



St. Francis Xavier. 1st half of the 17th century Portuguese work. Polychrome wood and silver.

A Passage through India

Jesuit Missionaries en Route to East Asia, 1570-1700¹

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On Wednesday, September 21, the feast of the Apostle St. Matthew, in 1583, the carrack *Santiago* carrying future missionary João Rodrigues Girão and seven other Jesuits dropped anchor at the “yearned-for bar of Goa.”² After five months and thirteen days on “such long and frightful seas,” during which the remarkably low number of only nine people aboard died, the group awaited their reception by their colleagues from the Society of Jesus’ Colégio de São Paulo. The following morning, Rodrigues Girão wrote to his former rector at Coimbra, “they came to find us from the college with much music, and I can tell Your Reverence that I was so happy when from the ship I saw the *padres* and the children from the chapel that arrived singing a *benedictus* that the past labors seemed like nothing to me.”³ After disembarking, he continued, they walked the three leagues to the college “where we were received by all with great joy.” Content to have arrived in a mission territory where he could get to work spreading the Christian gospel, he possibly remarked for the first time during this trip as he would later, “there are many heathens in this city, who give the brothers who come to this college many chances to exercise their holy desires.”

For many young Jesuits such as João Rodrigues Girão, however, Goa was merely a stepping stone on

the path to their eventual missionary assignments in Japan or China. In their eyes, the reason for this jubilation was that they had survived the treacherous sea passage around the Cape of Good Hope and could contribute to spreading the gospel in Asia.⁴ They had left Lisbon with official letters from the Society of Jesus’ General in Rome permitting them to carry out the order’s spiritual ministries in the *Índias*. After arriving in Goa, the bustling capital of the Portuguese *Estado da Índia*, they eagerly awaited their turn to sail off to China or Japan to realize their missionary vocations.⁵ Yet due to the nature of contemporary travel and a host of other factors, many Jesuits who had left Europe in the hopes of heading straight for the East Asian mission fields would have to spend months or years in India waiting for their chance. For many of those who hoped to participate in the Society’s celebrated Japan or China enterprises, however, this layover time on the banks of the Mandovi was far too long, a serious frustration for would-be missionaries. Worse than the monsoon winds that stopped their travel, however, were the local Jesuit superiors who refused to let them continue onward to Macao. To them, it appeared, *Índia* blocked their way to the “Indies.” The following discussion will analyze the reasons for the East Asian missionaries’ prolonged stays at the Colégio de São Paulo in Goa, as well as the consequences and reactions to obstacles created by this “passage through India.”

The capital of the *Estado da Índia* held a special significance for the Society of Jesus, and especially for Jesuit missionaries in Asia. It was there that Francis Xavier, the “Apostle of the Indies,” had officially inaugurated the order’s missionary work among non-Christians, and it was there that he was buried.⁶ Arriving Jesuits would have immediately been beckoned to his elaborate silver casket, where they could pray by the side of one of the Society’s founding members and first saints. Near this sacred spot in the

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Ruins of São Paulo Jesuit college in Goa. Photo Leong Ka Tai (IC Archives), 1980s.

Colégio de São Paulo lived a substantial community of Jesuits, an institution founded by Xavier himself in 1542.⁷ He had created this institution to serve as a marshalling post and a training center for Jesuits heading to all of the missions of the Society's East Indian Province, originally stretching from Mozambique to Miyako (modern-day Kyoto). Although this administrative unit would later be divided into the Goa, Malabar, and Japan provinces and the Vice-Province of China as the order's enterprises grew over the course of the early modern period, this college retained its importance.⁸

Strategically situated at the primary communication nexus between Europe and Portuguese Asia, it gradually grew to be the Society's largest college in Asia with the largest concentration of Jesuits east of Europe.

Besides serving as the headquarters for the order's far-flung missionary enterprises, the Colégio de São Paulo also served important functions within Portuguese colonial society. Since the Jesuits were perhaps the most influential religious order in the *Estado da Índia* and because they were directly dependant on secular largesse for their financial support, the Society of Jesus prominently situated this

important center close to the seat of Portuguese imperial and commercial power. Playing a similar social role in Goa that other Jesuit colleges did in Europe, the Colégio de São Paulo attended to the spiritual needs of the colonial population and educated its sons. Over the course of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it grew to have a large teaching faculty and a complement of theologians and preachers worthy of a capital city with a resident viceroy and numerous *fidalgos*. In reward for services rendered, the Goa Jesuits reaped the same benefits as their colleagues back in Europe from the rich and the powerful: land to provide yearly rents and endowments to sustain their apostolic activities, both locally and abroad.⁹ Such a close relationship to the colonial élites and Luso-Indian community, however, meant that the Jesuits in Goa performed ministries that much more closely resembled those of the preachers, confessors, and teachers of Europe rather than those of famous missionaries like Francis Xavier.

At the Colégio de São Paulo, therefore, the Jesuits' primary public ministries were teaching and providing pastoral care to the city's residents. Soon after

have in the college are those who sing."¹² Often on Sundays and feasts, claimed another, the Jesuits preached "in the cathedral and other principal parishes of this city, [and hear] many confessions both ordinary and general ones from which much fruit is culled, particularly on jubilee days when ordinarily more than one thousand people take communion in our church."¹³ In addition to these ministries, this Jesuit continued to report, members of the Society also hear confessions from both the slaves and the Indian Christians, and teach doctrine and preach in the galleys and jails "which greatly edifies the Portuguese."

Beyond the services it provided to the colonial population, the Colégio de São Paulo was also responsible for training Jesuits for other missions. Since many young missionary-hopefuls left Portugal with only a portion of their required academic training, they had to complete their studies once they arrived in India. Given the dangerous nature of the voyage and the reluctance of European provinces to release their most talented members for service overseas, young men in good health who had already fostered missionary vocations formed the bulk of the Jesuits sent to Goa.

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Xavier had designated this establishment a college, it made the education of the local youth a central activity. Three years after its founding, in 1545, there were already 60 students at the college drawn from the sons of the Portuguese colonists, either European or Luso-Indian.¹⁰ Thirty-five years later, two Jesuit *padres* or brothers would be teaching reading, writing, and counting to approximately seven hundred students.¹¹ By this time there were also three classes of Latin grammar, rhetoric, and the humanities offered to the city's youth. Just as they did in Europe, the Jesuits also provided many spiritual ministries to the local population. According to one contemporary Jesuit observer, "in the church there is always a great crowd of people, where mass is sung with organ music every Sunday and feast day, and preaching [is said], and in some of the most important [feasts] mass is said with a deacon and a subdeacon...and the children that we

Once these recruits arrived at Goa, they had to be housed, fed, and educated before continuing on to their mission provinces. Most often, they needed to finish their studies of Aristotelian philosophy, a three-year program, and moral and speculative scholastic theology, a four-year program.¹⁴ In order to meet these institutional needs, therefore, the Colégio de São Paulo offered classes in both subjects. Already in 1580, there was one class in philosophy and one in moral theology, or casuistry.¹⁵ Yet the expansion of the Society's missionary activities starting in this period demanded an even greater emphasis on teaching young Jesuits. Therefore, by 1594, the college had five instructors dedicated to giving this type of training for thirty-four scholastics—two for speculative theology, two for casuistry, and one for philosophy.¹⁶ By the early seventeenth century, these numbers had increased again. In 1608, the college had a permanent faculty of



Map of Goa, sixteenth century. Original at Biblioteca Nacional (Lisbon).

eighteen instructors who were responsible for providing the academic formation for fifty-one Jesuit students and hundreds of colonial youths.¹⁷

Added to these training responsibilities, the staff of the Colégio de São Paulo was also charged with coordinating and outfitting its dependent missions, including those in the East Asian provinces. According to a 1580 report by visitor Alessandro Valignano, the Roman Generals' official delegate to the Asian missions from 1574 until his death in 1606, these activities gave the Colégio de São Paulo "greater occupations than any other college of the Society in Europe, no matter how big, and even more than four big colleges combined."¹⁸ Here he referred to the continual chore of buying and packing the required goods for so many

mission stations, "in such a way that this college is perpetually on loading and offloading supplies and people." This was so much work, he claimed, that "since there is not a sufficient number of brother coadjutors to take care of all this, it is always necessary to occupy some *padre* students and scholastics with it." When not detained with this manual labor, the scholastics also performed another crucial task, copying the Jesuits' voluminous correspondence. In Valignano's opinion, to fulfill this necessary task of "writing to Portugal and Rome by three or four routes, and for sending all over the province copies of the things and letters that are written in Europe, ... this job of writing is done so long that no one can understand nor believe it but those who have suffered and experienced it."¹⁹

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Despite the large numbers of Jesuits at the Colégio de São Paulo, the Goa Jesuits were in constant need of manpower to meet their various public and internal obligations. As Valignano had noted in 1580, the eighty or ninety men were far from being enough to handle all of the Society's duties.²⁰ Even as the community at the college expanded over the course of the seventeenth century to over one hundred Jesuits, there were still not enough men available for all of its ministries.²¹ In order to make up for this lack of trained men, the Goa Jesuits turned to recruiting newly arrived Portuguese but were faced with a host of problems. First, they were not permitted to accept Indian Christians into their ranks, meaning they had to rely on those seculars who arrived at Goa for new novices. Second, these would-be colonists, merchants, soldiers, or adventurers proved very difficult to transform into acceptable religious. As college rector Manuel do Valle wrote, it was necessary to enroll those who arrived "looking for religion" as soon as the ships arrived from Portugal before they got "spread among the fleets and lands of India."²² If the Society wasted any time, he continued, it was impossible for them to make adequate Jesuits since they lost "the goodness with which they came from Portugal, and, once they are accustomed to the freedom of India, [they] cannot be accommodated to the constraints of religious life."

The Goa Jesuits, therefore, had to rely primarily on young recruits sent from the Portuguese or other European colleges intent on serving in the *Índias*, just like the other Asian provinces. Far from being an obligation for European Jesuits, missionary work was reserved for those who successfully completed an arduous selection process. Young Jesuits who wanted to serve in the overseas missions had to write letters to their local and provincial superiors before getting permission to petition the General in Rome for an assignment. While this process appears to have been easier for Portuguese Jesuits than for other Europeans who wanted to serve in the missions located within or

in proximity to the *Estado da Índia*, it still demanded considerable persistence and zeal. Although it is difficult to ascertain the exact motives behind many of the petitions that were sent to Rome, certain themes do appear frequently in the letters, known as *indipetae* or Indies petitions, preserved in European archives.²³ Foremost among these were the will to follow in the footsteps of Francis Xavier or the desire to be martyred. But since the India Jesuits did not have a well-publicized martyr or series of martyrs until news of João de Brito's fate was publicized in the late seventeenth century, few young Europeans specifically asked to serve in India.²⁴ They therefore often had to increase their numbers by benefiting from the fact that many Jesuits simply petitioned for service in the *Índias*, without specifying where they wanted to realize their vocations.

Even with these European recruits, however, the Goa Jesuits could still not meet all of their obligations. But the fact that they provided such valuable services to other missions presented them with an easy solution—they could make use of the young missionaries who passed through on their way elsewhere. The future missionaries of the Province of Japan and the Vice-Province of China and Japan who landed in Goa as transients were, therefore, prime candidates. Since many who had petitioned for service in East Asia had to complete their studies at the Colégio de São Paulo before heading east, they provided the additional manpower needed by the India Province. And, since the Society appears to have required all of its missionaries to have some teaching experience, the Goa Jesuits could benefit from a readily available labor pool that needed assignments in the Society's classrooms. Therefore, Jesuits who arrived at the college to complete their studies were quickly incorporated into the numbers of scholastics and assigned to help with the burdensome tasks described above. From the perspective of the Goa Jesuits, their prolonged educational commitment—often ranging from two to

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Portuguese nobleman and Christian women in Portuguese India, from the 'Casatense codex', no. 1889 (1548), anonymous. The original is in the Casatense Library, Rome.

five years—created a significant debt of services between them and their colleagues in China and Japan. For the East Asian missions suffering acute chronic manpower shortages, this period that their recruits spent in Goa was a necessary evil, but one that would hopefully be short. Over the course of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, however, continual conflicts between the Indian and East Asian provinces ensued as both fought to adequately staff their respective enterprises.

The Society's personnel catalogs are the best source for understanding how future China and Japan missionaries worked their way through the Colégio de São Paulo and the other institutions run by the Jesuits of the Province of Goa. While it is virtually impossible to know precisely who had originally petitioned for missionary work in East Asia, the traces of several future missionaries can be found among the province's yearly and triennial registers. For instance, in the catalog for

1600, both Bartolomeo Tedeschi and Pedro Ribero were studying at São Paulo, the former at the beginning and the latter in the third year of his theology studies.²⁵ Later on, in 1619, mission procurator Nicolas Trigault left ten students belonging to the newly-formed Vice-Province of China in Goa to finish their studies.²⁶ Towards the middle of the seventeenth century, others such as Jean Valat and Etienne Faber studied Asian languages in India before heading to China, with Faber studying Japanese upon his arrival in Goa in 1629 and Valat learning Kanarese at the College of Rachol after 1645.²⁷ Future East Asian missions visitor Sebastião de Almeida studied both philosophy and theology between 1647 and 1653 in India after joining the order in Goa.²⁸ Through the end of the century, Jesuits bound for service in East Asia continued to receive part of their formation at the Indian colleges. Tomé Pereira, future missionary at the Kangxi court, studied both philosophy and theology at Goa after his arrival

in 1666 until his departure for Macao in 1672.²⁹ And, in the 1697 report on the China mission sent to the king of Portugal, the throne was notified that several Jesuits were still at the capital of the *Estado da Índia* finishing their studies.³⁰ This continual presence of future East Asian missionaries at the college gave the Goa Jesuits enough reason to demand some sort of recompense.

Since the East Asian missions had neither the resources to train their own missionaries nor the money to pay for their sustenance in Goa, they were forced to let their recruits serve in India. Therefore, after completing their studies, many “in transit” missionaries were assigned to teach at the Colégio de São Paulo or in one of the other colleges belonging to the Province of Goa. With over fifteen faculty positions to fill at the main college each year, and three or four others at both of the schools in Cochin and Salcette, there were many positions available for gaining this necessary experience of the Society’s signature European ministry. Besides providing young missionaries with a firsthand knowledge of their order’s primary public service, however, this time spent teaching also gave them critical organizational skills that they would later employ in the mission field for bringing together dispersed groups of Christians with limited numbers of priests. Many of the future East Asian missionaries therefore served in the Society’s Indian colleges teaching either in the lower (grammar and rhetoric) or upper (philosophy and theology) schools depending on their individual skills. For instance, Matteo Ricci, the famed co-founder of the China mission, taught rhetoric at Goa and Cochin for more than three years (1578-1582) before being called to help Michele Ruggieri at Zhaoqing in Guangdong province.³¹ Others such as Feliciano Pacheco and Tomé Pereira both taught Latin grammar and served as Masters of Novices in the Society’s novitiate in Goa.³² Other future missionaries who had given clear proof of their intellectual abilities were assigned to teach in the higher schools. Among these was Mathais de Maya, future missionary to Hainan Island and provincial of the Japan mission, who taught theology at the Colégio de São Paulo before completing his journey to Macao.³³

While at first glance this trade-off between the over-burdened Province of Goa and the East Asian missions appears to have been an equitable arrangement for both parties, in reality it heavily favored the Indian

Jesuits. From their strategic position, they could control the flow of missionaries from Europe to East Asia and siphon them off for service in India at will for years on end. Given their own institutional needs and the amount of resources they devoted to helping others, they felt justified in retaining missionaries as long as they needed them, causing a considerable amount of intra-order tension. Three principal reasons gradually drove the Japan and China missions to take concrete steps to avoid having their recruits spend much time in India: the corrupting atmosphere of colonial India, the insalubrious climate, and the unnecessarily long detainment of their much-needed men.

The primary reason why the East Asian provinces did not want their men spending too much time in the Province of Goa was their poor estimation of colonial society in the *Estado da Índia*. Although the Jesuits continually devoted much of their available manpower to educating Luso-Indian and *Reinol* (Portuguese-born) youth, even the Goa Jesuits complained that their efforts were in vain. In fact, as early as the 1540s, one disillusioned founder of the Colégio de São Paulo asserted that in this Portuguese city, “studies have no value in themselves.”³⁴ Almost forty years later, the Jesuit prefect of studies at Goa requested that the Society reduce its teaching obligations because India was “more a land of soldiers than of students.”³⁵ Alessandro Valignano further echoed these sentiments when he wrote to Rome that the Society would “always have very weak studies here in India.”³⁶

While the Society tried to instill proper Christian habits and knowledge into the colonial populace through education, they felt powerless before what they held to be a corrupting atmosphere. Religion, they felt, was the first to suffer in this environment. Valignano attributed the Jesuits’ problems to the very nature of Luso-Indian society; its “sensuality and carnal vices,” the fact that its children are raised “spoiled and with vices, with little spiritual capacity,” and that the “continuous heat and great liberty are contrary to the spirit” and its inhabitants have “their bodies and spirits debilitated and weakened.”³⁷ Even the few clergy in the *Estado da Índia* had little fervor, he continued, since they received minimal pensions from the Portuguese crown and sustained themselves by “trafficking merchandise like the seculars.”³⁸ In this social climate, Lobo d’Abreu, one of the provincial consultors in the

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1580s, remarked that “India is a very distracting and lazy land, [where] rather than gain zeal, one often loses it.”³⁹ Such sentiments, echoed throughout the early modern period, were especially troubling to the East Asian Jesuits who depended on the Colégio de São Paulo. For example, Francesco Brancati, the Jesuit in charge of the Shanghai Church from the 1640s to the 1660s, lamented that the Vice-Province’s students “from Europe easily get soft and indifferent in the schools in India.”⁴⁰ Since each Jesuit’s individual zeal was crucial for helping them remain motivated in the mission field, especially in China where they were often alone with their converts, this time in India posed a direct threat to the viability of the East Asian missions.

As Valignano suggested in the above description, another reason the China and Japan Jesuits were unhappy to leave their recruits in at the Colégio de São Paulo was that it was a notoriously unhealthy place. He wrote elsewhere to his Roman superiors that Goa was an “infirm” place where “continual and long” illnesses gave the Jesuits there labors that were “almost insufferable and unbearable.”⁴¹ One of the most common refrains in Jesuit correspondence from India was about the numbers of new arrivals that fell ill from tropical illnesses. One Jesuit commentator even wrote that “India is a healthy land; only this city and college of Goa are very [disease-ridden], and for this reason the studies do not progress, mostly because the periods of convalescence are incredibly long.”⁴² He went on to say that these continual illnesses also “greatly spoil the spirit, and so the brothers [scholastics]...are left with neither spirit nor letters.” Given the high mortality rates during the sea passage to Goa—over fifty percent for China-bound Jesuits in the seventeenth century—the risk of losing more men who were safely on land greatly concerned the superiors of the chronically understaffed East Asian missions.⁴³

A third reason for having their missionaries avoid the Colégio de São Paulo, the East Asian Jesuits felt, was that their colleagues in charge of the Province of Goa had been deeply affected by this corrupting atmosphere and often overstepped their administrative bounds. In order to meet their obligations to the local colonial populace, they frequently assigned students belonging to the China and Japan missions to be confessors, teachers, and preachers. Even for those who were merely wintering at Goa waiting for the monsoons to sail to Macao, there was a distinct possibility of being

unduly detained for pastoral work. Already in the 1580s, one Goan provincial consultor wrote to Rome that he found the practice of putting Jesuit teachers to hear confessions a considerable distraction, and that he felt the number of sermons given weekly at the city’s parishes very excessive, since “not even in Portugal do we preach outside of Lent except in the Cathedral and convents.”⁴⁴ Yet bound by vows of obedience to accept the assignments given them by their local superiors, Jesuits in transit through the Indian colleges had little choice but to obey. At times, however, these chores dragged on for years, giving the ‘stranded’ missionaries the impression that they were being purposely detained by local superiors who would not grant them permission to head to their intended destinations. For instance, António de Gouvea wrote that when Rodrigo de Figueiredo arrived at Goa, “the superiors intended to occupy him in the pulpit since he was very talented [at preaching],” another way of saying that they sought to detain him rather than letting him continue on to China.⁴⁵ Others, spending years finishing their studies, would find themselves so integrated into the Indian colleges that their original assignments to Japan or China would be forgotten, at least by the Goan hierarchy.⁴⁶

The frequency of these attempts to divert men who were intended for other missions provoked repeated complaints to the Society’s’ supreme authorities in Rome that were resolved only very slowly. Since the constraints of contemporary travel did cause legitimate delays in forwarding missionaries to Macao, however, the Generals could not severely chastise the Indian Jesuits. Instead, both the East Asian provinces and official visitors to the Province of Goa proceeded much more subtly. Since, as the above discussion has indicated, the problems with the Colégio de São Paulo dated to the late sixteenth century, the East Asian superiors themselves made repeated requests to their colleagues in both Portugal and Rome that only fully educated Jesuits be sent to Asia. For instance, the second provincial congregation for the Province of Japan in 1623 sent Sebastião Vieira specifically to ask General Muzio Vitelleschi to have the Lisbon noviciate completely train a specifically designated set of future missionaries for the overseas provinces.⁴⁷ Likewise, during the dispute over the China novices in the first decade of the eighteenth century, in which the Province of Goa insisted on being compensated for the expenses

it incurred training East Asian missionaries, many voices from China insisted that future China missionaries finish their studies in Portugal so they would not have to stay in Goa except between sea journeys.⁴⁸ As justification for this position, one Jesuit went so far as to assert that “the missionaries that come from there [should be] equipped with an optimal formation, which is impossible to find in China or India.”⁴⁹

While these initiatives aimed to remove the Province of Goa’s claim to a debt of services, official visitors to India took a more direct approach. Visitor Francisco Barreto found that the practice of railroading East Asia-bound missionaries to interim assignments

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in the Province of Goa had become so exaggerated by 1660, that he had to leave specific orders for facilitating their passage through the *Estado da Índia*. Besides detaining them for preaching, teaching, and confessing in Goa, he discovered that they were also being transferred from there to other residences and colleges throughout India. “The men from other provinces,” he therefore ordered, “who are occupied in this one because they cannot pass to theirs, should be in such places, so that when they are called to their provinces, the distance does not render it impossible for them to make the voyage in that monsoon.”⁵⁰ While those from Japan and China are studying, he insisted, they should not be diverted to other activities until after they have finished, “because of the great need they have for them [in the East Asian missions].”

Yet although a continued chorus of complaints suggests that these orders were not closely obeyed,

tales of the stalling tactics of the Goa Jesuits eventually became well-known among the young missionary hopefuls—at least the Society’s Portuguese colleges. Over the course of the seventeenth century, prospective missionaries who were aware that some Jesuits had received patents explicitly mentioning the East Asian missions wrote *indipetae* pleading not to be detained in India. Since a letter bearing specific travel instructions and the General’s seal was the most efficient *laissez-passer*, direct appeals to Rome were required. For example, in 1639, Francisco Valente wrote from Coimbra to General Muzio Vitelleschi requesting to be assigned to Japan, “in such a way that no superior in India can impede my leaving for Macao.”⁵¹ He also mentioned knowing that of the nine Jesuits preparing to leave for India “only two of them have permission from Your Paternity to go to Japan.” In 1669, Manuel Barbosa sent a petition to Rome explaining how he had asked the Lisbon Missions Procurator for the Indies to be admitted to the Japan mission. While he had originally intended to go to East Asia, he accepted the Procurator’s offer of an assignment to the Goa Province since he did not want “to miss [this chance] or delay any more in responding to these Divine inspirations.”⁵² But writing to the General again before his departure from Portugal in March 1670, he made clear his reticence of serving in India, requesting “permission to go from the Province of Goa, to Japan or China, judging this to be a greater service to God.” Even those who were actually serving in India found themselves writing new *indipetae*, since they did not feel they were getting quite the dramatic missionary experience they had envisioned. In 1639, Manuel Ferreira wrote to Rome from Goa recalling the passage in his original petition where he related his divinely inspired desires to serve in Japan or China. “This was my intention,” he wrote, “when I asked so insistently for the India mission, and not for these colleges which are almost the same as being in those in Portugal.”⁵³ He too asked for permission to be sent to Macao “without being blocked by the superiors here.”

Throughout the seventeenth century, the Jesuit missions in China and Japan were dependant on regular shipments of men from Portugal via India. Since the Society of Jesus’ system for dispatching young men to the mission provinces was based wholly on individual initiative rather than imposition, all of

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its overseas enterprises relied on a ready supply of zealous would-be missionaries. Yet while the Province of India was technically a mission field, much of its energy was expended on providing pastoral care and education to a colonial population accused of dubious moral character. Many of the Jesuits who sailed from Lisbon to India with dreams of spreading the gospel found themselves instead detained in Goa's unhealthy classrooms or pulpits. In drawing up their petitions to serve in the *Índias*, these men had chosen a different vocation than that of colleagues who remained in Europe as teachers, preachers, and confessors. When they found themselves in what they considered to be

a far worse version of what they had left in Portugal, many were frustrated. Yet, in many ways, escaping from the administrative grip of the Society's Indian provinces required as much persistence as getting there in the first place. Worse still was the fact that the East Asian missions that many of them had originally requested were constantly short of manpower to meet even their most basic obligations of administering the sacraments to their new Christians or sparking further conversions. When the Jesuits who had been detained in Goa finally did sail onward to Macao, the prospect of another perilous and potentially lethal sea journey was likely greeted with joy. **RC**

NOTES

- 1 This article was produced with the generous support of the Department of Research and Publications of the Instituto Cultural (Macao). All translations provided by the author. References to early modern texts are provided with their original spellings.
- 2 Br. João Rodrigues Girão to P. João Correia, Goa, 1 December 1583, *Documenta Indica*, 17 vols. ed. Josef Wicki (Rome: Institutum Historicum Soc. Iesu, 1948-1988), vol. 12, p. 872.
- 3 *Ibid.*, p. 872.
- 4 For a discussion of the Jesuits' sea voyages from Portugal to Macau via Goa, see Liam Brockey, "Largos Caminhos e Vastos Mares: Jesuit Missionaries and the Journey to China in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Bulletin of Portuguese-Japanese Studies* 1 (2001): pp. 45-72.
- 5 Several recent studies of Goa and the Portuguese presence there can be found in Michel Chandeigne, ed., *Goa 1510-1685: L'Inde Portugaise, apostolique et commerciale* (Paris: Éditions Autrement, 1996).
- 6 See Martine Gade, "Saint François Xavier, l'Incorruptible," in Chandeigne, ed., *Goa 1510-1685*, pp. 92-112.
- 7 While this establishment was deemed a "college" from the start, it was originally intended for training Jesuit missionaries rather than educating the secular population of Goa. Soon after its founding, however, it would begin instructing local students in the manner of its European counterparts. For a discussion of the initial spread of Jesuit colleges, see John O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), pp. 204-205.
- 8 The East India Province was separated in the Goa and Malabar Provinces in 1606. The Japan Vice-Province had been detached in 1581 from this first division, attaining full province status in 1611 (though the original patent was written in 1608). See Joseph Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800*. (Rome: Institutum Historicum Soc. Iesu, 1973), p. 327.
- 9 For polemical perspective on the finances of the Goa Jesuits, see Charles J. Borges, *The Economics of the Goa Jesuits, 1542-1759: An Explanation of their Rise and Fall* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing, 1994).
- 10 Biblioteca da Ajuda, *Jesuítas na Ásia* (BA JA) Codex 49-IV-49, fol. 16r. Diogo de Borba to Simão Rodrigues, Goa, 18 November 1545.
- 11 Alessandro Valignano, *Summario de las Cosas que Pertencen a la Provincia de la India Oriental y al Gobierno della*, Shimo (Japan), August 1580, *Documenta Indica*, ed. Wicki, vol. 13, p. 153.
- 12 *Ibid.*, p. 154.
- 13 Rui Vicente, Annual Letter for the East India Province, 1581, Goa, 8 November 1581, *Documenta Indica*, ed. Wicki, vol. 12, p. 412.
- 14 This was the standard program required of all professed (senior) Jesuits, the only ones permitted to serve as missionaries. For a description of the standard Jesuit program of studies and a translation of the key documents relating to it, see Adrien Demoustier and Dominique Julia, *Ratio Studiorum, Plan Raisonné et Institution des Études dans la Compagnie de Jesus* (Paris: Belin, 1997).
- 15 Alessandro Valignano, *Summario de las Cosas que Pertencen a la Provincia de la India Oriental y al Gobierno della*, Shimo (Japan), August 1580, *Documenta Indica*, ed. Wicki, vol. 13, p. 153.
- 16 Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI) Goa 24-I, fol. 219v. *Catálogo tercero con el suplemento del primero y segundo de los padres y hermanos de la Compañia de Jesus de la India Oriental*, Goa, 20 December 1594. The number of students given here does not include the 17 rhetoric students also at the college.
- 17 ARSI Goa 24-II, fol. 469r. *Triennial Catalog for the Province of Goa in the East Indies*, Third Catalog, Goa, November, 1608.
- 18 Alessandro Valignano, *Summario de las Cosas que Pertencen a la Provincia de la India Oriental y al Gobierno della*, Shimo (Japan), August 1580, *Documenta Indica*, ed. Wicki, vol. 13, p. 155.
- 19 *Ibid.*, p. 156.
- 20 *Ibid.*, p. 151.
- 21 See ARSI Goa 25, fol. 160r. *Triennial Catalog for the Province of Goa*, Third Catalog, Goa, November 1656, ARSI Goa 25, fol. 242r. *Triennial Catalog for the Province of Goa*, Third Catalog, Goa, November 1667, ARSI Goa 25, fol. 270r. *Triennial Catalog for the Province of Goa*, Third Catalog, Goa, January 1677, and ARSI Goa 25, fol. 330r. *Triennial Catalog for the Province of Goa*, Third Catalog, Goa, August 1689.
- 22 ARSI Goa 9-II, fol. 319v. Manuel do Valle to Giovanni Paolo Oliva, Goa, 26 November 1680.
- 23 See ARSI Fondo Gesuitico 757.
- 24 The *indipetae* at the Society's Roman archives reveal that João de Brito's martyrdom in Madura in 1693 sparked many petitions for

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- service on the India mission. Prior to that, specific requests for service in India were few. See ARSI *Fondo Gesúitico* 757.
- 25 ARSI *Goa* 25, fols. 320r-321r. *Suplemento do Primeiro Catalogo, Rol dos Padres e Irmãos que vierão do reyno no de 1600*, Goa, 1600.
- 26 BA JA Codex 49-V-5, fol. 240r. Annual Letter from the China Mission, 1618, Manuel Dias jr, Macao, 7 December 1618.
- 27 Although the language school at Rachol seems to have continued until into the eighteenth century, references to China missionaries who spent much time studying other languages are very rare. Valat spent four years as a missionary in Salcette before being transferred to China where he spent most of his life in Shandong Province. For Valat, ARSI *Goa* 25, fol. 89r. *Triennial Catalog for the Province of Goa*, First Catalog, Goa, November 1647 and for Faber, BA JA Codex 49-V-14, fol. 173r., *Relação da vida e morte do Padre Estevão Fabro*, Gabriel de Magalhães, Peking, 20 March 1658.
- 28 ARSI *Goa* 25, fol. 85v. *Triennial Catalog for the Province of Goa*, First Catalog, Goa, November 1647, and ARSI *Goa* 25, fol. 122v. *Triennial Catalog for the Province of Goa*, Third Catalog, Goa, November 1653.
- 29 BA JA Codex 49-V-16, fol. 417v. Anonymous short biography of Tomé Pereira, after 1672.
- 30 BA JA Codex 49-V-21, fol. 81r. *Borrão da Annu da Vice Provincia do anno de 1697*, José Soares, Peking, 30 July 1697.
- 31 ARSI *Jap-Sin* 113, fol. 122r. *Account of the Life and Death of Matteo Ricci*, Sabatino de Ursis, Peking, 20 April 1611.
- 32 For Pacheco, ARSI *Goa* 25, fol. 85v. *Triennial Catalog for the Province of Goa*, 1647, First Catalog. For Pereira, BA JA Codex 49-V-16, fl. 417v. Anonymous short biography of Tomé Pereira, after 1672.
- 33 ARSI *Goa* 25, fol. 85v. *Triennial Catalog for the Province of Goa*, 1647, First Catalog.
- 34 BA JA Codex 49-IV-49, fol. 16r. Diogo de Borba to Simão Rodrigues, Goa, 18 November 1545.
- 35 Lopo d'Abreu to General Claudio Aquaviva, Goa, 6 November 1581, *Documenta Indica*, ed. Wicki, vol. 12, p. 390.
- 36 Biblioteca da Ajuda (BA) Codex 54-V-13, fol. 39v. Alessandro Valignano, *Summario de los Cosas que pertencen a la Provincia de la India Oriental y al Gobierno della*, Goa, August 1580. This is the same document that appears in the *Documenta Indica* collection cited above.
- 37 *Ibid.*, fols. 37v, 38v.
- 38 *Ibid.*, fol. 39r. His phrase is “hazer sus mercadorias.”
- 39 Lopo d'Abreu to General Claudio Aquaviva, Goa, 6 November 1581, *Documenta Indica*, ed. Wicki, vol. 12, p. 387.
- 40 ARSI *Jap-Sin* 162, fol. 219v. Francesco Brancati to General Giovanni Paolo Oliva, Canton, 23 October 1668.
- 41 Alessandro Valignano, *Summario de las Cosas que Pertencen a la Provincia de la India Oriental y al Gobierno della*, Shimo (Japan), August 1580, *Documenta Indica*, ed. Wicki, vol. 13, p. 157.
- 42 Lopo d'Abreu to General Claudio Aquaviva, Goa, 6 November 1581, *Documenta Indica*, ed. Wicki, vol. 12, p. 388.
- 43 For the period from 1581 to 1712, a recent statistical analysis by Nicolas Standaert has shown that 127 of 249 India-bound Jesuits died during the voyage, more than fifty percent. These figures come from a 1789 text, although he notes that it is difficult to know for certain the exact number of those who died *in via*. See Nicolas Standaert, “The Jesuit Presence in China (1580-1773): A Statistical Approach,” *Sino-Western Cultural Relations Journal* 12 (1991): pp. 4-17, pp. 4-5.
- 44 Lopo d'Abreu to General Claudio Aquaviva, Goa, 6 November 1581, *Documenta Indica*, ed. Wicki, vol. 12, p. 391.
- 45 BA JA Codex 49-V-2, fol. 574, António de Gouvea, *Asia Extrema*, 1644.
- 46 At times, confusing references to East Asian missionary assignments can be found. For instance, the 1647 catalog references to Mathais da Maya and Jean Valat as *aplicados à Provincia de Macao* reveals the confusion provoked by so many transients. See ARSI *Goa* 25, fols. 85v, 89r. *Triennial Catalog for the Province of Goa*, First Catalog, Goa, November 1647.
- 47 ARSI *Congregationes Provinciarum* 55, fol. 300v. *Memorial do Pe. Sebastião Vieira Procurator da Provincia de Japão*, 1623.
- 48 BA JA Codex 49-V-24, fols. 309r/v. Responses to the *Pareceres sobre os Noviços de Lisboa*, 1704-5.
- 49 BA JA Codex 49-V-24, fol. 416r. Giampaolo Gozani to José Monteiro, Kaifeng, 28 January 1705.
- 50 ARSI *Fondo Gesúitico* 1443, bundle 9, document 28. *Ordens que deixou o Pe. Visitador Francisco Barreto visitando o Collegio de Sam Paulo de Goa no anno de 1660*, Goa, 1660.
- 51 ARSI *Fondo Gesúitico* 757, number 53. Francisco Valente to General Muzio Vitelleschi, Coimbra, 17 July 1639.
- 52 ARSI *Fondo Gesúitico* 757, number 10. Manuel Barbosa to General Giovanni Paolo Oliva, Coimbra, 30 December 1669.
- 53 ARSI *Fondo Gesúitico* 757, number 52. Manuel Ferreira to General Muzio Vitelleschi, Goa, 30 March 1639.