

Making Clocks and Musical Instruments

Tomás Pereira as an Artisan at the Court of Kangxi (1673-1708)

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Tomás Pereira

... because it is outstanding how much this nation gets excited by curious things”

INTRODUCTION

Living in Beijing for a long period spanning 36 years, from 1673 until 1708, during the time of the Kangxi emperor (r. 1662-1722), Tomás Pereira was well-known for engaging in several activities. Among these he stands out as an artisan, expert in making ‘curious things’, such as clocks, musical instruments and other kinds of mechanical devices.

The purpose of this paper, mostly based on Pereira’s significant documental corpus,² is to analyse this dimension of his activity, comprising one of his most interesting and appreciated skills, on account of

which he was named by his contemporaries a ‘curious of hands’.

Santos da Costa Pereira, later known as Tomás Pereira, the name he adopted when he joined the Society of Jesus, was born in the village of Pedreiro, in São Martinho do Vale (Vila Nova de Famalicão, diocese of Braga), around 5 November 1646, the day on which he was baptised. [Fig. 2] Born into a rural aristocratic family, he was the son of Domingos da Costa (c. 1610-c. 1693) and Francisca Antónia (1617-c.1686), a couple that had three other children:

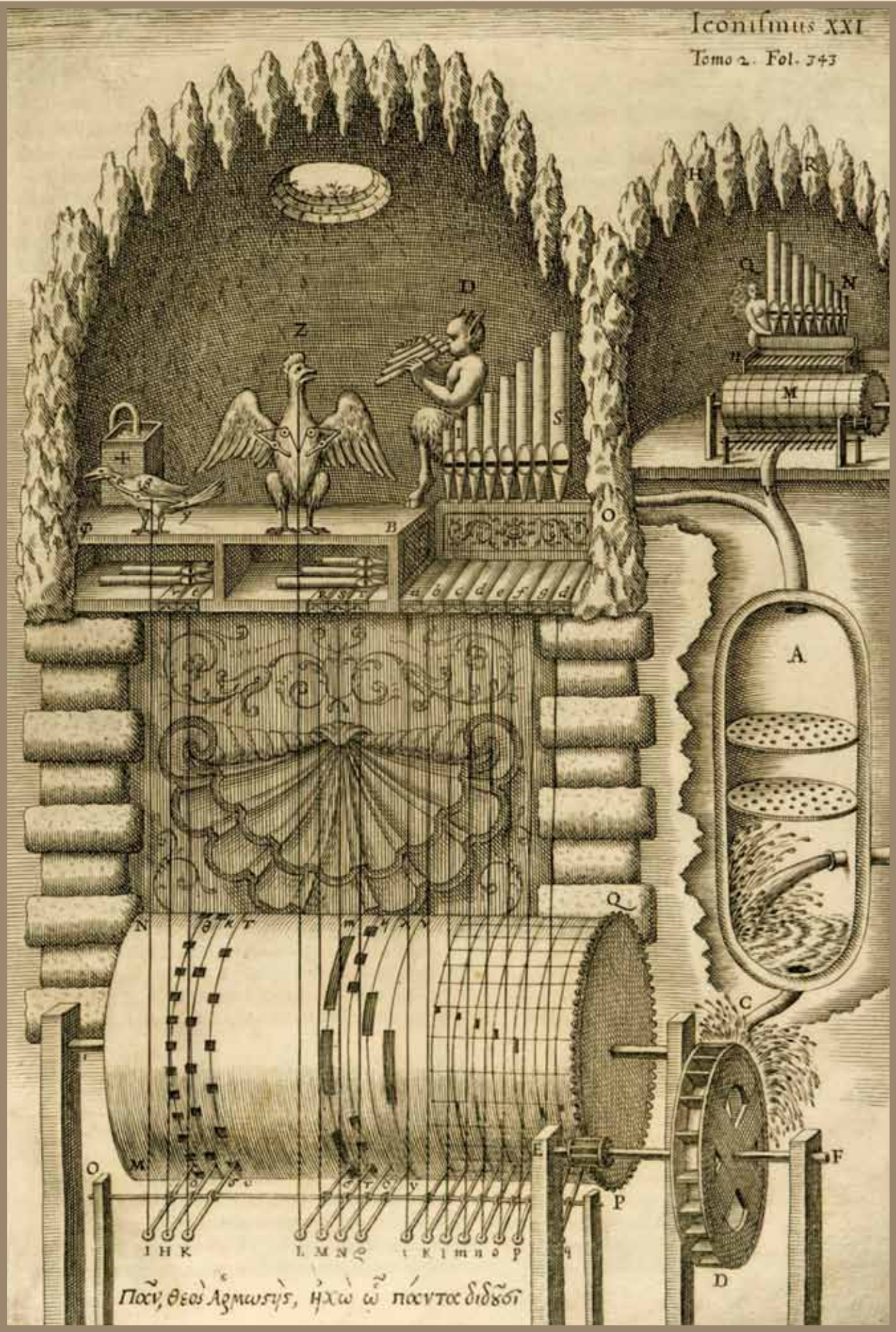
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Fig. 1. Hydraulic organ (Athanassius Kircher, *Musurgia Universalis*, Rome).



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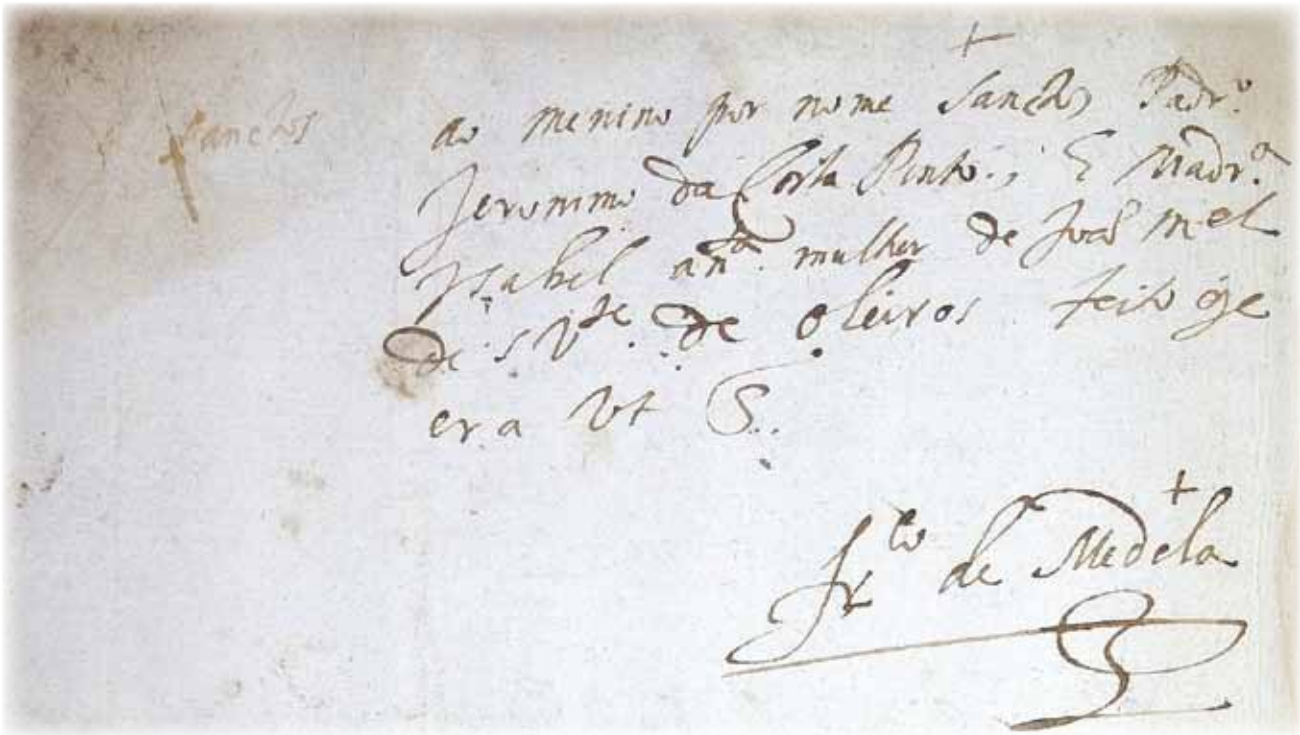


Fig. 2. Tomás Pereira's Certificate of Baptism (S. Martinho do Vale, 5 November 1646). ADB, Parish Register - Vale (S. Martinho), Vila Nova de Famalicão, Book no. 346, ff. 59-59 v.

Domingos, the eldest (1644); Manuel (1651); and Maria (1656).³

After concluding his early studies in his hometown, Pereira most probably went to the College of St Paul in Braga, staying there until the early 1660s. It might have been in that city, known for its strong musical tradition, that he received his early training in music.⁴ Indeed, a few decades later, his confrere Claudio Filippo Grimaldi (1638-1712) would state that Pereira had studied music since he was a child.⁵

By mid-1663 Pereira was already in Coimbra, where, about to turn eighteen, he joined the Society of Jesus on 25 September. He then took the name Tomás and began the novitiate, which he might have concluded by 1665.⁶ Most likely in this same year Pereira initiated the philosophy course at the College of Arts, also in Coimbra. Amongst his contemporaries in this city we should highlight the Jesuit author António Vieira (1608-1697), as well as the first Chinese Jesuit priest, the Macanese Manuel de Sequeira/Zheng Weixin 郑维信 (1633-1673).⁷

Shortly after, in March 1666, Pereira departed from Coimbra to Lisbon in order to start his journey

to the East. Pereira was then the youngest of a group of eighteen Jesuits travelling that year aboard the fleet of the *Carreira da Índia*, along with the procurator of the Province of Japan, Giovanni Filippo de Marini (1608-1682).⁸ Pereira's ship, *Nossa Senhora da Ajuda*, sighted Goa on 13 October. In Goa, Pereira pursued his studies in philosophy and theology, being ordained a priest sometime between 1670 and late April 1671. In May 1671, he set sail for Macao aboard the galliot *São Marcos*, in the company of the procurator for Japan, Diogo do Vale.⁹ Pereira probably arrived in Macao after August. Almost nothing is known about his sojourn in this port city, which lasted a little over a year. Nevertheless, it seems likely that Pereira concluded the theology course in Macao, thereupon completing his studies. During his stay in the city, he apparently also served as rector of the seminary and master of grammar.¹⁰

In October 1672, after being summoned to Beijing by the Kangxi emperor,¹¹ Pereira entered mainland China, and reached Beijing in early January 1673, at the age of twenty-six. From then onwards, Pereira remained in the Court for the following 36

years, serving Kangxi in various areas,¹² until his own death from apoplexy in December 1708, at the age of sixty-two.¹³

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Pereira's manual dexterity, as well as his musical skills, led the Superior of the China mission in Beijing, Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688), to recommend him to the emperor.¹⁴ Indeed, it was in the capital city that the most talented Jesuits were assigned to work, in order to please the emperor and gain his patronage, which was regarded as essential for the protection of the missionaries and their activity in the Chinese empire.¹⁵

Being informed of Pereira's 'very skilful hands' and ability for 'playing musical instruments, notably Organs', the priests in Beijing took the opportunity to have Pereira with them.¹⁶ His musical and mechanical gifts were all the more important at a time when, due to poor health, Gabriel de Magalhães (1610-1677) was in need of a successor for his workshop. In this context, Pereira was relocated from the province of Japan, to which he was initially bound, to the vice-province of China. Thus, shortly after his arrival in Beijing, in early 1673, Pereira inherited the 'botica' or workshop of Magalhães, likewise known for being 'skilled with his hands'. This one, who called himself a 'locksmith' [*serralheiro*],¹⁷ also praised the 'very good hands' of his successor, to whom he donated 'all his instruments, or tools', thus enabling Pereira to follow his steps in his activity.¹⁸

Among the several passages found in the Jesuit sources in which Pereira's skills as a 'curious of hands' [*curioso de mãos*] are highlighted, we can quote his own words. For instance, in 1681, in a letter addressed to the Portuguese Assistant in Rome, Francisco Lopes, Pereira stated that: 'in order to be in line with God's will, we tried by all legitimate means ... to promote *per infamiam, et bonam famam* [by infamy and by good reputation] this benevolence, that supports efficiently this same mission.... We do this by inventing curious things, as well as scientific (which the Emperor appreciates)...'.¹⁹ Similarly, an account dated ca. 1687 stressed that no priest could 'attend the Court unless he is a Mathematician' or has 'some extraordinary ability or art', as was the case of Pereira.²⁰

Theoretical preparation and practical application, or in other words knowing and doing, would be

precisely the two dimensions of Tomás Pereira's action. He himself admitted in a letter sent to Visitor Francesco Saverio Filippucci (1632-1692), dated 23 December 1688, that: '... to teach the Emperor, or someone else, the speculative, won't remove us from the praxis, as is shown by the clocks'.²¹

Pointing to his activity in making and repairing clocks, musical instruments, and all sorts of mechanical instruments,²² some of which were to delight the emperor and other senior court dignitaries, Pereira's 'curious hands' must have been crucial in granting him access to Kangxi.²³ The ensuing relationship left its most visible mark in the so-called Edict of Toleration of Christianity, issued by Kangxi in 1692, as Pereira had a key role in the concession, for the very first time, of such a remarkable privilege. But Pereira's prominence among the Court Jesuits is also perceptible in his own words, usually discreet in this regard: '... despite their awareness that from me (if I want) nothing can be hidden at the Court'.²⁴

Fig. 3. Kangxi in his library.

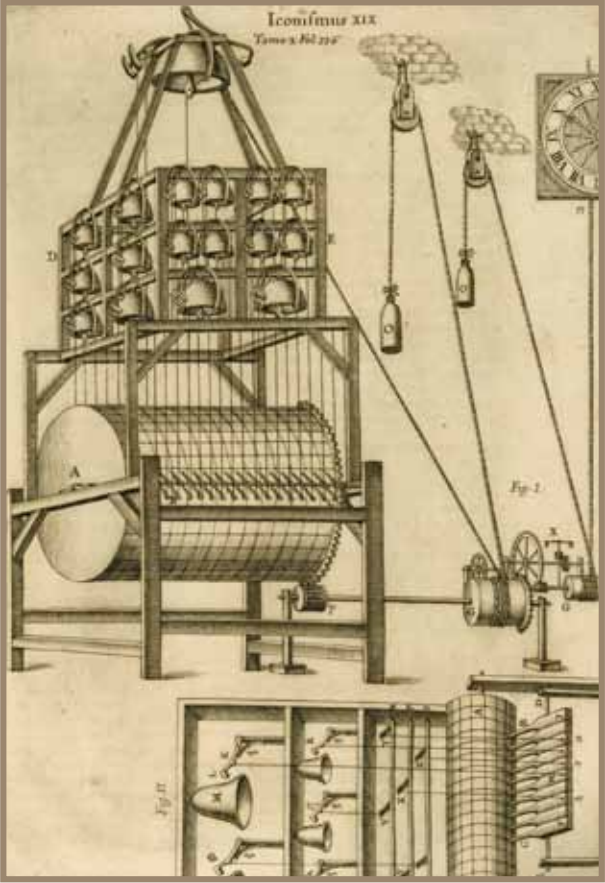


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The first time Tomás Pereira gives some news about these ‘curiosities’ he made goes back to 1677, following the visit on 13 December 1676 of one of the emperor’s brothers to the Jesuit church of Beijing²⁵ (Xitang 西堂).²⁶ On that occasion, Pereira specifically mentioned the display of a mechanism he had built, comprising a clock and a set of ten bells. A Chinese melody was played by those bells, immediately preceding the sound of the hours. Some months later, Pereira had already made another musical clock, this time displayed before the emperor himself, at the Imperial City, on 7 November 1677.²⁷ [Fig. 5]

This clock, described as being of an oblong shape and of small size, comprised two towers, with a total of ten bells. The towers were connected by two axes that supported a round bird cage. Inside it there was a living bird. Whenever this bird drank water from a bowl or opened a small box to eat, the mechanism was set into motion and Chinese or Manchu music started

Fig. 4. Carrillon (Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia Universalis*, Rome, 1650), probably similar to the one built by Thomas Pereira.



playing. Choosing the music required setting the clock dial in an inner or outer position.²⁸

Some other references in Pereira’s letters document his work as a clockmaker. In 1678, for example, he asked his old companion in the journey from Lisbon to Goa, Giovanni Filippo de Marini, to send some sundials he had made in ivory with some Chinese characters and hours after the Chinese fashion.²⁹ In March 1680, when reporting on a clock made by Claudio Filippo Grimaldi that had been offered to the emperor, Pereira stated that he had been the creator of its mechanical part. He even added that, thanks to that clock, the Jesuits had had the opportunity to stay over the course of several months at the Palace, being endowed with a privileged treatment by the emperor: ‘... offering for several times his own table to us; and long conversations in his own chamber; and (by his will) our own quarters’.³⁰ [Fig. 6]

From this time onwards, Pereira’s documents fail to provide more data on his activity as a clockmaker. However, his involvement in this craft is clearly visible in some of his statements, already in the 1690s, about his own skills and achievements in repairing the emperor’s clocks. Indeed it seems that he performed this role on a quite regular basis, being chosen among the other European Jesuits.³¹ We can confirm it in a letter dated November 1690, in which Pereira criticised the French Jesuits for exaggerating their own role.³² At the same time, he declared that he was in charge of repairing Kangxi’s clocks. Similarly, two years later, he was quite categorical when reporting that he had been designated by the emperor to fix a clock previously bought by Kangxi. In spite of its mechanism having ‘an almost irreparable error’, Pereira had been able to fix it ‘and on that same occasion (shortly after His Majesty had summoned me to His presence) I delivered the repaired clock, and God being served, that it took the emperor’s satisfaction and fulfillment’.³³

Likewise Pereira’s ‘good hands’ stand out in the field of music, both in the conception and building of musical instruments, and in the art of playing them. Those were both important advantages due, in Pereira’s own expression, to the ‘thirst’ revealed by Kangxi for European music.³⁴ In March 1680, Pereira reported the long discussions involving him and his companions on the one hand, and Kangxi on the other, that had taken place at the Imperial Palace. During those discussions,

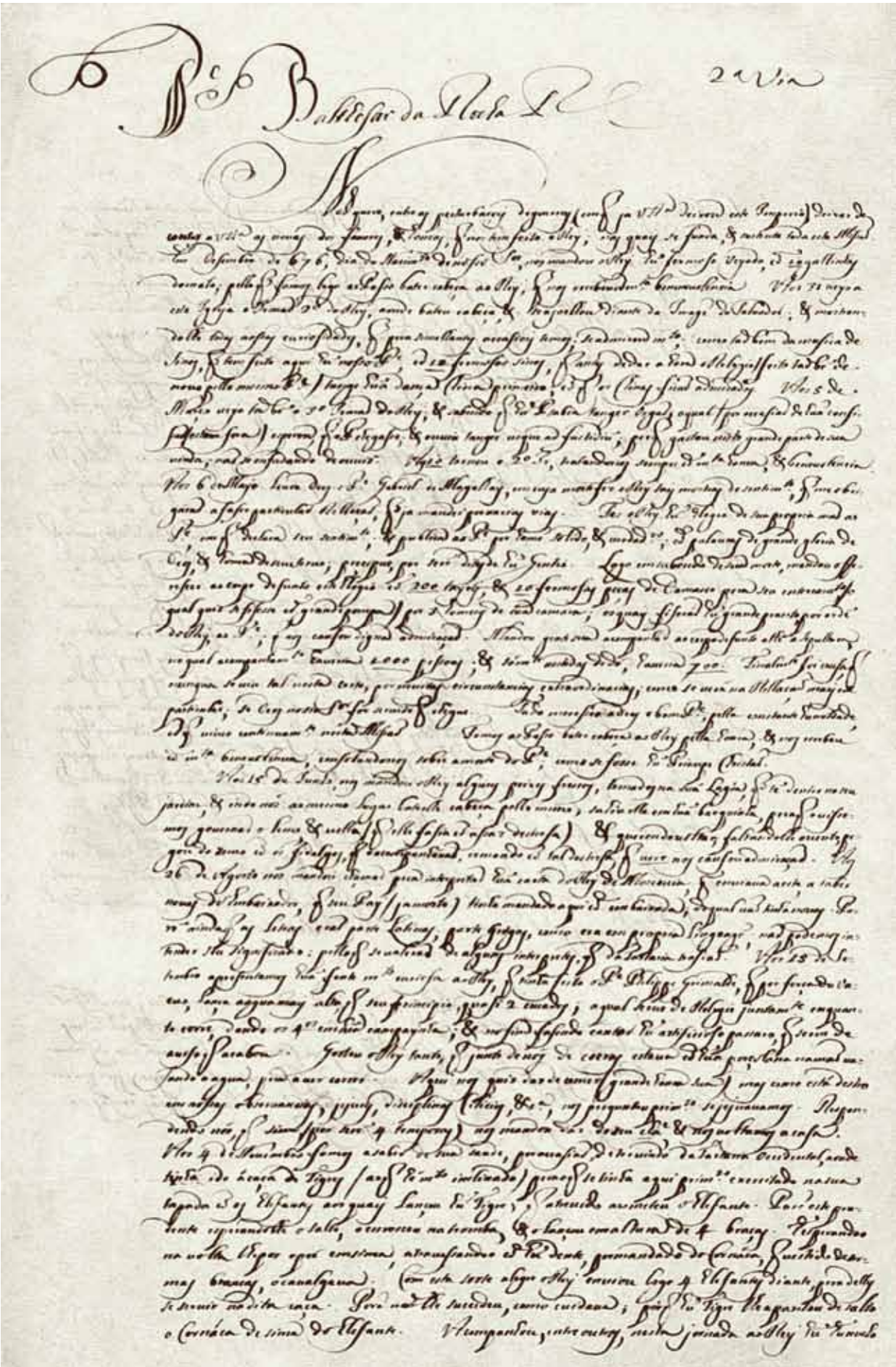


Fig. 5. Letter from Tomás Pereira to Baltasar da Rocha describing a clock, Beijing, 1677 (?). ARSI, Jap. Sin., 124, f. 150.

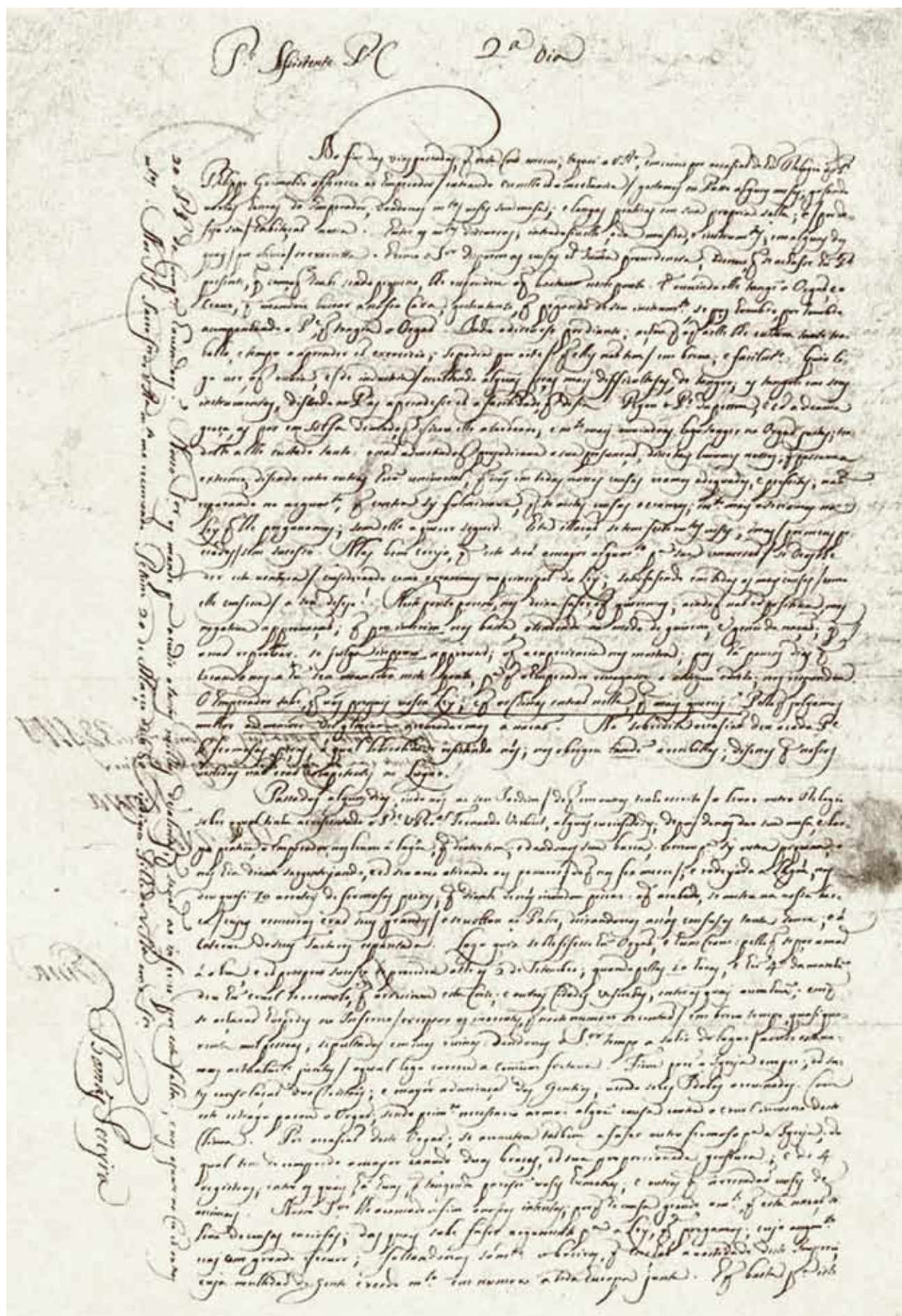


Fig. 6. Letter from Tomás Pereira to the Portuguese Assistant António Gonçalves describing a clock, Beijing, 20 March 1680. ARSI, Jap. Sin., 199 I, f. 36.

the emperor had introduced the topic of music and musical instruments.³⁵

Indeed, it was in the capital city that the most talented Jesuits were assigned to work, in order to please the emperor and gain his patronage, which was regarded as essential for the protection of the missionaries and their activity in the Chinese empire.

Throughout Pereira's documental corpus we can find several references to his musical dimension. What seems to have been his first performance before the emperor is rather well known. Described by Ferdinand Verbiest,³⁶ it is likewise reported by Pereira himself, in a letter dated March 1680, that when Kangxi 'heard the Organ and the Harpsichord that he had ordered to be brought from our House being played, he took so much delight, that taking his own instrument he joined, shoulder by shoulder, the Father [Pereira], that was playing the Organ'.³⁷ He further added that Kangxi immediately wanted 'to see what he was listening to and choosing some more difficult pieces to be performed, he had played them in his own instrument, telling the father to learn them as easily as he said. The Father [Pereira] took his quill and by God's grace put the music in writing, leaving him [Kangxi] astonished, and even more so when immediately after he heard the pieces played on the Organ'.³⁸ However, this was not Pereira's first performance in Beijing. Indeed, on March 1677, when one of Kangxi's brothers visited the Jesuit residence, knowing that Pereira could play the organ, he waited patiently for his return to the residence, afterwards attending the priest's performance '... *usque ad fastidium* [until the nausea] ... never getting tired of listening to him', stated Pereira.³⁹

Pereira's letters recount some other episodes in which the priest was forced by the audience to perform

unceasingly. This is well illustrated by an episode that took place in 1681, when following the building of the organ in one of the towers of the Xitang church, a crowd of people living in the neighbourhood got so excited by the exotic sound of the European musical instrument that they didn't demobilise for days on end. Pereira's words provide us a very vivid image in this regard:

This year it [the organ] was placed in the church, and following it so many people started to assemble, that we were forced to request soldiers for the church, and the courtyard, in order to avoid disorders caused by the heathens, and mob that came to listen to and see such a thing never seen, nor heard at this Court: thus being the author [Pereira] forced to perform every day for over a month, and in many of those days each quarter in order to enable the flow of the crowd, that at each quarter of an hour renewed itself; which would persist for many months; if it was only to meet the desire and curiosity of the listeners.⁴⁰

The dimension of musical devices, mentioned by the author, is of special interest, since it is one of the key aspects that contributed to define Pereira as a 'curious of hands'. In his documents there are several references to the instruments he built, amongst which we can highlight the organs and the bells. Regarding the bells, Pereira describes these from the smallest and most delicate to put inside the clocks,⁴¹ to those of great size. This was the case of a bell planned for one of the towers of the Xitang church and represented on a drawing of its frontispiece sent to the priest in Rome, together with a letter in 1682.⁴² By May 1685, Pereira was engaged in the production of one of those bells, cast at the Jesuit residence and weighing about one tonne.⁴³

On the 9th of that same month, the emperor visited the Jesuit residence, attracted by an organ, which he wanted 'to see, listen and play ... moving his hands on it before his court for a long time'.⁴⁴ This was the above-mentioned organ that in 1681 was placed in the church tower. Its plans had appeared in Pereira's letters already on March 1680: '... he also undertook to build another fair one for the church; the length of the longest pipe was two fathoms [braça] with the proportional thickness; with 4 registers; among which there are some that when played are similar to human voices; and others that imitate animal voices'.⁴⁵ In the description that immediately followed the building of this organ,

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Pereira declared that it was a great instrument, which was additionally confirmed by the length of its largest pipe, measuring over two metres,⁴⁶ and comprising ‘4 organs together’.⁴⁷ The uniqueness of this remarkable instrument had worked as a ‘bait’, according to the priest, since it had led to the very desired imperial visit becoming reality.⁴⁸ Some years later, Pereira even ensured that there was no similar organ ‘... from the Cape of Good Hope eastwards...’.⁴⁹

Tomás Pereira further claimed the authorship of several other organs, of different dimensions, some of which were automatic and others manual, often for the emperor⁵⁰: ‘Following many years of experience, in which the Emperor had seen with his own eyes the variety of Organs; either simple, and with voices, and multiple pipes, with or without player that by itself played with similar confidence its tunes...’.⁵¹

Among the automatic instruments built by Pereira for Kangxi we also find reference to a Chinese one, called *yunluo* 云锣. On June 1682, the priest sent a drawing of this instrument to the Portuguese Assistant in Rome, Francisco Lopes. According to Pereira’s account it included: ‘... some little copper dishes, placed in its frame, which were played with a little hammer, although in the drawing, here attached’, he noted, ‘each little dish has its own little hammer to play ...’.⁵²

Besides the building and performance of the appointed musical instruments, the letters from Pereira further witnessed his activity as a tuner of imperial harpsichords, as well as clavichords. The emperor used to call him with that purpose in mind.⁵³ It is well-known that his activity in the music field further included lecturing the Kangxi emperor on European music. Even though this is a marginal issue in the

scope of this article, it is important to stress this side of Pereira, which is also present in his documents. In the ‘Relação da jornada que o Padre Tomás Pereira fez à Tartária, no ano de 1685, com o Imperador Kangxi’ [Report on Tomás Pereira’s journey to Tartary, in the year of 1685, along with the Kangxi emperor] he told about the imperial order, transmitted by a top official, for Pereira to join the emperor in his tour to Manchuria ‘... in order that during leisure time from hunting, you may communicate this art to him; so that being he able to do what you do, he may write books in Chinese characters, so that this art may be communicated in our Kingdom and may be preserved’.⁵⁴ Some years later, with reference to this same journey, Pereira commented on Kangxi’s ‘hunger’ to ‘... learn the art, and science of our music’.⁵⁵ From these classes a book came out ‘... on Music authored by Father Thomas Pereyra, setting into practice that previously taught through speculation, which well deserved no less admiration’, according to the Portuguese version of the memorial submitted by both Pereira and Antoine Thomas to Kangxi.⁵⁶

‘Other curiosities have been produced’,⁵⁷ wrote Pereira in one of his several letters, referring to himself as well as to his confreres in Beijing. In this city, from early on a privileged circle of apprenticeship of arts and crafts took form,⁵⁸ where it was learned and taught, where the experience slowly improved the artisan/’artífice’, and where over time the disciples became masters.⁵⁹

‘Artisan’ was exactly the expression chosen by Tomás Pereira to describe himself, resembling his predecessor in the Jesuit workshop, Gabriel de Magalhães, who some years earlier had labelled himself as ‘locksmith’. **RC**

under the title *Tomás Pereira. Obras*, 2 vols., op. cit. Some decades before, in the 1960s, Joseph Sebes had published Tomás Pereira’s journals (*The Jesuits and the Sino-Russian Treaty of Nerchinsk, 1689: The Diary of Thomas Pereira*, Rome: Institutum Historicum, 1961). This work was later published in a Portuguese version (*O Diário do Padre Tomás Pereira, S.J. Os Jesuítas e o Tratado Sino-Russo de Nerchinsk (1689)*, Macao: Comissão Territorial de Macau para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1999). Further see Arnaldo do Espírito Santo and Cristina Costa Gomes, ‘Tomás Pereira Latinist’, in *Europe-China. Intercultural Encounters (16th-18th*

centuries), edited by Luís Filipe Barreto, Lisbon: CCCM, 2012, pp. 249-262; and Cristina Costa Gomes, ‘Novas da Corte de Pequim: “ao correr da pena” de Tomás Pereira (1646-1708)’, *Revista Colóquio/Letras. Ensaio*, 184 (2013), pp. 9-21.

3 For a more detailed treatment of his biography, see the articles: João Francisco Marques, Cristina Costa Gomes, Isabel Murta Pina, ‘Em Portugal/In Portugal’ in *Tomás Pereira (1646-1708). Um Jesuíta na China de Kangxi/A Jesuit in Kangxi’s China*, edited by Jorge Santos Alves, Lisbon: CCCM, 2009, pp. 19-37; Cristina Costa Gomes, ‘Tomás Pereira - Family and Training in Portugal’ in *Tomás Pereira, S.J. (1646-1708). Life, Work and World*, edited by Luís Filipe Barreto, Lisbon: CCCM, 2010, pp. 33-41; Isabel Murta Pina, ‘From Lisbon to Beijing’ in Luís Filipe Barreto (ed.), *Tomás Pereira (1646-1708)*, op. cit., pp. 185-202; Isabel Murta Pina, ‘Some Data on Tomás Pereira’s (Xu Risheng 徐日升) Biography and Manuscripts’ in *History of Mathematical Sciences: Portugal and East Asia IV – Europe and China: Science and the Arts in 17th and 18th Centuries*, edited by Luís Saraiva, Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Co., 2013, pp. 95-114.

4 See *Actas do Congresso Internacional Comemorativo do IX Centenário da Sé de Braga*, vol. 3, Braga: Faculdade de Teologia da UCP and Cabido Metropolitano de Lisboa, 1990.

5 See Wang Bing, ‘Tomás Pereira e a Divulgação da Teoria Musical do Ocidente na China’, *Revista de Cultura - Edição Internacional*, 9 (2004), p. 125.

6 António Barradas, ‘Catalogus Primus Prouinciae Lusitanae’, 1665, ARSI, Lus. 45, ff. 315v-316.

7 On Zheng Weixin, see Francis A. Rouleau, ‘The first Chinese Priest of the Society of Jesus, Emmanuel de Siqueira, 1633-1673’, *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 28 (1959), pp. 3-50.

8 Joseph Wicki, ‘List der Jesuiten-Indien faher 1541-1758’ in *Aufsätze zur Portugiesichen kulturgeschichte, 7 (1967)*, pp. 302-303. *Notícias Históricas de Lisboa na Época da Restauração (Extractos da Gazeta e do Mercúrio Português)* (Lisbon: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1971), pp. 48-49.

9 Manuel Henrique, Goa, 3/5/1671, Biblioteca da Ajuda, Jesuítas na Ásia (henceforth BAJA) 49-V-16, ff. 413v-415.

10 ‘Do Padre Thomas Pereira’, BAJA 49-V-16, f. 417v.

11 KH 11:7: September 11th, 1672.

12 A set of articles have been published on this topic. See, for example, Catherine Jami, ‘Tomé Pereira (1645-1708), clockmaker, musician and interpreter at the Kangxi Court: Portuguese interests and the transmission of science’ in *The Jesuits, the Padroado and East Asian Science (1552-1773)*, edited by Luís Saraiva and Catherine Jami, Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Co., 2008, pp. 187-204; Gerlinde Gild, ‘Mission by Music: The Challenge of Translating European Music into Chinese in the Lülü Zuanyao’ in *In the Light and Shadow of an Emperor: Tomás Pereira, SJ (1645-1708), the Kangxi Emperor and the Jesuit Mission in China*, edited by Artur K. Wardega, SJ, and António Vasconcelos de Saldanha, Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012, pp. 532-545; João Paulo Janeiro, ‘The Organist and Organ Builder Tomás Pereira: Some new data on his activity’, *ibid.*, pp. 546-566; Wang Bing, ‘Tomás Pereira e a Divulgação da Teoria Musical do Ocidente na China’, op. cit.; Joel Canhão, ‘Um músico português do século XVII na corte de Pequim: O Padre Tomás Pereira’ in Fernando António Baptista Pereira (coord.), *Os Fundamentos da Amizade: Cinco Séculos de Relações Culturais e Artísticas Luso-Chinesas*, Lisbon: CCCM, 1999, pp. 115-125; Id., *Tomás Pereira, Missionário e Artista na China dos finais de Seiscentos: Nova Abordagem à Sua Personalidade*, Vila Nova de Famalicão: CMVNE, 2001.

13 José Monteiro, Guangzhou, 31/11/1709, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 173, f. 195v.

14 According to the ‘Compendio da Historia Profana do Imperio da China’, Pereira has been recommended both as a musician and a

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‘curious of hands’ [‘Com titulo de Muzico’ and ‘Curioso de mãos’]. Porto Municipal Public Library, Ms. 663, (s.f.). Louis Pfister stated that, in 1671, Verbiest had spoken to Kangxi about Pereira’s musical gifts, and also recommended him as an expert in the calendar. However, the author does not reveal his source of information. Louis Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les jésuites de l’ancienne mission de Chine, 1552-1773*, 2 vols., Shanghai, 1932-1934, p. 382.

15 On the role of the so-called Beijing Fathers, see for instance: Luís Saraiva (ed.), *History of Mathematical Sciences: Portugal and East Asia IV – Europe and China: Science and the Arts in 17th and 18th Centuries*, cit.; Paul Rule, ‘Tomás Pereira and the Jesuits of the Court of the Kangxi Emperor’ in Arthur K. Wardega, SJ, and António Vasconcelos de Saldanha (eds.), *In the Light and Shadow of an Emperor*, op. cit., pp. 38-63; John Witek (ed.), *Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688). Jesuit Missionary, Scientist, Engineer and Diplomat*, Nettetel: Steyler Verlag, 1994. To a summary, see Nicolas Standaert (ed.), *Handbook of Christianity in China*, Vol. I, *635-1800*, Leiden/Boston/Köln: Brill, 2001, pp. 689-857.

16 ‘História das Missoens do Oriente pertencentes aos padres da Companhia de Jezus’, ca. 1687, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Reserved Item Section, cod. 11356, ff. 58v-59.

17 The study of reference on Gabriel de Magalhães is that of Irène Pih, *Le Père Gabriel Magalhães, un jésuite portugais en Chine au XVII^e siècle* (Paris: Centro Cultural Português, 1979). The author transcribes there a letter from Magalhães dated 12 October 12 1667, in which the Jesuit calls himself a ‘locksmith’ and describes a complicated musical clock that he was preparing (pp. 367-368).

18 ‘... todos os seus instrumentos, ou formentos’, Gabriel de Magalhães, Beijing, 19/9/1673, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 162, f. 356.

19 ‘E nós para acompanhar a deuina disposição, procuramos por todos os meios licitos.... fomentar per infamiam, et bonam famma [pela infâmia e pela boa fama] esta beneuolencia, em que se sustenta efficamente esta missão.... Isto fasemos, inuentando cousas curiosas, e scientificas (de que o Emperador faz digna estimação)...’. Letter from Tomás Pereira to the Portuguese Assistant (2nd via), Beijing, 30/8/1681, in *Tomás Pereira. Obras*, Vol. I, pp. 88-89.

20 ‘Compendio da Historia Profana do Imperio da China’, Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto, ms. 663, s.f.

21 ‘... ensinar ao Emperador, ou outro a especulativa, não nos tirará a nós a praxe; como nos relógios se vê ...’, Beijing, 23/12/1688, in *Tomás Pereira. Obras*, Vol. I, p. 230.

22 As was the case of a musical sphere, containing several bells and a little bird, that in 1677 was offered to Kangxi, and of which we heard through Ferdinand Verbiest, and not through Pereira. Cf. Noël Golvers, *Astronomia Europaea of Ferdinand Verbiest, S.J. (Dillingen, 1687): Text, Translation, Notes and Commentaries*, Nettetel: Steyler Verlag, 1993, pp. 124-125.

23 On the matter of this relationship and its informal nature, as recorded in the Chinese sources, see the article by Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, ‘Tomás Pereira, French Jesuits, and the Kangxi Emperor’ in Luís Filipe Barreto (ed.), *Tomás Pereira, S.J. (1646-1708)*, cit., pp. 353-374.

24 ‘... embora saibam que a mim (se eu quiser) nada pode ser ocultado na Corte’. Letter to Visitor Simão Martins, Beijing, 22/1/1688, in *Tomás Pereira. Obras*, Vol. I, p. 122.

25 Letter to Baltasar da Rocha, Beijing, 1677 (?), *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 73.

26 Xitang or Western church, later known as Nantang, or Southern church.

27 Letter to Baltasar da Rocha, Beijing, 1677 (?), in *Tomás Pereira. Obras*, Vol. I, pp. 75-76.

28 *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 75-76 and letter to the Portuguese Assistant Antão Gonçalves, Beijing, 27/5/1678, *ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 79-80.

29 Letter to Giovanni Filippo de Marini, Beijing, 20/8/1678, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 82.

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30 ‘... dando-nos muitas ueses sua mesa; e longas práticas na sua propria salla; e (por desejo seu) habitação nossa.’ Letter to the Portuguese Assistant Antão Gonçalves, Beijing, 20/3/1680, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 83.

31 Letter to Visitor Francesco Saverio Filippucci, Beijing, 5/11/1690, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 424.

32 For a short overview on the rivalry between the Jesuits from the Portuguese mission and the French Jesuits, see for example, Liam Brockey, ‘Root and Branch; The Place of the Portuguese Jesuits in the Early Modern China Mission’ in Artur K. Wardega, SJ, and António Vasconcelos de Saldanha (eds.), *In the Light and Shadow of an Emperor*, op. cit., pp. 31-33.

33 ‘... tinha um erro quasi irremediauel, concertei-lho; e neste mesmo tempo (pouco depois de Sua Magestade me ter chamado a sua presença como fica dito) lho leuei concertado, e foy Deos seruido, que ficasse à satisfação, e gosto do mesmo Imperador’. Letter to Superior General Thyrus Gonzalez, Beijing, 26/6/1692, in *Tomás Pereira. Obras*, Vol. I, p. 469. In a letter written in the same day for the same addressee, although in Latin, the performance was further mentioned, with some additional details. See *Tomás Pereira. Obras*, Vol. I, pp. 494-495, 526-527.

34 Letter to Visitor Francesco Saverio Filippucci, Beijing, 16/5/1689, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 288.

35 Letter to the Portuguese Assistant Antão Gonçalves, Beijing, 20/3/1680, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 83.

36 Noël Golvers, *Astronomia Europaea*, op. cit., p. 125.

37 ‘... ouuindo elle [Kangxi] tanger o Orgão, e o Crauo, que mandou buscar a nossa Caza, gostou tanto, que pegando do seu instrumento, se pos hombro, por hombro acompanhando o Padre [Pereira], que tangia o Orgão’, Letter to the Portuguese Assistant Antão Gonçalves, Beijing, 20/3/1680, in *Tomás Pereira. Obras*, Vol. I, p. 83.

38 ‘... logo uer, o que ouuia, e (de industria) escolhendo algumas peças mais difficultosas, de tanger; as tangeu em seus instrumentos, disendo ao Padre as aprendesse com a facilidade, que desia. Pegou o Padre da penna, e com a deuina graça, as pos em solfa de modo que ficou elle atordoado, e muito mais ouuindo-as logo tanger no Orgão juntas...’, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 83.

39 Letter to Baltasar da Rocha, Beijing, 1677 (?), *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 73.

40 ‘Colocou-se este anno na Igreja [o órgão], e se foi ajuntando tanta gente, que fomos obrigados a por soldadesca na Igreja, e seu pateo, para euitar desordens de gentios, e da turba, que concurria a ouuir, e uer cousa nunca nem uista, nem ouuida nesta Corte: sendo para isso obrigado o auctor a tanger mais de hum mez continuo todos os dias, e muitos delles a cada 4º para dar uasão à multidão, que a cada 4º de hora se renouaua; o que continuaria muitos meses; se se atendesse sómente a seu desejo, e curiosidade dos ouuintes’. Letter to the Portuguese Assistant Francisco Lopes (2nd via), Beijing, 30/8/1681, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 89.

41 See the above mentioned example for 1677 of a clock composed by ten bells.

42 Letter to the Portuguese Assistant Francisco Lopes (2nd via), Beijing, 10/6/1682, in *Tomás Pereira. Obras*, Vol. I, p. 94 and letter to the Portuguese Assistant Francisco Lopes (3rd via), Beijing, 10/6/1682., *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 98.

43 The bell weighted 2000 arrátels. Letter to the Portuguese Assistant Portugal Francisco de Almada (1st via), Beijing, 26/6/1685, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 105.

44 ‘... uer, ouuir, e fazer soar ... meixendo as mãos neste diante de sua Corte por muito tempo’, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 105.

45 ‘... do qual tem de comprido o mayor canudo duas braças, com sua proporcionada grossura; e de 4 registros; entre os quais há huns; que tangendo paressem uoses humanas; e outros que arrem[*e*] dão uoses de animais’. Letter to the Portuguese Assistant Antão Gonçalves (2nd via), Beijing, 20/3/1680, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 84. This

organ was further depicted in the aforementioned drawing of the church frontispiece.

46 According to Pereira it was over two *varas* in length.

47 ‘4 órgãos juntos’. Letter to the Portuguese Assistant Francisco Lopes (2nd via), Beijing, 30/8/1681, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 89.

48 Letter to the Portuguese Assistant Francisco de Almada (1st via), Beijing, 26/6/1685, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 89. Ten years before, kangxi had visited the Xitang church for the very first time. On this visit, taken place at a period when Pereira was already living in Beijing, see the article by João de Deus Ramos, ‘Kangxi, os Jesuítas e o aforismo *Jing Tian*’ in *Daxiyangguo* 12 (2007), pp. 59-86.

49 ‘... do Cabo da Boa Esperança para cà ...’. Letter to Visitor Francesco Saverio Filippucci, Beijing, 13/4/1689, in *Tomás Pereira. Obras*, Vol. I, p. 276.

50 See, for instance: letter to the Portuguese Assistant Antão Gonçalves (2nd via), Beijing, 20/3/1680; letter to the Portuguese Assistant Francisco Lopes (2nd and 3rd via), Beijing, 10/6/1682 and letter to the Portuguese Assistant Francisco de Almada (2nd via), Beijing, 1/8/1683, *ibid.* Vol. I, pp. 84, 95, 99, 102.

51 ‘Depois da experiencia de muitos annos, em que o Emperador tinha uisto com seus olhos a uariedade de Orgãos; assim singellos como de uoses, e canudos multiplicados, assim que com tangedor, como sem elle, mas com traça de sy tangem com igual certeza suas mudanças’. Relação da jornada que o Padre o Tomás Pereira fez à Tartária, no ano de 1685, com Imperador Kangxi’, Beijing, 1686, *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 19.

52 ‘... huns pratinhos de bronze, colocados em sua armação, aonde se tocão com hum martelinho ainda que no debuxo, do que aqui uaj incluso, cada pratinho tem seu martello, para poder tanger ...’. Letter to the Portuguese Assistant Francisco Lopes (2nd via), Beijing, 10/6/1682, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 95.

53 Letter to the Portuguese Assistant Francisco de Almada (2nd via), Beijing, 1/8/1683, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 103. Account to Superior General Thyrus Gonzalez, Beijing, 19/11/1708, *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 231.

54 ‘... pera no ocio da caça por diuertimento della possais communicar com elle esta arte; pera que podendo elle faser o que uos faseis, possa tãobem compor livros em letras Chinas, pera que se communique esta arte em nosso Reyno et conserue’. Report on the journey to Tartary with Kangxi in 1685, Beijing, 1686, *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 20. On this journey to Manchuria, see the article by Davor Antonucci, ‘Pereira’s trip to Tartary in 1685’ in Luís Saraiva (ed.), *History of Mathematical Sciences: Portugal and East Asia IV – Europe and China: Science and the Arts in 17th and 18th Centuries*, op. cit., pp. 115-134.

55 ‘... aprender a arte, e ciencia de nossa musica’. Daily report on the journey to Nerchinsk and of the negotiations with the Russians in 1689, Beijing, 10/1/1690, in *Tomás Pereira. Obras*, Vol. II, p. 66.

56 ‘... de Muzica composto pello Padre Thomas Pereyra, reduzindo a praxi, o que ensinaua na espiculação com não pequena admiração de todos ...’. Memorial presented by Tomás Pereira and Antoine Thomas to Kangxi emperor, Beijing, 2/2/1692, included in the ‘Relação em que se contem o felis successo, e inestimauel beneficio da liberdade da Rellegião Christã’, *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 208.

57 Letter to the the Portuguese Assistant Francisco Lopes (2nd via), Beijing, 10/6/1682, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 95. Letter to the Portuguese Assistant Francisco Lopes (3rd via), Beijing, 10/6/1682, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 99.

58 See Noël Golvers, ‘F. Verbiest, G. Magalhães, T. Pereyra and the other. The Jesuit Xitang College in Peking (1670-1688) as an extra-ordinary professional milieue’ in Luís Filipe Barreto (ed.), *Tomás Pereira, S.J. (1646-1708)*, pp. 277-298.

59 Letter to the Portuguese Assistant Francisco Lopes (2nd via), Beijing, 10/6/1682, in *Tomás Pereira. Obras*, Vol. I, p. 95. Letter to the Portuguese Assistant Francisco Lopes (3rd via), Beijing, 10/6/1682, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 99.

Formation and Evolution of Macao Tung Sin Tong’s Management in its Early Stages (1892-1949)

KAI-CHUN LEUNG*



THE ESTABLISHMENT OF TUNG SIN TONG: THE ORIGINAL CONCEPT OF TONGSHAN

‘The Tongshan Association’s concept of *shan yu ren tong* should be originally from *Gong Sun Chou 1* (The Works of Mencius), meaning to practice virtue and doing good is everyone’s business and is not the obligation of only some people’.¹ Many literati of the late Ming and early Qing period took this tongshan spirit as their maxim for doing good. In the Preface of the *Book of Tongshan*, the Qing scholar Xu Bingyi said, ‘if society is full of philanthropists, [then] it can be seen as a world of common good (*tongshan*). The goodness

of a person is dependent on giving aid to all of the people and not being selfish. One philanthropist is not as good as thousands of philanthropists, thousands of philanthropists are not as good as a world of common good’.² To build a world of virtue was the core concept of the members of the Tongshan Association.

The emergence of the Tongshan Association was closely related to the trend towards associating among literati in the late Ming period. ‘And it was also a reflection of the literati’s discontent and resistance to the government, therefore, the Tongshan Association had political overtones to some extent’.³

Yang Dongming founded the first charitable association of Tongshan in a county named Yucheng in Henan province in 1590.⁴ Gong Panlong established a charitable association of Tongshan in Wuxi in 1614. It was regarded as a mutually beneficial charity at the local level. Members of charitable associations came from every sector of society. They not only joined as members but also needed to donate money to help the underprivileged. Therefore, members of the charitable

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