

After this appeal to embrace evangelical poverty, the document concludes with a detailed description of the conditions in the missionary countries. It never loses sight of the most important issue: choosing correctly and chasing “one’s own salvation” together with “the salvation of the souls” of the indigenous people.³⁰ The basis for a successful outcome for both goals lies in chastity (especially when dealing with the locals), obedience (toward the superiors and the Ignatian *Constitutions*), and poverty. The fundamental key for this discernment process is highlighted in point 20 by an almost *verbatim* quotation from Francis Xavier (1506–52). In a letter dated 1549 to his confreres in Goa, the “Apostle of the Indies” advised (through Amrhy’s words):³¹

It is a trap by the devil to lead one to believe that God has better plans for him elsewhere, whispering in his ears that he would do better in another office and place. The devil does this in order to worry, confuse, and distract those who work to the advantage of God where they are right now. He wants to take them away from the area in which they are successfully active into another, where they are supposed to serve the salvation of a smaller number of souls. He wants to redirect their zeal toward other tasks and places, causing them to work more negligently in their current office. On the one hand, such people never achieve anything in the place where they want to be because they never reached this place. On the other hand, neither do they achieve anything where they are because they are constantly distracted thinking about themselves in another place.³²

In any case, as the document concludes, every Jesuit should “trust God deep in his heart because He will always put him in the right place at the right time, sending him straight where his work will be most fruitful.”³³

1.2. “For the Missionaries in the Indies and in the Americas”

The second document of this German section is a collection of spiritual and practical advice for aspiring missionaries. Over a number of years, a few texts on the topic were collected at the Jesuit *collegium* of Ingolstadt and put into a single booklet. It ended up consisting of six “chapters,” individually analyzed below.

30 “eigene Vervollkommnung . . . Heil der Seelen.” Beckmann, 209, point 13.

31 Schurhammer and Wicki, *Epistolae*, 2:166–211, here 2:194. Letter to the confreres in Goa, Kagoshima, November 5, 1549.

32 Cf. Beckmann, “*Missionsaszetische Anweisungen*,” 213, point 20.

33 “Zugleich muss ihn das Vertrauen beseelen, dass Gott schon zur rechten Zeit den Vorgesetzten eingibt, dass sie ihn gerade dahin schicken, wo seine Arbeit am fruchtbarsten sein wird.” Beckmann, 213, point 20.

a) “Consultatio de profectione Indica” (Consultation About the Departure for the Indies)

The collection begins with a text intended for the *oratio communis* (the common prayer), which is divided into two preludes, three points, and one Colloquium. This is Jesuit material for meditational use, aimed at easing the decision-making process. The meditation taken from Luke in the introduction appeals to those who are carefully evaluating their vocation:

If you want to build a tower, don't you sit down first and calculate whether your means are sufficient for the whole project? Otherwise, it could happen that he who laid the foundation cannot finish the building. And everyone who saw it would mock him and say: He started a construction and was not able to finish it.³⁴

The first of the three points makes the biblical mandate of “mission” clear to the reader: “This is what the gospels proclaim among the infidel and barbarian countries, this is the real apostolic task.” A quotation from Matthew (16:26) is followed by a warning from Francis Xavier, who wrote to his confreres in Goa: “What use is it to a man if he wins the whole world, but loses his soul?”³⁵ The second point emphasizes the peculiarity of this vocation: “A great and extraordinary grace indeed.” This grace has correspondently extraordinary requirements: “All the virtues, strength, very ardent charity, invincible zeal.” Every Jesuit, before applying to become a missionary, needed to ask himself: “Do I possess these?”³⁶ The document deals then with the physical suitability of the candidate (“imbecillitas”). The aspiring missionary should try to “do to God the best graces through this Indian vocation, not being misled by the most cunning of the bad demons.”³⁷

At the end of the *oratio communis*, the candidate is exhorted again to carefully examine the origin of his vocation. He must check his own motivations—whether they are authentically inspired by God—and if he has all the skills and prerequisites mentioned in the previous points. He has to be particularly careful because his “call” could actually be more of a dangerous whisper orchestrated by the devil to disorient him and prevent him from saving anybody's soul—including his own.

34 “Suppose one of you wants to build a tower. Won't you first sit down and estimate the cost to see if you have enough money to complete it? For if you lay the foundation and are not able to finish it, everyone who sees it will ridicule you, saying, ‘This person began to build and wasn't able to finish,’” Luke 14:28–30.

35 Schurhammer and Wicki, *Epistolae*, 2:166–211, here 2:193. Letter to the confreres in Goa written from Kagoshima, November 5, 1549.

36 “magna et extraordinaria gratia est . . . magna virtutum omnium, fortitudinis, ardentissima charitatis, insuperabilis zelus Domini . . . Habeo?” *Pro missionariis Indiarum et Americae*, UBM, 4 Cod. Ms. 118, f. 1v.

37 “Agam Deo maximas gratias per vocationem Indicae, si tamen ab ipso et non astutissimo Cacodaemone.” 4 Cod. Ms. 118, f. 2r.

b) “Missionario Orientali necessaria sunt sequentia” (Everything Necessary to a Jesuit Who Wants to Leave for the East Indies)

While the *oratio communis* deals with general principles relevant for the aspiring missionary, the following section of the document more concretely analyzes “everything necessary to a Jesuit who wants to leave for the East Indies.”³⁸ In ten points, all the requirements and virtues of a missionary are here listed, including: “firm faith,” “firm hope,” “ardent mercy,” “regular prayer,” “humility,” “invincible patience,” “true chastity,” and “love for the Society of Jesus.”

The author might have had in mind a letter by Xavier to the fathers in Rome from 1542. The soon-to-be proclaimed saint (1622) stated that those who apply to become missionaries and those “who embrace the cross of our Lord will in this way find peace and happiness in this life of ordeals and pain. For him, just one death will exist: to flee the cross, or not to be worthy of it.”³⁹ This “cross,” which the missionary must carry on his shoulders, was rendered with an “Alphabetum crucis Indicae” made up of the following items:

Abandoning everything we love.
 Being prisoners of the Barbarians.
 Heat . . . Being despised in everything.
 Pain. Being ridiculed.
 Hunger. Cold.
 Bad smell.
 Inconvenient accommodation.
 Insults. Journeys. Illnesses.
 Efforts to speak. Fatigue.
 Different costumes. Martyrdom.
 Navigation. Nausea.
 Rough tasks.
 Poverty and neediness. Drinking water.
 Many dangers.
 Not knowing the environment.
 Thirst. Dirt. Solitude.
 Fears. Temptations. Storms.
 Being always on the alert.⁴⁰

38 “Missionario Orientali necessaria sunt sequentia.” 4 Cod. Ms. 118, f. 3r.

39 Schurhammer and Wicki: *Epistolae*, 1:116–29, here 1:127. The letter written by Xavier to the fathers in Rome from Goa (20 September 1542) stated: “Creo que los que gustan de la cruz de Christo nuestro Señor descansan viniendo en estos trabaxos, y mueren quando dellos hyuen o se hallan fuera dellos” (I believe that those who like the cross of Christ our Lord rest by doing these jobs, and die when they leave or are outside of them).

40 “The Alphabet of the Indian Cross”; UBM, 4 Cod. Ms. 118, f. 3v:

Abdicatio omnium amabilium.

Barbarorum convictus.

Calores summi. Contemptus in omnibus.

Dolores. Derisiones.

The alphabet is followed by a warning from St. Bernard (1090–1153): “We saw the crosses. We did not see the unctions.”⁴¹ This alphabetical list is concerned with spiritual characteristics and virtues. Its author seems familiar with what a missionary might experience from the first day of his new task. A first group of items are deeply rooted in the *Constitutions* of the Society of Jesus: indifference toward everything, both fears and temptations. A second area focuses on the dangers of the oceanic journey: ship travel, seasickness, fatigue, hunger, thirst, and cold. Finally, the last and biggest subdivision tries to prepare for the actual circumstances of the missionary environment: inhospitable dwellings, common meals with the “barbarians,” linguistic problems, different customs and habits, storms, loneliness, and waking nights. The repetition of three *i*’s (“iniurio, itinera, infirmitates”), three *s*’s (“sitis, sordes, solitudo”) and three *t*’s (“timores, tentationes, tempestates”) must have helped with memorizing them while meditating on them.

The first ten points give a heroic picture of the requirements for a missionary. The last ones, instead, address very concrete issues like seasickness, cultural misunderstandings, dirt, and dinners with rude people. Thanks to this last part of the list, the aspiring missionary could contemplate his future career far from home from a more realistic—and perhaps somewhat disillusioned—perspective.

On this point, it is interesting that the missionary must be ready to be ridiculed: Was this only a theoretical example, or was the author thinking about the Apostle of the Indies again? Xavier, in fact, did not conceal all of the times he felt mocked and misunderstood by his audience, for instance while he was in Japan.⁴² The author may also have been referring to all of the difficulties a German

Exercitatio a Nostris.
Fames. Frigora.
Graveolentia.
Habitatio incomoda.
Iniuria. Itinera. Infirmitates.
Linguarum labor. Lassitudines.
Mutatio morum. Martyrium.
Navigatio. Nausea.
Occupationes aspera.
Paupertas necessarione. Potus aquae.
Quantitates periculorum.
Regionum Novitas.
Sitis. Sordes. Solitudo.
Timores. tentationes. Tempestates.
Vigilia.

41 “Cruces videmus. Uctiones non videmus.” UBM, 4 Cod. Ms. 118, f. 3v.

42 Schurhammer and Wicki: *Epistolae*, 2:279–92, here 2:289, letter to Ignatius, Cochin, January 29, 1552: “son muy inoportunos, pryncypalmente con estrangeros, que los tyenen en poca conta, que syempre hazen burla dellos” (They are very inopportune, especially with strangers, who have little regard for them, who always make fun of it).

candidate may experience, a hypothesis that is supported by a *littera indipeta* sent from Germany. In 1724 Michael Klein, a brother who spent his life in Mainz and Heiligenstadt, wrote to General Tamburini:

He [the provincial] told me I have no hope of going to India anymore because the father general needs no more men, if Your Reverence is of the same opinion; in this way I will know I am doing God's will. It will hurt me to death. Not only because I have applied for such a long time, but because this is known in the whole province and, as long as I live, I will be vexed and laughed at.⁴³

“Stay at home” candidates like Michael Klein apparently became the objects of jokes by superiors and confreres in their colleges. A simple expression of interest in applying meant facing frustration not only because of the jokes, but also because of Jesuit rivals taking part in a sort of missionary competition.

Going back to the Ingolstadt collection, its authors focus on the specific circumstances of the journey and on the missionary territories. Three instructions contained in twenty-one pages introduce the future missionary to what will await him while accomplishing his tasks. First of all, there is a “Note for the Missionaries to be Sent to China without their Procurator.”⁴⁴ Then, in eleven points, a friend explains to Father Beat Amrhyn what he knew about the issue.⁴⁵ Finally, the last part of the document focuses on the territories of America and Ethiopia and raises the question of “How should *rudes* be instructed there?”⁴⁶ The book ends with a climax: a seven-page “interview” with a Jesuit working in the Asian missions, under the title “Answers Given by Father Heinrich Roth to Questions put on July 27.”⁴⁷

43 “Er hat mir gesagt, daß ich kein Hoffnung mehr hab, in Indien zu kommen, weil der P. General keine leuth mehr brauche, wan Euer Wohlehrwürden es auch also davorhalten, so werde ich mich wissen in den willen gottes zu (finden). Es wird mich zwar auf den todt schmerzen. Nicht weil ich so lange zeit hab angewendet, sondern weil es in der ganzen provinz bekannt ist und mich deswegen so lang ich leb, mich vexieren und auslachen lassen.” ARSI, *Rhen. Sup.* 42, f. 127, Michael Klein on December 23, 1724 from Mainz.

44 “Instructio pro PP. Missionariis profecturis in Chinam sine suo P.,” UBM, 4 Cod. Ms. 118, ff. 4r-7r.

45 “RP Beato Amrhyn a quodam Amico communicata, cum suo in spiritu et aliorum etiam Spirituali profectu.” UBM, 4 Cod. Ms. 118, ff. 8r-9r. On Amrhyn, see *DHCJ*, s.v. “Amrhyn, Beat.,” 1:156.

46 “Quomodo rudes instruendi sint? In America seu Ethiopia.” UBM, 4 Cod. Ms. 118, ff. 10r-11v.

47 “Responsa Reverendi Patri Henrici Roth his quaesitis data 27 July,” UBM, 4 Cod. Ms. 118, ff. 12r-15r. Unfortunately, the most interesting part of the document is in the worst-preserved condition; water damaged a large portion of the text. The date of this part is probably 1664, because in that year Roth returned to Europe from Asia. On Roth, see *DHCJ*, s.v. “Roth, Heinrich,” by Édouard Hambye, 4:3419.

c) **“Instructio per PP. Missionariis profecturis in Chinam sine suo P. Procuratore” (Note for the Missionaries to be Sent to China Without Their Procurator)**

Prospero Intorcetta (1625–96) was a Sicilian Jesuit who became the procurator of the Chinese vice-province.⁴⁸ During his trip back to Europe at the end of 1671, he was interviewed by an unknown Jesuit who took notes for the purpose of promoting the idea of future missionaries traveling to China without their procurator. Italian Jesuits usually left the Italian assistancy from the port city of Genoa headed to Lisbon, where they had to wait until the good season (March or April) came. The ships and their crew (which included the missionaries) then left Portugal and traveled east, circumnavigating Africa, stopping in Goa first and then in Macau. Only from there was it possible to reach the Chinese mainland.

Intorcetta's notes were probably addressed mainly to members of the Italian assistancy,⁴⁹ but these sheets eventually found their way to the Upper Germany province. Based on his personal experience, Intorcetta lists in fifteen points all of the small and big problems that could arise during a journey from Europe to Asia. Before becoming a missionary and a procurator, the Sicilian Jesuit had been a petitioner himself. He wrote several *indipetae* before being accepted for the Eastern missions, where he was sent together with the procurator Martino Martini (1614–61).⁵⁰ They arrived in Macau in 1659, after a long and arduous journey that lasted about three years due to the intervention of French pirates, the plague, and other misfortunes. In 1666, Intorcetta was appointed procurator of the Chinese vice-province and three years later he moved back to Rome in order to discuss the Rites Controversy with members of Propaganda Fide. Intorcetta experienced another perilous journey because a storm drove his ship to Brazil; he did not reach Rome until 1671.⁵¹ After successful negotiations he

48 See *DHCJ*, s.v. “Intorcetta, Prospero,” by Carmelo Capizzi, 3:2059–60, and Carmelo Capizzi, “Per una biografia scientifica di Prospero Intorcetta,” in *Scienziati siciliani gesuiti in Cina nel sec. XVII, Atti del convegno* (Palermo, Piazza Armerina, Caltagirone, Mineo, October 26–29, 1983), ed. Alcide Luini (Ternate [Varese]: Istituto Italo Cinese, 1985), 197–217.

49 The document includes a list of foods and drinks, rendered by the author in Italian because he could not find the Latin equivalent: for instance, see UBM, 4 Cod. Ms. 118, f. 5v: “uva, pasta, biscotti, vini, etc” (grapes, pasta, biscuits, wines, etc.).

50 See *DHCJ*, s.v. “Martini, Martino,” by Mario Zanfredini, 3:2528. Recently, Roman Malek and Arnold Zingerle, eds. *Martino Martini S.J. (1614–1661) und die Chinamission im 17. Jahrhundert* (Nettetal: Steyler, 2000). As for Intorcetta's *indipetae*, see ARSI, FG 744–47 at the numbers to be found in the typewritten catalogue available at ARSI.

51 Like other procurators, Intorcetta's stay in Europe also gave him the chance to inform his readership (both lay and religious) about the status of the Jesuit missions in the Qing empire. On this topic, he published in Rome in 1671 the *Compendiosa narratio de statu missionis Chinensis ab anno 1581 usque ad annum 1669*; see François Bontinck, *La lutte autour de la liturgie chinoise aux XVII et XVIII siècle* (Louvain: Nauwelaerts et Béatrice-Nauwelaerts, 1962), 437–58.

left the old continent again in 1673, accompanied by nine new recruits for the Chinese missions. In 1674 the group arrived in Macau and then entered the Qing empire.

The above-mentioned list was written during Intorcetta's European stay; it is based on his own life, with all the long voyages and obstacles he had had to face. The document aims at thoroughly preparing newly appointed missionaries for Asia. The formal title of "instruction" is rather deceptive; in fact, the reader never receives clear instructions on the route nor the names and addresses of people to get in contact with, as one might expect. These "instructions" have more of a spiritual dimension: they "coach" future travelers to Asia with respect to crises and doubts that may arise as the result of unfamiliar conditions, but above all in the face of the loneliness and foreignness of the Eastern missions.

Already in the introduction to the notes, Intorcetta refers to the "melancholies" and "inner bitterness" that fathers often experienced during the long sea voyage. These inner disorders could also result in tensions between the missionaries themselves. If one father says a harsh word to another, a reconciliation must be sought as soon as possible because "the sun does not rise above sudden anger."⁵² Intorcetta seems very concerned about not traveling under the influence of rage; to avoid it, he strongly recommends not spending the journey alone, withdrawn in the hull. It is better to help out, for instance by serving as a priest among Portuguese fellow travelers, and in this way also learning their language—even if "a modest fluency is enough."⁵³ When dealing with the Portuguese, Intorcetta's readers must only speak highly of their country, of which they were highly proud: "Always say honorable things about the Portuguese nation."⁵⁴ It was thanks to the Iberian empire, in fact, that the Society of Jesus had been able to establish so many missions in such distant territories.

From a practical point of view, Intorcetta advises against staying too much above deck because in these areas it was very easy to fall off the ship.⁵⁵ As for the spiritual part of the journey, the procurator invited his readers to not forget to say their prayers and to use the long time on board for their edification. They should try to celebrate proper masses, and therefore be sure of carrying with them all of the necessary paraphernalia, like travel altars.⁵⁶ Intorcetta also recommended bringing theology books, which were always useful in case of disputes among confreres about the fundamentals of the *doctrina christiana*.

52 See UBM, 4 Cod. Ms. 118, f. 4r, point 1: "amaritudines ... Sol non accidat super iracundiam."

53 "sufficit mediocritas." 4 Cod. Ms. 118, f. 4r, point 1.

54 "semper loquantur honorifice de Natione Lusitanica." 4 Cod. Ms. 118, f. 4r, point 1; in addition, the entire point 3 is devoted to this topic.

55 4 Cod. Ms. 118, f. 4v, point 5.

56 4 Cod. Ms. 118, f. 5r, point 6.

Finally, Intorcetta lists what his readers should pack in their baggage—which required a certain organizational effort before departure. Food influenced both soul and body, and it was of the utmost importance to think about it before setting sail. The Sicilian advised that, “What is impossible to find on any ship, and therefore you must bring with you is: a large supply of the best rusks and wine, hung sausages, sugar and sweets of all kinds, Spanish bread, biscuits of all kinds, cheese, eggs, pasta, almonds, nuts and preserved fruits, etc.”⁵⁷ Jesuits had not only to nourish themselves with this food, but also use it to prepare alms for their fellow travelers.⁵⁸ Intorcetta recommended that his readers take their own chickens, which were useful and would become valuable, especially in the case of illness.⁵⁹

To increase comfort during the journey, the fathers were further advised to bring a travel mattress with a pillow and a blanket.⁶⁰ As for the best apparel for an oceanic crossing, Intorcetta thought it was better to wear heavy European cloth. After landing in Goa, however, it was necessary to change to lighter linen cloth. This was the perfect chance to give the heavier garment to the Christians of the missions but also to encourage new converts with such gifts.⁶¹ A variety of other items that “could be useful in China”⁶² and that a missionary had to bring from Europe, are listed in point 13: images of the Savior, the Holy Virgin, and all the saints; relics; medals; Caravacca crosses; beautifully engraved emblems; maps; amber and pearls; and bracelets and clasps of fake stones and glass or crystal, such as women use as jewelry. The future missionary also should try to bring with him optical tubes, mirrors, toys, and items unknown to the Chinese, mathematical instruments of all kinds, and astronomical books. Celebration of the liturgy required missals, rituals, chalices and patens, appropriate clothing, etc. Finally, the Chinese were attracted to all of the new and curious inventions they were not acquainted with. Intorcetta leaves it to his readers to decide what will be used “for the consolation of Christians” or “to ingratiate for the favors of the gentile [not-Christian] governors.”⁶³

57 4 Cod. Ms. 118, f. 5v, point 7: “Et vero in navi nunquam deest, nec deesse debet, copia optimi Biscotti, et vini, farcimina, Dulciaria, Bellaria variis generis, panis hispanicis, Biscottuli omnis generis, caseus, uva, pasta, amigdala, nuces, fructis, asservari soliti, etc.”

58 4 Cod. Ms. 118, f. 5v, point 9.

59 Cf. Wolfgang Schneider, *Lexikon zur Arzneimittelgeschichte: Sachwörterbuch zur Geschichte der pharmazeutischen Botanik, Chemie, Mineralogie, Pharmakologie, Zoologie*, vol. 1, *Tierische Drogen* (Frankfurt: Govi, 1968), 39–40.

60 See: UBM, 4 Cod. Ms. 118, f. 6r, point 11: Intorcetta recommends that the traveler carry a “Matarazatta viatoria” (mattress) and a “cullitra” (pillow).

61 4 Cod. Ms. 118, under point 12.

62 4 Cod. Ms. 118, f. 6r, point 13.

63 4 Cod. Ms. 118, f. 6v.

The author of the “Instructio” then comments on the journey from Goa to Macau, which had to be undertaken on commercial ships and depended on the meteorological and wind conditions.⁶⁴ Finally, he notes that if the Jesuit finds himself at anytime in financial need, he should remember that “missionaries have the right to beg.”⁶⁵

d) “Puncta R. P. Beato Amrhyh a quodam Amico communicata, cum suo in spiritu et aliorum etiam spirituali profectu” (Advice That a Friend Shared with Reverend Father Amrhyh for His Own Spiritual Progress and That of Others)

This section contains advice that Beat Amrhyh was given by a friend on “progress in all spiritual things,” as the title says. Very meditative in their style, this list introduces the aspiring missionary to the actual reality of the foreign missions. As a “companion of Christ,” Amrhyh holds, in this text, a meditation on the cross in his hands, which strongly recalls the idea of martyrdom.⁶⁶ Obedience to Christ and suffering until death is the religious ideal of every missionary; the “real companion of Christ” must “devote himself to God’s will until death” as the only way to adhere to the true spirit of the Society of Jesus.⁶⁷ The person meditating is encouraged to invoke all of the martyrs every day and revere all of the religious warriors who will help him finally reach heaven.⁶⁸

Beat Amrhyh, the actual addressee of this section, did as he was advised as shown by the claims in his *indipeta* dated 1662: “I blush when I compare my own poor and unworthy qualities with the heroic virtues of all of those fathers and brothers who act and suffer in every part of the world for the glory of God and the salvation of the souls.”⁶⁹ This confirms how all of these prayer suggestions were not just theory but became practice for those who received them.

Like the “Consultatio de Profectione Indica,” this “informational brochure” has a second purely meditative focus addressing the examination of conscience. The reader must ascertain whether his actions are oriented to an authentic *Imitatio Christi* and conform to God’s plan.

64 4 Cod. Ms. 118, f. 6v, point 14.

65 “Missionarius habet facultatem mendicandi.” 4 Cod. Ms. 118, f. 6r, point 15.

66 “Socius Jesu.” 4 Cod. Ms. 118, f. 8v, point 8.

67 “verus Socius Jesu . . . divino voluntatis usque ad mortem se impendere.” 4 Cod. Ms. 118, f. 8v, point 8.

68 4 Cod. Ms. 118, f. 8v, point 9.

69 See ARSI, *FG* 754, f. 7. Beat Amrhyh wrote in July 1662 from Ingolstadt: “Erubescio quidem ipse tenuitatem meam et spiritus inopiam, quando illam confero cum heroicis virtutibus illorum Patrum ac Fratrum, qui in variis orbis partibus pro Dei Gloria et animarum salute tam fortia agunt, et tam dura patiuntur.”

e) “Quomodo rudes instruendi sint? In America seu Ethiopia” (How Should Rudes be Instructed in America and Ethiopia?)

Who are the *rudes*? They are literally the “raw,” untrained, and inexperienced peoples whom the new missionaries aim to convert.⁷⁰ Aspiring missionaries are introduced to this topic by a compact presentation of various hypotheses by the theorist of missions Father Juan de Alloza (1597–1666) in his treatise *Flores summarum seu alphabetum morale* (1665).⁷¹ It is of the utmost importance to convert and then secure the new faith of Ethiopians, Indians, and all others the missionaries encounter; they cry out for eternal salvation, and only Jesus Christ can redeem them.⁷² The Our Father is the best way to teach them how to properly pray; the missionary, however, does not have to repeat all of the Christian principles verbatim: it is sufficient if the converts know the main points.⁷³ A few articles of faith, such as the divinity of Jesus, his resurrection, and the role of God as a creator are enough for converts to agree with them, even if they do not fully understand them.⁷⁴ Even during confession, grace should always prevail over justice: recent converts were simply not able to fully be aware of their sins (*propter incapacitatem*), and the pastor should help them by inquiring in the utmost discretion.⁷⁵

The picture offered by this document is undoubtedly one-dimensional and Eurocentric. The missionary is interested in the human beings he will meet only insofar as they are potential converts. Following the logic of the tabula rasa principle, the missionary aspirant is shown here that he will not encounter any resistance to accepting Christian beliefs from persons to be converted, but will at most have to reckon with intellectual problems expressed by new converts. This scenario may have seemed strange to a German Jesuit, used to operating in a context in which theological controversies were a constant, and some aspiring missionaries noticed the apparent paradox. For instance, Bernhard Rechlinger (1600–35) applied for the Indies from Ingolstadt when he was nineteen years old and remarked that one single man could do in China what it would take one hundred men to do in Germany.⁷⁶ Wilhelm Gumpfenberg (1609–75) had the same

70 On the present-day use of the term, see Maurizio Costa, “È ancora attuale per la Compagnia di Gesù l’insegnamento della dottrina cristiana ai ‘pueri ac rudes’?,” *Gregorianum* 85, no. 1 (2004): 88–112.

71 Juan de Alloza, *Flores summarum seu alphabetum morale, omnium fere casuum, qui confessariis contingere possunt* (Lieja 1665) (published in nine editions). On Alloza, see *DHCJ*, s.v. “Alloza, Juan de,” by Enrique G. Fernández and Javier Baptista, 1:78–79.

72 See UBM, 4 Cod. Ms. 118, f. 10r.

73 4 Cod. Ms. 118, f. 10r.

74 4 Cod. Ms. 118, f. 10v.

75 4 Cod. Ms. 118, f. 11r.

76 See Bernhard Rechlinger on September 30, 1619 from Ingolstadt. ARSI, *Germ. Sup.* 18 II, f. 360.

thought—in his application from 1641, he stated that he expected to do more in the Indies in one day than he could in Germany in ten years. Gumpfenberg also mentioned his provincial, who had told him that it was good to renounce three theological chairs if this meant saving even one soul.⁷⁷

f) “Responsa RP Henrici Roth his quaesitis data 27 July [1664]” (Answers Given by Father Heinrich Roth to Questions Put on July 27)

The most interesting (but unfortunately also the worst-preserved) part of this booklet is the “interview” with Heinrich Roth (1620–68). A missionary in Asia, he was asked a total of twenty-seven questions. Mission-related information—from securing means of travel to the correct behavior in situations of crisis—was at the core of this “Q&A” section.

“How often should one apply to the superiors in Rome for the missions in the Indies?” is the opening question.⁷⁸ Father Roth recommended writing once every six months. He also advised not to do so in January because at the beginning of the year the Roman Curia was always overwhelmed by the annual letters coming from all of the provinces.

The next question turns to the qualifications that could advantage a candidate’s application. Roth suggests paying special attention to the study of mathematics and astronomy, but also confirms that being a skilled artist may help. Once the application is accepted, the German assistant will take care of everything.⁷⁹

A large part of the interview concerns the items a missionary should take with him when traveling, listed as follows:

1: Two volumes of spiritual books (including Thomas à Kempis); 2: the breviary, 3: No more than three overcoats and two pairs of socks; 4: A useful medical reference work; 5: Sufficient ointments, including a wound cream; 6: Medicine not available in Asia, such as Dr. Müller’s pills and Emanueli’s pills, etc.⁸⁰

The next thematic block (which is particularly badly damaged) deals with the life of the missionaries during the journey. From a linguistic point of view, Roth

77 Wilhelm Gumpfenberg expressed this thought on September 29, 1641 from Ingolstadt. ARSI, *Germ. Sup.* 18 III, f. 503. This delicate topic was not new to the *litterae indipetae*: similar examples for the Italian province are mentioned in Alessandro Guerra, “Per un’archeologia della strategia missionaria dei Gesuiti: le *Indipetae* e il sacrificio nella ‘vigna del signore,’” *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà* 13 (2000): 109–92.

78 See UBM, 4 Cod. Ms. 118, f. 12r: “Quoties interim petenda est Missio Indica apud Superiores Romae?”

79 4 Cod. Ms. 118, f. 12r.

80 4 Cod. Ms. 118, f. 12r–12v. The so-called “Emanueli’s pills” were at the time a popular tonic, supposedly acting as a preventive agent against multiple diseases. See, for instance, Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universallexikon aller Wissenschaften und Künste, welche bisher durch menschlichen Verstand und Witz erfunden und verbessert wurden (...)*, 64 vols. (Halle-Leipzig: Zeller, 1732–54), here: vol. 28, col. 267.

strongly recommends learning Portuguese. The “Indian languages” will possibly cause problems, especially for the Germans, since they could be characterized by rough pronunciations.⁸¹ As a foundation, every candidate should possess “a strong body, love for suffering, and linguistic skills.”⁸² Roth also advises on the behavior and attitude a missionary should adopt after his arrival in Asia. He should be informed of where to find accommodations for the night and always be aware of the frequent “nocturnal robberies.”⁸³ A missionary would often be alone and in dangerous situations he can rely only on himself—and God. In any case, the best companions for any journey are, according to Roth, humility, happiness, and prayer.⁸⁴

This booklet is extraordinary, presenting information in the form of an “interview” between an aspiring and an already-experienced missionary. In this document, a firsthand report related to the doubts of missionaries has survived into the present day, which to our knowledge is very unusual. The questions and answers range from the conditions for being accepted into the missions to tips on how to safely spend the night in China. This kind of advice shows how this pamphlet could be dedicated not only to petitioners whose applications have been accepted, but to all interested parties. Many details about its genesis and history are unfortunately not clear: How did such a document end up in this collection, which was created only after 1671? Who is the interviewer who presumably took notes of this conversation in a draft and only at a later time put it down in this booklet?⁸⁵

With this record, a putative missionary from the College of Ingolstadt held in his hands a mix of meditative and practical information. He had access to a means of questioning the reason for his missionary stimulus and the real motivations behind it, as well as a picture of how life overseas would be. The travel conditions are described with an almost-relentless openness and by

81 UBM, 4 Cod. Ms. 118, f. 13r.

82 “corporis robur, & laboris amorem, & linguarum capacitatem.” 4 Cod. Ms. 118, f. 13v. Unfortunately, the related question cannot be read.

83 “praedonibus nocturnis.” 4 Cod. Ms. 118, f. 14r.

84 4 Cod. Ms. 118, f. 15r.

85 Two elements corroborate this hypothesis. On the one hand, Roth’s answers are always formulated in the third person (“P. Roth dicit . . . vidit,” etc.; Father Roth said . . . saw); on the other, the compiler of the document probably did not want to use a new sheet of paper (for the sake of economy); therefore later lines have been inserted below earlier ones. The compiler begins the last sentence with a “Praeterea [P. Roth] addidit” (Moreover, Father Roth added), which suggests that he remembered something that happened in the past or that he was not able to transcribe clearly what Intorcetta was saying. On the connection between Roth’s visit and the creation of this document, see Christoph Nebgen, “Georg Lyprand und Heinrich Roth als Multiplikatoren für die außereuropäischen Missionen,” in *Ein Dillinger in Indien: Heinrich Roth S.J. (1620–1668)*, ed. Claudia Wiener, Veronika Lukas, and Julius Oswald (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2022), 57–70.

someone who personally experienced them. The missionary's first commandment was to convert—and thus bring to salvation—peoples who previously had not been saved because of their religious “ignorance.” The ways to do that were many, some of them involving questionable methods, like luring new converts with glass beads and clothing. To *understand* “the other” was not expected or desired.

In summary, the booklet *For the Missionaries in the Indies and in the Americas* was used in the College of Ingolstadt, whose patron was Francis Xavier. This is not a coincidence: the majority of German *indipetae* were sent by this very college, and Ingolstadt was a major university town on the Danube. As for the “editor,” his identity remains unknown. The relevant sections were probably compiled and preserved separately before being bound in this little booklet. The interview with Roth can be dated to 1664, the instructions from Intorcetta were transcribed around 1671, and those to Amrhyn (who died in 1673 off the coast of Guinea while traveling to the East) were collected by an anonymous friend.

The individual fragments were assembled in around 1672 and supplemented with an introductory prayer and *excerpta* from theoretical works related to missions. The assembly of the fragments may have been a reaction of the Jesuit leadership to a sharp increase in the number of *indipetae*, which in 1671 had leveled off at around twenty-five from the Upper German province alone. In any case, the existence of the booklet is significant and is connected to a new way of thinking about the desire for foreign missions expressed by German Jesuits. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the Roman Curia could not proclaim that “Germany is its own India” anymore. Young German Jesuits had gained the right to apply for the Indies like their southern European confreres had done, and the German superiors tried to orient this desire toward an acceptable praxis.⁸⁶

The same applies to the twenty-one points of instruction preserved in Franz Xaver Amrhyn's record. This text depends on the *Constitutions*, the *Spiritual Exercises*, and Jesuit cornerstones like José de Acosta and Francis Xavier. These normative sources of the Society of Jesus were enriched with reports based on the real experience of missionaries in the Indies. By reading this document (or listening to someone else reading it; for instance, during common meals), an aspiring missionary would have had access to both sides of the story. The basis of

86 Allowing German Jesuit to join the overseas missions was a turning point in the history of the Society of Jesus, and in the history of the German Jesuits. It is not by chance that this booklet was produced in the college of Ingolstadt at the time when it became possible for German Jesuits to dream about the Americas and Asia. On this point, see Maldavsky, Aliocha. “Conectando territorios y sociedades. La movilidad de los misioneros jesuitas en el mundo ibérico (siglos XVI-XVIII),” *Historica* 38, no. 2 (2014): 71–109.

this instruction always remains the evangelical counsels, whose particular value is emphasized in the missionary, non-European environment, reformulated according to the context: for example, the strict practice of chastity among scantily clad “Indians”; the rigid commandment of poverty in an environment of disfavored colonists; the call to mutual interaction in obedience and love, especially between confreres of different nationalities and levels of education, and—up to a certain point—different interests.

It is fascinating how the Jesuit leadership tried to formalize applications for the Indies in a specific direction. The superior general in Rome had the last word on every appointment, yet the provincials wanted to know which resources they stood to lose forever because they were interested in a missionary career. Provincials wanted to be informed at every step of the process, but every choice had to be taken in obedience to the *Constitution*, which prescribed that superiors general had the authority to send each Jesuit “wheresoever they shall judge most expedient.”⁸⁷

87 *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, Part 7, Chapter 2, Point 1; see <https://archive.org/details/constitutionesso00jesuoft/page/n5/mode/2up> (London, 1838).

Interview with the Missionary: Frequently Asked Questions for Jesuit Petitioners for the Indies
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