

The Western Missionaries and Macao during the Period of Emperor Kangxi

LIU XIAOMENG*

During the Ming and Qing dynasties, Macao became the center of Catholicism in the East. The development of Western missionary activities in China was closely associated with Macao. Using Chinese sources, this article analyzes the nature of the changes in the relationship between the Qing government and the Western missionaries and the influence of these changes on the development of Macao.

OPPOSITION FROM THE BOARD OF RITES

After having been introduced to China from Macao in the late Ming dynasty, Catholicism suffered a series of setbacks, but the replacement of the Ming dynasty by the Qing dynasty had not brought a substantial impact. After the Manchu conquest of the central plains of China, the Manchu rulers adopted a tolerant attitude towards those missionaries who had earned the special favors of the Ming court. Emperor Shunzhi [顺治] appointed missionary Johann Adam Schall von Bell supervisor of the Imperial Board of Astronomy [钦天监], and granted him the title “Master of Universal Mysteries” [通玄教师]. Missionaries were allowed access into the palace and made friends with dignitaries, which enabled the missionary undertaking to develop on a relatively large scale.

Emperor Shunzhi's appointment of Schall von Bell to revise the *shixian* calendar [时宪历] caused discontent from those who adhered to traditional conservative practices. In the later years of Emperor Shunzhi's reign, Yang Guangxian [杨光先], a government student at *Xin'an Wei* [新安卫], submitted a written statement to the emperor criticizing Schall von Bell and other missionaries by alleging they committed serious mistakes in the revision of the calendar. The emperor ignored these criticisms. However, as soon as Emperor Shunzhi died, the

missionaries' legal status in China faced severe challenges.

In 1661, Emperor Kangxi (Xuanye) [康熙], a boy only eight years old, ascended to the throne, while Aobai [鳌拜] and three other ministers were appointed regents. The change in the political climate led Yang Guangxian to consider taking advantage of the situation. He submitted the *Qing zhu xie jiao zhuang* 请诛邪教状 [An Indictment against Heresy] to the Board of Rites in July 1664, in which he fiercely attacked Schall von Bell and other missionaries, arguing that they colluded with the Portuguese in Macao, attempting to subvert the Qing [清] dynasty, and that they “preach heresy in the name of revising the calendar.” He claimed that they had “already mustered ten thousand people settled in Macao who were ready to ferry across the sea.” Thus, he demanded that Schall von Bell and other missionaries “be executed in accordance with the law.” Unaware of the issue pertaining to the calendar, Aobai, who disagreed with Emperor Shunzhi's policy of granting Westerners high positions in the court, believed Yang Guangxian's arguments, and incarcerated the missionaries Schall von Bell, Gottfried Xaver von Laimbeckhoven, Ludovico Buglio, Gabriel de Magalhães and official Li Zubai [李祖白], who had consented to promote the calendar elaborated by the Western missionaries. That winter, the Board of Rites [礼部] and the Board of Punishments [刑部] launched a joint investigation. Although Yang Guangxian's accusations were based on fabrications, he won the lawsuit. This marked the beginning of the friction between the Qing dynasty and Catholicism, which would ultimately lead to its prohibition.

In the fourth year of Kangxi (1665), the Board of Rites and the Board of Civil Office [吏部] suggested in their confidential reports to the throne that the cathedral built by Schall von Bell should be torn down. But taking into consideration that the money spent on the church had been granted by the Emperor, and

* [刘小萌] Researcher at the Institute of Modern History, Academy of Social Sciences, China.

Investigador do Instituto da História Moderna da Academia das Ciências Sociais da China.

that the epigraph had been awarded by the Emperor, they suggested destroying only the images of God, leaving the building intact. However, they suggested that the church of Ludovico Buglio built by Dong Ji [佟吉] as well as the church built outside the Fucheng Gate [阜成门] should be torn down by the Board of Public Works [工部], and all Catholic scriptures, images and sacred vessels should be burned. Moreover, they suggested that the bronze statues, embroidered vestments, books, etc., distributed among the followers of the Church who had not previously been investigated should all be confiscated and destroyed by the Board of Rites. Accordingly, the objects in the churches in the other provinces should be handed over to the governor-general of each province to be destroyed.¹

The Church of Schall von Bell, as mentioned in the confidential reports, was located on Shuncheng Street in the vicinity of the Xuanwu Gate [宣武门] in Beijing. It was originally established during Emperor Wanli's reign [万历] in the Ming [明] dynasty by the Italian missionary Matteo Ricci. In 1650, Schall von Bell reconstructed a great hall on the site and named it the Virgin Mary Cathedral, later called the Southern Hall [*Nantang* 南堂].

Missionaries Ludovico Buglio and Gabriel de Magalhães entered China to preach Catholicism at the end of the Ming dynasty, but were captured and sent to Prince Su's [肃王] mansion in Sichuan [四川] as slaves. Due to their exemplary behavior and their language proficiency, they gradually obtained the trust of their captors and were allowed to preach to the people of the Manchu nationality. They gained a favorable reputation and earned the trust of Fu Lin [福临], being allowed to enter the palace to work. In 1655, the emperor granted them a church located in the mid-eastern part of Wangfujing [王府井] Street. Originally named Saint Joseph's Church, it subsequently became known as the Eastern Hall [*Dongtang* 东堂]. In 1660, Schall von Bell built the Blessed Virgin Mary Chapel on the Campo Santo, located outside the Fucheng Gate, which had been a graveyard for missionaries since the end of the Ming dynasty. This chapel was known as "the Church beyond the Fucheng Gate", as stated in the confidential documents.

Shortly afterwards, the Qing government sentenced Schall von Bell and other missionaries to

death or to exile. However, an earthquake which shook the city of Beijing shortly after the sentencing saved the lives of these missionaries. This natural disaster led to a general panic among the population, who regarded the earthquake as a warning from Heaven that the sentence was unjust. Due to the intercession of Emperor Kangxi's grandmother, Schall von Bell escaped execution. Despite rejecting the request of the Board of Civil Office and the Board of Rites to destroy the two churches in Beijing, the Qing government still had strong doubts and concerns about the activities of the missionaries throughout China. The Board of Rites claimed that the "missionaries also preach and spread Christianity in every province" and the Board of Punishments requested the court to instruct the governor-generals of every province to secretly arrest all of the missionaries and send them to Beijing, as well as to conduct a thorough investigation to determine the punishment. Immediately afterwards, the Board of Punishment received the emperor's edict that "the Westerners in the provinces could be brought to the capital to report to the court."²

In March of the same year, with the exception of the four provinces that claimed not to have missionaries – Zhili [直隶], Henan [河南], Sichuan and Guangxi [广西] – the provinces began sending Western missionaries to the capital. Shandong [山东] sent Westerners Caballero a Santa Maria and Jean Valat; Shanxi [山西] sent Michel Trigault and Christian Herdtrich, (Domingo Coronado died of illness during this time); Jiangnan [江南] Province sent Manuel Jorge, François de Rougemont, Giandomenico Gabiani, Francesco Brancati, Jacques le Faure, Feliciano Pacheco and Philippe Couplet; Huguang [湖广] Province sent Jacques Motel; Jiangxi [江西] Province sent Adrien Grelon, Pietro Canevari, and Prospero Intorcetta; Zhejiang [浙江] sent Humbert Augery, Filippo Maria Grimaldi, Fei Libo [费里伯],³ and Dominique Parrenin; Fujian [福建] sent António de Gouvea; Shaanxi [陕西] Province sent Giovanni Francesco Ferrari and Claude Motel; Guangdong [广东] Province sent missionaries Stanislao Torrente and Andrea-Giovanni Lubelli.⁴ Of the twenty-five missionaries sent to Beijing, many had been living and preaching in China for decades. For example, Caballero a Santa Maria had reached Macao in 1634 and in 1651 purchased a house to build a church in Jinan, Shandong Province; Michel Trigault, who had reached Macao in

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1630, lived and preached in the old church in Jiangzhou, Shanxi Province.

Eventually, the Qing court determined that, with the exception of Schall von Bell, Ludovico Buglio, Gabriel de Magalhães, and Gottfried Xaver von Laimbeckhoven, all others were to be sent to Guangdong Province to settle down. Moreover, it announced that “spreading heresy” in the provinces or Beijing was forbidden.⁵ Despite being allowed to remain in Beijing, Schall von Bell died shortly afterwards from his old age and apoplexy.

The case involving Schall von Bell had an impact at the time. Besides causing the Qing government to abolish the Western calendar and expel Westerners blindly, it also involved the issue of whether the Portuguese should remain in Macao.

THE BAN ON MARITIME TRADE

This issue was first put forward in 1656. At the time, the Qing government decided to ban maritime activities in coastal areas in order to deal with the separatist regime set up by Zheng Chenggong (Koxinga) [郑成功] in Taiwan. The inhabitants of coastal provinces such as Shandong, Jiangnan, Zhejiang, Fujian and Guangdong were forbidden from engaging in such activities without permission, with violators possibly facing the death penalty. To strengthen the defenses and clear the fields, all coastal residents were forced to move into the interior. This policy originally applied also to Macao, which belonged to Xiangshan [香山] County in Guangdong Province. It was part of the areas where the ban was to be enforced. However, Schall von Bell and other missionaries who had gained the trust of Emperor Shunzhi interceded on Macao’s behalf, convincing the emperor not to impose such a decree on Macao. The Qing government permitted the Portuguese to remain in Macao temporarily, but navigation was to be forbidden.

During the early years of Emperor Kangxi’s reign, the issue of the Portuguese in Macao was once again put forth. In April 1663, the governor-general of Guangdong put forward the suggestion of “sending the Portuguese back to their own home town,” claiming that Macao’s economy was in a state of decline. The Ministry of War [兵部] proposed in a later report to allow the Portuguese to remain in Macao, but stressing that in order for that to occur, it was necessary to solve the problem of grain supply. After all, claimed the report, “the foreigners had lived here for years since they came from the Far West in the period of [Emperor] Jiajing [嘉靖] in the Ming dynasty, and we plan to keep them living here. As for the grain necessary for daily use, permit them to purchase it according to the number of people counted by the local government and approved by the governor-general, thus forbidding extra supplies.” The suggestion of the Ministry of War received the Qing court’s approval.⁶ From that period, the grain ration of the residents of Macao was supplied by the local authorities of the Qing government.

In December 1664, during the trial of Schall von Bell, Yang Guangxian put forth slanderous comments about Schall von Bell: “Schall von Bell has heretic partners in Macao. They settled in Xiangshan [Macao] in order to ferry across the sea.”⁷ Furthermore, the Board of Punishments paid close attention to the accusation that “Schall von Bell has led fifteen persons, including Gottfried Xaver von Laimbeckhoven, from Macao and settled them down in provincial churches.” In the confidential documents submitted to the court afterwards, the Board of Punishments discussed the issue of providing money and food to the Westerners in Macao as well as allowing them to reside there. They suggested this problem should be “submitted confidentially to the governor-general of Guangdong in order to find a solution.”⁸ The issue of the Portuguese in Macao was once again brought forth for discussion.

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After receiving the document from the Board of Punishments, Lu Congjun [卢崇竣], governor-general of Guangdong, ordered his subordinates the intendent for salt control, the *hai yandao* [海盐道] and the maritime trade supervisor, the *shiposi* [市舶司], to examine the issue. The *shiposi* reported: “The Westerners in Macao came here in the period of Jiajing. Before the maritime prohibition, the import of goods in Macao was taxed and land rent collected from the Portuguese. Since the prohibition, no tax or rent has been collected as Macao has been off limits. The region from Xiangshan to Humen [虎门] is defended by the military.” The maritime prohibition caused the region to be sealed tightly. This subordinate continues by adding, “The Westerners who have only engaged in trade have no long-term plan because of the current maritime prohibition, and they dare not discuss the possibility of staying [in Macao].” The *hai yandao* also expressed his opinion: “The Westerners, who do not cultivate, have been obliged to ration their purchase of rice since the prohibition. There is a lack of wealth, and their wealth will one day be exhausted, so do not allow them to stay.” The governor-general and the governor of Guangdong shared his subordinates’ opinions:

“Macao is an island on the seashore. It is defended by the governmental army with a garrison at Xiangshan. A border gate was set up in order to guard it easily, though even before the border gate, only inland businessmen could go to Macao to engage in trade. Foreigners were prohibited to cross the border without permission. Since the border gate was set up after the survey to determine the sea border, the islands lie off limits. As foreigners have been in Macao for generations, the population is currently more than 5,600. They cannot cultivate and, besides engaging in trade, yet after the prohibition of the maritime trade, they are unable to make a living. Currently they have difficulties in obtaining grain rations, and their amount of silver is limited. We believe they should not be allowed to stay. They should either be sent to the capital or returned to the West.”⁹

Regarding the governor-general’s suggestion that “they should not be allowed to stay,” the Board of Rites was not in a position to reject it, but the matter was sent to the Board of War. Although the suggestion was rejected, Macao was passing through a period of difficulty. The Qing government’s ban on maritime

trade caused Macao’s economic decline. The only solution available for the Portuguese in this situation was to engage in smuggling, but this activity presented risks and was not stable.

THE REIGN OF EMPEROR KANGXI

In 1669, the relationship between the Qing court and the missionaries entered a new stage with the accession of Emperor Kangxi to the throne. First of all, Kangxi redressed the mishandled case of Schall von Bell. Then he appointed Gottfried Xaver von Laimbeckhoven associate supervisor of the Imperial Board of Astronomy, and the Western calendar was revived. From this period on, the missionaries who entered Beijing with the assistance of Gottfried Xaver von Laimbeckhoven were also appointed to duties relating to the calendar. Kangxi also permitted Caballero a Santa Maria and more than twenty missionaries under house arrest in Guangdong for many years to live all around the country. In order to propitiate the missionaries, Kangxi visited the cathedral in Beijing. He also granted the cathedral a tablet with the words *Jing Tian* [敬天] and said, “*Jing Tian* means worship Heaven,” so the term was transcribed by other cathedrals all over the country.

At an early age, Kangxi enjoyed learning and developed a keen interest in the knowledge brought by the missionaries from the West. Many knowledgeable missionaries, such as Tomás Pereira and Antoine Thomas, were invited to Beijing to serve him. Through the missionaries, the Qing court came into contact with Western scientific knowledge. Once, when Kangxi became ill, Jean-François Gerbillon and Joachim Bouvet offered him cinchonidine, which cured him. This enabled the emperor to recover quickly. This led Kangxi to grant them financial rewards and a house close to the Xi’an Gate [西安门]. Kangxi also ordered a chapel to be built close to the missionaries’ house. The Christian church at the Xuanwu Gate was also rebuilt with a grant of 10,000 taels. Also, missionaries such as Jean-François Gerbillon, Joachim Bouvet, Gottfried Xaver von Laimbeckhoven and Filippo Maria Grimaldi would frequently accompany the emperor on his trips to places such as the Great Wall or Jiangnan. During the suppression of the Rebellion of the Three Feudatories [*san-fan* 三藩], Gottfried Xaver von Laimbeckhoven produced 120 cannons to assist the

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emperor's army in quelling the unrest. Thus, when the missionary died, he was granted special honors by Kangxi.

In 1686, Kangxi sent Filippo Maria Grimaldi to Moscow with a letter of the Ministry of War to establish negotiations with the Russians. Two years later, the Portuguese Jesuits, Jean-François Gerbillon and Tomás Pereira, accompanied Prince So-e-tu [索額圖] for border negotiations with Russia. However, due to difficulties on route, they returned to Beijing. The following year, they went again to negotiate with the Russians, which eventually led to the signing of the Treaty of Nerchinsk. Kangxi was also very interested

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in absorbing knowledge from the West. With the missionaries, he studied Western knowledge in Yangxindian Hall [養心殿] every day for many years.

Although Kangxi had a very intimate relationship with the missionaries, they encountered certain restrictions on their activities, since in the beginning of his reign Kangxi had ordered that “the missionaries should engage in religious activities only in the capital,” and they “should not engage in missionary activities in the provinces, and the establishment of churches is prohibited.”¹⁰ It was not until 1692 that Kangxi lifted this restriction and people had the freedom of religion.

As Emperor Kangxi allowed more missionaries into his court, the position of Macao was strengthened, since these missionaries entered China through Macao. However, the improvement of the situation of Macao would only occur with the repeal of the ban on maritime trade.

In 1667, at the request of the Leal Senado of Macao, King Afonso VI of Portugal sent envoy Manuel de Saldanha to the Qing court. The envoy stayed in

Guangdong for two years before entering Beijing. All of the envoy's expenses, which exceeded 30,000 taels, were paid by the Portuguese in Macao. The envoy offered several gifts to the Emperor and attempted to persuade him to repeal the ban on maritime trade. However, due to the continuing rebellion of the Zheng family in Taiwan, Kangxi rejected the proposal. The envoy became ill and died in Shanyang [山陽] County, Jiangnan Province, on route back to Macao.¹¹

In 1679, Emperor Kangxi permitted the Portuguese in Macao to travel to Guangzhou [廣州] to trade. By that time, the Zheng family's influence in Taiwan had weakened, and the Portuguese king had sent an envoy to Beijing with gifts for the emperor once again. This envoy was successful in persuading the Qing court to grant greater freedom to the Portuguese in Macao.

In 1683, the Qing court reincorporated Taiwan, and in the following year abolished the ban on maritime trade that had lasted more than twenty years. Macao, Quanzhou [泉州], Ningbo [寧波] and Songjiang [松江] were opened to foreign trade, established four customs houses, and permitted commercial ships to bring trade from different countries. Ierkotu [宜爾格圖], the customs superintendent of Guangzhou, reported that, in the past, ships “always arrived with precious merchandise on board, but they were currently arriving with ordinary merchandise, and the value of the merchandise in ten ships is not equivalent to the value of the merchandise brought only by one ship before.” Thus, a decision was made to lower the taxes.¹² The so-called “precious merchandise” was destined for the royal family due to its costliness and rarity, but the “ordinary merchandise” consisted of items of daily use. This reflected the changes in the Chinese market. The price of the items was not as high as it had previously been, and the quantity of the items increased greatly, reflecting a considerable increase in maritime trade. The reduction of the tax also contributed to this increase. Although Macao was gradually losing its position of trade entrepot by that time, this improved its trading situation.

THE RITES CONTROVERSY

After 1705, the Rites Controversy between the Qing court and the Vatican led to a deterioration of the relations between the missionaries and the emperor,

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creating a new challenge that would influence the status of Macao.

Since the end of the Ming dynasty, the Jesuits had spread Catholicism through the method established by Matteo Ricci, combining with it Chinese rituals and Confucianist culture. This led to an increased tolerance of their activities by the Manchu officials. Even Emperor Kangxi himself approved this method, believing that “since Matteo Ricci arrived in China two hundred years ago, the Jesuits have not interfered or broken Chinese laws.”¹³ The problem consisted in the Portuguese supporting the Jesuit’s activities. Thus, when Portugal was strong, the Vatican had to abide by their methods, but when their power entered a period of decline, the methods of the Jesuits became increasingly criticized in Europe. Later, the Dominicans and Franciscans who arrived in China criticized this method of spreading Catholicism. Also, the increased number of non-Portuguese among the Jesuits led to a questioning of their methods with the objective of reducing Portuguese control over their order. But the Jesuits continued to ignore such criticisms. The dispute reached Pope Clement XI, who prohibited the Jesuits from using their current method of dissemination.

In 1704, the Pope issued the encyclical *Ex illa die* and sent an envoy, Carlos Tomas Maillard de Tournon, to China to announce that “the Catholics in China are prohibited to use the names *Tian* [天 Heaven] and *Shangdi* [上帝 Sovereign on High] for God, and the churches must not have tablets with the inscription *Jing Tian* granted by Kangxi. They are also not allowed to worship their ancestors or go to Confucianist temples. Neither are they allowed to use altars to their ancestors in their homes because of terms which denote a worship for magic and the mystical.”¹⁴

In 1705, Kangxi met with the Vatican’s envoy Tournon and explained to him the reasons why the Chinese worshipped their ancestors. He stressed that respect for the ancestors derived from the things that had been handed down from generation to generation. Emperor Kangxi also explained that the worship of heaven and the emperor were part of the Chinese culture, and this should never cease to exist. In order to further negotiate the issue with the Vatican, he requested that the envoy postpone the promulgation of the Pope’s decree. But the envoy continued to insist and announced the decree in Nanjing. Upon receiving

this news, Kangxi expelled the envoy to Macao and handed him over to the Portuguese.

In order to defend China against further intervention from the Vatican, Emperor Kangxi established a system of registration for missionaries, which was announced in 1706. In exchange for the promise of the missionaries never to return to Europe, they were granted a residence card that contained their basic information: nationality, age, religious society, and year of arrival.¹⁵ In order to receive this card, the missionaries had to apply to Beijing. Those missionaries who obtained the card were allowed to remain in China, and their activities would not be tightly controlled, but those who refused to obtain the card were not allowed to preach in Chinese churches and were sent to Macao. In 1707, in his reply to Prince Zhi [直] and Zhang Changwang’s [张常往] application for cards on behalf of Emmanuel Mendes and other missionaries, Kangxi reaffirmed: “The missionaries must follow the methods established by Matteo Ricci for the dissemination of their religion, and those who refuse will be forced to leave China and return to the West.”¹⁶

According to the Manchu documents of the imperial household, in the period from November 1706 to November 1708, a total of forty-eight missionaries were granted the card. Among them, eight were in Shandong, eight in Jiangxi, eight in Jiangsu [江苏], five in Huguang, four in Shaanxi, three in Zhejiang, two in Shanxi, two in Guangdong, one in Jingshi, one in Henan, one in Jiangnan [江南], one in Guizhou [贵州], and four others. Among them were twelve Portuguese, ten Italians, eighteen French, five Spanish, one German, and two others. Of the forty-eight, forty were Jesuits and eight were Franciscans.¹⁷

By April 1707, there had been ten missionaries from France and Spain who refused to obtain the card. Besides, there were five missionaries who did not obtain the card but were allowed to remain in a church in Guangdong as long as they agreed not to preach. The Qing court eventually allowed them to obtain the card.

Around 1701, there was a total of 117 missionaries in China, consisting of fifty-nine Jesuits, twenty-nine Franciscans, eight Dominicans, fifteen Baptists, and six Augustinians.¹⁸ However, the statistics show that only half of these missionaries actually obtained the card. The

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ones who did not obtain the card went into hiding or were expelled from the country.

Most of the missionaries who were granted the cards were Portuguese Jesuits based in Macao. Friction arose between them and missionaries from other orders. Through this system of granting cards, the Jesuits could maintain their power and help Macao maintain its status as a base for the dissemination of Christianity. But Macao was also the object of criticism from other Christian religious orders.

In order to resolve the dispute with the Catholic Church, Kangxi sent three groups of missionaries to the Vatican from 1705 to 1708. They included Joachim Bouvet, Sha-guo-an [沙国安],¹⁹ António de Barros, Antoine Beauvillier, Francesco Giuseppe Provana and José Ramón Arxo. Although the missionaries brought expensive gifts to the Vatican from Emperor Kangxi, the mission did not produce any concrete results.²⁰

In the Vatican, the Pope showed no signs of willingness to reach a compromise with Emperor Kangxi. In 1715, the Pope once again announced the decree ordering all missionaries and converts to obey the rules established by the church. Despite this decree, in that year, cards were granted to another forty-seven missionaries.²¹

In 1720, another envoy from the Pope, Carlo Ambrosius Melchior Mezzabarba, arrived in Beijing to announce the Pope's decision, enforce its implementation among the missionaries in China and convince Emperor Kangxi to accept it. He wanted to persuade Kangxi to allow the Pope to be in charge of all Christian activities in China. Since this infringed on his imperial sovereignty and power, Kangxi refused this request. This led Kangxi to issue a statement in which he decreed, "In order to avoid problems, from this moment on, the Westerners are prohibited from disseminating their religion in China."²² This caused a rupture in the relations between the Qing court and the Vatican.

Although the Rites Controversy led Kangxi to prohibit missionary activities in China, the order was not fully implemented during his reign.

Fortunately, the friction between the Qing court and the Vatican did not have a negative impact on Macao. On the contrary, during this period, Macao experienced economic and cultural growth, strengthening its ties with the Qing court.

Concerning the Rites Controversy, the Portuguese government and the Macao local government adopted a cautious attitude in order to safeguard their interests. In 1711, the Portuguese king sent a minister to the Vatican who told the Pope, "This is an issue of utmost importance. One must not completely believe in what your envoy has stated. It is better to wait for more information." Afraid that the envoy would announce the Pope's prohibition of Chinese rituals in Macao, the king also wrote a letter to the officials in Macao ordering them to imprison the envoy before the order of the Pope reached his hands.²³

Despite the Rites Controversy, Emperor Kangxi did not change his favorable attitude toward Western studies and the missionaries in his court. He even continued employing missionaries who entered China through Macao. In 1701, he sent an official to Guangdong to order that those missionaries who did not possess knowledge and were only interested in entering China to disseminate religion could stay only in Guangdong. As for those foreigners who possessed knowledge, the officials of Guangdong were to send servants with them to escort them to Beijing. Later he issued a more specific decree that stated, "Westerners who are scholars or doctors must be sent to Beijing."²⁴

According to the records, there was a considerable number of missionaries who entered China through Macao. In July 1715, two Jesuits, Giuseppe Castiglione and Giovanni Giuseppe da Costa, one age 27 and the other 36, arrived in Macao aboard a commercial ship and declared themselves, respectively, a painter and a surgeon.²⁵ Both were sent

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to Beijing and were employed in the court. Guiseppe Castiglione created a mixture of the Chinese and Western styles of painting, making considerable achievements in this field.

The following year, on board a Western ship which arrived in Macao, were three men: Charles Slaviczek, 36 years old, was an astronomer and good at playing the piano; Ignace Kögler and Jean-Baptiste Graverot were astronomers. They were also sent to Beijing.²⁶

In June 1719, a surgeon named Etienne Rousset and Cheng zhong-xin [陈忠信],²⁷ who was skilled at making enamel, arrived on a French ship. Jacques-Philippe Simonelli, who claimed to know astronomy, arrived in July.²⁸ The following year a craftsman named Xi Ruohan [席若汉],²⁹ specializing in wood and jade carving, also arrived in Macao.³⁰ That same year the Pope's envoy, Carlo Ambrosius Mezzabarba, arrived in Macao accompanied by several servants: two who were skilled painters, one clock maker, one who was well-versed in astronomy, two who played the piano, two who were surgeons and one who was well-acquainted with making medicine. All of them were sent to Beijing.³¹

There were many other Western specialists skilled in different fields who arrived in Macao and were also sent to Beijing during this period, such as Fa Liang [法良],³² Ferdinando Bonavetura Moggi, Kaspar Castner, Romain Hinderer, Kong Lushi [孔路师],³³ Yang Bao [杨保],³⁴ Antoine Gaubil, Leopold Liebstein, Franz Stadlin, and Wei-ge-er [魏哥儿].³⁵

Missionaries continued to arrive in China, bringing with them modern scientific achievements into the empire, especially in the fields of astronomy, geography, medicine, mathematics, and music. In the later years of Kangxi, the most important project consisted of sending a group of missionaries around the country to produce a map of China. From 1708 to 1715, Joachim Bouvet led the group of missionaries in a geographical exploration of the empire. The group passed through many regions, including Mongolia [蒙古], Heilongjiang [黑龙江], Shanxi, Shaanxi, Gansu [甘肃], Henan, Jiangnan, Zhejiang, Fujian, Jiangxi, Guangdong, and Hebei. The result in 1716 was a complete collection of maps of the empire and of the different provinces. Kangxi proudly bestowed on it the title *Huangyu quan tu* [皇輿全图] Complete Map of the Imperial Dynasty]. Although this effort did not reflect the most advanced scientific

achievements in the West, for a country such as China which had been closed for such a prolonged period of time, it was a remarkable achievement. It was only during the period of emperor Jiaqing [嘉庆] that the missionary activities in Beijing came to an end.

Of course, Kangxi's interest in Western knowledge not only strengthened Macao's position as a cultural center but also acted as a catalyst for the development of maritime trade.

RENEWED BAN ON MARITIME TRADE

In 1717, the Qing court enacted a decree prohibiting the Chinese to trade in Southeast Asia. This reflected an attempt of the Qing court to avoid an exodus of the poor population of southern China to that region. The prohibition also extended to Macao and surprised the Portuguese, who requested assistance from a Jesuit in the Qing court. They also sent an envoy, José Pereira, to Guangdong, where the governor-general sent a letter to the emperor arguing that the Portuguese were not Chinese merchants and thus were permitted to trade in Southeast Asia if no Chinese accompanied them, or else they would be punished.³⁶ Although originally Macao was not the exclusive commercial entrepot in China, since they were not Chinese, they took advantage the Qing court's prohibition to gain strength.

Every winter, Portuguese merchants would trade in Southeast Asia, selling their products and returning with spices, shark's fin, wood and other products. From March to August 1716, a total of eleven Portuguese ships sailed to Southeast Asia to engage in commercial activities.³⁷ During the same season in 1720, the number increased to a total of sixteen ships.³⁸ The profits from taxes collected reached 20,000 *liang*. In 1724, the governor-general of Guangdong reported, "After the prohibition of Chinese trade in Southeast Asia, and since this prohibition does not extend to the Portuguese, they have increased their profits. Recently there have been twenty-five foreign ships returning [to Macao]."³⁹ This increase in the number of ships in such a short period of time illustrates the development achieved by foreign trade in Macao.

At the same time, merchant ships from France, England, Jalaba [加刺巴], Luzon, Suli [苏栗] and other lands also arrived in Guangdong to trade. "There are more ships in Guangdong every year." Ships from foreign countries brought a variety of

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products, such as medicinal materials, spices, woolen cloth, cotton sheets, black lead, striking clocks, delicate glassware, and glass mirrors. Ships from England and France always carried large amounts of silver as well. From February to June 1716, among the ships that arrived in Guangdong, six were from France, and three from England. “All came to buy products.” By the month of August, “more than eleven ships had arrived from foreign countries carrying more than one million taels. The merchandise in Guangdong was not enough to satisfy the demand, so the Chinese merchants sent people to Jiangsu and Zhejiang to bring more merchandise.”⁴⁰ These ships that arrived in Guangdong also passed through Macao.

SUMMARY

During Kangxi’s reign, the changes in the relationship between the Qing court and the

missionaries had different impacts on Macao. During Kangxi’s early rule, the court prohibited missionary activities and attempted to expel the Portuguese from Macao. This policy was never implemented, but Macao was in decline. Afterwards, Kangxi granted more freedom to the missionaries, and more came from Europe with knowledge and technology, promoting the prosperity of Macao. Due to the Rites Controversy, Kangxi eventually decided to grant freedom of activity only to those missionaries who followed the methods of Matteo Ricci, and those who refused were sent to Macao. Fortunately for Macao, it was strengthening its ties with the mainland during this period through trade, and the cultural intercourse carried out by missionaries continued. Therefore, the religious dispute did not have a great impact on Macao. **RC**

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Translated by Lin Qimo and Eric Vanden Bussche.

NOTES

- 1 “The Routine Memorials of Lu Chongzun [卢崇峻], the Viceroy of Guangdong, on the 24th of the Second Month in the Fourth Year of Kangxi,” in *Neige manwen mi wen dang* 内阁满文密文档 [Confidential Records in the Manchu Language of the Grand Secretariat] (holdings in the The First National Archives of China 中国第一历史档案馆藏).
- 2 “The Routine Memorials of Qi Chebai [祁彻白], Minister of the Board of Rites, on the 29th of the Seventh Month in the Fourth Year of Kangxi,” *ibid.*
- 3 T.N.: not identified.
- 4 Joseph Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800*, vol. 2, trans. Geng Sheng [耿升]. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1995, p. 842.
- 5 “The Routine Memorials of Qi Chebai, Minister of the Board of Rites, on the 29th of the Seventh Month in the Fourth Year of Kangxi,” in Confidential Records in the Manchu Language of the Grand Secretariat.
- 6 “The Routine Memorials of Qi Chebai, Minister of the Board of Rites, on the 5th of the Fifth Month in the Fourth Year of Kangxi,” *ibid.*
- 7 “The Missionaries’ Affidavits in the Case of Schall von Bell, on the Twelfth Month in the Third Year of Kangxi,” *ibid.*
- 8 “The Missionaries’ Affidavits in the Case of Schall von Bell, on the Twelfth Month in the Third Year of Kangxi,” *ibid.*
- 9 “The Routine Memorials of Lu Chongzun, the Viceroy of Guangdong, on the 24th of the Second Month in the Fourth Year of Kangxi,” *ibid.*
- 10 Xia Xie [夏燮], *Zhong xi jishi* 中西纪事 [Records of Sino-Western Relations], vol. 2.
- 11 Anders Ljungstedt, *Zaoqi Aomen shi* 早期澳门史 [An Historical Sketch of the Portuguese Settlements in China and of the Roman Catholic Church and Mission in China & Description of the City of Canton], trans. Wu Yixiong [吴义雄]. Shanghai: Publisher Oriental, 1997) p.115; Liang Tingnan [梁廷柅], *Hai guo tu shuo: Yue dao gong guo shuo* 海国图说粤道贡国说 [Illustrated Books on the Maritime Kingdoms: Tributaries Come by Way of Guangdong]. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1997.
- 12 Liang Tingnan, *ibid.*
- 13 *Kangxi yu Luoma shijie guanxi wenshu* 康熙与罗马使节关系文书 [Documents on the Relations between Kangxi and Envoys of Rome] (photocopy by National Palace Museum, Peking, 1932).
- 14 *Ibid.*
- 15 “The Official Communication to the Board of Military Affairs Sent by the Imperial Household, on the 22nd of the Third Month in the Forty-seventh Year of Kangxi,” in *Nei wu fu manwen xing wen dang* 内务府满文行文档 [Records of Documents Dispatched by the Imperial Household].
- 16 *Kangxi yu Luoma shijie guanxi wenshu* 康熙与罗马使节关系文书 [Documents on the Relations between Kangxi and Envoys of Rome] (photocopy by National Palace Museum, Peking, 1932).

- 17 “The Official Communication to the Board of Military Affairs Sent by the Imperial Household, on the 22nd of the Third Month in the Forty-seventh Year of Kangxi,” and “The Official Communication to the Board of Military Affairs Sent by the Imperial Household, on the 10th of the Fourth Month in the Forty-seventh Year of Kangxi,” in Records of Documents Dispatched by the Imperial Household.
- 18 Gu Baogu [顾宝鹤], *Zhongguo tianzhujiao shi dashi nianbiao* 中国天主教史大事年表 [The chronicles of Catholicism in China]. Taiwan: Kuang-ch'i Publishing Company, 1970) p. 38.
- 19 T.N.: not identified.
- 20 “The Memorial of He Shuose [赫硕色], the Manager of the Imperial Household, on the 19th of the Eleventh Month in the Forty-fourth Year of Kangxi,” in Records of Documents Dispatched by the Imperial Household.
- 21 Joseph Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites ...*, vol. 2, p. 849.
- 22 *Kangxi yu Luoma shijie guanxi wenshu* 康熙与罗马使节关系文书 [Documents on the Relations between Kangxi and Envoys of Rome] (photocopy by National Palace Museum, Peking, 1932).
- 23 “The Palace Memorial of He Su [和素], Director of the Palace Wuying, on the 2nd of Ninth Month in the Fifty-first Year of Kangxi,” in *Kangxi chao manwen zhupi zouzhe quan yi* 康熙朝满文朱批奏折全译 [Translations of Palace Memorials in the Manchu Language with Vermilion Remarks of the Kangxi Period], edited by The First National Archives of China. Beijing: The Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, 1996.
- 24 “The Palace Memorial of Zhao Hongcan [赵弘灿], the Viceroy of Liang Guang (Guangdong & Guangxi) on the 26th of Fifth Month in the Forty-sixth Year of Kangxi,” in *Kangxi chao hanwen zhupi zouzhe hui bian* 康熙朝汉文朱批奏折汇编 [Collection of Palace Memorials in the Chinese Language with Vermilion Remarks of the Kangxi Period], vol. 1, edited by The First National Archives of China, (Publisher of Archives, 1984); See also vol. 8. “The Palace Memorial of Yang Lin [杨琳], the Civil Governor [*xunfu* 巡抚] of Guangdong, on the 27th of the Seventh Month in the Fifty-seventh Year of Kangxi,” *ibid.*
- 25 “The Palace Memorial of Yang Lin, the Civil Governor of Guangdong, on the 16th of the Eighth Month in the Fifty-fourth Year of Kangxi,” *ibid.*, vol. 6.
- 26 “The Palace Memorial of Yang Lin, the Civil Governor of Guangdong, on the 10th of the Eighth Month in the Fifty-fifth Year of Kangxi.” See also on the 10th of the Ninth Month in the Fifty-fifth Year of Kangxi, *ibid.*, vol. 7.
- 27 T.N.: not identified.
- 28 “The Palace Memorial of Yang Lin, the Civil Governor of Guangdong, on the 24th of the Sixth Month in the Fifty-eighth Year of Kangxi.” See also on the 20th of the Eighth Month in the same year, *ibid.*, vol. 8.
- 29 T.N.: not identified.
- 30 “The Palace Memorial of Yang Lin, the Viceroy of Liang Guang, on the 14th of the Eighth Month in the Fifty-ninth Year of Kangxi,” *ibid.*, vol. 8.
- 31 “The Palace Memorial of Yang Lin, the Viceroy of Liang Guang, on the 8th of the Ninth Month in the Fifty-ninth Year of Kangxi,” *ibid.*, vol. 8.
- 32 T.N.: not identified.
- 33 T.N.: not identified.
- 34 T.N.: not identified.
- 35 T.N.: not identified.
- 36 Yin Guangren [印光任] and Zhang Rulin [张汝霖], *Aomen jilue* 澳门记略 [Monograph on Macao] (block-printed edition, 1980) vol. 1, 26.
- 37 “The Palace Memorial of Yang Lin, the Civil Governor of Guangdong, on the 10th of the Ninth Month in the Fifty-fifth Year of Kangxi,” in *Kangxi chao hanwen zhupi zouzhe hui bian* 康熙朝汉文朱批奏折汇编 [Collection of Palace Memorials in the Chinese Language with Vermilion Remarks of the Kangxi Period], vol. 7.
- 38 “The Palace Memorial of Yang Lin, the Viceroy of Liang Guang, on the 14th of the Eighth Month in the Fifty-ninth Year of Kangxi,” *ibid.*, vol. 8.
- 39 “The Palace Memorial of Kong Yuxun [孔毓珣], the Viceroy of Liang Guang, on the 29th of the Tenth Month in the 2nd Year of Yongzheng [雍正],” in *Yongzheng chao hanwen zhupi zouzhe hui bian* 雍正朝汉文朱批奏折汇编 [Collection of Palace Memorials in the Chinese Language with Vermilion Remarks of the Yongzheng Period], vol. 3.
- 40 “The Palace Memorial of Yang Lin, the Civil Governor of Guangdong, on the 10th of the Eighth Month in the Fifty-fifth Year of Kangxi,” in Collection of Palace Memorials in the Chinese Language with Vermilion Remarks of the Kangxi Period, vol. 7.