal Bull *Cum Deus optimus* had already officially prohibited *Chinese Rites* in 1704 (Rosso, 1948); and
- the trace of distrust and suspicion vis-à-vis the different clerics who were lobbying and bowing before the Dragon Throne—offering the bitter truth bit by bit (Rosso, 1948).

Even if these events and behaviours did not aggravate the situation, Clement XII's decision to “cut short the tergiversations of the missionaries [...] [and to settle] with the utmost exactness the matter of rites” (Rosso, 1948, p. 191) eventually did. On 19 March 1715, the Pope, convinced that “the freer the field of weeds, the more fruitful the harvest” (Cummins, 1978, p. 107), promulgated the Papal Bull *Ex illa die* (Clemens PP. XI, 1947). Doing so, the apostolic constitution finally

- reiterated Maigrot's views on the Rites issue and strongly rejected the Ricci's *modo soave cinese*;
- forbid *Chinese Rites* “*quia mali, non mali quia prohibiti*” [emphasis added] (Cummins, 1978, p. 107);
- denounced the Ricci'an merger and analogizing of Chinese and Christian traditions/practices, hence, the whole bridging project, the strive for internal and external (religious/ethical) alignment, and the eagerness to (over)emphasize similarities with the Chinese religio-philosophical value-canon, as syncretistic; and
- demanded obedience from the clerics in China clothed in “a strongly worded oath to be taken by all missionaries” (Ross, 1994, p. 196).

The Jesuits' missionary approach desired by St. Francis Xavier, initiated by Alessandro Valignano in Japan, developed and refined under his supervision by Matteo Ricci, defended by Adam Schall von Bell, and kept alive by devout Chinese Christians—top down and bottom up—was over (Ross, 1994).

The news and content of the Papal Bull found its way into the Empire and into the hands of both *Patres Pekinenses* and Emperor on board of an English vessel in late summer 1716 (Rosso, 1948). Angry at the Papal ignorance and arrogance, Kangxi Emperor decided “to expose to Europe the status of religious affairs in China [...] [, mainly] that he would recognize no [papal] document that might arrive before or without the sanction of [the imperial emissaries sent to Rome for this purpose]” (Rosso, 1948, p. 192). To this end, the Emperor compiled *hongpiao*-红票-*Red Manifesto*. The imperial decree was also signed by the missionaries at Court, published on 31 October 1716, distributed to all ships leaving Guangzhou and “to all those traveling overland with the Russian caravan then in Beijing” (Witek, 2011, p. 164) and officially sent to Rome on 14 November 1716 (Rosso, 1948).

The seismic shift in the imperial position towards the Fathers and the decline in the missionaries' prestige and status at Court were quickly communicated amongst the *Guanfu* at Court and in the Provinces. There, the cooling of imperial favour brought foes, competitors, and rivals to the fore. As one of the highest ranking and influential opponents of foreign nuisance Chen Mao-陈昂 (c.1651-c.1719)—*Wuguan* in Guangzhou—was one of the first to take the opportunity and “to accuse [...] [the missionaries] of conspiracy with foreign merchants against the safety of China” (Rosso, 1948, p. 194). Apparently more concerned about economics instead of purity of Faith and Confucian state orthodoxy/orthopraxy, the General memorialized the Dragon Throne to stop the spread of *Tianzhu jiao* and “to re-enact the former restriction against foreign trade” (p. 194). Different from earlier cases and apparently to avoid opposition amongst his Chinese courtiers and *Guanfu* (Witek, 2011), the Emperor finally accepted the official memorial in summer 1717—much to the horror of the *Patres Pekinenses*.

Due to the Padres' de facto clemency pleas, a favourable but nonetheless fabricated petition received from the Guangzhou *Zhifu* in favour of the missionaries, and the slight hope of still receiving a pro-*Chinese Rites* reply from Rome (Witek, 2011), Kangxi Emperor nonetheless "suspended the ban on missions and missionaries for several years" (Rosso, 1948, p. 197). On the contrary, he once again reiterated his earlier permission to preach the Gospel if holding *piao* (Witek, 2011).

Despite the Emperor's protective gesture and the modicum of hope that the Holy See might eventually reconsider its stance in the light of the imperial delegation, the matters were left ambiguous. The overall situation was reaching its standoff. In March 1718, Chen Mao's proposal was repeated by the Governor-General of Guangdong/Guangxi Yang Lin-杨琳 (?-1724). Like before, the memorial was approved but once again its implementation put on hold (Standaert et al., 2001), urging every requesting party to "wait several years for another edict to authorize the prohibition of the Western religion" (Menegon, 2009, p. 110). Despite this standstill, the overall situation was nonetheless aggravated on 03 December 1719 (Rosso, 1948).

During an imperial audience granted to Giovanni Laureati (1666-1727)—new Visitor to China and Japan—Kangxi Emperor found clear words (Rosso, 1948). Avoiding any diplomatic ado and Asian reservation, the Emperor informed the Visitor about his

- expectation to receive a papal answer to the *Brevis Relatio* and word from the imperial delegations (Rosso, 1948);
- decision to exile those missionaries who are not skilled in the arts and working at court "[i]f the Pontiff does not reply" (p. 200); and
- instruction that every missionary was to adhere to the imperial orders and to avoid promoting difficulties (Rosso, 1948).

The aggressive posture notwithstanding, the different hopes and apprehensions found a short-lived alleviation with Clement XII finally deciding to send another Apostolic Legate to China in order to achieve the following:

- Placate an incensed Emperor
- Re-communicate the official position of the Holy See regarding the rejection of *Chinese Rites*
- Free the Holy See from the ongoing lobbying and petitioning in favour and against the Rites-issue
- Settle the Rites Conflict once and for all

To this end, he created the Italian Bishop Carlo Ambrogio Mezzabarba (1685-1741) *Patriarch of Alexandria, Nuncio, Apostolic Visitor in Sinensi Imperio et Indiarum Regnis*, and *legatus a latere* with plenipotentiary powers on 18 September 1719 (Rosso, 1948).

To avoid earlier problems, the Legation was put under Portuguese patronage and announced to the Dragon Throne by means of two emissaries sent to Beijing to present a *Pontifical Breve* to the Emperor, heralding the arrival of a new Apostolic Legate (Rosso, 1948; Witek, 2011). Unfortunately, the outcome of Mezzabarba's mission to the Dragon Throne finally proved the contrary, even if the Holy See was eager to make it right this time, i.e.

- doing all the preparatory work in accordance with European and Chinese sensitivities (Witek, 2011);
- choosing a real diplomat who was old and skilled enough to handle the sensitive issue with tact and diplomatic finesse (Witek, 2011); and
- appointing a person towards whom the Emperor could be more favourably disposed than to de Tournon (Witek, 2011).

The Mezzabarba Legation (1720-1721)

Having arrived in China on 12 October 1720, the Legate started his diplomatic *charm offensive* already prior to meeting the Emperor. While travelling towards Beijing, Mezzabarba was questioned by imperial *Guanfu* about his duties and intentions and was ordered to compile "a summary of the *Pontifical Breve* (Rosso, 1948). In his written job description and apostolic program, the Legate included eight permissions that mitigated certain instructions of the Papal Bull *Ex illa die* (Rosso, 1948).

Considering the Chinese translation of the Mezzabarba-document and keeping the eight relaxations to *Ex illa die* in mind, Kangxi Emperor seemed satisfied (Rosso, 1948). To prove his willingness to further discuss *Chinese Rites* as well as those points on which Ricci might have erred, and to eventually ease the tension between the Holy See and the Dragon Throne, the Emperor granted a first solemn audience to the Legate on 31 December 1720 (Rosso, 1948).

In the course of further seven audiences and two banquets as well as beyond the somehow phony exchange of presents and return-presents however, matters remained complicated. They even further aggravated the moment Mezzabarba was asked to officially inform the Dragon Throne about the content of the Papal Bull *Ex illa die* on 17 January 1721 (Rosso, 1948).

Finally convinced that Christianity no longer deserved imperial toleration as it had rejected Ricci's *modo soave cinese* and was hence unwilling to subordinate itself "to the Confucian state [orthodoxy and] ideology" (Standaert, et al. 2001, p. 520), Kangxi Emperor banned *Tianzhu jiao* in China on 18 January 1721 (Rosso, 1948).

This decision de facto annihilated the *Edict*. However, no action were taken to implement the decree (Rosso, 1948). In the farewell audience on 01 March 1721, Mezzabarba and the Emperor rather came to the agreement to leave the situation *in statu quo* until the Legate would return from Rome with new instructions (Rosso, 1948).

During his stopover in Macao on 04 November 1721, Mezzabarba compiled a pastoral letter to make known to all missionaries the *via media*, such as

- allowing Chinese Christians to keep their *paiwei* if those items portray "relevant Catholic beliefs [...] [and are used] as a reminder of [...] debt to [...] forebears (Witek, 2011, p. 167-168); and
- authorizing "all those Chinese ceremonies concerning the dead that were not superstitious or suspect , but merely civil" (p. 168).

Even if the pastoral letter was to a certain extent infused with the Legate's diplomatic goodwill, Mezzabarba's concessions regarding anything not forbidden by *Ex illa die* left the Fathers perplexed as the modifications not only confirmed already established approaches and understandings, as well as the long-term accepted implementations of the (religious/ethical) alignment as manifested in the bridging project, but also gave room for more interpretation (Ross, 1994).

Back in Rome in 1723, the Legate had to further learn that his *via media* and lukewarm conduct of negotiation had even caused more confusion amongst religious Orders and ecclesiastical dignitaries some of which even denied the validity of Mezzabarba's exceptions (Ross, 1994; Witek, 2011). As a result, *Propaganda* "mounted a campaign against the Society of Jesus" (Ross, 1994, p. 197). To this end, *Propaganda*

- made the new Pope Innocent XIII (1721-1724) accuse "the Jesuit General of not having acted firmly enough to obtain obedience to the instructions from Rome" (pp. 197-198); and
- urged the Pope to not review his predecessor's decisions as was expected by Mezzabarba and to a certain extent promised to the Chinese Emperor but to reconfirm them in writing (Rosso, 1948; Witek, 2011).

The moment news of Kangxi Emperor's death reached Rome in December 1722, the need to write exchange notes and to re-send Mezzabarba to China became obsolete (Rosso, 1948; Witek, 2011); at least from the Vatican side. Instead, Innocent's XIII successor Benedict XIII (1724-1730) followed some over-optimistic news from Pedrini and other missionaries describing the Kangxi-succeeding Yongzheng-雍正 Emperor (1678-1735) as well disposed vis-à-vis Christianity (Witek, 2011) and towards the *China Mission*. Hence, the Pope decided to send a third Legation to the Dragon Throne to eventually put an end to the entire Rites-issue face-to-face (Rosso, 1948).

Despite Mezzabarba's Legation and his fathomed *via media*, the situation was still a standoff in 1722. The Fathers holding *piao* were still and openly ministering to their Chinese Flocks.

However, age had taken its toll as did the change in the overall toleration pattern towards *Tianzhu jiao* and the missionaries that came with the non-implemented by widely-known 1721 ban on Christianity. Instead of pooling their forces to fulfil their pastoral duties vis-à-vis their Chinese Christians and to build up a spiritual stronghold against the broadsides of foes, competitors, and rivals, the men of the Vice-Province and those of the French Mission lost themselves in trench warfare, mutual recrimination, and intrigues. To such an extent unable to convince Kangxi Emperor of their ability and willingness to keep harmony and cut off from “substantial influx of recruits to carry on [...] [the Fathers’] work at [C]ourt and in the [P]rovinces, the [...] [*China Mission*] had little prospect of enduring” (Brockey, 2007, p. 198).

Imperial toleration and patience, as well as patronage and protection that was long-time energized out of guanxi-relationship, respect, and friendship to the Jesuits in the succession of Ricci, Schall, Aleni, Verbiest, Pereira, and Gerbillon as well as those famous Chinese converts, such as Xu Guangqi, became cold (Ross, 1994) as was *Tianzi* finally confronted with

- “intense factional in-fighting among the missionaries” (Mungello, 1994a, p. 175);
- Rome’s ignorance vis-à-vis *Chinese Rites* (Mungello, 1994a); and
- a rising suspicion amongst courtiers and provincial *Guanfu* towards “subversive organizations with religious underpinnings” (p. 174) in general and towards “Christianity as a subversive organization [apparently] controlled from abroad” (p. 175) in particular.

The “apostolate of influence” (de Saldanha, 2012, p. 157) so long cultivated and implemented to mutual benefit in the shadow of the Dragon Throne finally lost its radiance and protective character. The moment Kangxi Emperor breathed his last on 20 December 1722, “the Jesuits paid the price for having made the throne their source of protection (Brockey, 2007, p. 165).

Toughened by an ongoing struggle for imperial succession and thus eager to prove his legitimacy or at least his worthiness and capability (Rosso, 1948), Yongzheng-雍正 Emperor (1678-1735) soon

- developed an agenda of general reform and a civilizing mission that comprised not only “government procedures and economic policies but also [...] popular customs and morals (Menegon, 2009, p. 119) to make all Chinese “loyal imperial subjects” (p. 119) by means of *jiaoyang*-教养-Confucian process of teaching and cultivating the people;
- “adopted a policy that led to tightening control over the officials, clear affirmation of his cultural orthodoxy, and severe repression of princes and their supporters who opposed his rise to power” (Witek, 2011, p. 169); and
- took measures to ward off any internal and external disturbance to this aim, ambitious schemes, and Buddhism (Rosso, 1948; Witek, 2011).

While imperial policy first off all affected the Fathers’ facilitators and catalysts, such as the Christian converts of the Sunu-clan who were exiled in July 1724 along with the non-converted family head (Standaert et al., 2001) and their *Guanfu*-supporters—depriving the *China Mission* from its noble patrons and protectors—, the imperial measure moved single Fathers, such the Chaplain of the Sunu-clan João Mourão (1681-1726) who was eventually instrumentalized by Yongzheng Emperor as a deterrent example and a warning to the missionaries to stick to their last, i.e. to solely “carry on their ministry and Court duties [...], but not to meddle in politics” (Rosso, 1948, p. 214), finally tortured, suffocated, and burned on 18 August 1726, the missionaries in general and *Tianzhu jiao* as such into the cross wires of official attention.

Having never “considered Christianity in a favorable light” (Witek, 2011, p. 169) and Christians loyal imperial subjects (Menegon, 2009), Yongzheng Emperor created precedents on 12 January 1724. Based on a fabricated memorial handed in by Man Bao-满保 (1673-1725)—Governor-General of Zhejiang and Fujian—on the Emperor’s request that called for the proscription of Christianity and the expulsion of the missionaries except those in imperial service at Court (Menegon, 2009; Rosso, 1948), all missionaries were forced to leave China.

Additionally, “*Tianzhu jiao* was included among the ‘perverse sects and sinister doctrines’” (Brockey, 2007, p. 199) that “had seduced people and [hence,] was useless” (Witek, 2011, p. 169) and harmful to Confucian orthodoxy, *wulun*, and the Chinese people (Menegon, 2009).

The *Patres Pekinenses*’ petition of mercy could change expulsion to exile in Guangzhou. However, the rest of the imperial “Decree of Suppression” (Standaert, 1991a, p. 9) was carried out rigorously (Rosso, 1948). Following the suggestions of the newly appointed anti-Christian *Daxueshi* Zhang Penghe-张鹏翮 (1649-1725)—outlined in three successive memorials to the Dragon Throne (Menegon, 2009)—the Fathers at Court were reduced to the role of foreign experts who “retained their positions [...] as artists and technical specialists [further] [...] enjoying imperial favor for their skills, if not their religion [as a reward for their unselfishness and serviceability]” (Brockey, 2007, p. 200).

The provincial missionaries however, were either quickly deported—despite a promised short delay of six months to carry out the move (Witek, 2011)—or immediately went into hiding (Mungello, 1994b). The visible manifestations of *Tianzhu jiao*, its churches, and the Jesuits’ Residences were confiscated and turned into public places or offered to non-Christian villagers for their use. Additionally, lists of converts were compiled, Chinese Christians coerced into apostatizing, and “local ‘Christian virgins’ [into marriage]” (Menegon, 2009, p. 117). Finally, the spiritual components of Christianity were classified as foreign and qualified as *xie* “in a religious, ritual, social, and political sense” (Standaert, 2008b, p. 174). Into this purge and clean-up, Benedict XIII decided to send a third Legation to the Dragon Throne (Rosso, 1948) to congratulate the new Emperor on his ascent to the throne and to put Yongzheng Emperor in a conciliatory mood vis-à-vis the *China Mission*, the missionaries, and the two preceding Legations.

The Plaskowitz Legation (1724-1725)

Headed by Gotthard Plaskowitz of St. Mary O.C.D and Ildefonso of the Nativity O.C.D. and completed by three Franciscans the group left Rome in October 1724 and arrived in Beijing after troublesome travelling on 22 October 1725.

Even if the Beijing Court and the Emperor doubted the Fathers' status as Legates, Plaskowitz and his confreres were received at Court and granted an imperial audience on 18 November 1725.

During the reception, the Emperor re-affirmed his position vis-à-vis the Catholic Faith and the *China Mission* (Rosso, 1948). Without having achieved anything, the Legates left China on 28 November 1725 while Yongzheng "Emperor succeeded in maintaining tolerable relations with the West and at the same time in pursuing unmolested his anti-Christian policy" (Rosso, 1948, p. 219).

The rigour of imperial crackdown however harmful regarding the missionaries did not hit the Jesuits' Chinese Christians (Brockey, 2007). The purge that was to smite the shepherd did neither scatter the sheep nor cut them off (Zech. 13: 7-8). In fact, clandestine missionary work was still possible out of official eyeshot (Menegon, 2009). While the European Fathers who eluded expulsion, such as João Duarte (1671-1752), or slipped back from Guangzhou into the bordering Provinces, were largely dependent on protection, bribery, and sheer luck to not be discovered, denounced, and exiled, the Chinese Jesuits, such as Francisco Xavier Rosario Ho, Luigi Fan Shouyi, and Tomé da Cruz (1666-1745), who followed in the footsteps of Gregorio López-Luo Wenzao, had the least difficulties to visit the Christian communities scattered around the Empire and to minister to their Flocks (Brockey, 2007; Menegon, 2009).

Despite the difficulties and the fact that every news about persecution and exiled Padres not only encouraged apostasy amongst Chinese Christians, but also kept possible neophytes from seeking transition, the clockwork missionary was still intact and for most of the time/in most of the Christian communities working unharmed (Menegon, 2009). In fact, "local people were quite willing to stick to their Christian teachings [and the frozen moment] in the face of imperial prohibitions" (p. 124).

Travelling the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord*, the itinerant Fathers were able to profit from "Christianity as a family tradition" (Brockey, 2007, p. 202) that "had become rather deeply integrated within local society" (Menegon, 2009, p. 125).

They learned to further appreciate the value of “strong kinship bonds” (Brockey, 2007, p. 202) as a means to pass and preserve the Faith within the family (pastorally) outside in, as well as to assure co-optation and cohesion without continuous pastoral care.

Additionally, most of the established communities *extra muros* were able to succeed in self-preservation (religiously/intellectually) inside out during times of crises and disunity (Menegon, 2009) due to the communal nature of the spiritual activities (Brockey, 2007) that

- revolved around the prayer routines of rural parishes;
- rooted in *hui*-organization; and
- were supervised by emancipated and delegated *huizhang*.

Despite *Tianzhu jiao*'s deep roots and first traces of resistance to the imperial policies—beginning in Fu'an already in 1723 amongst some Christian Literati (Menegon, 2009)—, conversions had become scarce commodities. The vineyard in the very fruitful hill (Is. 5:1) eventually became infertile. Eager to at least preserve the *China Mission*'s religious status quo, the Fathers' were not able to stop the downward trend. Forced into invisibility vis-à-vis Chinese authority the Padres' *commerce of conversion* was finally deprived of its most important currency. Being unable to bank on their high social visibility in order to

- display their high degree of internal and external adaptation and congruity;
- assure comrades and (possible) converts as well as foes, competitors, and rivals of their social legitimacy that rooted in an elaborated network of political *guanxi*-relationships and the intercession of high and highest-ranking patrons and protectors; and
- safeguard sustained validation, patronage, and protection from the Dragon Throne to guarantee their “apostolate of influence” (de Saldanha, 2012, p. 157),

missionaries and *Tianzhu jiao* were both relegated to the ranks of *xiejiao* and eventually pushed into the shadows.

Limited to prove their unselfishness and serviceability, and apart from that, invisible, clandestine, and dubious, the Jesuits' missionary enterprise "had ceased to exist" (Brockey, 2007, p. 203).

Other than hoped, Qianlong-乾隆 (1711-1799) Emperor's accession to the Dragon Throne on 18 October 1735 brought no change for the better or did at least alter imperial policy and stance (Witek, 2011). Similar to his predecessor "the [E]mperor retained the missionaries in the capital, even allowing replacements to come, but continued to ban them from the provinces" (Witek, 2011, p. 172). The death knell to the *China Mission* was finally sounded in Rome with missionaries and Chinese Flocks being busy reorganizing their communitarian life in the face of a changing level of imperial control, such as

- Chinese Christians now congregating in smaller groups in the houses of *huizhang* or family members; and
- European Fathers living in secret chambers or underground pits travelling "after sunset to visit families and administer the sacraments [...] [or conducting] communal rituals mostly at night" (Menegon, 2009, p. 128).

In 1739, *Propaganda* had taken up the Rites-issue for the last time (Rosso, 1948). As a result, ecclesiastical deliberations fed into the Papal Bull *Ex Quo Singulari* (Rosso, 1948). In his apostolic constitution promulgated on 11 July 1742, Pope Benedict XIV (1675-1758) finally condemned *Chinese Rites* in unmistakable terms (Benedictus PP. XIV, 1947a) as follows:

- Acknowledging Pope Clement XI's 1704 decree
- Confirming Maigrot's 1710 edict
- Reiterating the 1715 Papal Bull *Ex illa die*
- Recalling Mezzabarba's *via media*
- Demanding an oath of obedience of all missionaries in China
- Forbidding to discuss the *Chinese Rites*-issue again

Caught between Chinese Emperor and Pope, the song of the *Chinese vineyard of the Lord* so fervently intoned and successfully sung by at least three generations of missionaries finally fell silent. Until 08 December 1939, the once so fruitful *Chinese vineyard of the Lord* was condemned to lay waste, was neither pruned nor dugged but briars and thorns would come up and the clouds would not rain upon it (Is. 5:6).

On the *Feast of the Immaculate Conception* however, convinced that *Chinese Rites* had been secularized over the two centuries since the promulgation of *Ex quo singulari* and the re-confirming Papal Bull *Omnium sollicitudinum* (Benedictus PP. XIV, 1947b) published on 12 September 1744 prohibiting the *Chinese Rites* and forcing the missionaries to observe the prohibition by oath (Marcocchi, 1997; Raguin, 1990), Pope Pius XII (1876-1958) promulgated *Plane compertum est* (Law, 2009; Raguin, 1990; Ticozzi, 2009). In his papal instruction, the Pope

- ordered relaxation of certain aspects of Clement XI's and Benedict XIV's decrees;
- clarified that ceremonies in honour of Confucius are secular—permitting Chinese Catholics and missionaries to carry out the rites to Confucius and ancestors; and
- declared dispensable the oath of obedience mandated by *Ex quo singulari*;
- but still prohibited the use of such names as *Tian/Shangdi* for God solely allowing *Tianzhu* to denote God as the highest pure spirit revealed by Jesus Christ.

From this basis on, the time of *the entire* Jesuits' Accommodation experience can be understood.

Appendix XI: *invariant constituent(s)*—specific course(s) of action

LANGUAGE

Concentration

During the *concentration phase*, i.e. planning, preparation, and dealing with preliminaries both at the foreign headquarters and in China as well as pursuing first steps to enable change on Chinese ground, *LANGUAGE* is primarily person|context- and approach|course-oriented with first impacts on ideas|content.

To charter the *LANGUAGE*-course in good time requires willingly submitting oneself to a comprehensive *ratio studiorum sinensis* that not only focuses on comprehending *wenhua*, but first and foremost deals with learning Mandarin instead of *fangyan*. Resulting from this ongoing learning experience that is to start already prior to embarking on the change mission and should by all means be carried on while being active on Chinese ground, cultural-linguistically interacting with virtually every Chinese throughout China becomes possible. Thus, freed from misleading, at least smoothing impacts of relying on interpreters to market medium and message as well as to sense prevailing linguistic idiosyncrasies within the organizational setting first-hand, enables the (foreign) person|change-agent to reach every Chinese counterpart and decision-maker at every hierarchical level in every part of the organization without reservation and on eye level.

To such an extent linguistically integrated into the organizational setting allows the (foreign) person|change-agent to win respect, esteem, and confidence of the Chinese counterparts. Forging lasting *guanxi*-relationships with the decision-makers *zishangerxia* becomes possible. Gradually becoming more and more fluent in spoken and in written *Putonghua* hence creates an atmosphere receptive to the non-Chinese representatives of the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and their (alien) approaches|international best-practices. It eventually facilitates any change mission-related preparatory work and any change-process-related initial activities.

Allowing for an enduring, far-reaching, comprehensive strategic commitment to a mode of talking further creates a significantly differentiating, competitive advantage-provoking effect on the outcome of the change mission in general and the change-process in particular. Thus, linguistically playing down one's foreign, non-Chinese background at the right time finally allows enabling, implementing, and guiding change from within. Serving as a means to affiliation and establishing sameness mastering *LANGAGUE* becomes a positive differentiator and an appropriate(d) means to an end.

The unprepossessed willingness to acknowledge Chinese linguistic parameters as overriding and a related, ongoing yet deepening self-indoctrination assures comprehensive integration and a status-appropriate(d) social intercourse with the Chinese counterparts and decision-makers *zishangerxia*. However, doing so is only one step towards enabling, implementing, and guiding change from within.

Introducing (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts *in situ sinensis* and launching (alien) approaches|international best-practices within the organizational setting by using *Putonghua* requires further alignment with the Chinese linguistic sense-making that immediately feeds into Chinese philosophical world, related intellectual approach(es), and organizational yet idiosyncratic wording. To therefore match foreign terms and related intrinsic meanings with *wenming*, requires pragmatic appropriation of existing terms and/or the creation of cross-fertilizing neologisms. Both avenues—although necessary and without alternative with regard to enabling, implementing, and guiding the entire change-process—carry the danger of (a latent, often uncleared) misunderstanding. As a result, availing oneself of/operating *aequivocal* and/or *anavocal*, as well as newly created Chinese words to both integrate (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts into the Chinese organizational *lexis* and launch (alien) approaches|international best-practices within the organizational setting requires constant refinement and an active listening to Chinese counterparts and decision-makers. In so following Chinese suggestions strengthens and validates one's linguistic choices.

The particular act of *Zhengming* to immediately deal with latent misunderstandings when operating *aequivocal*, *anavocal*, or newly created Chinese terms thus helps to counter ambiguity and fragility with regard to both the change mission in general and the change-process in particular.

Capitalizing on written documents|elaborations in Chinese organizational setting as a communication medium and so mastering their extensive use to appropriately communicate (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, market (alien) approaches|international best-practices, and to reconcile both throughout the organization *zishangerxia* further strengthens the change mission's and change-process's acceptance and value. It is in this regard that obeying the China-appropriate(d) way of communicating insights and ideas not only appeals to Chinese bibliophily, but also creates receptiveness and fosters trueness with regard to the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts. Availing of this particular *LANGUAGE*-facet aligns the (unfamiliar) approaches|international best-practices and their representing (foreign) person|change-agent with the Chinese organizational setting. In so being threefoldly validated, using *LANGUAGE* as a China-appropriate(d) means to an end adapts medium to the message and v.v. It also ingrains change mission and change-process in Chinese organizational ground. Doing so positions both as de facto being *zhengtong*.

Conduct

During the *conduct phase*, i.e. implementing and guiding change on Chinese ground, *LANGUAGE* is still person|context-oriented with further formative impacts on ideas|content and differentiating implications on approach|course.

Accordance with *wenming* had led to a desired yet necessary acceptance of medium and message within the Chinese organizational setting. Having established an atmosphere receptive to the new change-process by way of availing oneself of *LANGUAGE*, its (in)direct linguistic manifestations, and its willingly accepted|acceptable communication medium further increased the reputation of the (foreign) person|change-agent, the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices.

With the change-process progressing, using appropriate(d) *LANGUAGE* to reach Chinese counterparts and decision-makers *zishangerxia* as well as to integrate change mission and change-process into the Chinese organizational setting and its linguistic DNA strengthens interaction on eye level. As a result, marketing foreign-acquired, Chinese-valued, and mutually serviceable (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices gradually becomes a matter of course.

Diligently clearing remaining linguistic ambiguities and constantly validating meanings with the Chinese counterparts and decision-makers provides further support to all activities that centre enabling, implementing, and guiding change from within the organizational setting. Having started the change-process, involving Chinese counterparts and decision-makers in its tactical realization and so carrying forward the respective change-related activities as a *perpetuum mobile* becomes necessary.

Willingly compiling and circulating written documents|elaborations that summarize the constitutive facts of (how to, where to, and what to do) enabling, implementing, and guiding change, and so communicating (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices throughout the organization in a China-appropriate(d) form, turns the constituents of change mission and change-process into

- identifiable, established, accepted|acetable features on the organization landscape; and
- adoptable, organizational alternatives, and easy to spread/share ideas.

As a result, enabling, implementing, and guiding change within the organizational setting—with or without the (foreign) person's|change-agent's direct interaction but always on Chinese account and ground—is possible. In so being able to turn to the different groups within the Chinese organization and to answer to their different needs, finally establishes the potency of the (foreign) persons|change-agents, the attractiveness of their (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the adaptability of their (alien) approaches|international best-practices.

Having thus conferred the possibility to carry into execution the tactical implementation of the change-process on Chinese counterparts and using the written documents|elaborations as a modular concept(ion) to do so, eventually strengthens Chinese change-process-related autonomy. It closely integrates the entire change mission within the Chinese organizational setting. As a consequence, change mission and change-process are chartered, linguistically customized, and organizationally targeted.

Consolidation

During the *consolidation phase*, i.e. merging and pruning, streamlining and aligning, safeguarding and adjusting, transferring and conveying change-related gains and accomplishments, *LANGUAGE* is primarily ideas|content-oriented with redounding impacts upon person|context and approach|course.

Fully integrated within the Chinese organizational setting and toughened in position and value by mastery of *Putonghua* vis-à-vis other (foreign) persons|change-agents entering China, the now-*Sinicized* personschange-agent is able to plant, grow, and customize (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices to/within the Chinese organizational given.

Backed by an appropriate|d, constantly refined *LANGUAGE* and supported by circulating change-process detailing writings|elaborations that develop into tactical handbooks, hitherto (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices acquire the status of a powerful organizational alternative for a growing number of Chinese counterparts and decision-makers of all ranks. Enabling, implementing, and guiding change becomes more and more accepted and linguistically natural. The *wenming*-appropriate|d change-process has finally taken deep root in the Chinese organizational setting. In so being validated by hierarchical consent, backed by *lexis*, and carried forward from one Chinese organizational unit to another, the linguistically *Sinicized* change-process experiences expansion and success.

Despite the *LANGUAGE*-inherent pre-setting/specification, change-related activities are prone to acquiring a linguistic life and content of their own. Constant counter-actions are necessary to merge and prune, streamline and align, safeguard and re-adjust earlier defined, essentially Chinese agreed as well as long-term adjusted wording. While corrective actions with regard to *LANGUAGE* and *lexis* are easy to be achieved, external impacts are expected to challenge the change-process and the change mission.

As the now-*Sinicized*, widely accepted change mission matures, it gradually runs the risk of becoming increasingly disputed both from outside China and by new (foreign) persons|change-agents entering the organization. It is hence vital, to take further steps to comprehensively anchor the change mission and its related gains within the Chinese organizational setting. It is in this regard that the *LANGUAGE*-appropriate|d change-process, its now-*Sinicized* (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices as well as the means to hand down change-related insights along the axis of hierarchy and time by way of tactical handbooks become an antidote to

- any change mission-threatening shifts in extra-organizational power-structure; and
- impacts of (c)overt broadsides and hostilities towards the established (foreign yet *Sinicized*) person|accepted change-agents.

To thus keep and carry forward change-related gains, accomplishments, and entire processes within the Chinese organizational setting, relying on *LANGUAGE* and availing of both its (in)direct linguistic manifestations, and its accepted|acceptable communication medium is an unquestioned necessity and a matter of course amongst the Chinese decision-makers and counterparts and the now-*Sinicized* (foreign) persons|change-agents. Doing so keeps the change-process's lasting fragility controllable.

USEFULNESS

Concentration

During the *concentration phase*, i.e. planning, preparation, and dealing with pioneering/smoothing both Chinese-expected preliminaries and preliminary Chinese expectations, as well as pursuing first steps to enable change on Chinese ground, *USEFULNESS* is primarily approach/course-oriented with a reciprocal impact on ideas/content and a role-assuming implication on person/context.

From the outset of the change mission willingly mobilizing an apparently unfocused business- and organization-related *USEFULNESS* opens Chinese organizational doors and minds to the (foreign) person/change-agent. Without bias establishing a fruitful exchange upon/on a wide range of Chinese-desired, practical competences and information on eye level hence allows Chinese decision-makers *zishangerxia* and Chinese counterparts *zixiaershang* to profit from the (foreign) person's/change agent's comprehensive knowledge not exclusively related to international business and organization administration and—at least in the beginning of the change mission—not limited to sharing change-processes'-related skills and expertises only. It is in this context that actively yielding to Chinese requirements to share *shiyongxue* without particular reserve paves the way for the (unfamiliar) ideas/concepts and the (alien) approaches/international best-practices.

In so complying with both the Chinese cultural and organizational imperative comprehensibly externalizes the (foreign) person's/change-agent's growing sense of belonging to the Chinese organization as such. Doing so wins respect, esteem, and confidence of Chinese decision-makers and Chinese counterparts. It is in this *shiyongxue*-sharing regard that the (foreign) person's/change-agent's social visibility, status, and position vis-à-vis the Chinese decision-makers and Chinese counterparts increases.

Gradually ceasing to be stranger to both the Chinese organization and (future) Chinese project collaborators by means of sharing (foreign) talents hitherto unknown to the Chinese organization and/or not primarily linked to those change-related activities expected/required to be implemented within the Chinese organizational setting prepares the way to forge and foster necessary yet lasting, change mission-enabling *guanxi*-relationships on eye level. Marketing *shiyongxue* within the Chinese organization, through a widening circle of sympathetic contacts, and along strengthened *guanxi*-relationships in a civilized, appropriate|d Chinese way wins for the change mission, the change-process, its related activities, and the foreign representatives an accepted|acceptable place in Chinese organizational life. In such a way establishing, personalizing, and advancing the change mission from within nonetheless necessitates allotting sufficient yet proportionate lead-time to pique and assuage the comprehensive, apparently un-focused (Western) business- and organization-related curiosity of Chinese decision-makers and Chinese counterparts without too much restraint. In the same breath openly stressing Sino-Western congruity and complementarity and so chancing (Western) *shiyongxue*'s transdisciplinarity and crossing boundaries achieves a change-enabling, -implementing, and -guiding win-win situation. It allows the (foreign) person|change-agent, (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and (alien) approaches|international best-practices to gain stable yet Chinese ground as well as to further grow in both acceptance and importance from within the Chinese organizational setting.

Following from this particular tacit, nonetheless Chinese expected/tolerated change-enabling, -implementing and -guiding *do ut des USEFULNESS* assumes a dual capacity. Marketing *shiyongxue* to Chinese decision-makers *zishangerxia* and to Chinese counterparts *zixiaershang* serves as a tangible yet change-agent-dependent evidence of trustworthiness, harmlessness, and serviceability. It simultaneously develops into a change-process-related catalyst, means of conveyance, and particular contrast medium with regard to planting the to-be-shared (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and the to-be-introduced (alien) approaches|international best-practices into the Chinese organizational setting.

It is in this context that following the particular change-enabling detour of sharing and spreading *shiyongxue* in the apparently Chinese-expected yet seemingly unfocused way fulfils the spadework of (re-)actively modelling an accepted, effective, self-coherent, and mutually beneficial change-process. Sharing and spreading *shiyongxue* amongst a diversified Chinese organizational audience, being taken advantage of Chinese decision-makers and counterparts while simultaneously taking advantage of them prepares the common ground/starting point to enable, implement, and guide change from within. The development and application of a change-enabling, -implementing, and -guiding *modus procedendi sinensis* is finally possible.

As a positive side effect, pragmatically establishing a fruitful exchange upon the appealing, appropriate(d) *shiyongxue* while aligning *shiyongxue* to the ulterior motive of the change-process and its representing (foreign) person|change-agent creates differentiating competitive advantage with regard to other foreign consultants. However, it is a time consuming affair to assure that the reputation of the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices follows the reputation of the (foreign) person|change-agent. Being no loss of time, the unspecific practice of marketing *shiyongxue* amongst/to Chinese decision-makers and Chinese counterparts has to nonetheless have an end point. Necessary preparatory work has to finally pay.

Conduct

During the *conduct phase*, i.e. implementing and guiding change on Chinese ground, *USEFULNESS* is diversifyingly approaches|course-oriented with a further customizing effect on ideas|content and a role-distinguishing impact on person|context.

Finally well-integrated within the organizational setting, appropriately networked amongst Chinese decision-makers, and perceived by Chinese counterparts of all ranks to living up to the Chinese value-canon and organizational imperative, applying/sharing *shiyongxue* is at least to be targeted towards implementing, and guiding the change-process per se.

Spreading *shiyongxue* at random to de facto upgrade the (foreign) person's|change-agent's status and reputation and in her|his lee the (trueness, harmlessness, and acceptability of the) entire change mission, has to give way to a customized, addressee-appropriate(d) twin-approach of reciprocally exchanging *shiyongxue* teleologically focussed towards sharing (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and (alien) approaches|international best-practices within the Chinese organizational setting. It is in this context that a *shiyongxue*-inherent appealing unselfishness and serviceability, as well as an apparently boundless transdisciplinarity and readiness to crossing boundaries gives way to a more focused, target- and addressee-oriented process of applying *shiyongxue* to either take in Chinese decision-makers *zishangerxia* or win Chinese counterparts and project owners *zixiaershang*.

To such an extent clearly distinguished in aim, approach, and addressee, sharing *shiyongxue* differentiates itself either in establishing a receptive atmosphere concerning the change mission amongst Chinese decision-makers and along the *guanxi*-relationships or in providing a means to win Chinese counterparts and project owners for the change-process as such. In so offering goal-oriented talents, competences, and information to all stake-holders in an either *passivo*-strategic or *activo*-tactical way anchors (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and (alien) approaches|international best-practices within the Chinese organizational setting. It actuates and drives forward the entire change-process on different levels.

To such an extent customized and instrumentalized, relying on the simultaneously catalysing-validating and joining-affiliating character of *shiyongxue* develops the twin-approach into the complete, comprehensive, complex, and customizable means to implement and guide the now-*Sinicized* change-process from within. However, preparing/securing the change-process and implementing/guiding its multiple activities assumes a growing complexity and a life of its own. Constantly managing breadth and depth of the expanding store of knowledge and requirements necessitates counteractions to consolidate the change-process as such.

Consolidation

During the *consolidation phase*, i.e. standardizing, merging and pruning, streamlining and aligning, safeguarding and adjusting, transferring and conveying change-related gains and accomplishments, *USEFULNESS* is back-cuttingly approaches|course- and ideas|content-oriented with a devolving implication and a stabilizing impact on person|context.

Applying *USEFULNESS* in the tried-and tested, Chinese-appropriate(d) twin-fashion had finally anchored the now-*Sinicized* person|change-agent, her|his now-*Sinicized* (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and the now-*Sinicized* (alien) approaches|international best-practices within the Chinese organizational setting.

However, confronted with outgrows and a growing complexity with regard to breadth, depth, and distribution of *shiyongxue* within the Chinese organization and aware of a possible lack of understanding as to availing *shiyongxue* in the Chinese-appropriate(d) twin-fashion to implement and guide change from within—(mostly) prevailing at the change-agent's headquarters—necessitates to safeguard and adjust, transfer and convey change-related gains and accomplishments in a likewise Chinese-appropriate|d permanent/lasting way. This requires sharing *shiyongxue* in general and change-related information in particular by means of comprehensive documents|elaborations. Doing so anchors both the now-*Sinicized* (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and the now-*Sinicized* (alien) approaches|international best-practices within the Chinese organizational setting and amongst the multiple Chinese addressees in a standardized yet transferable fashion. It finally couples the change-process and its related insights with the Chinese organizational setting and uncouples the change mission from any change-agent's direct intervention and/or any limiting external interference.

Thus, relying on the joining and affiliating character of *shiyongxue* as the *activo-tactical* means to enable, implement, and guide change at Chinese counterparts' level allows the change-process to be carried forth on Chinese account even long after the change-agent has left the Chinese organizational setting.

AUDIENCE

Concentration

During the *concentration phase*, i.e. planning and preparation of the change mission, identifying, understanding, anticipating prevailing, idiosyncratic change-related both functional and emotional motives, motivators, and benefits-sought, segmentation of stakeholders, initial targeting and primary positioning, *AUDIENCE* is primarily persons|context-oriented with a high-involvement-centring impact on approaches|course and a role-assuming implication on ideas|content.

From the beginning of the change mission trying to evidence an unprejudiced disposition and a lasting readiness to finally establish a system, connectivity, and/or relatedness at any level of the *socio*-organizational ladder is an absolute (pre-)condition to fully integrate the (foreign) person|change-agent, the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices into any Chinese (organizational) setting.

Consistently animating *guanxi*-relationship—prior to entering China and while being active on Chinese ground/within the Chinese organization—therefore, opens Chinese organizational doors and minds to the change mission and its foreign representatives. Doing so eventually establishes a change-enabling, -implementing, and -guiding common ground with the diverse organizational *AUDIENCES*.

The ultimate goal notwithstanding, anchoring the (foreign) person|change-agent—only in her|his lee the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices—within Chinese organizational setting requires marketing the change mission, the change-process, its comprehensive activities, as well as the foreign representatives towards Chinese decision-makers first. Orienting the change-enabling value exchange towards the managerial *AUDIENCE* only is hence the first responsibility of the (foreign) person|change-agent.

It is in this regard that her|his patience, staying power, farsightedness, and acquiescence, strive towards keeping a low profile, adherence to *wenhua* and *wenming*, and the application of all kinds of (Western) *shiyongxue*—at least in the beginning of the change mission not limited to change-processes'-related skills and expertises only—prepares the respective, change mission-related marketing approach. This convinces Chinese decision-makers of the (foreign) person's|change-agent's harmlessness, serviceability, virtue, and righteousness. It finally wins respect, esteem, and confidence of the managerial *AUDIENCE* while forging growing, lasting, change mission-enabling *guanxi*-relationships on eye level. As a result, (pro-)actively identifying and understanding those functional and emotional motives, motivators, and benefits-sought that in the broadest sense prevail amongst Chinese decision-makers with regard to both the (foreign) person|change-agent and the to-be-*Sinicized* change mission eventually allows for (a premature) segmentation, explicit targeting, and evident positioning.

Willingly anticipating managerial *AUDIENCE*'s functional and emotional motives, motivators, and benefits-sought with regard to the change mission, and readily satisfying these requirements in a high-involving fashion integrates the (foreign) person|change-agent into the managerial network. This paves the way for the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices into the heads and hearts of the Chinese decision-makers.

It is by this means only that the (change) medium introduces the (change) message in a multi-faceted yet targeted, indirect *AUDIENCE*-appropriate(d) way into the network of Chinese decision-makers *zishangerxia* and—as a result—into the Chinese organizational setting as such.

Attuning the (foreign) person|change-agent, the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices to the managerial *AUDIENCE*'s expectations first creates a strategic commitment as to enabling, implementing, and guiding change within Chinese organizational setting.

Thus, marketing the change mission and its representatives in all its facets to Chinese decision-makers *zishangerxia*, by applying a high-involvement approach, from within a growing *guanxi*-relationship, and along a widening circle of sympathetic contacts finally fixes the practicality of the to-be-introduced change-process in a managerial *AUDIENCE*-appropriate(d) way. This (pre-)validates the building blocks of all change-related activities. It shapes the steps towards winning the entire Chinese organization for the change mission as such. As a result, the change-process and its related activities—both stimulated and validated by Chinese decision-makers—are finally ready to be officially marketed to, as well as implemented and guided by Chinese counterparts on a long-term basis. Capitalizing on the *modus operandi* fathomed to market the (foreign) person|change-agent, the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices to Chinese decision-makers finally allows to establish a lasting stable, sustainable, and self-supporting *guanxi*- as well as change-process-facilitating relationship with the Chinese counterparts. As a consequence, the Chinese-decision makers-focused and formed, unobtrusive, time-consuming high-involvement approach finally provides a basis for convincing, involving, and eventually authorizing the working-level *AUDIENCE zishangerxia* in order to implement the change mission *zixiaershang*.

The ultimate goal notwithstanding, establishing a cascading approach to spread (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices throughout the entire Chinese organization from within necessitates a Chinese counterparts'-related segmentation, targeting, and positioning. To do so, tentatively identifying, understanding, and anticipating those functional and emotional motives, motivators, and benefits-sought that in the broadest sense prevail amongst working-level *AUDIENCE* with regard to the change-process, its related activities, and the (foreign) person|change-agent is necessary. It is in this context that deciding a working-level *AUDIENCE*-appropriate(d) yet Chinese-decision-makers-validated marketing finally complements the Chinese decision-makers-oriented, change-enabling marketing approach.

This allows to carry forward the change mission, the change-process, and its related activities within Chinese organization setting *zixiaershang* and finally without managerial interference.

Conduct

During the *conduct phase*, i.e. implementing and guiding change on Chinese ground, *AUDIENCE* is diversifyingly approaches|course- and specifyingly persons|context-oriented with a customizing impact on ideas|content.

The initial prioritization of Chinese decision-makers had linked the change mission and its representatives to the dominating Chinese organizational imperative. Gradually identifying, understanding, anticipating, and finally satisfying Chinese decision-makers' comprehensive range of change mission-related functional and emotional motives, motivators, and benefits-sought had integrated the (foreign) person|change-agent into the managerial *guanxi*-net.

Grounding the change mission within the context of the managerial *AUDIENCE* had gradually fixed the practicality of both the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and the (alien) approaches|international best-practice. As a result, the change-process and its related activities is finally centred towards implementing and guiding change as a strategic activity *zishangerxia* and along a widening circle of sympathetic yet high-ranking contacts. It is in this context that capitalizing on the Chinese-decision makers-focused, un-obtrusive, apparently time-consuming, change mission-related high-involvement approach makes accessible working-level *AUDIENCE*.

However, to apply the change-related twin-approach necessitates to better carve out Chinese counterparts' change-process-related functional and emotional motives, motivators, and benefits-sought. Refinement of an earlier segmentation, targeting, and positioning thus allows better understanding Chinese counterparts' different levels of sophistication, involvement, and interaction concerning change-related activities. Doing so enables the (foreign) person|change-agent to develop, apply, and constantly refine a Chinese counterparts-focused means to implement and guide change from within.

It is in this context that gradually implementing a working-level *AUDIENCE*-appropriate|d low-involvement approach reduces complexity with regard to the change-process. This allows the (foreign) person|change-agent to better target creativity, effort, and pragmatism towards Chinese counterparts with regard to implementing and guiding change *zixiaershang*. It is in this tactical-operative yet Chinese decision-makers-validated way that accomplishing the change-process by work and responsibility of Chinese counterparts becomes a matter of course. The evolving, working-level *AUDIENCE*-attuned pull-strategy thus complements the *passivo*-strategic approach of marketing the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices to managerial *AUDIENCE*. It confirms the comprehensive, twin-approach that centres an all-*AUDIENCE*-appropriate|d way of implementing and guiding change from within. As a result, targeting the change-process and its related activities to a multi-level *AUDIENCE* allows dealing with different change-related expectations and concerns in a nonetheless *AUDIENCE*-centric way. Idiosyncratic resistance to accept the (foreign) person|change-agent, the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices within the local and hierarchical confines of the Chinese organization are reduced. By and by emancipated from Chinese decision-makers' intercession and validation, the responsibility to carry forward the complex agenda of first *Sinicizing* and then teleologically spreading and sharing the now-*Sinicized* (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices from within gradually shifts towards Chinese counterparts.

The working-level *AUDIENCE* to such extent centred finally allows the change process and its related activities to be sustainably implemented and guided on eye level, together with those concerned, and by way of a shared responsibility between Chinese counterparts and the (foreign) person|change-agent.

Consolidation

During the *consolidation phase*, i.e. standardizing, streamlining and aligning, safeguarding and adjusting, transferring and conveying change-related gains and accomplishments, *AUDIENCE* is devolving persons|context-oriented with distinguishing impacts on approach|course and emancipatory on ideas|content.

The change-process, its activities, and its representatives within the Chinese organization successfully positioned in an *AUDIENCE*-appropriate(d) way, the change mission is still prone to alterations in organizational power structure that might impair the change-mission, the change-process, and its related activities. Thus, deciding *AUDIENCE*-appropriate(d) measures to deal with possible impacts becomes necessary.

However, owing to the in-built capacity of the *AUDIENCE*-focused change-related twin-approach to separately deal with Chinese decision-makers *zishangerxia* and with Chinese counterparts *zixiaershang*, independently marketing the generally accepted fundamentals of the change mission and the change-process in all their (non-)change-related breadth and depth to different stakeholders in an unobstructed manner remains possible. It is in this regard that the established autonomy to implement and guide change from within enables the (foreign) person|change-agent to

- effect necessary change mission-related modulations vis-à-vis (a replaced) managerial *AUDIENCE*; and
- carry forward the change-process and its related activities with regard to (the unaltered) working level *AUDIENCE*.

Doing so allows to safeguard, customize, and introduce the now-*Sinicized* (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices with the least possible delay in an all-*AUDIENCE*-appropriate(d) way.

The possibility to counter this particular fragility notwithstanding, constantly and permanently anchoring change-related gains within the Chinese organizational setting and amongst the multiple *AUDIENCES* remains necessary.

Being hierarchically anchored within the Chinese organizational setting, appropriately defined to satisfy different motives, motivators, and benefits-sought of a multiple *AUDIENCE*, and acceptably differentiated in order to enable Chinese counterparts to implement and guide change from within their own working-level, the change mission is not immune to assume a life of its own. Constantly containing the change-process is hence, vital.

Spreading and sharing change-related information throughout the Chinese organization in a standardized yet *AUDIENCE*-adequate(d) way limits any rank growth. Availing of Chinese-appropriate(d), comprehensive documents|elaborations thus allows the now-*Sinicized* (foreign) person|change-agent and her|his Chinese counterparts to create organizational universals and to carry forward the change mission and its change-related accomplishments in a concentrated, constructive, change-centred manner. This turns the change-process an organization business and disseminating the now-*Sinicized* (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices a lasting matter of course.

Allowing both managerial- and working-level *AUDIENCE* to take possession of the fixed change-related information in their respective way and to their benefits advances the change-process towards a self-regulatory, integrated and integrating, multiple-*AUDIENCE*-centred autopilot. This couples the change-process with the receptive/receiving *AUDIENCE* and within Chinese organizational setting. It uncouples the change mission from any now-*Sinicized* (foreign) person's|change-agent's direct|internal intervention or any indirect|external interference. As a result, change-related gains are further secured and the change-process is immunized vis-à-vis external broadsides and/or internal shifts in organizational power structure.

ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES

Concentration

During the *concentration phase*, i.e. planning, preparation, yielding to/blending with Chinese hierarchical as well as *socio-organizational* parameters, patterns, and courses of dealing to finally accentuate, construe, and profit from similarities in the broadest character possible, *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* is internalizingly ideas|content-oriented with a role-assuming implication on person|context and a validating impact on approach|course.

From the beginning of the change mission willingly seeking contact points to pro-actively blend in the dominant Chinese *socio-organizational* value-canon as it manifests itself in the respectively influential managerial representatives, regnant ideas, and prevalent approaches opens Chinese organizational doors and minds to the (foreign) person|change-agent *zishangerxia*.

Looking for those Chinese (*socio-organizational* and management-) appropriate|d toeholds aligns the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices with the Chinese (organizational) setting.

With an open-mind initiating this particular bridging project is thus the basic necessity that accounts for (the emergence of) any effective, acceptable|accepted, mutually beneficial yet still Chinese change approach. In so pragmatically suggesting (Western) equalness with the Chinese organizational given orients foreign person, foreign ideas, and foreign approaches towards the basic parameters of the Chinese organization. Doing so becomes the proper means to model a change-validating, -facilitating, and -catalysing common ground from within. To such an extent *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* with the broadest possible organizational context, with regard to the motives, motivators, and benefits-sought of the multiple organizational stakeholders, and with the diverse Chinese opinion leaders at every hierarchical level substantiates a Chinese organization-appropriate|d change-enabling, -implementing, and -guiding equilibrium.

The ultimate goal notwithstanding, *ESTABLISHING* fruitful, catalysing, baiting, and netting *SIMILARITIES* has to start at the top of the organizational hierarchy, hence, with regard to the prevailing Chinese (*socio-organizational*) philosophies and relevant Chinese opinion leaders as represented by Chinese top management. This requires (pro-active) *xiangsixing* that avoids shallow levelling, empty mimicry, inattentive adherence to *wenhua/wenming* but that creates conformity, establishes *guanxi*-relationships, and causes blending of the (foreign) person|change-agent in the dominant Chinese *socio-organizational* value-canon as it manifests itself in the respectively influential managerial representatives, regnant ideas, and prevalent approaches. This particular alignment allows to deal with likeminded managerial stakeholders on eye level. It increases the reputation of the change-agent and her|his change mission. Doing so further authorizes the (foreign) person|change-agent to enable, implement, and guide change in a fresh but nonetheless managerially validated and organizationally *zhengtong* way. Accomplishing equilibrium with managerial stakeholders in order to pragmatically suggest (Western) equalness with the Chinese organizational given is a *conditio sine qua non* to re-actively model an effective change-enabling approach that finally wins the entire Chinese organization for the (foreign) person|change-agent, the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices.

Capitalizing on high social visibility, nearness to management, and an (over)emphasized alignment with the dominant Chinese organizational given finally pushes the borders of the change-related context beyond the initially targeted managerial stakeholders and into all *socio-organizational* strata. Performing this tactical move out of a position of strength carries forward the change-enabling project of *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* on working-level. Actively seeking intercessions, overlappings, and potential for recognition provides Chinese organization-appropriate(d) starting points to do so. This allows the (foreign) person|change-agent to establish lasting *guanxi*-relationships on lower hierarchical levels, and the change-process to gain ground and grow from within.

The medium and message thus merged, marketing the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices to working-level stakeholders becomes possible.

However, yielding to the apparently self-evident to reduce Chinese company-idiosyncratic barriers of change has to have a self-containing boundary. Pro- and re-active, as well as continuous adjustment of the change mission, the change-process, and its related activities to the organizational environment and the different motives, motivators, and benefits-sought of diverse organizational stakeholders is necessary. Advisedly trading the successes of the entire change mission against the bridging project's adequacy, appropriateness, and acceptability is therefore a constant need to safeguard change-enabling harmony. Thus, clearly setting boundaries, stressing differences, and (over)emphasizing heterogeneity between the foreign (Western) and the Chinese *socio*-organizational value-canon, mode of thinking/acting, and the relevant stakeholders becomes necessary already at the beginning of the change mission. Doing so validates the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and upgrades the (alien) approaches|international best-practices vis-à-vis the Chinese organization.

Constantly balancing the Sino-Western alignment of the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices against the change-related framework actively created/formulated by the (foreign) person|change-agent and her|his ultimate assignment of enabling, implementing, and guiding change avoids compromising the change mission as such. To such an extent constantly evaluating earlier established *xiangsixing* and continuously re-orientating the bridging project towards its ultimate aim is thus a basic necessity to permanently stabilize the change-enabling, -implementing and -guiding common ground already at an early stage.

Early avoidance of questionable at least untimely interpretations and overhasty appropriations of unconsidered *socio*-organizational concepts, constantly beware of unmindful concessions to Chinese (organizational) mainstream, regnant parameters, and traditional specifications, and abstaining from premature enthusiasm that comes with some early quick wins and/or gullibility that roots in a readiness to please and eagerness to achieve is thus an absolute condition to not jeopardize the change mission, the change-process, and its related activities.

Conduct

During the *conduct phase*, i.e. implementing and guiding change on Chinese ground, *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* is diversifyingly approach|course- and differentiatingly ideas|content-oriented with role-enlarging impacts on person|context.

ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES between the (foreign) person|change-agent, the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices and the constitutive, all-dominant organizational given had anchored the change mission as well as the (foreign) person|change-agent at the top of the Chinese organization. (Pro-)actively seeking intercessions, overlappings, and potential for recognition had opened up Chinese organization-appropriate(d) starting points to enable change from within. Having so prepared a management-accepted, organizational acceptable change-enabling common ground eventually pushed the borders of the change-related context beyond the initially targeted managerial stakeholders.

Being officially sworn in on the most appropriate, least ambiguous, mutually beneficial combination of Sino-Western *socio*-organizational concepts allows change to be implemented and guided from within—without facing any important company-internal broadsides. Overall adherence to the dominant *socio*-organizational value canon as represented by top management finally frees the (foreign) person|change-agent to turn to those who implement and guide the change-process and its activities.

To place the (foreign) person|change-agent, the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices firmly within the change-implementing and -guiding realm of the entire Chinese organizational setting necessitates *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* with working-level stakeholders. Developing a bridging project towards a management-validated tactical commitment of implementing and guiding change on working level only thus establishes a fall back system that secures change-related gains on all organizational levels. As a result, the role of the (foreign) person|change-agent as a planning, preparing, far-sighted change promoter gradually shifts towards a wo|man of action/change engineer.

Accomplishing change-implementing and -guiding equilibrium with the non-managerial workforce requires unbiased responsiveness to their idiosyncratic *socio*-organizational motives, motivators, and benefits-sought that become manifest in the general setting of the all-organizational parameters. As a result, new contact points become apparent. Actively capitalizing on a to-be-established sameness with regard to the now-*Sinicized* (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the now-*Sinicized* (alien) approaches|international best-practices finally allow the change-process and its related activities to take root at lower level hierarchies. In spite of change-related successes, teleologically created Chinese organization-appropriate(d) sameness and a prevailing pragmatism to accomplish *socio*-organizational equilibrium on different organizational levels leads to a particular looseness while the change-process progresses. An uncontrolled growth of newly-emerging change-implementing and -guiding structures becomes apparent.

With the change mission maturing it is important to fit similarities and discrepancies into the Chinese organizational setting and the (foreign) person's|change-agent's assignment of implementing and guiding change from within. Thus, capitalizing on a growing knowledge with regard to the (earlier emphasized and newly stressed) similarities and differences allows the (foreign) person|change-agent to constantly reassess aligned ideas and approaches, and to reconsider one's own role and position vis-à-vis the multiple stakeholders.

Doing so defends those similarities and differences fundamental to the change-agent vis-à-vis Chinese and non-Chinese stakeholders. It secures the entire change mission with regard to internal and external broadsides.

Consolidation

During the *consolidation phase*, i.e., re-claiming and re-confirming, re-aligning and re-grounding, unifying and formalizing to finally transfer and safeguarding change-related gains, *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* is harmonizingly approach|course- and aligningly ideas|content-oriented with devolving impacts and disintegrating implications on person|context.

The all-organizational bridging project had finally anchored the (foreign) person|change-agent, the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices within the Chinese organizational setting. Pragmatically-teleologically *ESTABLISHING* diverse, addressee-appropriate|d *SIMILARITIES* had grounded the entire Chinese organization within the mutually beneficial change-implementing and -guiding common ground. This lowered the diverse idiosyncratic barriers to (accept) change.

Notwithstanding efforts to reassess (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices, to reconsider roles and positions, and to defend similarities and differences, pragmatism to accomplish equilibrium on different organizational levels and amongst different organizational stakeholders had led to an uncontrolled growth of change-implementing and -guiding structures. As a result, looseness and blurring while *ESTABLISHING SIMILARITIES* prevails. Lack of appropriate|d alignment burdens the change-process and its related activities.

With the change mission maturing, reclaiming the most appropriate, least ambiguous, mutually beneficial combination of Sino-Western *socio-organizational* similarities becomes necessary. This re-aligns the change-process and its related activities with the dominating framework of a Chinese *socio-organizational* orthodoxy, propriety, and conventions.

It re-transforms the loosely connected structures into dependable, controllable entities that harmoniously integrate themselves into the Chinese organization. Re-unifying the method of implementing and guiding change on all organizational levels from within is finally possible.

Resulting harmonization and formalization towards the general Chinese organizational given as well as a targeted re-confirmation of similarities and differences re-grounds the now-*Sinicized* (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and now-*Sinicized* (alien) approaches|international best-practices within the Chinese organizational setting. It is in this context that the integrative advancement towards further maturity and integratedness becomes a channelling and mainstreaming effort.

This secures the Chinese-appropriate(d) change mission, the change-process, and its related activities vis-à-vis internal sings of disintegration and refusal. In so finding the right way to balance Sino-Western differences and similarities defends the change mission vis-à-vis external stakeholders. It further safeguards change-related gains in view of possible external impacts. *ESTABLISHING* reclaimed, mutually beneficial *SIMILARITIES* without challenging the change-implementing and -guiding common ground eventually allows the (foreign) person|change-agent to transfer practical realization of the entire change-process to the Chinese stakeholders.

ALLIES

Concentration

During the *concentration phase*, i.e., preparation, positioning vis-à-vis Chinese stakeholders, blending with and targeting Chinese expectations, as well as pursuing first steps to enable change on Chinese ground, *ALLIES* is differentiatingly person|context-oriented with an internalizing implication on ideas|content and a validating impact on approach|course.

From the very first step into Chinese organization considering *diyous*'s broadest possible forming impact on establishing a change-enabling, -implementing, and -guiding common ground from within, is a basic necessity to anchor the (foreign) person|change-agent, the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices within the Chinese organization. Impartial readiness to profit from multiple *ALLIES*' company-internal insights, suggestions, recommendations, and interferences thus accounts for (the emergence of) any effective, acceptable|accepted, mutually beneficial yet Chinese organization-appropriate|d change approach.

Even if this Sino-Western interaction as to introducing the (foreign) person|change-agent, the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices involves diverse stakeholders on multiple hierarchical levels, preparatory work to take active advantage from *ALLIES*' influence has to start on the Chinese company's managerial top. Actively listening to leading *diyous* who have a facilitating or thwarting impact on the change mission is hence, *conditio sine qua non* to first of all position the (foreign) person|change-agent amongst those high-ranking stakeholders who will give supportive or negative but basically invaluable, and in all respects path breaking advice/help to anchor the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices from within.

It is in this regard that forging change-enabling, -implementing, and -guiding yet strategic alliances becomes possible. This assures the change mission's *socio-organizational* legitimation *zishangerxia* and allows to successfully tuning in to changing coalitions.

Considering leading *diyous*' multiple sensitivities with regard to foreign persons, foreign ideas, and foreign approaches is first of all tantamount to warding off any form of Chinese (c)overt xenophobia. Learning to counteract Chinese resentments enables the (foreign) person|change-agent to gradually blend in Chinese-organizational environment and eventually allows to deal with delaying resistance.

It is finally possible to establish the (foreign) person|change-agent amongst those high-ranking stakeholders who could guarantee the necessary free space to later implement and guide change from within. Availing of managerial *ALLIES*' foreignness-reducing, *Sinicizing* interference thus provides an organizationally appropriate|d change-enabling role model. Doing so differentiates the (foreign) person|change-agent from her|his European counterparts. It allows to further market the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices with executive *ALLIES*' authorization from within.

Identifying, understanding, anticipating and satisfying managerial *diyous*' change-related motives, motivators, and benefits-sought is the *primum movens* to advisedly manage the stress field of foiling activities, prejudicial lines of arguments, baseless fears, and absurd prepossession with regard to the change mission. Capitalizing on suggestions where and how to further establish the (foreign) person|change-agent, the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices amongst which stakeholders/on which hierarchical level is the basic necessity to gradually blend the change mission, the change-process, its related activities and representative(s) in a Chinese organizational setting from within.

Taking executive *ALLIES* as a formative sounding board for the entire change-process and its related activities is thus a fundamental for the to-be-decided and creatively to-be-put into practice, constantly to-be-refined Chinese change mission. What starts as an apparent detour to charm and/or quieten leading *diyous* therefore turns out to be(come) a valuable, expediting shortcut that leads *zishangerxia* directly into the core of the Chinese company and amongst those who are to later implement and guide change from within.

Following managerial *ALLIES*' suggestions, considering their reproaches, and so profiting from substantial questions, highlighted ambiguities, and indicated inconsistencies with regard to the line of change-related arguments braces the (foreign) person|change-agent for her|his complex discussion with other stakeholders and allows to win new *ALLIES* from within. This allows fully *Sinicizing* the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices.

It further pre-defines the procedural steps to introduce the change-process and its related activities on lower hierarchical levels. Marketing the change mission and conducting the change-process on multiple hierarchical levels is possible.

Conduct

During the *conduct phase*, i.e., implementing and guiding change on Chinese ground, *ALLIES* is complementingly approach|course-oriented with clarifying effects on ideas|content and disentangling impacts on person|context.

With the change mission progressing, the characteristics and main *foci* how to avail of multiple *ALLIES*' varying (in)direct interaction clearly differ along the lines of a diversifying local, temporal, situational, and hierarchical given. The variations notwithstanding, dealing with diverse *ALLIES* remains a permanent condition and a necessary driver of the change mission along the change-enabling, -implementing and -guiding continuum. However, with the (foreign) person|change-agent grounded within the organizational setting as well as the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices appreciated by management, integrated into Chinese *socio-organizational* orthodoxy, submitted to the company-specific imperative, and thus near a company-wide acceptance, interacting with *diyoubu* disengages itself from solely performing preparatory, hence, differentiating, internalizing, and validating, efforts.

The *ALLIES*-related focus thus broadened, establishing a change mission-related, multiple *diyoubu*-involving division of labour on diverse hierarchical levels becomes possible.

With the change mission progressing and expanding as well as the change-process becoming more and more accepted|acceptable by multiple stakeholders, *ALLIES'* fields of action progressively differ along the lines of a diversifying local, temporal, situational, and hierarchical given. It is in this context that managerial *ALLIES'* direct help and assistance to

- anchor the gradually *Sinicized* foreign persons, ideas, approaches on different organizational strata as a part of Chinese organization; and
- make accessible new section of stakeholders to the change mission, is extended by working level *ALLIES* fathoming Chinese organization-appropriate(d) ways to further *Sinicize* the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices from within. This allows customizing to the working level stakeholders the change-implementing and -guiding stages and substance. Implementing and guiding the change-process and its related activities in a Chinese organization-appropriate(d) way is finally possible—mainly in cooperation with the change-agent, sometimes on their own account but always with an increased zeal.

To such an extent collateralized by multiple *diyous*' interference/involvement on different organizational strata, neither internal broadsides nor changing company-internal coalitions are in the position to either permanently remove the (foreign) person|change-agent from their *ALLIES* or to alienate the now-*Sinicized* (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and the now-*Sinicized* (alien) approaches|international best-practices from the organizational setting. The change-process in such a way highly elaborated, focused, and self-relying, as well as its change-implementing and -guiding activities entrenched in *socio-organizational* soil, *ALLIES'* direct help finally becomes dispensable.

Successfully dealing with the stress-field of growth and continuance finally quietens *diyous*' opposition. It yields their further support. This strengthens the Chinese organization-appropriate(d) change mission, the change-process, and its related activities from within. It is in this context that the interaction with *diyous* permanently shifts towards consolidating and thus securing change-related gains.

Working towards increased Chineseness and integrability of the entire change-process thus characterizes the (foreign) person's|change-agent's intercourse with/requirements vis-à-vis the diverse *ALLIES*. Exposing second generation stakeholders to the now-*Sinicized* (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and now-*Sinicized* (alien) approaches|international best-practices therefore become the main driving factors of gradually autonomous *ALLIES*.

Consolidation

During the *consolidation phase*, i.e., emancipating and confiding, integrating and grounding to finally transfer and anchor change-related gains, *ALLIES* is devolvingly person|context-oriented with safeguarding impacts on approach|course and securing effects on ideas|content.

With the change mission maturing, the (foreign) person's|change-agent's aim to secure and constantly reassure multiple *ALLIES'* interaction on different hierarchical levels had permanently integrated the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices into the *socio*-organizational value-canon. Emancipating multiple stakeholders to perform their change-implementing and -guiding duties on their individual organizational level, and so confiding the change-process and its related activities to *ALLIES'* responsibility furthers pools apparently theoretical risks of failure. This prevents any seismic shift in managerial position towards the (foreign) person|change-agent and any decline in prestige and status with regard to the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices from impairing the change mission. The throngs of responsible stakeholders welded together, relying on *diyou's* diverse interferences finally creates an unchallenged, broadly accepted|acceptable, and generally invulnerable change approach from within.

The change-process thus integrated and grounded within the Chinese organizational setting, its change-related activities aligned with the organizational given, and the change mission anchored by means of written documents|elaborations, the (foreign) person|change-agent, the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices are finally an ineradicable part of the Chinese *socio*-organizational setting.

EMPOWERMENT

Concentration

During *concentration phase*, i.e., preparation, positioning vis-à-vis Chinese stakeholders, identifying, understanding, and anticipating Chinese expectations with regard to involvement, collaboration, and assistance, as well as pursuing first steps to emancipate potential change-enabling stakeholders from within, *EMPOWERMENT* is evolvingly approach|course-oriented with internalizing implication on ideas|content and first disentangling implications on person|context.

From the outset of the change mission empowering multiple open-minded Chinese stakeholders from different *socio*-organizational levels is a basic necessity to fathom an effective, acceptable|accepted, mutually beneficial yet Chinese-organization appropriate(d) change approach from within. Considering Chinese stakeholders' broadest possible forming involvement, collaboration, and assistance to market the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices from within therefore accounts for the (emergence of) the change mission as such.

Availing of an ever-broadening though always change-related *EMPOWERMENT* is indispensable to shape the to-be-decided, creatively to-be-put into practice, and constantly to-be-refined change-process and its related activities. Unprepossessed and unconfined yet always change-oriented *shouquan* is hence a *conditio sine qua non* to establish a Chinese (organization-)appropriate(d), self-coherent, Chinese and foreign (Western) characteristics and particularities-acknowledging *clockwork transformation* from within. It is in this regard that assigning change-enabling, -implementing, and -guiding *shouquan* to diverse company-internal stakeholders from different hierarchical levels eventually anchors (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts—and in their lee—the (foreign) person|change-agent within the Chinese organizational setting. Doing so nonetheless necessitates assuring and securing broadest managerial support and admission in order to start emancipation and delegation in good time.

Developing along a continuum of time, place, person, and hierarchies effective, acceptable|accepted, Chinese-organization appropriate(d) *shouquan* first of all focuses on the immediate environment of well-meaning, often only broadly change-affected|affecting stakeholders from different organizational strata. To initiate, arrange, and establish suitable, successful, and lasting **EMPOWERMENT** requires the empowering (foreign) person|change-agent to first consider day-to-day routine of possible change-enabling stakeholders only.

Consistently encouraging multiple, willing, potential change-enabling stakeholders by way of an unprepossessed *shouquan* to bring their idiosyncratic talents and knowledge to the change mission bit by bit positions (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and (unfamiliar) approaches|international best-practices within the Chinese organizational setting from the inside. This makes degree, impact, and direction of a Chinese organization-adequate(d) *shouquan* apparent.

With managerial stakeholders' authorization and constant backing, carrying forward the indirect way of fathoming successful, lasting, and ever-broadening though always change-related *shouquan* prepares the groundwork of a Chinese organization-appropriate|d change-process with sustained success. As a result, permanently anchoring the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, the (alien) approaches|international best-practices within the Chinese organizational setting—with or without the change-agent's direct intervention but always with a positive view to capitalizing on Chinese creativity and autonomy—becomes possible.

Emancipated and (tacitly) delegated to enable the change-process and its related activities gradually turns the change-enabling stakeholders into Chinese change-agents. Pro-actively identifying, understanding, anticipating, and advisedly satisfying multiple change-enabling stakeholders' motives, motivators, and benefits-sought with regard to autonomy and accountability anchors the change mission within the Chinese (organizational) setting.

However, relying on *shouquan* to further *Sinicize* the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices gradually has its downsides too.

Constant awareness of change-enabling stakeholders' penchant to carry forward the change-process on own account, and thus to decide change-related activities without authority, is a basic necessity to deal with any unexpected Chinese departure from the change-related mandate.

Identifying Chinese organization-appropriate(d) measures to meet stakeholders' independent yet far-reaching decisions to market the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices from within the Chinese organizational setting|within their own *socio*-organizational realm is hence essential to successfully enable, implement, and guide change in an effective, acceptable|accepted, mutually beneficial yet rank-growth-avoiding way. Already considering Chinese organization-appropriate|d means to channel change-enabling stakeholders' own-assumed personal responsibility, work enthusiasm, and eagerness to implement and accomplish at an early stage is therefore indispensable. This makes *EMPOWERMENT* an invaluable pillar of the change mission as such. It prepares those in charge for higher duties and responsibilities as it makes *shouquan* a strategic necessity. It is in this regard that broadening the focus of *EMPOWERMENT* from the immediate *socio*-organizational realm and day-to-day routine of those change-enabling stakeholders to implementing and guiding change throughout the organization from within by those officially appointed to carry forward the change-process and its related activities is finally possible.

Conduct

During the *conduct phase*, i.e., implementing and guiding change on Chinese ground, carrying forward the clockwork transformation, and further targeting *emancipatio reformanda sinensis*, *EMPOWERMENT* is refiningly approach|course- and aggrandizingly/upgradingly person|context-oriented with diversifying impacts on ideas|content.

With the change mission maturing, *EMPOWERMENT* gradually differentiates into a change-implementing and -guiding imperative with Chinese characteristics.

Emancipatio reformanda sinensis thus develops into a Chinese-appropriate(d) fundamental feature of the change mission and assumes the role of an accepted|acceptable driver of the change-process and its related activities. To carry forward the change-process and its related activities from within the different socio-organizational strata requires *shouquan* to gradually broaden and deepen with regard to duties, authority, and expectations of the change-implementing and -guiding stakeholders in charge. In so turning away from basic involvement, collaboration, and assistance allows to market the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, the (alien) approaches|international best-practices

- beyond the immediate socio-organizational realm; and
- without a narrow focus on change-implementing and -guiding stakeholders' day-to-day routine only.

In so taking more and more responsibilities from the (foreign) person|accepted change-agent further qualifies the change-implementing and -guiding stakeholders to creatively collaborate with/assist the (foreign) person|change-agent in spreading already company-appropriate(d) (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices throughout the organization from within. It further allows those in charge to vindicate the change-process vis-à-vis (managerial) opponents and proponents, as well as to actively make change-implementing and -guiding arrangements on own account. To such an extent designed to implement and guide change by way of sophisticated *shouquan* finally merges Chinese medium and foreign (Western) message.

However, with *emancipatio reformanda sinensis* unfolding and maturing it remains a basic necessity and always on the (foreign) person's|change-agent's agenda to constantly (re-)tailor *EMPOWERMENT* to

- Chinese (organizational) characteristics;
- the change-implementing and -guiding stakeholders' ever-developing, change-related motives, motivators, and benefits-sought; and
- the developing capabilities of those singled out to market the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and (alien) approaches|international best-practices throughout the organization on different hierarchical levels from within.

In so relying on (traditional) Chinese organization-appropriate(d) activities to carry forward the change mission in an (already) *Sinicized* way and to successfully channel *shouquan* develops into a critical success factor to implement and guide the change-process and its related activities from within.

It is in this context that further institutionalizing/codifying *EMPOWERMENT* emancipates change-implementing and -guiding stakeholders from any (foreign) person's|change-agent's direct intervention. It also increases the status of those in charge vis-à-vis their peers and with reference to the Chinese *socio-organizational* setting as such. This *Sinicizes* the change mission, the change-process, and its related activities both *in processu sinensis* and by way of an increasingly sophisticated *shouquan*. As a result, (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches are no longer strange to the Chinese organization.

To such an extent tailored to Chinese (organizational) characteristics, the ever-sophisticated *shouquan* finally yields a Chinese-centred *clockwork transformation* indispensable to (foreign) persons|change-agents and Chinese stakeholders/counterparts, as well as essential to the change mission as such. Cutting the cord to *decolonize* the change-process and its related activities is possible.

Consolidation

During the *consolidation phase*, i.e., aligning and streamlining, integrating and grounding *emancipatio reformanda sinensis*, as well as confiding the *clockwork transformation* to finally transfer and anchor change-related gains, *EMPOWERMENT* is sophisticatingly person|context-oriented with channelling implications on approach|course and containing impacts on ideas|content.

With the change mission facing maturation, *EMPOWERMENT* becomes gradually stretched between centralism and decentralization. Pairing *shouquan* with the prevailing idiosyncratic *socio-organizational* (management and teamwork) model of co-optation and cohesion hence becomes necessary to permit the various change-implementing and -guiding stakeholders an ever-increasing degree of emancipation and delegation.

Introducing the now-*Sinicized* (unfamiliar) ideas|content and (alien) approaches|international best-practices by dint of *shouquan* eventually turns into a matter of trust and negotiation. Capitalizing on established (traditional) forms of responsibility-sharing anchors the change-process and its related activities within the Chinese organizational setting. It first of all satisfies the change-implementing and -guiding stakeholders' ever-sophisticated change-related motives, motivators, and benefits-sought.

Being the logical extension of the line taken by the (foreign) person|change agent to anchor (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices as an acceptable|accepted alternative from within, (pro-)actively meeting change-implementing and -guiding stakeholders' increasing demand for more complex forms of *EMPOWERMENT* creates a solely Chinese dependent, self-sustaining, self-expanding change mission. This allows the *clockwork transformation* to proceed in a Chinese organization-appropriate(d) fashion without constant (foreign) person's|change-agent's care. As a result, this far-reaching, Chinese-tailored *EMPOWERMENT* distinctively and irrevocably alters the job-description and self-concept of both the (foreign) person|change-agent and the Chinese change-implementing and -guiding stakeholders/counterparts.

Actively availing of a broadly accepted|acceptable *emancipatio reformanda sinensis* creates unity and unification of the change-process. It already streamlines and channels the change-related activities from within. However, applying a Chinese-familiar *modus operandi* to market now-*Sinicized* (unfamiliar) ideas|appropriate|d concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices still carries the danger of an unintended yet unexpected departure from the change-implementing and -guiding, *shouquan*-related mandate.

Taking Chinese organization-appropriate|d measures to regularly (re-)tailor *EMPOWERMENT* to the change-process's (to-be-expected) progress remains a *conditio sine qua non* to carry forward the change mission from within. Pro-actively dealing with (latent) Chinese self-dependence, further channelling Chinese work enthusiasm, and so continuing to appropriately handling Chinese eagerness for forming and accomplishing is hence a lasting necessity.

It counters any *shouquan*-related deviation/irregularity and to anticipate possible dilution of the to-be-introduced (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices. Deciding Chinese organization-appropriated measures to cope with the developments is thus essential to the change-process as such.

Availing of comprehensive documentations|elaborations to fix and communicate characteristics, qualities, guiding principles, and (still modifiable) scope of successful *shouquan* within the Chinese organization makes *EMPOWERMENT* both medium and message to position (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices as a *socio*-organizational alternative.

The downsides of comprehensive *EMPOWERMENT* to such an extent weeded out finally turns the change-implementing and -guiding stakeholders into subsidiaries and real media incarnating the change message. The change-process in such a way naturally integrated and grounded within the Chinese organizational setting, and its change-related activities aligned with the organizational given by dint of an ever-sophisticated *shouquan*, guarantees the continuance of the change mission in a *socio*-organization-appropriate(d) way—even if the (foreign) person|change-agent has long time left the company or shifts in managerial position seem to threaten the (foreign) person|change-agent, the prestige and status of the now-*Sinicized* (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and the now-*Sinicized* (alien) approaches|international best-practices.

PREPAREDNESS

Concentration

During the *concentration phase*, i.e., preparation, positioning, igniting and yielding to a welding urge to change for the better, as well as pursuing first steps to plant the seed of mutuality, *PREPAREDNESS* is conjunctively approach|course-oriented with initial validating/integrating implications on person|context and first forming impacts on ideas|content.

From the outset of the change mission profiting from a (c)overt yet conjunctive Sino-Western urge to transform the organization by way of introducing (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices is a *conditio sine qua non* that accounts for (the emergence of) any effective, acceptable|accepted, mutually beneficial yet Chinese organization-appropriate(d) change approach.

Cashing in on a generally change-favouring *PREPAREDNESS* that pervades every *socio*-organizational strata and a Chinese company-internal, management-authorized and -propagated yet widely accepted impulse to voluntarily change for the better is the indispensable *movens* to establish a change-enabling, -implementing, and -guiding common ground on different hierarchical levels from within. It is in this context that igniting a mutually committing *PREPAREDNESS* to question and to give up traditional foreign (Western) and Chinese positions, approaches, and understandings pioneers an interactive change-enabling civilizing project within the Chinese organizational setting. Teleologically benefitting from a (c)overt yet prevailing *PREPAREDNESS* to question the current status quo and to voluntarily abandon apparently unquestioned positions establishes a change-enabling *quid pro quo* amongst various stakeholders on diverse *socio*-organizational levels. This allows the change mission to strike first roots. Thus, (pro-)actively availing of an emerging, mutually inspiring change-facilitating *ganxingqingyuan* prepares a common starting point/denominator amongst various change-affecting|affected stakeholders already at an early time.

As a basic principle, establishing a change-enabling communion of organizational ambition, business-related impetus, and respect has to start at the managerial top. First linked to mere formalities, eliciting *PREPAREDNESS* amongst/of high(er) ranking stakeholders to embark on the change mission is nonetheless, a basic necessity to finally spread (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices throughout the organization.

Measures taken to discover, acknowledge, pique, and kindle managerial stakeholders' *ganxinqingyuan* to accept the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices thus incorporates the (foreign) person|change-agent into the *socio*-organizational value-canon. It also leads to bit by bit introducing the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices into Chinese (organizational) setting from within.

In such a way fostering and securing managerial *PREPAREDNESS* to willingly start a process of business-related self-realization and self-diagnosing eventually leads managerial stakeholders towards performing a change-enabling, reciprocally committing leap that is expected to bridge existing business-related, operational, tactico-strategic voids/crisis. This ignites a change-favouring *ganxinqingyuan* amongst executive stakeholders to accept the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices as a company-appropriate(d) alternative. Initiating a *Sinicized* change-process in order to reach a new, mutually beneficial yet Chinese company-appropriate|d, multiple hierarchies-spanning, *socio*-organizational *yidongbudong* is finally possible. It is in this regard that successfully capitalizing on a mutually committing yet conjunctive *ganxinqingyuan* to overcome company-internal crises—resulting from not finding harmony in proceeding as usual—establishes a change-enabling environment throughout the Chinese organization *zishangerxia*. In so radiating from the highest hierarchical level kindling and availing of *ganxinqingyuan* allows to overcome reciprocally prevailing hubris and arrogance, and/or dampen (c)overt *xenophobia* amongst various Chinese stakeholders on different *socio*-organizational levels.

It first and foremost allows to carry forward the change mission on different hierarchical levels and thus expedites the change-process and its related activities amongst working-level stakeholders. Finally able|enabled to tailor the change-enabling *modus procedendi* to different stakeholders' motives, motivators, and benefits-sought, the contact points, triggers, and scope of a change-favouring *PREPAREDNESS* are set and settled. The gateway to market the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, the (alien) approaches|international best-practices, and the (foreign) person|change-agent in an addressee-appropriate(d) way amongst various organizational stakeholders is provided.

Constantly nourishing *PREPRARDNESS* amongst various stakeholders to consider (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and (alien) approaches|international best-practices as a worthy, complementing, *socio-organizational* alternative turns the change mission into a *clockwork transformation* from within. Positioning (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, the (alien) approaches|international best-practices as a change-enabling leaven that implements and guides change by means of a direct(ed) approach and mutual respect is possible.

Conduct

During the *conduct phase*, i.e., implementing and guiding change on Chinese ground, *PREPAREDNESS* is segmentingly approach|course-oriented with differentiating impacts on person|context and customizing implications on ideas|content.

With the change mission maturing, dealing with *PREPAREDNESS* gradually differentiates into measures to implement the change-process on multiple *socio-organizational* levels. Thus, setting in motion a *clockwork transformation* on different hierarchical levels it becomes necessary to develop a systems-oriented, multi-faceted yet balanced approach to profit from various *PREPAREDNESSes* to question a current and to seek transition towards a new status quo as well as to accept the (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and the (alien) approaches|international best-practices as a company-appropriate(d) alternative. Doing so leads towards implementing and guiding change in a company and stakeholder-appropriate(d) yet mutually beneficial way.

Thus, availing of diverse stakeholders' business-related *ganxingingyuan* allows to channel company-internal but nonetheless cross-fertilizing self-realization and self-diagnosing. This prepares the various Chinese stakeholders and the (foreign) person|change-agent to guide company-appropriate(d) change-related activities from within.

Focused on carrying into effect the change-related *causa finalis* requires to capitalize on a prevailing, management-backed yet organization-wide *PREPAREDNESS* to question the current business-related status quo. To do so necessitates making arrangements to ignite and profit from as well as to consolidate a diversity of (c)overt change-favouring *PREPAREDNESS*es in order to implement and guide change that eventually allows reaching a new, mutually beneficial yet Chinese company-appropriate|d, multiple hierarchies-spanning, *socio-organizational yidongbudong* from within.

It is in this context that, with the (foreign) person|change-agent integrated into the Chinese *socio-organizational* value-canon and incorporated within the organizational setting, handling *PREPAREDNESS* becomes gradually segmented. (Pro-)actively dealing with a varying *PREPAREDNESS* to seek transition is thus focused towards assuaging different stakeholder-idiosyncratic, hierarchies-specific change-implementing and -guiding *ganxingingyuan*. This necessitates interacting with either managerial stakeholders *ad personam* or working-level stakeholders as groups/opinion leaders within their departments.

Offering highly personalized answers to deal with strategic questions as highlighted by managerial stakeholders calls for a subliminal pull-approach to kindle management's change-favouring *PREPAREDNESS*. This couples the change-process with a civilizing project that centres learning about successful strategic Sino-Western alternatives. It links the implementation of change-related activities to management's *ganxingingyuan* that brings into focus the long-term implementation of the now-*Sinicized* (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the now-*Sinicized* (alien) approaches|international best-practices in order to strategically transform the Chinese company for the better.

Thus, performing the highly personalized, highly concentrated, personalistic time-, money-, and intellect-consuming approach of sowing and harvesting amongst managerial stakeholders finally makes accessible lower level strata. By contrast, convincing working-level stakeholders to embark on the change-process and to carry forward its change-related activities from within their own *socio-organizational* realm requires planting the management-backed now-*Sinicized* (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the management-backed now-*Sinicized* (alien) approaches|international best-practices as an antidote to tactical problems that primarily bother non-executive stakeholders and related departments. It is in this context, that spreading down-to-earth answers to day-to-day issues and encouraging working-level stakeholders to seek transition towards a new *status quo* that is expected to solve daily/short-term problems for the better requires a supraliminal push-approach that

- directly addresses working-level stakeholders' common change-related motives, motivators, and benefits-sought; and
- immediately arouses *ganxinqingyuan* on grass root level.

In so performing a systems-oriented, multi-faceted yet balanced approach to establish a general, hierarchy-spanning *PREPAREDNESS* to seek transition towards a new status quo finally activates the desired *ganxinqingyuan*-driven *clockwork transformation* on different hierarchical levels from within.

Introducing now-*Sinicized* (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the now-*Sinicized* (alien) approaches|international best-practices in a company and stakeholder-appropriate(d) yet mutually beneficial way that runs the gamut from giving attention to formalities to dealing with basic attitudes and so includes the need to either target individuals/opinion leaders to attend to groups of stakeholders, entire departments, and the Chinese organization per se is finally possible.

Consolidation

During the *consolidation phase*, i.e., merging and pruning, streamlining and aligning, integrating and grounding, safeguarding and adjusting, transferring and conveying the *clockwork transformation* to future stakeholder-generations, *PREPAREDNESS* is conservingly approach|course-oriented with confirming impacts on person|context and collateralizing implications on ideas|content.

With the change-process and its related activities anchored within the *socio-organizational* setting, carrying forward the multi-level yet generally unifying *PREPAREDNESS*-driven change mission in an acceptable|accepted way is key. Constantly satisfying various stakeholders' business-related *ganxingingyuan* hence, secures a highly individualized yet mutually beneficial acceptance of the now-*Sinicized* (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts and the now-*Sinicized* (alien) approaches|international best-practices. This backs the prevailing, company-internal *PREPAREDNESS* to stay with the change-process and its activities.

The successes of a multi-level yet generally unifying *PREPAREDNESS*-driven change mission notwithstanding, relying on *ganxingingyuan* as a particular engine of the change mission is prone to acquiring a life of its own. Availing of diverse stakeholders' multi-faceted change-related motives, motivators, and benefits-sought to finally reach a new, mutually beneficial yet Chinese company-appropriate|d, multiple hierarchies-spanning, *socio-organizational yidongbudong* from within gradually turns spreading the now-*Sinicized* (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, and the now-*Sinicized* (alien) approaches|international best-practices into a less manageable affair.

More and more confronted with an increasing degree of self-reliance, assertiveness, and self-assurance—mostly amongst working level stakeholders—when allowing *ganxingingyuan* to set the change-implementing and -guiding process's pace and tone, taking measures to channel *PREPAREDNESS* towards conserving and organizationally protecting the already established effective, accepted, mutually beneficial but still Chinese change approach becomes necessary.

Doing so assures that the now-*Sinicized* (unfamiliar) ideas|concepts, the now-*Sinicized* (alien) approaches|international best-practices and in their lee the now-*Sinicized* (foreign) person|change-agent are still regarded *zhengtong* in the light of either a change-supporting organizational crises or change-impeding broadsides/new coalitions.

A lasting, targeted, mutually benefitting *PREPAREDNESS*-kindling atmosphere and process to such an extent successfully established finally develops the *clockwork transformation* into a *socio-organizational* tradition that remains ingrained within the Chinese organizational setting—even if changes on managerial levels occur.

Nicht das **B**eginnen wird belohnt,
sondern einzig und allein das **D**urchhalten!

(Katharina von Siena – 1347-1380)