



A Garganta The China Jesuits and the College of Macao, 1579-1623¹

LIAM M. BROCKEY*



Both pages: Details of 17th century *nanban-byōbu*: “náo de trato” and some missionaries in Japan.

* Liam Brockey is an assistant professor of history at Princeton University (New Jersey, U.S.A.). In May, 2002, he earned his doctorate at Brown University (Rhode Island, U.S.A.) where he studied the history of early modern Europe and the European Expansion. His doctoral thesis, soon to be published, analyses the Society of Jesus's China mission from the late sixteenth to the early eighteenth centuries. To date, his work has dealt primarily with the Jesuit missions to East Asia and the internal workings of the Society in Europe.

Professor Assistente de História na Universidade de Princetown (Nova Jérnia, EUA). Doutoramento (Maio 2002) pela Brown University (Rhode Island, EUA), onde estudou História Moderna da Europa e Expansão Europeia. A sua tese de doutoramento, no prelo, analisa a missão da Companhia de Jesus na China, de finais do século XVI até aos inícios do século XVIII. O seu trabalho de investigador tem tratado, primordialmente, as missões jesuítas na Ásia Extrema e a actividade interna da Companhia de Jesus na Europa.

The city of Macao, wrote João Fróis in 1622, was an “emporium, from where many go to various parts winning souls for Heaven.”² Referring to the large numbers of Jesuit missionaries assembled there for service in the kingdoms and empires of Asia, Fróis stressed the importance of the Portuguese colony for the apostolic endeavours then underway in Japan, China, and Southeast Asia. Another commentator described the city as “the throat by which one passes” to Japan and China.³ For the Society of Jesus, the

RELIGIÃO / História

colony—and more specifically their headquarters, the Colégio de Macao—was a communications nexus, an administrative and financial centre, and a safe haven in times of persecution. Nevertheless, the college's position with relation to the two great East Asian empires was a difficult one, especially given mutual antagonism between China and Japan and the Jesuits' ambitions in both.

While scholars have long explored the connections between the Colégio de Macao and the Japan missions, little has been written about its role in the shaping of the China mission.⁴ Located quite literally at the doorstep of the Ming empire, the college was to play a decisive role in organizing and supporting the Society's enterprise beyond the *Portas do Cerco*. As an administrative, staffing, and training centre, the Jesuit headquarters at the farthest outpost of the Portuguese *Estado da Índia* was crucial to effective management of the China mission, but the changing fortunes of the Japan Jesuits during this time impacted heavily on its resources and capacities, as well as its utility to the China mission. During the first decades of the seventeenth century, a series of events in Japan, China, and at Macao itself dictated the nature of the Jesuits' connections with the college and the colony. Despite the fact that the college was especially well situated to support the China mission, its close links to Japan forced the missionaries inside the Ming empire to rely on themselves rather than on institutional support from Macao. The following examination explores the relations between the Jesuit China mission and the Colégio de Macao during this pivotal period at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century.

Members of the Society of Jesus first established themselves at Macao as a result of their initial hopes for the successful evangelisation of Japan. Following the footsteps of Francis Xavier (1506-1552), missionaries from the Society of Jesus headed across the China sea after being barred from access to the Ming empire. Borne east by Portuguese trading vessels plying the seas between the rich fairs at Canton and the markets in Kyushu, the missionaries established themselves at mercantile centres in Southern Japan. Eight years after the Portuguese were granted authority over the spit of land known as Macao in 1557, Francisco Pérez established the Society's first residence on the China coast—*huma pobre caza*—a way station

for the missionaries heading to Japan from India.⁵ As the missionaries in Kyushu began to report numerous conversions and more men rallied to join in the effort, this residence grew in importance as the marshalling point for Jesuits bound for the expected conversion of the Japanese empire.

Such a glorious enterprise necessarily required considerable financial investment if it was to succeed. In Europe, the Society of Jesus relied on land revenues and pious donations to continue its apostolic work, but in Asia, such sources of income were not available. After securing as much royal support as they could gain from the crown and rich Luso-Asians, the Jesuits began to establish very close connections to the merchant community at Macao. These connections helped them to garner further donations, and even permitted them to trade on their own account to support their growing missionary enterprise. In the second half of the sixteenth century, a combination of large numbers of in-transit missionaries and financial necessity therefore required the Jesuits to invest heavily in Macao, building impressive physical structures that reflected their intellectual and spiritual presence in the colony.

While the Jesuits' efforts in Japan grew more intense in the middle decades of the sixteenth century, they virtually ignored China as a mission territory. Nevertheless, the difficult relations between Portuguese and Chinese and the local prestige of the Society of Jesus made the Jesuits the most likely intermediaries between the colony and imperial officials. Realizing the importance of establishing good relations between the wary Ming mandarins and the colonial authorities, the highest-ranking Jesuit in East Asia, Visitor Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606), appointed Michele Ruggieri to begin studying spoken and written Chinese at Macao in 1579. Created as part of the Japan mission and subordinate to its superiors, the Jesuit mission to China began as an attempt to ensure the safety of the trade entrepôt via strategic diplomacy. During his three years of study, Ruggieri (1543-1607) accompanied the periodic Portuguese trade expeditions to the Canton fairs, and eventually secured an invitation from the Vice-Roy of Guangdong province to reside within the empire in 1582. Assisting Ruggieri and building on his successes, Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) firmly established the China mission by opening four residences at Shaozhou (Guangdong), Nanchang



"Jesuit Convent". Engraving with hand color. Drawn by W. Heine, c. 1857. In *Os Cursos da Memória*, Leal Senado, Macao, 1995.

(Jiangxi), Nanjing, and Peking within two decades.⁶ During these first years, the China mission was very small and only required a handful of missionaries to staff its residences. However, as Ricci became a respected figure at the imperial court, the prospects for the mission's expansion grew brighter and increasing numbers of capable Jesuits were required to staff new mission stations and begin the work of converting both mandarins and plebeians. Likewise, it was necessary for the Jesuits at Macao to devote part of their revenues from the silk trade to the financial support of the China effort. The Colégio therefore was responsible for sending trained men and money into China if the Jesuit endeavour there was to be as successful as their work in Japan.

By the early 1590s, the Macao Jesuits had begun an ambitious construction programme designed to meet the needs of the expanding mission to Japan and the fledgling China enterprise. After the Japan mission began to show significant increases in numbers of converts in the early 1580s and the trade based on the annual voyages of the *não de trato* was

institutionalised, the Jesuits began to feel the need for larger facilities at their hub on the Guangdong coast. The factor that finally forced their hand, however, was a persecution in Japan that began with the first anti-Christian edicts promulgated by Toyotomi Hideoshi in 1587.⁷ Knowing that their situation was potentially unstable in Japan, the Society's superiors decided to erect a larger building in Macao, hoping that the familiar civic structures and the protection of the Portuguese crown (and army) would ensure them a safe haven beyond the reach of their temporal foes. In 1594, the Colégio de Madre de Deus was opened to serve as both a seminary for East Asian missionaries and a standard Jesuit school for the local colonial community. Its first rector, Duarte de Sande (1547-1599), claimed that the college's first goal was to educate the Japanese brothers who had been admitted into the Society, permitting them to "live among the Portuguese where temporal as well as spiritual government belonged to Christians."⁸ Besides providing a taste of Catholic civilization, the Colégio was explicitly designated as



Álvaro Semedo (1586-1658). In Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. III.

a language training facility for arriving Europeans. Sande noted that it could “supply the Japanese enterprises and those that in the future could open in China, where besides other sciences, our men can also learn the languages and customs of these kingdoms so that when they are sent to them they will find themselves apt and ready to be able to serve, and not newly-arrived Portuguese as they have been until now.”⁹

In order to accommodate the stream of men bound for the Japan missions, as well as a handful for the China enterprise, and to provide the material supplies required for promoting Counter Reformation Catholicism, the physical structures were necessarily large. The college buildings were situated near the top of a high hill, “in such a way that the college [remained] very cool,” with upper and lower patios surrounded by cubicles, classrooms, and workshops.¹⁰

The new facilities, wrote Sande at its inauguration, were “capable of housing forty members of the Society very well accommodated because besides the four schools, above there [were] nineteen cubicles, two rooms, two chapels, and a very large infirmary, and downstairs another seven cubicles,” along with a refectory. Envisioning a further expansion, the rector noted that there was “a large site for more building if necessary.” This empty lot, where the present *fortaleza do monte* stands, was later to be crucial to the relations between the China mission and the college. Nevertheless, when these structures were completed in 1595, they were spacious enough to house both the East Asian mission headquarters and a standard Jesuit college, where prospective missionaries kept company with humanities rhetoric teachers and hundreds of students.

Given the prosperity of the colony during this exceptionally affluent period, there was considerable demand from the local secular populace for the Jesuits to provide their standard curriculum to the *filhos de Macao*—Portuguese, Asian, and mixed blood. The spacious establishment had room for the same types of classes offered at the Society’s minor colleges in Portugal: Reading and Writing, Latin grammar and Humanities, and Moral Theology. When it opened its doors in 1594, the college had over 250 children learning the elements of reading, writing, and counting, as well as a number of local clergy and Jesuits pursuing their study of casuistry in preparation for pastoral or missionary work.¹¹ The college also had retained a faculty capable of reading the philosophy and theology courses required of all of the Society’s missionaries.¹² Many of the first missionaries to serve in China including João da Rocha (1565-1623) and Manuel Dias Sr. (1574-1659) completed their theology studies at the college before penetrating into the Ming empire. Likewise, several Jesuit brothers who served in China as couriers, catechists, and baptisers had originally been students at the college.

The two decades that followed the opening of the Colégio de Madre de Deus were its most prosperous years. Its fortunes linked to the booming silk trade, the college grew to attain a degree of social prestige that no other religious establishment could rival. Educationally identical in many respects to the colleges at Porto, Funchal, or Braga, the Society’s East Asian headquarters was well staffed, yet still much

smaller than the three main Portuguese colleges at Lisbon, Évora, and Coimbra. By 1604, ten years after its foundation, the college had eight priests and four brothers studying theology, eight brothers in the *casos de consciencia* class, five scholastics in the *curso das artes*, and three in the humanities classes.¹³ Besides these internal students, there were also significant numbers of outsiders studying Latin grammar and reading and writing. Academic life during these years also included the same sort of public philosophy and theology disputes found in European colleges. “On the feast of the Eleven Thousand Virgins” (October 21), wrote Diogo Antunes in the college’s 1603 annual letter, “some general theology conclusions were defended in our church...with the *Capitão-Mor* of the city present, and the governor of this bishopric with other Dominicans, Augustinians, and Franciscans.”¹⁴ Likewise, the students at the college were frequently actors in public drama performances such as the festivities described by Duarte de Sande that took place on February 2, 1595, the feast of the Purification of the Virgin. “The subject was a triumph of the faith over the persecution in Japan,” he wrote, [and was] “put on in front of the gates of the college with so many people from the whole city in attendance, that the streets were filled.”¹⁵ Written mostly in Latin with some Portuguese for the benefit of the audience, the play was “so well done that, without exaggeration, it could be put on in any university with much satisfaction.”

Motivated by the hundreds of thousands of converts claimed by the Japan Jesuits, the expansion of the training and educational facilities at Macao became integral to the maintenance of this new *christandade* across the sea rather than the one close at hand. Since the vast majority of those missionaries who arrived in the colony endeavoured to be expedited to Nagasaki, they devoted little time to interacting with the local Chinese population of the city. While providing pastoral care and education to the sons of the Luso-Asian community and the Japanese immigrants, the Society’s members in Macao flatly ignored the Fujianese fisher folk who comprised the colony’s Chinese community. This divide is evidenced by the fact that it was not until Lazaro Cattaneo (1560-1640) came back to the city in 1603—over fifty years after Francis Xavier had died on the China coast—that the Jesuits attempted to convert the city’s local

Chinese residents. Until this veteran missionary returned to Macao, there had not been any *padre* “who spoke the language or could deal with them in their manner.”¹⁶ This implied that there was no one present who had a familiarity with Chinese culture and courtesies, and could preach the Christian message with sufficient decorum. The college’s superiors hoped that Cattaneo would “also draw fruit in [the] city’s neighbouring villages, ...[where] there will always be great difficulty in conversions due to the proximity that they have to this city where the Portuguese live, whose servants and African slaves scandalize the Chinese villagers.” As the first *Pai dos Christãos*, this missionary returned from inside the Ming empire to preach the gospel in Chinese to the inhabitants of a Portuguese city.¹⁷

One of the key obstacles blocking the Jesuits’ successes among the Chinese at Macao was the college’s intimate connections to Japan. Relations between the Portuguese at Macao and the mandarins at Canton had always been tense due to the open trade the Europeans carried on with the Japanese—a nation of “dwarf barbarians” according to popular and official Chinese conceptions. The Portuguese were therefore suspicious in both mandarin and plebeian eyes since not only did they frequent Japan, but they permitted a large group of Japanese to reside on Chinese soil at Macao. After the Japanese invasion of Chinese vassal-state Korea in 1592 and the expansion of coastal piracy with ties to Japan, the prospect of a southern invasion of the Ming empire appeared more real than illusory to many concerned mandarins. This growing Chinese suspicion of the Portuguese made it increasingly difficult for would-be missionaries to enter the empire, requiring them to stealthily evade border patrols and watchmen in Guangdong province. Álvaro Semedo (1586-1658) and Francesco Sambiasi (1582-1649) were even required to grow long hair and beards, and don mandarin robes to attempt passing into China unnoticed. Niccolò Longobardo (1565-1655), Ricci’s successor as mission superior, told his Roman superiors that “all of China is scared of the Portuguese.”¹⁸ His confidant, Imperial Grand Secretary Xu Guangqi (1562-1633) warned him not to tell anyone within China that the missionaries were connected with Macao. However, since they relied on Macao for their yearly salaries, the missionaries had reason to fear a Chinese

RELIGIÃO / História

backlash—that the Chinese would “close the door on us.”¹⁹ In order for the mission to advance, therefore, the Jesuits had to find some way to maintain their financial links to the colony while attempting to convince their hosts that they were not “men of the same nation as the Portuguese at Macao.”²⁰

Another central problem was the fact that just as Longobardo and his colleagues began to require the Society’s facilities available at Macao to support their growing enterprise, the Japan mission was reaching its greatest extension and was effectively monopolizing the college. This created an administrative conflict among the East Asian missions that required resolution by the Jesuit hierarchy in Rome or its representative, the East Asian missions Visitor. Although Visitor



Nicholas Trigault by Peter Paul Rubens at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (from MMOA website: www.metmuseum.org).

Valignano had removed the China mission from the direction of the rector of the Colégio de Macao in 1604 and made it semi-autonomous, it was still dependant on the Macanese resources, especially for its highest administrators, college structures and financial support. With Valignano’s death in 1606, the office of Visitor transferred to other important Jesuits of the Japan mission. These influential administrators, however, remained mostly in Nagasaki, meaning that the China mission would experience extensive delays in dealing with any administrative matters. Not content to live forever in the shadow of their colleagues in Japan, in 1612 the China Jesuits began to insist that their mission be run wholly by Jesuits drawn from their numbers only. When Longobardo dispatched Nicolas Trigault (1577-1628) to petition the Society’s General in Rome for a decisive split between the two missions, relations between the Japan Jesuits and their China counterparts soured.

While the Colégio de Macao had originally been instituted as a training facility for all of the Society of Jesus’ East Asian missions, it had been built and dedicated with the Japan mission in mind. Precious few of those who passed through the college, either as students or as missionaries, headed north into China during the first years of the seventeenth century. For instance, in 1599 alone more than 10 Jesuits were sent to Japan while only one went to China.²¹ Larger numbers were sent from Macao shortly after—four in 1603 and 3 in 1611—but they were mainly sent at the insistence of influential figures such as Alessandro Valignano.²² The initial successes of the China Jesuits, although miniscule in comparison to those of the Japan Jesuits, nevertheless gave Ricci and his followers the impulse to set up more concrete administrative structures at Macao to provide a regular flow of missionaries fully prepared for preaching, converting, and administering the sacraments.

The most important type of instruction that new missionaries destined for China required was language training in Mandarin Chinese. The Jesuits created a system of learning Mandarin that largely followed the educational model used to teach contemporary Chinese schoolchildren. This complicated task meant that arriving missionaries would need several years’ worth of classroom teaching with experienced masters in specially dedicated facilities. While the Japan Jesuits had established training facilities such as the Arima

seminary in Kyushu to instruct their missionaries in the spoken and written language of their mission territory, their counterparts in China had neither the resources nor the manpower to carry out such projects. During the first three decades of the mission, when few new recruits were needed, the China mission instructed its new recruits in Mandarin during a period of apprenticeship with their fluent (or well-versed) brethren at their inland residences. Nevertheless, as they prepared to expand after 1610, the China Jesuits agreed that new missionaries should gain a basic knowledge of spoken and written Chinese in Macao before heading into the empire. To them, there was no better place to hold such classes than at the Colégio de Macao, where there was both the space and seclusion necessary to expedite the learning process. Surely, the China missionaries thought, either part of the spacious college, the old missionary house, the Ilha Verde, or the *monte* located next to the college could be put to use in service of their promising mission.²³

By the time that the China Jesuits had prepared the foundations for their planned expansion, however, a series of events occurred that forced their projects for using the Colégio de Macao into the background. The forced exile of the Japan Jesuits to Macao that began in 1614 effectively crushed all of the China mission's hopes (and possibilities) for exploiting the college's resources. Just as this mission was subordinate to the Japan mission at its glory, so was it overshadowed in its collapse. While both missions were fully functioning, the college and its dependant properties housed between forty and sixty Jesuits, comprised of missionary-students, teachers, missions procurators, and priests for the Portuguese community.²⁴ Months after Tokugawa Ieyasu's expulsion edicts in 1614, 75 Jesuits had returned to Macao, doubling the numbers of men for whom the college needed to provide.²⁵ This sudden influx of priests and brothers brought their numbers to 105, far beyond the college's capacities, forcing men to live "in the corridors."²⁶ To compound the Society's troubles in Japan, a persecution began at Nanjing as well in 1616. Four Jesuits were exiled from Nanjing and Peking to Macao, while the other China missionaries were forced into hiding at the residence of an important Christian mandarin in Hangzhou. Overcrowding at the Colégio soon led to disease and death, since the persecutions in Japan did not die down and there was no chance for the Jesuits to return to

their former missions. By 1620, with 80 Jesuits at the college, the author of the annual letter would declare that "since this college has little shelter, and the men are many, they suffer some discomfort, which seems to have been the cause for having many diseases, and some serious ones, this year."²⁷

Despite the persecutions in both Japan and China, members of both missions thought their trials would only be temporary. They therefore moved to continue training new missionaries at Macao in preparation for an eventual return to their communities of neophytes. The China Jesuits, knowing that their persecution was caused by one specific individual, were very optimistic that they would soon be re-established at their mission stations.²⁸ While the persecutions had been erupting in East Asia, however, Nicolas Trigault

*During the first decades
of the seventeenth century,
a series of events in Japan,
China, and at Macao itself
dictated the nature of the
Jesuits' connections with
the college and the colony.*

had been in Europe recruiting new men for the China enterprise. He had returned to Macao in 1619 with a relatively large number—8—of new missionaries who required language training. Distracted by the numbers at the college, the Jesuits moved to build teaching structures on the Ilha Verde, an island situated in the colony's harbour, "so that there, outside of the commotion and business, [the missionaries] could study what was so important for them."²⁹ This move, as Jorge dos Santos Alves has shown, was blocked by both Chinese authorities who had recently banned any new constructions in the colony and the Portuguese residents who feared for their trading privileges at Canton.³⁰ The buildings that the Jesuits had erected for teaching purposes and the island were soon

RELIGIÃO / História

destroyed by a Chinese military detachment sent to enforce the law. For the Jesuit annual letter writers however, this loss of teaching facilities was purely the work of the devil. “The enemy of humankind,” wrote António Leite, “understanding that we were arming ourselves against him to make war with the sword of the word of God, made the Chinese take up arms against us, with such force and fury that they knocked down our houses and made us retreat to the city.”³¹ Driven back to the overcrowded college, the China Jesuits were forced to return to the midst of the despairing Japan missionaries. Writing to the General in 1622, exiled China Jesuit Alfonso Vagnoni (1568-1640) lamented the decadent state of the overwrought establishment by denouncing “the great liberty and debauchery of this college, which...was open in many parts to seculars and heathens, who went around the corridors and even the cubicles as they please unobserved and without prohibitions.”³² Since the recent persecutions prevented the China missionaries

from passing into China, they had little choice but to accept this situation, furthering their resolve to separate themselves from the control of the Japan mission.³³

Barred from the Ilha Verde and the college facilities, the China Jesuits opted to move their language classes to the top of the *monte*, the empty hill situated next to the college. Establishing themselves on the last of the Society’s unoccupied real estate holdings in the colony, they held language classes to prepare the future missionaries for their apostolic task. However, their residence on top of the *monte* was just as short-lived as their time spent on the Ilha Verde. The resumption of hostilities between the Portuguese and the Dutch after a twelve-year truce (1609-1621) meant that the governors of Macao needed to reconsolidate the city’s defences in preparation for an imminent attack.³⁴ Realizing that the safety of Macao depended on this strategic spot, the Jesuit hierarchy ceded the *monte* to the city and allowed the construction of a set of fortifications. It was by artillery shot from these hastily-built ramparts that the June 24, 1622 Dutch attack was repulsed.³⁵ One witness claimed that when the enemy was on the field “many *padres* from the *Companhia* came out armed, with the servants from the college, some with crucifixes in their hands inciting and gathering the people, and others with harquebuses and



A Jesuit priest with a *dojuku*. Detail from a *nanban-kyōbu*.

arms fighting, others bringing water for the tired, and powder and munitions for the war..."³⁶ More importantly, however, was that the China Jesuits were forced to cede their last training facility in Macao, the *monte* where the Jesuits had "houses and a chapel where those going to...China studied language."³⁷

In 1623, the end of the Nanjing persecutions and the establishment of the China mission as a separate Jesuit administrative unit, marked the end of the China Jesuits' reliance on the Colégio de Macao as a training facility. Given the opportunity to head over the border alongside a contingent of Portuguese soldiers dispatched to help fortify and defend Peking from the Manchu onslaught, the China Jesuits abandoned their plans for teaching Mandarin at the colony.³⁸ Bad relations between the hierarchy of the Japan Province and the leaders of the new Vice-Province provoked the China superiors to move all of their operations into the empire, leaving little at Macao. Although it would

hierarchy of the Japan province felt that such a shift would denigrate the memory of the Japanese martyrs.⁴⁰

Located at the fringe of the Ming empire, the Society's Colégio de Macao was perfectly positioned to support a concerted missionary effort with the world's largest empire in the early modern period. Yet, from its inception, the Jesuit enterprise at the Portuguese city was aimed across the China sea at Japan. When the first missionaries to arrive on the coast of Guangdong found their path blocked, they headed to the rich mission fields of Kyushu. The slow growth of the China mission meant that it was soon overshadowed by the successes of the Japan Jesuits, and that the Society's resources in East Asia were soon brought to bear in support of the more glorious mission. However, when the China mission had grown large enough to require the support of a large training facility, the tragedy in Japan completely overshadowed their needs. Moreover, when expulsion and martyrdom

While the Colégio de Macao had originally been instituted as a training facility for all of the Society of Jesus' East Asian missions, it had been built and dedicated with the Japan mission in mind.

continue to rely upon the Colégio as a way station for arriving Jesuits and a source of financial support, the China mission no longer sought to claim the defunct Japan mission's headquarters for itself.

Nevertheless, the strategic importance of Macao for the China mission did not disappear. One request by Visitor Manuel Dias Sr. (1559-1639) in 1623 petitioned the General for a separate college at Macao just for the China mission. He insisted that the renewed mission needed its own establishment "so that the *padres* of China will not be mixed with those from Japan in that city."³⁹ The Chinese officials knew of the college's links, he continued, and "because of the great hatred that they have for the Japanese, they will easily suspect us of being little trustworthy since we have such secret dealings with their enemies." Dias's request was rejected, along with a subsequent petition in 1635 to shift the college's focus from Japan to China, long after hopes for reviving the collapsed mission had expired. This final effort also failed because the

brought the Japan mission to a dramatic end, the stigma of Jesuit involvement with the "dwarf barbarians" further tainted relations between Macao and the China mission. Ultimately frustrated in their attempts to exploit the Society's resources at the colony, the China Jesuits abandoned their despairing colleagues and furthered their own enterprise with minimal support from Macao. By the time that the college of Macao had recovered from the shock of the fall of the Japan mission, the China mission had already created autonomous administrative and training structures to handle its needs. Ironically, the neglected China enterprise lasted for almost two centuries after its founding, far longer than the Japan mission despite its considerable institutional support. By the late seventeenth century, when the Colégio de Macao had been reduced to a shadow of its former self and the Jesuit successes in Japan were distant memories, the China mission—as a result of being forced to sustain itself—was entering its period of greatest expansion. **RC**

NOTES

- 1 The author would like to thank the Cultural Institute (Macao) for its generous support of the research that went into producing this article.
- 2 João Fróis, *Annual Letter of the Colégio de Macao, 1622*, 4 November 1622, Biblioteca da Ajuda, *Jesuitas na Ásia* (Hereafter BA JA) Codex 49-V-7: fl. 358r. All translations in this article are provided by the author. All citations from early modern era Portuguese are given in the original spelling.
- 3 Duarte de Sande, *Annua Sinensis*, Macao, 28 October 1594 (attached to *Annua de Japão de Março de 93 até Março de 94*, Pedro Gomes, Nagasaki?, 15 March 1594), Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, *Japonica-Sinica* (Hereafter ARSI Jap-Sin) 52: fl. 42v.
- 4 The classic study of the Jesuit mission to Japan (and its connections with Macao) is Charles Boxer's *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1640* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1967). More specifically on the subject of the Japan trade is the same author's *The Great Ship from Amacan: The Annals of Macao and the Old Japan Trade, 1555-1640*, (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1959). More recently, works by João Paulo Oliveira e Costa have shed more light on the workings of the *Não de Trato* during this same period. See J.P. Oliveira e Costa, *O Japão e o Cristianismo no Século XVI: Ensaios de História Luso-Nipônica*, (Lisbon: Sociedade Histórica da Independência de Portugal, 1999).
- 5 Anonymous, *Memoria do Princípio do Colégio de Macao, ou caza primeiro antes de ser Colégio...*, Macao?, n.d. BA JA Codex 49-IV-55: fl. 83.
- 6 This early period of the mission's history was first divulged to a large audience in Nicolas Trigault's *De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas* (first ed. Augsburg: 1615, many subsequent reprints). An English translation of this work can be found in Louis Gallagher, *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci: 1583-1610*. (New York: Random House, 1942). Modern authors such as Jonathan Spence, George Dunne, and Jean-Pierre Duteil have also given versions of the key events in the mission's early years. See Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci*. (New York: Viking, 1984), Dunne, *Generation of Giants*. (South Bend, Ind.: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1962), and Duteil, *Le Mandat du Ciel: Le Rôle des Jésuites en Chine, de la Mort de François-Xavier à la Dissolution de la Compagnie de Jésus (1552-1774)*. (Paris: Éditions Arguments, 1994).
- 7 See João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, "Aspectos do quotidiano dos Jesuítas no Japão na conjuntura de 1587-1593" in Oliveira e Costa, *O Japão e o Cristianismo*, pp. 159-188.
- 8 Duarte de Sande, *Annua Sinensis*, 1594, ARSI Jap-Sin 52: fl. 42r.
- 9 Ibid., fl. 42v.
- 10 Ibid., fl. 42r.
- 11 Ibid., fl. 43v.
- 12 Sande mentions that besides the public classes mentioned, "theology is read privately to two *padres* who are in this college on the account of the China mission, and we hope that this year others will come so they can read it with more fervor and profit." These two were those we have mentioned above, João Sociro and João da Rocha. Ibid., fl. 43v.
- 13 Diogo Antunes, *Annua do Collegio de Madre de Deus da Companhia de Jesus de Macao 1603*, Macao, 27 January 1604, BA JA Codex 49-V-5: fl. 20v. The 1603 catalog confirms this data, noting that there were two *casos* professors, two theology professors, and a theology substitute as well. See *Catalogo das casas e residencias que tem a Companhia na Vice Provincia de Jappão e China em Outubro de 1603 com os nomes dos Padres e Irmãos que estão nellas*. Macao? October 1603, ARSI Jap-Sin 25: fl. 64v.
- 14 Diogo Antunes, *Annua do Collegio de Madre de Deus da Companhia de Jesus de Macao 1603*, Macao, 27 January 1604, BA JA Codex 49-V-5: fl. 23v.
- 15 Duarte de Sande, *Annua do Collegio e casa de Macao e residencias que estão no reino da China por a terra dentro que pertencem tambem a Vice-Provincia de Japão*, Macao, 16 January 1596, ARSI Jap-Sin 52: fl. 119r.
- 16 Anonymous, *Annua do Collegio de Macao*, Macao, 1603, BA JA Codex 49-V-5: fl. 23r. The office of the *Pai dos Christãos*, a standard feature in Portuguese colonies in Maritime Asia, would be instated after this initial ministry by Cattaneo. Literally the Father of the Christians, in Macao this office was usually held by a Jesuit who ran the parish of *Nossa Senhora do Amparo*, the Chinese parish. Among others, Alexandre de Rhodes, the famous missionary to Vietnam, served as *pai dos christãos* for ten years between 1630 and 1640. For a general description of this position and a set of contemporary documents relating to it, see Josef Wicki, *O Livro do Pai dos Christãos*, (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1969).
- 17 It is very difficult to understand exactly what dialect or language was spoken to the Christians at Macao. Since Cattaneo had learned Chinese in Guangdong province while living with Ricci, perhaps he had become familiar with Cantonese. From the start of the mission, however, the Jesuits had realized the importance of learning Mandarin, and so devoted their studies to this "universal" form of Chinese speech. Given their widespread missionary efforts in the Chinese countryside, however, it stands to reason that the Jesuits had at least a passing familiarity with the various regional dialects and languages.
- 18 Niccolò Longobardo, *Informação da Missão da China*, Nanxiong, 20 November 1612, ARSI Jap-Sin 113: fl. 266r.
- 19 Ibid., fl. 268r.
- 20 Niccolò Longobardo?, *Annual Letter from the China Mission 1608*, Shaozhou, 21 December 1609, ARSI Jap-Sin 112: fl. 116r.
- 21 Jerónimo Rodrigues, *Annua de Colegio de Machao 1599*, Macao, 17 January 1600, in João Paulo Oliveira e Costa and Ana Fernandes Pinto, eds., *Cartas Ánuas do Colégio de Macao (1594-1627)*, (Macao: Fundação Macao and CTMCDP, 1999), p. 88.
- 22 Ibid., pp. 117, 133. Diogo Antunes, *Annua de Colégio de Macao 1603*, Macao, 27 January 1604; and João Rodrigues, *Annua de Colégio de Macao 1611*, Macao, 1 November 1611.
- 23 Although recent studies of the city of Macao in the seventeenth century are few and far between, the colony has recently attracted the attentions of Portuguese scholars. With the exception of a few scattered articles by C.R. Boxer, the most important work on Macao is George Bryan Souza's *The Survival of Empire: The Portuguese in China, 1630-1753* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1986). More recently, however, one particularly interesting study of the relations between the Jesuits and the Portuguese residents of the city is Jorge M. dos Santos Alves, "A 'Contenda da Ilha Verde,' Primeira Discussão sobre a Legitimidade da Presença Portuguesa em Macao (1621)" in Alves, ed., *Um Porto entre Dois Impérios: Estudos sobre Macao e as Relações Luso-Chinesas*, (Macao: Instituto Português do Oriente, 1999), pp. 127-162.
- 24 In the *Cartas Annua* from the Colégio de Madre de Deus during the period from 1594 until 1614 the numbers would wax and wane depending on the numbers of Jesuits that arrived from India to sail to Japan. In 1594 there were 31 in the two Macao establishments; in 1599, 52 in total; in 1603, 62 Jesuits; in 1607, the numbers fell to 41; in 1611, there were 45; and finally in 1614, 42 (16 priests and 26 brothers). See Oliveira e Costa and Pinto, eds. *Cartas Ánuas*, pp. 56, 88, 114, 123, 127, 139.
- 25 Manuel Dias Sr., *Annua do Collegio de Macao 1614*, Macao, 2 January 1615, ARSI Jap-Sin 46: fl. 362r.
- 26 Ibid., fl. 362r.

RELIGION / History

- 27 Anonymous, *Annua do Collegio de Madre de Deos da Cidade de Macao 1620*, Macao, 1621?, BA JA Codex 49-V-5: fl. 286r.
- 28 See Edward Kelly, *The Anti-Christian Persecution of 1616-1617 in Nanking* (Ph.D. thesis, Columbia University: 1971).
- 29 António Leite, *Carta Annua do Collegio da Madre de Deos em Macao 1621*, Macao, 30 December 1621, BA JA Codex 49-V-5: fl. 340r.
- 30 See Alves, "Contenda," especially pp. 147-159.
- 31 António Leite, *Carta Annua do Collegio de Macau, 1621*, Macao, 30 December 1621, BA JA Codex 49-V-5: fl. 340r.
- 32 Alfonso Vagnoni to General Muzio Vitelleschi, Macao, 1 November 1622, ARSI *Jap-Sin* 161-II: fl. 65v.
- 33 News of this separation and the creation of the Vice-Province of China as a semi-autonomous mission reached Macao in 1619 with Trigault's return. While this administrative split was crucial for reinvigorating the China mission after the Nanjing persecutions, it did not permanently sever the contacts between the two missions since it retained the East Asian Visitor as the highest official both the China and Japan Jesuits.
- 34 The events mentioned here are discussed in more detail in Charles Boxer, "The 24th of June 1622, A Portuguese Feat of Arms" in C.R. Boxer, *Estudos para a História de Macau, Séculos XVI a XVIII*. vol. 1 (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 1991), pp. 43-56.
- 35 Charles Boxer claims that it was Giacomo Rho, future China missionary, who fired the shot. See Boxer, "The 24th of June 1622," p. 52.
- 36 António Leite, *Petição, apontamentos, e conclusão Apresentado pelo Padre António Leite da Companhia de Jesus Procurador deste Collegio de Macao, sobre pedir se lhe perguntem testemunhas pelo contheudo nos ditos apontamentos*. Macao, 29 August 1623, BA JA Codex 49-V-6: fl. 59v.
- 37 ["Residents and Citizens" of Macao], *Informação da Cidade (Macao) a Sua Magestade do que nella fazem os Padres da Companhia de Jesus*, Macao, 1626, BA JA Codex 49-V-6: fl. 268v.
- 38 See Charles Boxer, "Portuguese Military Expeditions in Aid of the Mings against the Manchus, 1621-1647." *T'ien-hsia Monthly* 7:1 (August 1938): pp. 24-50.
- 39 Manuel Dias Sr. to General Muzio Vitelleschi, Hangzhou, 21 August 1623, ARSI *Jap-Sin* 161-II: fl. 85v.
- 40 António Francisco Cardim to the Society of Jesus' Portuguese Assistant, Macao, 4 April 1635, ARSI *Jap-Sin* 161-II: fl. 170r.