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## In Search of Another Japan Jesuit Motivations Towards Continental Southeast Asia in the Early 17<sup>th</sup> Century

TERESA SENA\*



### INTRODUCTION

Based on my research on the resettlement of the Jesuit Mission in Siam in 1655 I defend the view that the Jesuit approach to continental Southeast Asia was a result of a global strategy of the Province of Japan. In fact this early 17<sup>th</sup> century missionary expansion had much more to do with the Jesuits' religious and commercial links to Japan and to the spiritual assistance to the overseas Japanese than to any specific project directed towards the region. This led to a readjustment of Jesuit geographical targets and strategies, including the balance of domestic and external conflicts and criticism, and to an adjustment of the Society's administrative and directive structures in the Far East, to be understood alongside the interests of the Portuguese Crown (united to the Spanish from 1580 to 1640) and *Padroado* as well as those of Macao's official and private agents.

Besides Siam, I specially refer to today's Vietnam that, according to the designations<sup>1</sup> used by coeval Portuguese and Jesuit sources, included the principalities

of Tonkin (North Vietnam) ruled by the Trinh, Cochinchina (Central Vietnam), under the Nguyễn, and the Indianised kingdom of Champa (South Vietnam) of Malayo-Polynesian origin; to the less studied Khmer Cambodia, and even to the kingdom of Laos. On the West coast, the Burmese nations of Arrakan, Pegu, Burma and Ava, where a more offensive practice of territorial conquest was occasionally followed, were much linked to the Portuguese activities in the Bay of Bengal and lay beyond the limits of the Jesuit Province of Japan. Due to constant military and political instability resulting from perennial territorial and dynastic disputes, fluctuations in foreign trade policies or occasional conflicts and incidents, the Jesuit presence in such areas was often discontinued. Mainly through the Japanese network, they explored the interdependencies and complementariness of those different locations, and later on, benefiting from Siam's political stability and commercial revitalisation, re-established the Jesuit Mission of Ayudhya (1655-1767) which aimed to become the headquarters of Jesuit missionary activity on the Indochina peninsula, after the Portuguese lost Malacca to the Dutch in 1641.

### GENERAL FRAMEWORK

Fulfilling the Jesuit religious, commercial and even institutional goals the above-mentioned 17<sup>th</sup> century rapprochement towards continental Southeast Asia was strictly linked with the Japanese mercantile and expatriate communities found there and with

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the *Portuguese* informal communities—or better, communities of Luso-Asian, Asian Catholics and their associates where some Portuguese were found—and deals with several factors, to be summarised, without much detail or critical apparatus, in the following lines. Firstly, the general political-economical, diplomatic and religious framework and the transformations operated within these Asian principalities. In fact, a series of new events determined the collapse of the order the Portuguese, the Jesuits, and other clergy under the Portuguese *Padroado*, had encountered and entered almost a century earlier by the time they started to operate within East Asia markets, networks and policies, urging their physical and political-diplomatic resettlement and repositioning themselves in the region.

In the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Portuguese were facing not only the Dutch and the Spanish competition, but mainly that of Asians, who were setting up ‘their own “Far Eastern mercantilism” to oppose hardened European fleets’.<sup>2</sup> Despite all the interdiction of official direct relations between China and Japan, Chinese and Japanese private mercantile networks were dominating the Japan trade, namely via Fujian, Manila, Formosa and other South China sea’s ports, escaping official control, and somehow both crossing and co-operating with the Dutch, the Spanish and the Portuguese traders, sailors, and entrepôts in the region. From around 1592 to 1636-1638, Japan developed an official presence in maritime Southeast Asia with the institution of the *goshuisen* system.<sup>3</sup> The licensed junks (the ‘August Red-seal ships’) traded overseas and served the Shogunate’s economic, political and diplomatic purposes of state formation and unification. It assured also domestic and international legitimacy of a Japanese alternative world order to the tributary Sinocentric system, developing an autonomous diplomatic offensive in the region. According to Iwao Seiichi,

More than 350 ships went abroad under the redseal system in the more than 30 years between the establishment of this system and the closure of foreign trade by the shogunate. In some years as many as 30 ships sailed from Japan to foreign countries. They called at as many as 19 ports from Formosa to Indochina and the Malay islands,<sup>4</sup>

leading to a Japanese Diaspora of over 100,000 individuals who departed from Japan, either in Japanese or foreign ships, during that period.<sup>5</sup>

Overseas trade developed domestic industries, such as shipbuilding and mining; however, according to Charles Boxer,<sup>6</sup> the maritime activity did somehow remain in the hands of the Macao men and Christianised Japanese, but it was certainly also much in those of the Chinese,<sup>7</sup> among others,<sup>8</sup> as shown by other studies.

Moving often and easily from place to place, some of those overseas Japanese gained royal confidence, entered the service of local kings and rulers, got involved in local politics and succession disputes, generating some clashes, and moments of tension and violence, the last being somehow related to their progressive loss of influence and economic capacity to the Dutch.

After the Shogunate’s implementation of the so-called *sakoku* (closed country) policy, prohibiting overseas trade and—after 1635/1636—the repatriation of the Japanese, many were forced to remain in Southeast Asia in a difficult situation and obliged to look for another way of life. To those we shall add the ones who escaped the increasing political conflicts and Christian persecutions felt in Japan, from where all the missionaries were definitively banned by the edict issued by Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542-1616) on 27 January 1614.<sup>9</sup>

What was dealt to the Portuguese and their associates was the definitive commercial break out with Japan in 1639, already wounded to death since 1636, and this put an end to an era of world scale trade and also to a complex and diversified enterprise involving religious, political, diplomatic and cultural aspects. In fact, the Japanese trade had been the pillar of the Portuguese establishment in the South China seas and the reason for Macao’s existence as an international port-city, and this explains the further developments led or influenced by Macao, to restore the Japan link, even if they did end tragically, as it happened, with the so-called ‘martyr embassy’ of 1640.

To add to the Japanese blow, the worst that Macao ever suffered, though not fatal, there were other difficulties menacing the Portuguese acting in the region. The European commercial and religious competition and rivalry was embodied in the ‘heretic’ Dutchmen who, in addition with crossing routes and markets shared by the Portuguese, were threatening Makassar (which they would eventually dominate) and the vital city-state of Macao, after they had

<sup>5</sup> ‘Christian Martyrs of Nagasaki’, detail. School of Giovanni Niccolò, Japan, 1612, Chiesa del Gesù, Rome.

## HISTORIOGRAFIA

## HISTORIOGRAPHY

outmanoeuvred the Portuguese in Japan and captured Malacca. Economic, social, and political crises in a China devastated by wars and famines during the Ming-Manchu dynastic conflict lasting through almost all the 17<sup>th</sup> century, were worsened with the sailing interdictions, commercial blockade and coastal evacuation policy that followed the proclamation of the Qing's dynasty in 1644 and this affected Macao deeply. The Portuguese Restoration from Spain (1580) in 1640 (1642 for Macao) not only put the country and its overseas possessions in a particularly sensitive international situation but also blocked the highly profitable Macao-Manila direct route during the Luso-Spanish Restoration war (1640-1668) and the regular flow of the *Padroado*, as the Holy See took 28 years to recognise the new Portuguese dynasty.

George Bryan Souza<sup>10</sup> showed Macao's private merchants' capacity of survival and how Macao, in association with the Jesuits, kept on demanding new markets, making new alliances and diversifying their trade, creating new dynamics occasionally followed by the city's official trade and diplomacy that in fact had been often manoeuvred by the first.

The closure of Japan's market was certainly a relevant blow deeply felt in Macao and such a reality was not promptly perceived or accepted by traders, officials and missionaries, generating the long-lasting 'Japan dream' and a feeling of orphan-hood that crosses the entire history of Macao and that of the Roman Catholic Church in the Far East. To my knowledge, this is a topic still deserving a detailed global study<sup>11</sup> not only for its relevance, long term duration and geographical extension, but also for the implications of such a chimera in the Portuguese collective memory until the present.

All this urged the Portuguese to a readjustment of trade and diplomacy seeking new places, alliances and opportunities, whether on an official, private or religious scale. But we will first have a look on the Jesuit's situation.

## THE JESUIT CHALLENGED

From a Jesuit religious perspective, the Japan failure represented a hard blow and the closure of their most successful eastern enterprise, where, at date of the ban of the missionaries in 1614, the number of Japanese Christians reached around 300,000. Although the total

population of the archipelago was then estimated at 20,000,000 individuals, the rate of conversions was considerable due to the number of clergymen found in the country (143, including the Mendicants friars), and the difficulties and persecutions that they were facing, that allowed Boxer, who I've been following here, to conclude: 'but it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find another highly civilised pagan country where Christianity had made such a mark, not merely in numbers but in influence'.<sup>12</sup>

Finances apart, to the Ignatians, the expulsion from Japan was even worse considering that the Jesuit evangelisation method, involvement in trade and secular matters, as well as the Order's monopoly in Japan and China, was under strong discussion either in Rome's high Catholic decision-making circles, or in the rest of Europe, Asia and America. The polemic against the Jesuits was deeply supported by the Spanish Mendicant's feelings and reactions upon their exclusion from Japan,<sup>13</sup> the most successful of the Asian missions, as well as from China's promising one, an attitude that, naturally, can't be dissociated from the Luso-Spanish effective and latent political, national and economic rivalry.

This growing criticism was also deeply related to divergences beyond the Portuguese *Padroado*, or exclusive supervision of missionary activity in Asia, that led to the mobilising of European powers and the Papal Curia, initiating progressive limitation of the Portuguese proclaimed rights, an issue not to be developed here.

Evaluating the above-mentioned new regional political-economic context, the Jesuit past experiences in the missionary field, lack of manpower and funding, and the criticism and challenges the Order was suffering, led them to redefine not only their geographical targets and strategies, but also to balance domestic conflicts, opposing opinions and methodological divergences, and adjust their administrative and directive structures.

In 1615, immediately after the Japan debacle, the Mission of China, later Vice-Province (1619), was created, and became independent from the Province of Japan, though the effective separation occurred only in 1623 and, even so, the finances of both remained intertwined. The Province of Japan, by its turn, started to claim new areas such as Hainan (1640) and China's southern regions of Guangdong and Guangxi, as well as Formosa, Tonkin, Cambodia, Cochin China, Siam and Laos that ultimately entered its formal jurisdiction

Late 17<sup>th</sup> century portrait of Alexandre de Rhodes.

## HISTORIOGRAFIA

in 1658. As shown in the Annual Letter of Father Visitor Simão da Cunha (c. 1587-1660, r. 1659-1660), reporting on that year, and dated 15 June 1659, continental Southeast Asia evangelisation had become a goal and new priests were sent by the General in Rome to assist there. Cunha mentions having them distributed immediately after their arrival at Macao, in the following manner:

To Hainan I sent two priests ... to Siam I sent Father João Cardozo,<sup>14</sup> where we have a new mission again that a rich Lady intends to found, out of devotion that she has to the Fathers of the Society; for Cambodia I sent two; for Tonkin I sent two, and, as Your Paternity wished, I negotiated a boat to be sent there to gain the friendship of the same King which had banished six priests. I hope in the Lord, that with the good present I sent there, as well as the goods he have asked from the City [Macao], he will call back the banished Fathers; For Cochin China I sent a Father, so with the three which are already living there they will become better than they were without him.<sup>15</sup>

Next, Cunha informs on his intention to go to Peking to assist other missions that were starting in China and to gain the help of Adam Schall, S.J. (1592-1666) to open the Mission of Laos that remained closed after a first successful attempt from 1642 to around 1648, undertaken by the Italian Jesuit Giovanni Maria Leiria (1602-1665).<sup>16</sup>

‘For the Jesuits, Laos was virgin territory in the centre of continental Southeast Asia and a natural extension of their Indochinese missions that could possibly be penetrated by missionaries from Ayut’ia, Cambodia, or Tongking’, as stated by Donald F. Lach and Edwin J. Van Kley.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, at that moment they desperately needed to secure their missionary territories as a way to cope with the intervention of the newly created Vicars Apostolic appointed in 1658 to Cochin China and Tonkin, as is well-known.

## JESUIT MOTIVATIONS TOWARDS CONTINENTAL SOUTHEAST ASIA

Abundant descriptions of the expansion of the Jesuit Province of Japan in Southeast Asia and its successes balancing the blow from the loss of Japan’s are found in contemporary Jesuit sources

and self-propaganda literature not analysed in depth here. Among many others, we have printed works by Alexandre de Rhodes (c.1593-1660) or Christoforo Borri (1583-1632), just to mention the better-known ones. To illustrate this essay, I will, however, occasionally use the less popular works of Fathers António Francisco Cardim (c. 1596-1659)<sup>18</sup> and Giovanni Filippo de Marini (1608-1682).<sup>19</sup>

The 17<sup>th</sup> century Jesuit religious motivations towards the region entered the described framework, allowing Father Cardim to apprise the Portuguese king in 1642 that the Christianities of China and Annam, or Tonkin, ‘where ten or twelve thousand souls are baptised yearly’, were ‘the best thing Your Majesty now has in the entire East, or the Church of God in the domains of a pagan King’,<sup>20</sup> irrespective of any hope he had to restore those left behind in Japan.

Lying within the ecclesiastic jurisdiction of Malacca that occasionally sent priests on either diplomatic missions or to serve the *Portuguese* informal communities settled there, though often mentioned as a goal, the proselytising activities in continental Southeast Asia were until then never assumed to be a Jesuit priority. This is especially true for those acting directly in the missions attending to the successes they achieved in other missions such as Japan and even China.

Not being exclusive to the Jesuits, what we know is that, after a first moment of approach following the conquest of Malacca in 1511, there emerged a certain Portuguese disinterest in continental Southeast Asia, which deserves to be analysed in the wider context of the commercial opportunities and of the Portuguese Crown’s and *Padroado’s* diplomacy in the Far East.

According to Maria da Conceição Flores,<sup>21</sup> the Fathers were often requested or accepted by local rulers to secure the *Portuguese* merchants, soldiers and artisans in their domains, which is to say that the presence of clergymen in continental Southeast Asia even up to the early 17<sup>th</sup> century was much more a reactive than a progressive attitude.

That does not mean that the region’s missionary potential had not been considered from the very beginning by Jesuit strategists or was not kept within the Society circles as a kind of ‘plan B’, eventually varying its geographical precision according to the epochs and the circumstances.

As seen, if the expulsion of the missionaries from Japan in 1614 did not imply a Jesuit rupture with the

Japan project—and we are aware that missionaries continued to enter the archipelago clandestinely during the following decades—it also did not prevent the followers of Ignatius of Loyola, S.J. (1491-1556) to look for unexplored missionary fields. They looked especially for those that could assure indirect relations, both commercial and religious, with Japan, and a direct contact with the Christian Japanese refugees and with the overseas Japanese communities. Many of them were organised in turn by former samurais, the *rônin*, that, particularly after the battle of Sekigahara in 1600, cleared the path to the Shogunate for Tokugawa Ieyasu, and the fall of Osaka in 1615, eventually fell into poverty or lost their masters. Some of them entered the commercial field and tried their luck on the ports of call of the Japanese overseas trade, such as Manila and those of continental Southeast Asia.<sup>22</sup> From those privileged observing sites, the Jesuits and Macao could get updated information<sup>23</sup> about Japan’s political and economic developments, the Christians they had left behind, the persecutions, martyrdoms and apostasies, allowing them to evaluate any possibility to return there or, as deeply hoped, to recover Japan. One may admit also that several contacts and initiatives aimed at getting support from influential Japanese allies in order to reverse the situation may have departed from those areas.

In the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, even though such places lay within the boundaries of the Portuguese *Padroado*, they were also located in a region out of Portuguese direct official control, a kind of Jesuit strategic preference, as already stated by Jorge Manuel dos Santos Alves.<sup>24</sup>

That was the case of Cochin China, where the Jesuits<sup>25</sup> established a first mission in 1615, less than one year after their expulsion from Japan, followed by Cambodia in 1616, Siam and Tonkin in 1626 and 1627, respectively, Hainan in 1633, Laos in 1642, though some of them suffered temporary interruptions. Those were places where the *Portuguese* presence and trade relied on the informal communities, private merchants, and mercenaries, escaping official control and Crown monopolies. We know, for example, of the existence of a triangular connection between Ayudya, Macao and Japan operated by Luso-Japanese mestizos, competing with several other groups, including Malacca’s concession for voyages.

Many of the missionaries sent to the new missions were those who had left Japan, either Europeans or

## HISTORIOGRAPHY

Japanese. The Cochin China mission was founded in 1615 by Father Diogo de Carvalho (1578-1624), a Portuguese who had been expelled from Japan, where he would later die a martyr, and Father Francesco Buzomi (1576-1639), a Neapolitan. They were assisted by one Portuguese Jesuit coadjutor, António Dias (c. 1585-after 1639), and two Japanese, Tsuchimochi José (c. 1568-1624) and Shōzaemon Saitō, better known as Paulo Saito [Saytō], (c. 1576-1633). Saitō eventually left that mission in around 1621/1622, was ordained a priest in 1625, went to Tonkin on a diplomatic mission in 1629-1630 with Gaspar do Amaral (1594-1646) and was martyred in Japan, while Tsuchimochi remained in Cochin China. Dias finishes his days in Cambodia expelled from the Society after 1639.

In 1649, Cardim estimated the Christians of Cochin China at more than 20,000, adding that they were suffering persecutions and already had six martyrs.<sup>26</sup>

As this is not the main scope of my article, to save time I will quote Madalena Ribeiro’s synthesis of Cardim’s survey of 1649 which includes a few more details on those missions, adding a few comments of my own:

The mission in Cambodia was founded a year later, by Father Pedro Marques (1577-1657), a Portuguese who had also been expelled from Japan two years before. However, ‘due to the war in Cambodia, interrupted the activities of the mission, and the Father withdrew from Cambodia and returned to Macao; it later recommenced activities; it continues with the offspring of the Japanese Christians who were administered to there’.<sup>27</sup> In 1626, it was the turn of Siam and Tonkin. It is worthy of note that, apart from Europeans, Japanese brothers were also sent to these last two missions. Father Pedro Morejón (c.1562-1639), a Castilian, and António Francisco Cardim (1596-1659) went to Siam, accompanied by Brother Romão Nishi,<sup>28</sup> .... The latter went to Siam for the specific function of assisting the Japanese who lived in Ayuthia.

Father Juliano Baldinote,<sup>29</sup> an Italian, went to Tonkin, accompanied by a Japanese Brother.<sup>30</sup>

This visit to Tonkin was exploratory and the two Jesuits sailed back to Macao. Two other priests went there in the following year, Pedro Marques and

## HISTORIOGRAFIA

## HISTORIOGRAPHY



the famous Alexandre de Rhodes, who knew the language well from his previous stay in Cochin China (1624-1626), and they were actually the ones who really started the mission in 1627 instead of 1626 as commonly mentioned.<sup>31</sup> Evaluating the results of their evangelisation, Cardim significantly starts to list the baptisms from 1627 to 1648, amounting to 15,000 [sic],<sup>32</sup> and presents—what is uniformly confirmed by other sources—<sup>33</sup> Tonkin, after Japan, as the most glorious and fruitful mission, where no more than ten priests were found.<sup>34</sup>

Father Pedro Marques, the founder of the mission in Cambodia also went to the mission on the island of Hainão,<sup>35</sup> in 1633, accompanied by a Macanese Brother, Domingos Mendes (1582-1652). And finally, the mission in Laos was founded in 1642 by the Italian, João Maria Leiria, ....<sup>36</sup>

To what extent did the Jesuits by themselves, and/or associated with private traders from Macao, prepare in advance with the Portuguese informal communities and with their Japanese and Chinese partners Conchin China and Cambodia to serve as refuge places to an already announced expulsion from Japan? That is a rather plausible hypothesis but one that deserves further exploration, not to be undertaken here. The commonly-mentioned account of Fernão da Costa, a captain married in Malacca, returning to Macao from a commercial sojourn to Faifo (Hoi-an) by the time of the arrival of the Jesuits expelled from Japan in late 1614, having convinced the Fathers of the Cochin Chinese predisposition to embrace the Catholic faith, is rather simplistic, not daring, of course, to deny that Costa and others might have helped the Jesuits to get a foothold in Cochin China. In fact, Costa seems to have been influential in the principality to the point of preventing the establishment of the Dutch there in 1613 and was eventually sent by Macao—as its envoy or member of a diplomatic mission, around 1622—<sup>37</sup> all of that indicating Costa's intense activity in linking both places.

The episode of Fernão da Costa is an incident omitted in Cardim's work.<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless it matches a hagiographic narrative: an emissary is sent by God to redeem the Japan debacle, and doing so by indicating

that 'this misfortune' is balanced by the idea 'that those [sent] to Cochin China might open it to the holy Gospel', as Alexandre de Rhodes had wished.<sup>39</sup> This explanation seems to me rather vague, especially in light of the above-described continental Southeast Asia mercantile scenario and the Jesuit's main motivations for proceeding there: the indirect access to Japan, the overseas Christian Japanese, trade and the *Japan dream*.

A careful reading of the Jesuit correspondence of the period would be enlightening and deserves to be better explored in the future. For the time being, I will only sum up the two first Annual Letters of the College of Macao written after the missionaries' expulsion from Japan and their inclination towards Cochin China. The first, dated January 2, 1615,<sup>40</sup> reporting on the year of 1614 and signed by Manuel Dias, *senior* (1559?-1639, r. 1611-1615), the Rector of the College, is more or less in agreement with the above-mentioned version, though it does not, however, identify the Portuguese merchant(s) returning from Faifo, which showed the path for the Jesuits.

This support for the overseas Japanese and the involvement with the Japan's network are already present as a clear justification for the move. The second letter, dated 27 January 1616,<sup>41</sup> reporting on the years 1615 and 1616, authored by Brother Nicolao da Costa (c. 1569-1640), adds some more information, namely that Buzomi had asked fervently for this mission.

Both Annual Letters reflect the territorial and logistic needs of the Jesuit Province of Japan, either to balance their loss with the closure of Japan: 'to begin to conquer and win on the other hand something of much taken of it in Japan',<sup>42</sup> or to free up some space in the overloaded College of Saint Paul in Macao, with its capacity for only 50 individuals but crammed with 150 as stated in the same letter of 2 January 1615.

Apart from his having eventually applied for the Japan Mission while still in Europe, we cannot establish<sup>43</sup> any direct connection between Father Buzomi and Japan and the Japanese (apart from those he eventually might have met), not knowing either the language or even having entered the archipelago, but his insistence on being accepted for the missionary field is understandable. In fact, Buzomi had not entered any mission yet and had already spent around five years teaching theology at Macao. Moreover, that course was completed and he remained there with no more students.

Western traders and missionaries in Japan, mid-17<sup>th</sup> century Japanese namban screen, detail (Idemitsu Museum of Arts, Tokyo).

## HISTORIOGRAFIA

However, the allusion to the interest of the Cochin Chinese prince and king, and even their insistence on having priests of *São Paulo* in their domains, might be explained by their desire to have a Macao-linked mercantile community established there, or at least regular trade with the city which would assure the supply of arms they needed. This eventually showed the capacity for persuasion of some members of the Japanese network and/or of those, as in the case of Fernão da Costa, who were involved in trade and shared the Portuguese political-diplomatic goals. In fact, by that time the Portuguese king had approved a plan (originally made in writing in around 1615 and mainly to neutralise the Dutch) to establish a settlement in Turão (Danang) and to fortify Faifo. All of this shows the complexity and the several facets of such a scenario, but that is a theme impossible to develop here.

A chronological approach is useful to clarify my statement. The Provincial Valentim de Carvalho (c. 1559-1631, r. 1611-1617) departed from Japan with other expelled missionaries on 5/6 November 1614 and reached Macao on the 18<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> of the same month. Buzomi and his companions departed from Macao on 6 January 1615 and reached Turão on 18 January. If we give credit to Manuel Dias' report stating that the Jesuits had contacted Japan to confirm the Portuguese traders' information about Cochin China, it was almost impossible for this to have been accomplished after the arrival of the deported Jesuits, as Manuel Teixeira states.<sup>44</sup> So taking in account that the Japan expulsion edict dates from 27 January 1614, at least some Jesuits must have been exploring the idea for quite some time, probably in a much more consistent and networked way than it seems at first.

## THE COMMERCIAL LINKS

The involvement of the Jesuits in trade and even in money lending, with the aim of funding their missions, occurred almost everywhere and is a well-discussed issue to be summarised here. Though the details are fairly well known, it is important to note that from the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards the Ignatians had been particularly active in certain ports of the Indochina peninsula. They owned vessels, held shares in shipping, contracted with traders and even traded in weaponry to satisfy the local rulers' frequent requests, gaining their support, especially in Tonkin and Cochin

China,<sup>45</sup> activities that suffered increasing criticism and generated antagonisms not only in Macao but almost everywhere else as well.

As mentioned, we have comprehensive studies mainly on today Vietnam's<sup>46</sup> geographical area, discussing commercial, diplomatic and religious aspects, but they remain fragmented. We still lack a global comparative overview of the networks' dynamics and activities of Macao, the Jesuits, and the private traders in continental Southeast Asia, one that could help to better contextualise facts, strategies and interactions with other scenarios. That was probably what Roderich Ptak had in mind when, and departing from a maritime Asia perspective, he stressed that very little is known about Macao's early official and private voyages to continental Southeast Asia, calling our attention to the scarcity of sources and to the complexity and flexibility of such a trade:

... the participation of Macao's merchants in trade directed to Southeast Asia was a multi-faceted and very complex affair of which only some aspects can be reconstructed today. In most cases, we are not even informed about the concession voyages themselves, not to speak of the many private ventures that went totally unrecorded.<sup>47</sup>

Noting the relevance of trade between China and Japan for Macao, the same author adds:

Thus, already from its founding days, Macau was mainly looking towards Guangzhou and the ports of Kyushu. True, the Southeast Asian component was always there, but it played a secondary role.<sup>48</sup>

This secondary role is sidelined by historiography,<sup>49</sup> until quite recently much focused on the *golden* Japan. Or was it a space which escaped the Crown's control and which was eventually shared by Macao's and Japan's private interests, which included the Jesuits and the Chinese, said to be reserved for the sustenance of the *poor traders*, as the Viceroy of India would apparently become convinced of in 1635, when he revoked the Crown's and his own previous determinations? This was the moment when the Portuguese Crown significantly intended to re-organise Macao's overseas role by anticipating the loss of Japan.<sup>50</sup> From Viceroy D. Miguel de Noronha (1585-1647, r. 1629-1635, December), there are two letters, dated 4 May 1635<sup>51</sup> on this issue. One may infer that the voyages to Cochin China, Tonkin, Champa and Cambodia had already been going on for some time

## HISTORIOGRAPHY



Map of Japan, from *Fasciculus e Iapponicis floribus, suo adhuc madentibus sanguine compositus* by António Francisco Cardim, first published in 1646.

and were usually operated by Macao's *poor* traders. That they would not be sold to others but, above all, that, by allowing such a practice, the Viceroy intended to somehow minimise the parallel trade, and especially to obtain as much Japanese copper as possible in Cochin China to feed the intensive activity of manufacturing artillery at Macao in those times of war organised by Manuel Tavares Bocarro (c. 1602-after 1664).

Lacking as well documentary evidences on the Japanese private trade, all we know from documents which concerns the red seals trips, is that from 1604 to 1635 the Indochina peninsula was the major destination of the Japanese official trade, accounting for 67 percent of all the issued licenses known until the present, being 130 to Cochin China (including probably also Tonkin), 63 to Siam and 44 to Cambodia. It is also known that around 63.2 percent of the red seal boats from 1614 to 1635 and during the latter period, 31.6 percent, sailed to Cochin China, 24.9 percent to Siam, 19.5 percent to Cambodia and 24 percent to the Philippines.<sup>52</sup>

In fact, as noted in a letter from Macao in February 1615 by the Jesuit Provincial Father Valentim de Carvalho, from 1612 onwards Cochin China had started to accumulate a large part of the Japanese overseas trade, competing with the Portuguese Sino-Japanese trade:

Not many Japanese went overseas in 1600 and 1602. Only a few Japanese ships visited Manila to export flour. In 1612, Portuguese ships imported only 1,300 quintals of raw silk. Apart from other commodities, Japan imported 5,000 quintals of raw silk aboard Japanese, Manila ships and Chinese ships. This is the main reason why Portuguese ships did not play such an important role in this respect as they had done before. Particularly, Cochin China started trading activities which proved to be a great obstacle to the activities of Portuguese ships. Chinese ships brought large quantities of raw silk there, where the Japanese went to buy it, load it on their ships, and carry it back home.<sup>53</sup>

## HISTORIOGRAFIA

In this rapprochement with continental Southeast Asia, Cochin China was also the first principality where the Japan Jesuits established a mission in Faifo in 1615, being probably, together with Cambodia, the second to have a mission (1616), the early preferred destination (apart from Manila) of the overseas Japanese.<sup>54</sup> In Faifo the Japanese established their first quarter (settlement) in 1617, following that of Cambodia in 1615, but there are references to the existence of prior Japanese communities there from at least 1607 onwards. In Siam, the Japanese quarter dates from 1622, though a community of around 400 individuals was referred to in 1612, and the first Jesuit mission dates from 1626. Ayudhya and Cambodia, however, would become the places where larger Japanese communities, of around 1,500 individuals, were to be found by the time of the end of the Japanese official overseas sea trade in around 1635.<sup>55</sup> We do not have precise information on the date of the eventual creation of any Japanese quarter in Tonkin nor on the number of emigrants but, as stated by Madalena Ribeiro,<sup>56</sup> they were very active, owning ships that sailed to Japan operated by Chinese captains, and it was one of the best places to gather information on Japan. But that is not all. It is known that from time to time Japanese, *Portuguese* and Jesuits, if they were not settled in the same quarter or under the authority of the same<sup>57</sup> captain or *syahbandar* [master of the port], had their communities at least physically placed next to each other.

Those places served as the main doors for the Ignatians' entrance, and/or as the best locations to settle their headquarters in the region, being primarily aimed at assisting the Japanese Christian communities, to keep in touch with Japan, or just to gain a foothold there, namely by sending disguised missionaries to the archipelago.

The efforts to catechise local people came afterwards and, in fact, the results were poor apart from Cochin China and throughout Tonkin, 'that today is another Japan', according to Cardim in 1649.<sup>58</sup> It was 'the far more abundant' *vineyard* the Jesuit Province of Japan had to cultivate, 'where soon we will gather the fruit, that we have lost in Japan', as expressed around two decades later by Giovanni Filippo de Marini.<sup>59</sup> Referring to Cambodia, Cardim says:

... That kingdom and nation, which so far has not yet responded with any fruit, but it was not little having served this Kingdom of Cambodia

as a door to Japan and as a refuge for the priests persecuted in Cochin China, as well as to enable Father João Leiria to enter the kingdom of Laos in the year 1642, attending that this priest, disrupting many difficulties and with great works, entered the kingdom of Laos, as I shall mention in the following chapters.<sup>60</sup>

From the same author, we also learn that houses in Siam were donated to Father Pedro Morejón to support the establishment of a mission in Laos<sup>61</sup> and that both the Siamese and the Tonkinense pathways were alternately explored on different occasions, from the desire to enter this wealthy but rather inaccessible kingdom,<sup>62</sup> due to its distance from the coast.

Benefactors gave alms together, or in alternation, to the Tonkin and Cochin China missions (among others); while missionaries moved about from one place to another, sometimes to take refuge, and sometimes to start alternative missions, being often allied with or supported by traders.

We now see that the first of Macao's ships to reach both sites in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century enabled the installation of the Jesuit's missions and inaugurated Macao's more or less regular trade with both principalities. Further, that the local rulers' tolerance of the missionaries' presence in their domains was definitively linked to the flow of that trade and/or the supply of weapons,<sup>63</sup> and that missions and missionaries suffered all kinds of pressures and persecutions upon such trade's interruption.

Especially after accepting the irreversibility of the lost Japanese trade and the loss of Malacca in 1641, continental Southeast Asia occupied a prominent place in Macao's political-diplomatic relations until the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In most cases, with the support of the Portuguese *Padroado* and sometimes reinforced by Goa and Lisbon, the region underwent several diplomatic offensives initiated by Macao. This strategy corresponds to a quick perception that the region had become the centre of the exchange between the Chinese and Japanese, and able to ensure simultaneously the abundant products of the Malay Archipelago, once assured by Malacca. Though there was a preponderance of commercial motivations, beyond these conventional practices their less visible political and religious goals are undeniable. We shall recall here how the Society of Jesus, and other religious orders, came to enter many of these diplomatic initiatives and projects, some of them deriving from the extension of the European conflicts

to the Asian scenario, and some related to the perennial question of the *Padroado*.

To conclude, what I would like to make clear here is that the above described 'Japan connection' from the very beginning offered guaranteed success in both religious and economic terms to a new Jesuit enterprise. In fact there is:

a) a coincidence between the creation of the Japanese quarters in continental Southeast Asian port-cities and that of Jesuit permanent missions in the region, showing a real connection between the two events whose material contours remain to a large extent yet to be explored;

b) an interdependence and complementarity of all those sites for both groups, the Japanese and the Jesuits, such that we often see them moving from place to place accordingly to different circumstances;

c) a continuous and coherent strategy of the Jesuit Province of Japan running through all of the 17<sup>th</sup> century shifting towards continental Southeast Asia, and built in turn upon these main vectors:

- the Japan connection;
- an association with mercantile element and involvement in trade either for funding and creating a mission, or to secure access to local power;
- a supply of weaponry for the local parties, and eventually scientific and technological assistance at the royal courts;
- cooperation with the Portuguese (or better, the Iberian) official policy and diplomacy.

## CONCLUSION

Being aware that the question of the Jesuits' association, co-operation and partnership with the Japanese and the mercantile networks should not be taken as a monolithic reality, given that different sensibilities, conflicting interests, personal antagonisms, distinct groups that must be taken into account,<sup>64</sup> I would like to make clear that further research, a more accurate discussion of sources and literature and even better geographical precision, are required to further this discussion. However, the few examples alluded to here, and the hypotheses presented have encouraged me to look at all such complex scenarios as a global reality. I am even much more persuaded of that now, after having come across, while revising this exploratory essay (originally drafted, for the purposes

## HISTORIOGRAPHY

of contextualisation, in 2012 when I was studying the resettlement of the Jesuit mission in Siam in 1655,<sup>65</sup>) the above-quoted Dejanirah Couto comprehensive contribution, 'On the Threshold of Japan', which raises similar questions, focused, however, on the Tonkin case. Even worth mentioning is the recent book by Liam Matthew Brockey, on the Portuguese Jesuit visitor André Palmeiro (1569-1635),<sup>66</sup> by its enlightening contribution for several topics addressed in here, namely those relating to Jesuit organization, methods, strategy and identity; their insertion in maritime Asia and, above all, for looking at the Asian scenario as a whole. My only regret is that of having not fully benefited from the reading of such carefully researched work as I only come across it in the very final stage of my proofreading of this article.

Although for a later period and different context, Jorge Santos Alves<sup>67</sup> also recalls the need of adopting a global perspective when studying Macao's interactions with continental Southeast Asia, while Dhiravat na Pombejra<sup>68</sup> wisely emphasises the need of surpass the traditional bilateral perspective usually followed when studying the European countries' relations with Siam in favour of a wider plural approach, a methodology I would suggest to be extended to the entire region.

Transversal and comparative studies—including the moves undertaken by diverse religious orders—covering the entire Indochina peninsula might help to clarify the Jesuits' strategy towards continental Southeast Asia specially in the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, including the drafting of the missionary model they adopted there in order to get support from the local ruling powers. Any study of this kind needs to take into account the following parameters and topics: the new proselytism; funding of missions; involvement in and the volume of trade; networks and partnerships; involvement in local policies; diplomatic mediation; language training and linguistic work; and intellectual approaches and cultural accommodation.

At this stage, it seems clear that what did predominate in continental Southeast Asia was the 'mercantile model' previously used in Japan, and not the well known 'intellectual model' of the Jesuit mission that would prevail in China. The diverse political and economic realities of continental Southeast Asia, with its pulverisation of conflicting powers on one hand, and a centralised, homogeneous and hierarchical China on the other, naturally required different approaches.

## HISTORIOGRAFIA

However, despite all the efforts of Matteo Ricci, S.J. (1552-1610), and his results in promoting an intellectual dialogue and the acceptance of the ‘Western learning’, it was the ‘military argument’<sup>69</sup> that ultimately granted the Jesuit access to the Court—after the death of Ricci and the violent Nanjing Christian persecution of 1616-1617 (which reoccurred in 1621-1622)—and secured their missionary work inside the empire during the late Ming. I refer to the Jesuits’ manoeuvres in Peking, during the Ming-Qing dynastic conflicts (1618-1644), in association with the Court Christian lobby, to persuade the Emperor of the advantages of the use of Western firearms, to be sent from Macao, and ultimately accepted by 1626.

Such a global approach to the process of installing Jesuit missions in continental Southeast Asia may constitute a ‘case study’ to be discussed in the wider comparative context, and contributing to the general debate on an eventual distinctiveness of the Jesuit, at least in their approaches to those *new* Asian people and lands.

Among the topics still to be explored are questions such as: to what extent were the Jesuits’ initial contacts and settlement in those new *vineyards* distinctive from other clergy and Westerners entrepreneurs? Is there a Jesuit *model* of creating a Mission? Was the Jesuit association with the mercantile element a universal resource for pursuing the Ignatian projects? Does the Jesuit praxis of mercantile assimilation, diplomatic activity and territorial *conquest* present any rupture with the politico-civilisational and mental patterns of their European contemporaries and powers?

Proceeding from the idea of crusade and conquest, the clergy shared the same expansionist mentality of other Westerners who drifted after all from a society of privilege, particularism and pulverised powers, resulting in the allocation of the different geographic areas of the *Padroado* between the different religious orders. This explains the struggles for missionary exclusivity and the competition and even plans for territorial *conquest* which they engaged in to secure a field action. Beyond lies a prevailing dichotomous mentality legitimising the conquest of souls, which has been deeply explored by hagiographic texts, especially those of the Iberians, publicising the missionary achievements of the epoch such as *Batalhas da Companhia de Jesus, Oriente Conquistado a Jesus Cristo*, and so on.

The extent to which direct contact, the immersion in local lives, languages, religions and cultures, that is, the Jesuit’s enculturation, contributed to a more ecumenical Western vision and to the creation of other Jesuit missionary models and strategies are also possible ways to look for that Inacian distinctiveness. **RC**

**Author’s note:** This article is a short version of a chapter to be included in a book collecting the author’s essays on the diversity of Jesuit missionary work in China, Macao and Continental Southeast Asia, 1500s-1600s. I’m indebted to Prof. David Francis Urrows for his critical revision of this article.

## NOTES

- 1 For a detailed geo-political precision see, Isabel Augusta Tavares Mourão (hereafter Isabel Mourão), *Portugueses em Terras do Dai-Viêt (Cochinchina e Tun Kim) 1615-1660* (Macao: Instituto Português do Oriente [IPOR], 2005), pp. 35-56, 95-110.
- 2 Patrícia Carioti, “The International Role of the Overseas Chinese in Hirado (Nagasaki), during the First Decades of the XVII Century,” in *New Studies on Chinese Overseas and China [International Conference for Qiaoxiang Studies]*, Jinjiang Fujian, 28-31 October 1998], edited by Chen Huang, Zhuang Goutu, Tanaka Kyoko (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 31-45. Quotation refers to the digital version (<http://nanyang2.xmu.edu.cn/Article/ShowArticle.asp?ArticleID=869>), accessed on 2 May 2012.

- 3 Travis Seifman, “Seals of Red and Letters of Gold. Japanese Relations with Southeast Asia in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century,” *Explorations* 10 (Spring 2010): 6-8 ([http://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/handle/10125/18229/Explorations2010.Travis\\_Seifman.pdf?sequence=1](http://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/handle/10125/18229/Explorations2010.Travis_Seifman.pdf?sequence=1)), visited in 25 June 2012.
- 4 Iwao Seiichi, ‘Japanese Foreign Trade in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries’, *Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Western Culture* 30 (Feb. 1976), pp. 9-10. See also, Yoshiaki Ishizawa, ‘Les quartiers japonais

dans l’Asie du Sud-Est au XVII<sup>ème</sup> siècle’, in *Guerre et paix en Asie du Sud-Est*, edited by Nguyễn Thê Anh and Alain Forest (Paris: L’Harmattan, 1998), pp. 85-86.

- 5 Yoshiaki Ishizawa, ‘Les quartiers japonais’, pp. 87-88. See *infra* for an estimated figure of Japan’s population.
- 6 *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1650* (Carcanet in association with the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, The Discoveries Commission, The Fundação Oriente: Lisbon, 1993) [1951], p. 265 and *The Great Ship from Amacao* (Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau/Centro de Estudos Marítimos de Macau, 1988 [1959]), pp. 5, 75-76, 138 and 146. See also, Madalena Ribeiro, ‘The Japanese Diaspora in the Seventeenth Century. According to Jesuit Sources’, *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies (BPJS)* 3 (December 2001).
- 7 Ng Wai-ming, ‘Overseas Chinese in the Japan-Southeast Asia Maritime Trade during the Tokugawa Period (1603-1868)’, in *Maritime China in Transition 1750-1850*, edited by Wang Gungwu and Ng Chin-keong (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2004), p. 219 and Patrícia Carioti, *Cina e Giappone sui mari nei secoli XVI e XVII* (Napoli/Roma: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 2006), *passim*.
- 8 Juan Gil, *Hidalgos y samurais. España y Japón en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1991), p. 116, n. 217 and E. M. Satow, ‘Notes on the Intercourse Between Japan and Siam in the Seventeenth Century’, *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, XIII (1885), p. 144.
- 9 Charles R. Boxer, *The Christian Century*, pp. 308-361 and 375-397 and *The Great Ship*, namely pp. 83-85 and 308-361; George Elison, *Deus Destroyed. The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973).
- 10 *The Survival of Empire: Portuguese Trade and Society in China and the South China Sea, 1630-1754* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004 [1986]).
- 11 For a few interesting documentary evidences see Ana Maria Ramalho Proserpio Leitão, ‘Os Portugueses e o Termo das Relações Comerciais com o Japão: tentativas de reaproximação e substituição’, in *O Século Cristão do Japão. Actas do Colóquio Internacional Comemorativo dos 450 Anos de Amizade Portugal-Japão (1543-1993)* (Lisboa, 2 a 5 de Novembro de 1993), edited by Roberto Carneiro and A. Teodoro de Matos (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos dos Povos e Culturas de Expressão Portuguesa da Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 1994), pp. 242-244.
- 12 Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Christian Century*, p. 321.
- 13 For a critical historiographical approach to the Spanish-Japanese relations in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, but lacking access to Spanish more comprehensive contributions, see, Thomas W. Baker, ‘Pulling the Spanish Out of the “Christian Century”: Re-evaluating Spanish-Japanese relations during the Seventeenth Century’, *Eras* Edition 11 (November 2009) (<http://arts.monash.edu.au/publications/eras/edition-11/articles/tbarker.pdf>) accessed on 3 July 2012. Cf. Maria Fernanda G. de los Arcos, ‘The Philippine Colonial Elite and the Evangelization of Japan’, *BPJS* 4 (June 2002), pp. 63-89 and Juan Gil, *Hidalgos y Samurais*.
- 14 Also referred to as João Cardoso (1619-1676).
- 15 Simão da Cunha to the General, June 15, 1659. Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu [ARSI], *JS* 162, f. 47<sup>r</sup>. Author’s transcript, translation and emphasis.
- 16 For a description of Laos, difficulties in reaching the kingdom, being distant from the sea, and in setting and keeping a mission there see, António Francisco Cardim, *Batalhas da Companhia de Jesus na sua Gloriosa Província do Japão*, edited by Luciano Cordeiro (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1894), mainly pp. 78-79 and 254-283, and Giovanni Filippo de Marini, *Historia et Relazione del Turchino e del Giappone...* (Rome: Nella Stamperia di Vitale Mascardi, 1665), pp. 444-539. Recent studies on that mission by Isabel Mourão and Susumu Akune are quoted by Dejanirah Couto, ‘On the Threshold of Japan. Gaspar do Amaral, the “Jesuit Network” and the Contribution of the Japanese Mission and the Japanese Diaspora to

the Deployment and in the Settlement of the Jesuit Mission in Tun Kim’, *Revista de Cultura / Review of Culture* 44 (2013), pp. 118-119, n. 84. See *infra*.

- 17 *Asia in the Making of Europe*, Vol. III.3 (Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press, 1998 [1993]), p. 1159.
- 18 Hereafter referred to as Cardim. His major work completed by early 1650s, *Batalhas da Companhia de Jesus* remained unpublished until 1894. However, as the account ends in 1649 I prefer to use that date when quoting it. Apart from works related to martyrdoms in Japan, Cardim authored the *Relazione Della Provincia del Giappone*, which Portuguese version dates from 1644. Translated into Italian during Cardim’s stay in Europe it was published in Rome, Nella Stamperia di Andrea Fei, in 1645. Occasionally that *Relazione* offers a more detailed description of the early Jesuit interaction with the region. It is worth mentioning the attention given to Cardim, what includes the translation into English of extracts of his works, in the commemorative book *Five Hundred Years of Thai-Portuguese Relations: A Festschrift*, edited by Michael Smithies (Bangkok: The Siam Society, 2011), pp. 161-195.
- 19 *Historia et Relazione del Turchino*.
- 20 ‘Memorial of Father António Francisco Cardim, S.J., (Lisbon, December 6, 1642)’, translated and published by Charles R. Boxer, *Seventeenth Century Macau in Contemporary Documents and Illustrations* (Hong Kong: Heinemann, 1984), p. 137.
- 21 *Os Portugueses e o Sião no Século XVI* (Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimientos Portugueses/Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1995), pp. 116-121. See also, George Bryan Souza, *The Survival of Empire*, pp. 111-113 and ‘Portuguese Society in Macao and Luso-Vietnamese Retations’, *Boletim do Instituto Luís de Camões* 15, 1-2 (Primavera e Verão de 1981), pp. 86-87.
- 22 Yoshiaki Ishizawa, ‘Les quartiers japonais’, pp. 88-89.
- 23 Cf. Cardim, *Batalhas da Companhia de Jesus*, pp. 61-67 and 163, among others, and Madalena Ribeiro, ‘The Japanese Diaspora’, pp. 69-70. See *infra*.
- 24 ‘Natureza do primeiro ciclo de diplomacia luso-chinesa (séculos XVI-XVIII)’, in *Estudos de História do Relacionamento Luso-Chinês. Séculos XVI-XIX*, edited by António Vasconcelos de Saldanha and Jorge Manuel dos Santos Alves (Macao: IPOR, 1996), pp. 187-189.
- 25 For some more details on those missions and missionaries see, Madalena Ribeiro, ‘The Japanese Diaspora’ and Isabel Mourão, *Portugueses em Terras do Dai-Viêt*.
- 26 Cardim, *Batalhas da Companhia de Jesus*, p. 15.
- 27 Madalena Ribeiro, ‘The Japanese Diaspora’, p. 66 quoting Cardim, *Batalhas da Companhia de Jesus*, p. 15. Other notes introduced by her are omitted here, but almost all refer to the same work by Cardim.
- 28 Also Román Nishi or Romão Nixi, among others (c. 1569-1639/1640), later ordained a priest in Macao in 1631.
- 29 Giuliano Baldinotti (1591-1631).
- 30 Madalena Ribeiro, ‘The Japanese Diaspora’, pp. 66-67. Cardim, *Batalhas da Companhia de Jesus*, p. 15 identifies this Japanese Brother as Julio Peani, also referred to as Giulio Piani or Peany (c. 1537-1605) in other works. Cf. [João Álvares, c. 1744], ‘Capítulo 6º do princípio da missão de Tunkim, e superiores dela’, Biblioteca da Ajuda, Jesuítas na Ásia [BAJA], Códice 49-IV-66, f. 74r confirming the name of Julio Peani and indicating Gaspar Jorge da Fonseca as the Macao captain who carried the two missionaries there.
- 31 Cf. [João Álvares, ca. 1744], ‘Capítulo 6º do princípio da missão de Tunkim’, ff. 74r-v.
- 32 The figure is clearly mistaken and might refer to the sole year of 1648. In fact, according to the list presented by the same author, *Batalhas da Companhia de Jesus*, p. 149, and extracted from the assents of baptism, the total of registered proselytisers during the same period reached 188,037. See *supra* for another Cardim statement on the issue included in the memorial he presented to the Portuguese King in 1642.

## HISTORIOGRAPHY

- 33 Cf. Father João Cabral, S.J. (1599-1669)'s vivid account of the visit he made to that Mission in the same year on behalf of Visitor Manuel de Azevedo (1581-1650, r. 1644-1650). Dated from Macao, October 12, 1647, the report is quoted by Cardim, *Batalhas da Companhia de Jesus*, pp. 157-175, especially 172-175.
- 34 Cardim, *Batalhas da Companhia de Jesus*, pp. 15-16. See also, 72 *et seq.*
- 35 Hainan. Geographically separated from the region under analysis, the Jesuit relations with the island are a case of persistence of the 'intellectual model' of approach usually followed by the Vice-province of China (to which it still appertained), even more as it was mediated by a familiar of one of Ricci's converts in 1633. Such date is given by Brother João Álvares, S.J., [c. 1744], 'Capítulo 8º do princípio da missão da Ilha de Ainao', BAJA, Códice 49-IV-66, f. 79r, who also refers 1641 instead of 1640 for the transference of the island's jurisdiction for the Province of Japan. This confirms Tang Kaijian's criticism on those who mentioned the year of 1632, found in his recent book, *Setting Off from Macau. Essays on Jesuit History during the Ming and Qing Dynasties* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2016), pp. 132-134, comprising a whole chapter on the Catholicism in Hainan [129-150], where the author comprehensively develops this almost neglected topic in the Western literature while is critically revisiting the lacunar and not always accurate Chinese scholarship.
- 36 Madalena Ribeiro, 'The Japanese Diaspora', p. 67. See also, Cardim, *Batalhas da Companhia de Jesus*, p. 17 for an interesting balance of those missions in 1649.
- 37 I guess that there is some confusion between the years 1613, 1622 and eventually 1633 to be clarified in the future.
- 38 *Batalhas da Companhia de Jesus*, pp. 175-178 that confirms Rafael Carneiro de Siqueira, and not Fernão da Costa, as the main mediator in favor of the Jesuits in Cochín China in the 1620s. Cf. previous note.
- 39 Apud Dauril Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise. The Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire, and Beyond. 1540-1750* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), p. 138. See also n. 31.
- 40 ARSI, JS 46, f. 362v-363, transcribed in *Cartas Anuas do Colégio de Macau (1594-1627)*. Direcção e estudo introdutório de João Paulo Oliveira e Costa. Transcrição paleográfica de Ana Fernandes Pinto (Macao: Comissão Territorial de Macau para as Comemorações dos Descobrimientos Portugueses/Fundação Macau, 1999), pp. 142-143.
- 41 ARSI, JS 114, f. 5, transcribed in *Cartas Anuas*, 150.
- 42 ARSI, JS 46, f. 362v, apud *Cartas Anuas*, 142, author's translation.
- 43 Unfortunately, until present date I could not find any copy of the letter on the foundation of the Mission of Cochín China sent by Buzomi to the Provincial mentioned in Nicolau da Costa's letter of January 27, 1616. ARSI, JS 114, f. 5v, transcribed in *Cartas Anuas*, 150.
- 44 Manuel Teixeira, *Macao e sua Diocese*, Vol. XIV (Macao: Imprensa Nacional, 1977), p. 63.
- 45 Cf. Isabel Mourão, *Portugueses em Terras do Dai-Viêt*, pp. 256-260 and 291-304; George Bryan Souza, *The Survival of Empire*, pp. 34, 37, 111-120, 189-192 and 'Portuguese Society in Macao', p. 92 and 105, n. 65.
- 46 See also, Pierre-Yves Manguin, *Les Portugais sur les côtes du Viêt-Nam et du Campá: études sur les routes maritimes et les relations commerciales, d'après les sources portugaises (XVIe, XVIIe, XVIIIe siècles)* (Paris: École Française d'Extrême Orient, 1972).
- 47 'Trade Between Macau and Southeast Asia in Ming Times: A survey,' *Monumenta Serica*, 54 (2006), p. 475.

- 48 Ibid. See also pp. 472, 477 and 488-489.
- 49 See, for example, how the issue is briefly addressed in A. H. de Oliveira Marques (dir.), *História dos Portugueses no Extremo Oriente*, Vol. I, Tomo II (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 2000), pp. 197-201. For a critical note refer to George Bryan Souza, 'Portuguese Society in Macao', pp. 70-77, including an important survey of available sources on Tonkin. See also, Isabel Mourão, *Portugueses em Terras do Dai-Viêt*, pp. 227-233.
- 50 George Bryan Souza, 'Portuguese Society in Macao', pp. 74-75. See also pp. 85-86.
- 51 Transcripts are found in Charles R. Boxer, *The Great Ship from Amacao*, pp. 264-273. See also pp. 139-140.
- 52 Not having access to detailed studies in Japanese, my estimate is strictly indicative and follows the figures advanced by Yoshiaki Ishizawa, 'Les quartiers japonais', p. 85. In any case, confronting them with the data summed up by Ernst van Veen, 'VOC Strategies in the Far East (1605-1640)', *BPJS* 3 (December 2001), 99 only a few irrelevant differences are found.
- 53 Apud Iwao Seiichi, 'Japanese Foreign Trade', p. 9 which does not inform on the source, probably an Annual Letter.
- 54 The figures and dates concerning the overseas Japanese and their quarters are taken from Yoshiaki Ishizawa, 'Les quartiers japonais', pp. 86-88.
- 55 Ibid., pp. 88-91.
- 56 'The Japanese Diaspora', pp. 68-9.
- 57 Isabel Mourão, *Portugueses em Terras do Dai-Viêt*, pp. 72-73.
- 58 *Batalhas da Companhia de Jesus*, p. 157.
- 59 *Historia et Relazione del Tunchino*, p. 8. Author's translation.
- 60 *Batalhas da Companhia de Jesus*, p. 253. Author's translation.
- 61 Ibid., p. 259.
- 62 Ibid., namely pp. 78-89 and 260-263.
- 63 The Portuguese firearms potential, combined with naval and military expertise, had made them famous in Asia. For a global approach to the topic, refer to 'Weapons, Forts and Military Strategies in East Asia', two issues of *Revista de Cultura / Review of Culture* 26 and 27 (April and July 2008) coordinated by Rui Manuel Loureiro, though almost neglecting the case of mainland of China. See *infra*.
- 64 Some examples are found in Cardim, *Batalhas da Companhia de Jesus*, pp. 182-184; Isabel Mourão, *Portugueses em Terras do Dai-Viêt*, pp. 72-73 and Madalena Ribeiro, 'The Japanese Diaspora', p. 72.
- 65 'The Resettlement of the Jesuit Mission in Siam (1655-1671) According to Tommaso Valguarnera S.J. and Sebastião André da Ponte, S.J.', paper read at the International Colloquium 500 Years of Thai-Portuguese Relations, org. Chulalongkorn University/ Instituto do Oriente (Universidade Técnica de Lisboa), (Bangkok, Chulalongkorn University, 8-9 March 2012).
- 66 The Visitor André Palmeiro and the Jesuits in Asia (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press) 2014.
- 67 'A Global Strategy: Macao, Siam and Mainland Southeast Asian Markets, 1780-1790', in *Five Hundred Years of Thai-Portuguese Relations*, edited by Michael Smithies, pp. 225-242. I would like to thank this author for having promptly sent me an unpublished version of this article upon my request.
- 68 'Conflicts and Rivalries Along the Coasts of Siam: Ayutthaya's Relations with the Portuguese, the Spaniards, and the Dutch in the 1620s and 1630s', *ibid.*, pp. 142-160.
- 69 See mine, 'Powerful Weapons in the Service of Trade and God: Macau and Jesuit support for the Ming Cause (1620-1650)', *Daxiangguo. Revista Portuguesa de Estudos Asiáticos* 15 (2010), pp. 177-240.



## Eça de Queiroz e a Emigração Chinesa de Macau

ANTÓNIO ARESTA\*

### A CONSTRUÇÃO DE UM INTELECTUAL

Eça de Queiroz (1845-1900) concluiu o curso de Direito na Universidade de Coimbra em 1866 e no termo desse ano instala-se em Évora para dirigir o bissemanário da oposição, o *Distrito de Évora*.<sup>1</sup> Contudo, continua esporadicamente a colaborar na imprensa, por exemplo, na *Gazeta de Portugal*.<sup>2</sup> A colaboração assinada por Eça no *Distrito de Évora*,<sup>3</sup> um periódico cuja direcção assumira como um irrecusável desafio intelectual e de combate ideológico e estético, evidencia uma larga e actualizada informação sobre os problemas políticos e culturais<sup>4</sup> à escala internacional, bem como uma atenção meticulosa, e com um peso específico sobre a política doméstica, a mesma que Oliveira Martins também analisava em artigos cruentos no jornal *A República*. E diz logo ao que vem, explanando a sua concepção de jornalismo:

“É o grande dever do jornalismo fazer conhecer o estado das coisas públicas, ensinar ao povo os seus direitos e as garantias da sua segurança, estar atento às atitudes que toma a política estrangeira, protestar com justa violência contra os actos culposos, frouxos, nocivos, velar pelo poder

interior da pátria, pela grandeza moral, intelectual e material em presença das outras nações, pelo progresso que fazem os espíritos, pela conservação da justiça, pelo respeito do direito, da família, do trabalho, pelo melhoramento das classes infelizes. A actividade do jornalismo nunca deve abrandar, a sua consciência deve ter sempre o mesmo vigor, a sua pena o mesmo colorido, o seu sentimento moral a mesma justa intensidade”.<sup>5</sup>

Estes magnos objectivos, mais calhados para um programa de governo, eram demasiado ambiciosos para caberem num modesto jornal de província. No *Distrito de Évora*, Eça cita, desenvolve e problematiza o quotidiano dos factos políticos numa imensidade de estados,<sup>6</sup> lembrando que “ninguém virá trazer ao povo o seu bem-estar se ele não o for procurar pela ordem moral e social. O povo é o coração da pátria: a indiferença do povo é a morte da pátria”.<sup>7</sup> Mas, o jovem Eça não se coíbe de interferir criticamente no processo de construção cultural da modernidade, pois “alguns julgam um perigo terrível este instinto luminoso e sagrado que leva o mundo moderno, numa divina cruzada, às conquistas do espírito. Julgam que os factos do espírito, as críticas filosóficas, os trabalhos de reconstrução do passado, as grandes explorações científicas, toda a imensa criação da alma moderna, que até aqui estava na mão eleita de escolhidos e de poucos, nas universidades, no santuário das escolas, nas criptas académicas, quando passarem para o espírito,

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