

St. Francis Xavier and the Society of Jesus in India

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Never as in the 15th and 16th centuries were Christian leaders, religious orders and institutions, and even European adventurers, so responsive to the appeal of Christ's last message: "Go ye unto the whole world and preach the gospel to all creation" (Mark, XVI, 15). This was the justification for European Christendom to embrace the conversion of the "infidel" and the "heathen", but it was certainly not the only factor to justify it. As is well known, the great conquests and discoveries of the 15th century were impelled by diverse economic, political and religious motivations. However the old crusading spirit was not only blended with a renewed idea of universal evangelisation at the end of the 16th century; it was also re-created and manipulated to focus on the concept of the "mission" and the "missionary".¹ In effect, the old medieval ideal of crusade, evoked by the Portuguese and Spanish in the combat against Islam and based on territorial conquest by force of arms, did not apply to the geographical reality revealed by the discoveries of the 15th century. Now, Christ's message had to be spread by the Word, not for lack of those who defended, and in some cases applied, the use of physical force, but due to the distance at which many of these territories lay in relation to

their respective European centres, as well as the prevailing political situations in them. Whenever Portuguese political sovereignty was enlarged in an Asian enclave, the diffusion of the Christian word was frequently followed by intense cultural violence, of which the case of Goa was paradigmatic. Here, the destruction of the autochthonous culture and religion had always been defended, along with the erection of a sectarian "Christian city", associating Catholicism with Portuguese political power. As Silva Dias has reminded us, "Our *raison d'être* rested on motivations of both an ideological nature and a utilitarian nature. The two were melted down and fused into a coherent unit of doctrine and action".² The 16th- and 17th-century religious and secular chronicles underline this intimate association between conquest and evangelisation, even preferring the former term in its titles.³ Strictly speaking, this fusion underlines the fact that the history of Portuguese expansion always combined three interrelated aspects—commercial, military and religious—that cannot be dissociated without incurring the risk of limiting research and the interpretation of results. This triple correlation also helps to explain the profound difficulties of Christian evangelisation in the 16th and 17th centuries, even in the Indian enclaves of the Portuguese dominion. Christian preaching in India was not an easy task in the period following the arrival of St. Francis Xavier in 1542. On one hand, there was a serious religious crisis that would cleave the 16th-century European religious firmament asunder. On the other, the preparation of the religious orders and their members was insufficient when confronted with the cultural specifics of those territories, sprinkled with

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St. Francis Xavier healing a sick man in Goa. Oil on canvas by André Reinoso (17th century). Sacristy of the Church of São Roque, Holy House of Mercy in Lisbon. Photograph by Júlio Marques.

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other religious beliefs, and integrated into social and political structures whose diverse behaviour patterns were anchored in age-old cultures and mentalities. In this multi-faceted context, there did not exist any single program for evangelisation directed towards the Indian world. Even when it resulted in more organized missions toward the end of the 16th century, it presented a mix of at least four different types of missionary activity⁴: (1) one that was exclusively in the service of Portuguese and European colonists, extending from religious teaching to constructing a religious framework; (2) one that sought the conversion of local populations that lived under Portuguese political rule; (3) one that intended to evangelise territories of strong Islamic obedience dependent on the Grand Mogul, the sultanates or, more distant still, the Shah of Persia; (4) finally, the group of missionary activities that depended on the Jesuits' process of adaptation to local societies and cultures, as would occur, among other instances, in the mission of Robert de Nobili to Madurai. It is important to stress that it is not possible to study the Jesuit movement in some Indian areas without including the geographic space within the scope of investigation. Although anchored in some fundamental principles, these cultural specifics obliged the Jesuit mission to pursue the most varied strategies to adapt, mobilize and circulate the word of God. Therefore, it is useful to examine in more detail these Indian territories where the members of the newly founded Society of Jesus were received with varying degrees of success.

INDIA, BETWEEN MYTH AND THE FIRST EFFORTS AT CHRISTIANISATION

Many were the legends and myths that enchanted the imagination of medieval European courts and their elites, where a confused idea of India prevailed. From literature to primordial cartography, passing through commercial contacts and the reports by some adventurers, it can be said that medieval Europe could only dream of, or imagine, those distant lands from whence, via the caravan routes of Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean, rich spices arrived in Italian cities, above all Venice. The situation was to change radically with the circumnavigation of the world by Vasco de Gama in 1498, but some of the geographical and cultural fantasy would remain until the 19th century, later feeding those disciplines from which "orientalism"

was created by European scholars. Even in 1500 Gama himself continued to believe that India was inhabited by Christians, "although degenerated".⁵ This confusion derived from an incorrect identification of the religious cultures practiced in the Indian territories, extending from Hinduism to those as yet undiscovered Christians of St. Thomas of Mylapore.

Apart from this supposed evangelisation by the Apostle Thomas and some contacts with churches and groups of Christians of various oriental rites, only in 1320 are we informed of the first contacts of western Christendom with India through the movement of the group led by the Dominican Friar João, that included four friars of the lesser religious orders: Friar Thomaz of Tolentino, Friar Jacome of Padua, Friar Pedro and Friar Demetrius, the latter two both lay brothers.⁶ These friars had been in Persia and Ormuz, visited the relics of St. Thomas in Mylapore and preached on the coast of Coromandel.⁷ However, only from 1505 did a Christian ecclesiastical organization begin on a regular basis, depending on the Order of Christ for its spiritual jurisdiction. In the following years, some isolated Dominicans appeared in India, but the construction of a monastery of the preaching order only occurred in 1548, with the Capela do Rosário under its charge.⁸ It should be remembered that up to 1542 the Franciscans were the only religious order securing the work of evangelisation, although aided by secular and religious clergymen of other orders, generally reaching India as ship's chaplains. In 1532 the Franciscans of the Regular Observance already had a monastery in Goa with about twenty friars.⁹ These extended their presence to Cochin, Chaul, Damao, Columbo, Bassein, Quilon, Mannar, Thana, Mangalore, Diu, Cranganor, Bardez and other territories.¹⁰ It has been suggested that in 1533, at the time of the establishment of the Diocese of Goa, the approximate number of Christians in India was 100,000,¹¹ but it seems more prudent to distrust these excessively rounded numbers, generally expressing qualities and not strictly quantities, strategies very much in vogue in chronicles and religious sermonising.

In spite of the regularity of the missions, the results were mediocre, due as much to the scarce number of missionaries as to the activity's incoherence. The weakness of the results was due to insufficient preparation for this type of mission as well as insufficient Portuguese political support. During almost half a century, the progress of Christianity was

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insignificant, either in relation to the evangelisation of the “heathen and Moor”, or relative to the submission of the Christians of St. Thomas to Rome.¹² The conversion to Christianity, between 1535 and 1537, of about fifty thousand Paravars¹³ of the Fishery Coast does not prove missionary success. The high number of converts was not due to the missionaries’ merits, but to political and economic interests, since the maritime wars during the 1520s and the early years of the 1530s, together with Muslim oppression, induced the local inhabitants to place themselves under Portuguese protection.¹⁴

Slow progress in the evangelising effort was particularly due to the impediments placed by the centuries-old culture of these people and also to the Islamic presence, control of the seas and trade being concentrated in Muslim hands. Consequently, the first years of evangelisation were restricted, in part, to the Portuguese fortresses.¹⁵ In relation to those Indian converts, in the opinion of Luís Filipe Thomaz, the first years affected above all the “marginal population: fishermen of the allegedly impure caste among the Malabar, prostitutes and the concubines of Portuguese soldiers, beggars that gravitated towards the fortresses and monasteries, people of lower caste, without attempting a large-scale conversion.”¹⁶

THE ARRIVAL OF THE JESUITS

From 1542, the arrival of the first Jesuits in Goa, under the inspired direction of the Jesuit Francis Xavier, (1506-1552), created a truly new era in Catholic religious evangelisation. The Ignatians found in the Portuguese enclave a social space that allowed them to affirm themselves in relation to the other religious orders, taking advantage of the preparation initially brought over from the universities and later from European seminaries. This was allied to new preaching methods and religious circulation, which enabled them to increase significantly the number of Christians in many areas of the Portuguese presence, at least in comparison to the preceding period.¹⁷ The Jesuits do seem to have managed to attract to Christianity some Indians of low caste, who were attracted by the promise of shared fraternity held out by the new faith. Most of all, they saw opportunities for social and economic advancement denied them by the traditional structure of local society. In contrast, on the rare occasions when

the Jesuits succeeded in bringing members of the higher castes into the Christian fold, the new converts would try to safeguard their traditional privileges and status, some even seeking important positions in the commercial administration of the Portuguese enclaves. The preaching of the Jesuits in Portugal’s Indian territories not only did not end the caste system, but only very occasionally denounced its profound inequalities, iniquities and exploitations.¹⁸ In practice, from their first contacts with India, St. Francis Xavier and other Jesuits tried to respect and often to adapt to the existing social echelons.

Despite this acceptance of the local social hierarchies, the arrival of the Society of Jesus in India clearly contributed to raising the cultural and symbolic production proffered by Christian religious activity. Thus, from the founding year of 1542 onwards, it is apparent that the Jesuits invest in ceremonial expressions of great solemnity and magnificence, putting their faith in religious festivals as the agent of conversion. The Jesuits also insisted on the importance of ritualising the principal acts of Christian worship, frequently directing great funereal ceremonies, Easter celebrations, productions of sermons or even religious theatre. At the same time, the Society of Jesus built schools and residences, churches and chapels, as well as charitable works for the socially indigent and marginalized groups in the Portuguese Indian enclaves.¹⁹ It is also with the Jesuits that a type of “inspection method and first aid” began, trying to prepare missionaries for the more difficult and complex situations that they would find in Asia.²⁰ The success achieved in the early stages, above all among the community of Portuguese descendants and converted slaves, ensured that Christian political and religious power “rendered vassalage” to them. It seems we can take the words of the bishop of Goa, João de Albuquerque as proof of this:

“Particularize your works and the fruit that is born in their souls, I dare not write it for compassion, nor do I have time enough to tell it. [...] I say, finally, that you were torches lighted in these parts to illuminate such a dark night that reigned here. To your God be honour and glory, who does these things by means of his servants. When they ask me, I give all for the salvation of souls: all the powers and all the authority invested in me by the Pope, to all the parts where they go wandering.”²¹

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It is appropriate, however, to temper these laudatory words, as well as the excessively generalised appraisals of the “brilliant” appearance of the Society of Jesus in India. The Indian territories were, in the 16th and 17th centuries, dominated by complex and extremely diversified political, economic and cultural relationships, so it is not possible to evaluate Jesuit activity in various Indian areas in general terms—or even “essentially”—without strictly locating its history. In this research, to locate means highlighting the cultural specifics of the areas that the Society had to work in and sometimes to conquer for the Christian faith.

COERCION OF THE CULTURAL SPHERE

Multi-ethnicity was the dominant element of the territories that in the 16th and 17th century were being politically, socially and culturally organized on the Indian sub-continent—a consequence of successive invasions, migrations and population movements. This centuries-long historical legacy caused various religions and cultures to coexist in India, although the weight of the Hindu majority dominated, along with a marked Islamic expansion. In the midst of the ethnic, cultural and religious diversity, it is appropriate also to note political diversity: the strong sultanate of Delhi replaced by the Mogol Empire in the 16th century; the kingdom of Gujarat or of Cambay; the sultanates of Deccan; the empire of Vijayanagar and the independent or vassal kingdoms of the Malabar coast were important political entities, but they did not subsume the presence of other political entities with lesser territorial extent.²² Since the 15th century, the European presence, and in particular the Portuguese, had added a new reality, altering the game of “political chess” with its systems of territorial alliances and conditions for commercial circulation. From the nomination of the first viceroy in 1505, construction began on a political-institutional entity that would be better known as the *Estado da Índia*,²³ interlinking a network of enclaves that, being above all cities, fortresses and coastal factories, would come to extend from Mozambique to Macao, assuring different modes of sovereignty and Portuguese presence.

It was with Portugal that the oldest form of European colonisation of Indian areas began, generating political, economic, social and religious alterations, especially in the territories of Goa.²⁴ After the conquest of the great city in 1510, it was in Goa

that Christianity established a significant presence, trying to raise a programme of a “Christian city” that is without parallel in the other Portuguese enclaves of India and the Asian Southeast, otherwise dominated by forms of negotiation and power sharing with allies and local potentates.

From an early date, the maritime empire created by the Portuguese was linked to the western Indian Ocean. It was here that the main activities on behalf of the Portuguese crown were centred, expressed by military, as well as commercial and religious victories. By contrast, very little has been written on the European presence east of Cape Comorim.²⁵ From about 1520 onwards, the settlement of the Portuguese in the coastal zones of the Bay of Bengal also became an established fact originating from the arrival of personnel from Malacca or deserters from the western Indian Ocean, supported by colonists from St. Thomas of Mylapore. Some of those individuals had a murky social past linked to the private ventures of merchants and fortune seekers.²⁶ At the date of the Jesuits’ arrival they numbered a hundred families.²⁷

The not very uniform way in which the Portuguese settled in these areas of India and Southeast Asia led to differences from area to area. Thus, the territories of Goa, Ormuz, Malacca, Damao and Diu passed into Portuguese control by conquest. In other places, as in the case of Cochin, the presence was by consent following the signature of treaties. To the east of Cape Comorim there were many private Portuguese merchants who had settled there with personal profit as their objective, seeking to benefit from the mercantile agreements applying to those areas.²⁸ In the middle of the 16th century some of these centres, such as St. Thomas of Mylapore, had a singular status because they did not exhibit great commercial importance. The opposite was true of Pulicat, which was a great centre of private Portuguese trade in the first decades of the 16th century and whose Christian population numbered about two or three hundred inhabitants.²⁹ In these territories, where a sort of “shadow empire” existed composed of merchants and adventurers defending their private interests, it seems difficult to speak of any Portuguese commercial monopoly such as existed in Aceh, in Western Java, Coromandel or various ports of Malabar and Gujarat.³⁰

The expansion of studies on the Portuguese political and commercial presence in these areas³¹ has

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not, however, been accompanied by a renewal of works on the religious activity developed on behalf of the Portuguese presence. We know that priests accompanied the merchants and soldiers from the beginning of the Asian maritime expansion. They raised temples and tried to structure parishes, but they needed to wait for the arrival of the Society of Jesus in the 1540s to realise a close connection between evangelisation and colonial power. In fact, a revealing letter from St. Francis Xavier to Ignatius Loyola suggests that Christianity in India could only survive and prosper under the protection of the Portuguese.³² From his arrival in Goa in 1542, Xavier was fully aware that without the committed support of the political power missionary activity would be impeded, given the social alterations that the adoption of Christianity implied. He shares this idea in two letters:

“The implantation of Christianity on the coast of Malabar will be an easy task, safer and easier to conserve than in other parts, for the whole

summer our armadas from Goa travel this Coast; the heathen kings and lords respect them and would not dare injure them, neither the Priests nor the Christians.³³

[...] Inland are the Brahmins and the Nayars and many other noble classes, who are very powerful and deeply entrenched in their superstition, leaving us no margin in which some fruitful work may be carried out [...] and they have so much power in the land, that in no way is it possible to derive any advantage from the inland regions.”³⁴

The Ignatians also recognized the difficulties of evangelisation in Bengal, for being, in their words, “an area of Moors”. The Islamic presence is always represented as an insurmountable obstacle giving rise to open conflicts instead of circulating the divine word.³⁵ In consequence, Jesuit preachers avoided Islamic areas and states, concentrating their efforts on the conversion of the “heathen”. The same situation was repeated in Bisnaga and Velur, but more than half a century after

St. Francis Xavier cursing the Bisnagar invaders in Comorim.

Oil on canvas by André Reinoso (17th century). Sacristy of the Church of São Roque, Holy House of Mercy in Lisbon. Photograph by Júlio Marques.



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the arrival of the Society, neither the number of Christians, nor the number of missionaries was substantial:

“There are neither converts nor Christians in the Court of the King of Bisnaga where a member of our Religious society resides, nor in Velur where he usually spends the greater part of his time apart from another two, but the only Christians are the 4 young men that serve him, and the main end that he serves is to obtain the living that he has in Mylapore where more than five thousand pardons are dispensed every year.”³⁶

In general terms, the Jesuit movement in India in the 16th and 17th centuries either accompanied the areas of effective presence of Portuguese political power, such as the territories of Goa, the holdings of the North and Malabar, or expended its energy in places that could serve strategic interests and the Portuguese system of alliances, as in the Kingdom of the Grand Mogul. Even so, instability was a constant in Malabar due to opposition to the Jesuits by the autochthonous local power. However, neither the Ignatians nor the Franciscans gave up these missions that were materially supported by the Portuguese royal authority and its extensions in the *Estado da Índia*. The royal central power and its overseas representatives always encouraged the organised establishment of religious orders in the Indian enclaves due to the political-economic benefits that their presence could bring to Portuguese interests in the area. The same happened in the court of the Grand Mogul, above all at the end of the 16th century, attracting a mission that had houses and churches in only the two main cities: Lahore and Agra. However, Christianity did not prosper, for the missionary work was focused on Portuguese merchants, as well as soldiers and slaves, the native populations being forgotten.³⁷ Like the Mogul emperor himself, his subjects sympathized with only some aspects of Catholic worship, which in the missionaries’ opinion had to do with the ornamentation of the churches, sometimes attracting local offerings in exchange for some divine gift.³⁸ The external manifestations of Christianity had some “likenesses” to Hindu and Buddhist rituals—the use of statues, incense, rosaries, orders of friars and nuns, etc.—but local religious behaviour, even in this ritualistic sense, was not widely understood by the missionaries who denounced its “demonic” dimension, not always appreciating that

some ceremonial convergence generated tolerance and facilitated the circulation of Christianity.³⁹ Theological debates seemed to please the emperor, but it was above all the political alliance and the commercial movement offered by the Portuguese in India that interested Akbar, who tolerated the missionary presence for this reason.⁴⁰ Although the Jesuit priests recognized the political interests of the Grand Mogul and the insignificance of their presence, the Portuguese authorities advised them to stay, with the objective of discouraging the emperor from allying himself with the Dutch or English. For reasons of power politics, it suited Portugal to maintain friendly relationships because, prior to the Jesuits’ arrival and after Akbar had conquered Bengal, the Portuguese obtained authorization for the construction of a free port that gave rise to the city of Ugulim.⁴¹ Later, in 1632, this city was razed by order of Prince Kurhan, grandson of Akbar.⁴²

The Jesuit missions tried to embrace practically all the Indian territory,⁴³ although in a discontinuous and not very uniform fashion, either in its implementation or in the results obtained. They were often unsuccessful, especially if we consider that one of the main objectives of the Society’s efforts in India was to try to assure mass conversions irrespective of the methods used, understanding that any means justified the elevated end of conversion.⁴⁴ Conversions, religious and social influence, schools, churches and many other manifestations of the Jesuits’ influence in India are due to the shelter provided by the Portuguese enclaves.

DEPENDENCE ON PORTUGUESE POLITICAL PRESENCE

Although spreading quickly through areas of the Indian Ocean, Southeast Asia and the Far East, the Society of Jesus was basically organised in India around the “Northern Province”, of Goa and, further south, of Malabar.⁴⁵ The so-called “Northern Province”, was organized around Damao, Bassein and Chaul. Above all, the Jesuits moved within the fortresses and factories safeguarded by these enclaves.⁴⁶ The number of Portuguese in these fortresses was high, and they needed spiritual guidance.⁴⁷ In this way Bassein became a city graced by different religious orders.⁴⁸ The society was accumulating innumerable properties in these enclaves—above all in Damao and Bassein—obtained either through private donations or through land

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purchase.⁴⁹ Remember, for example, that the foundation of the school of Bassein was due to Isabel de Aguiar, a widow from Ormuz who, not having children of her own, left all her worldly goods to the Jesuits.⁵⁰ Despite the significant Portuguese presence in this city, evangelisation did not come easily.⁵¹ Some missionaries complained of the “diversity of people” that inhabited the area—generally distinguished by their religious affiliation as “Jews, Moors and heathen”—and the deep social rejection to which those who converted to Christianity were subject.⁵² In the remaining cities of the north, the situation was identical to that of Bassein. The opposition to Christianity on the part of the devotees of the local religion was constant, despite the strong Portuguese military presence. The Portuguese political and religious authorities sought to mobilize the same mechanisms used in Goa for the conversion of the population.⁵³ They even proposed the destruction of the local “pagodas”, to be replaced by a church or Christian cross—measures that were offensive and did not favour the cause of Christianity. This helps to explain the religious situation of Damao, where the strong Muslim and Hindu presence eclipsed the Catholic minority, limited to the Portuguese residents, above all men at arms confined to the walls of the fortress. Within this region—in Virgi, Choutia and Cole—there were purely and simply no Christians to be found. It was an incontrovertible fact that the greater the distance from Portuguese military protection, the less the missionary presence and the fewer the number of converts, a rule especially evident in areas where Islam was strongly implanted.

Parallel to the inherent difficulties of the area and in models of Portuguese occupation in India, the Society of Jesus encountered a type of internal obstacle that, moving among Christianised communities, practiced actions that did not always complement those of other Christian religious orders. This happened especially in relation to the minor religious orders. The Franciscans had arrived in the Portuguese enclaves of India some decades before the Jesuits, obtaining certain privileges and religious spaces that they did not wish to divide with the new Society. In 1510, in the area of Bardez, the order had built the Monastery of St. Francis, the church of the Three Kings, and the schools of São Boaventura and Reis, besides the seminary of Santa Fé and seventeen rectories with their respective churches.

They had also built monasteries in Cambay, Bassein, Damao, Diu, Chaul, Cranganor, Cananor, Cochin, Quilon, Bengal, Jafanapatan and Malacca.⁵⁴

In areas where the Portuguese presence had strong political expression, as was the case of Goa and the “Northern Province”, a mixed presence was possible,

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and sometimes only the type and method of missionary action, along with the different mechanisms that each of the religious orders used in its conversions,⁵⁵ could dictate its preponderance. However, in the spaces that were part of the Portuguese dominion, both orders used the same weapons in their conversion. That is to say that they tried to implant the Roman Catholic Church while trying to erase the autochthonous culture through the destruction of “pagodas”, the prohibition of festivities and ceremonies and the expulsion of those who did not want to convert to Christianity.⁵⁶ The expulsion of Hindus and “Moors”—only possible in the areas belonging to Portugal—may well have worked on the spiritual plane but tended to disorganise commercial transactions, making specialised legislation necessary to try to resolve these dysfunctions. We also have to admit that many of the conversions achieved among the populations of other religions, above all in areas not subject to Portugal, were occasional, mobilising social or economic interests. For many, Christianity appeared as the only way for them to alter their social position since the Hindu caste system did not allow them any change or upward mobility.⁵⁷

In the areas where the missionary presence was only tolerated by the local powers, the situation was complicated. The number of conversions was limited,

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and, due to the difficulty in maintaining and serving the Christian communities, many converts did not execute the elementary precepts of Catholicism after baptism. Some missionaries lamented that they did not have the means “to constrain, or to punish”, because the social obligations of the new Christians were to the native authorities and not to the missionaries.⁵⁸ Only

after the 1540s, with the destruction of the temples and with the conversions of the 1560s, did Christianity create more durable roots in the territories where the Portuguese exercised effective jurisdiction, namely in Goa and Bassein.⁵⁹

The missionary activity in Malabar, especially close to the coast, was mainly entrusted to the Jesuits.



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The protection given by King João III to the Society of Jesus allowed it to create the material and human conditions that facilitated the spiritual orientation of these Christians—an aspect that displeased the Franciscans from the beginning. During the 17th century, the Society of Jesus even came to be distanced from its churches, especially those on the Fishery Coast,



for short periods by the Franciscans. Although during the period of Iberian Union, when Portugal was ruled by Spanish kings, relations between the Ignatians and the Philippine monarchs were not as close as they had been under the previous dynasty, this did not prevent the civil authorities from taking a favourable position towards the Jesuits when relations between Franciscans and Jesuits soured, as they did on several occasions during that century, above all in southern India. This aspect can be partially explained by the commercial support that the religious order rendered in the area.⁶⁰ However, in 1601 a charter was confirmed specifying that the missionary areas of India should be divided between Franciscans and Jesuits for them to overcome together many of the problems that militated against the implantation of Christianity. In our understanding, however, the decision can also be read as much as an attempt to weaken Jesuit supremacy in India as an effort to eliminate discord between Jesuits and Franciscans.⁶¹ Except for isolated periods, the Society of Jesus was never definitively kept away from leadership as occurred in the above-mentioned situation.⁶² If there had been the political intention of putting the society in second place, such an objective was never achieved, not for lack of means but because the Jesuit movement became crucial to the political, commercial and even religious interests in the area. In the middle of the 16th century it even reached the point of the Jesuits being placed inside the system of *Padroado*, although only for short time.

Once they had settled in areas outside Portuguese dominion during the course of the 16th and 17th centuries, the other religious orders, mainly Franciscan, Dominican and Augustinian, engaged in activities that largely exceeded the religious assistance given to the Portuguese in the Indian enclaves.⁶³ It should be noted that we also owe the construction of female convents to these orders. Although built somewhat late, they were always erected far away from Jesuit influence. The convent of St. Monica in Goa, and the female retreats of Nossa Senhora da Serra and Santa Maria Madalena were founded between 1598 and 1610 under the influence of Archbishop Aleixo de Meneses, an Augustinian. Maybe this was the way in which he was

St. Francis Xavier's sermon in Goa.
Oil on canvas by André Reinoso (17th century). Sacristy of the Church
of São Roque, Holy House of Mercy in Lisbon. Photograph by Júlio Marques.

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able to affirm the religious order to which he belonged. The late appearance of these institutions can also be related to the serious social conflict in which the *Estado da Índia* had always been submerged. This situation had some bearing on the specifics of female social movement in an area where the presence of European women, apart from some female orphans, was very scarce. It should be remembered that from its inception the foundation of the Santa Monica convent was surrounded by differences between the Franciscan Tertiaries, who sought the construction of a convent for the Order of St. Clare, and Archbishop Aleixo de Meneses, who, with the support of a group of nobles and notables of the city, resolved to create a convent under the orientation of the Augustinians.⁶⁴ This foundation also reminds us of the effort towards religious proselytism that was continually undertaken in the territory of Goa. The city was pivotal to the Portuguese presence in Asia. Even today the many old buildings and various ruins of “Old Goa” testify to the magnitude of Catholic religious investment.⁶⁵ It was a project of constructing a “Christian city” in the East, marked by building a series of schools and residences not only to prepare native clergy and catechists but also to receive the missionaries arriving from Europe. The churches and chapels serving about fifteen to twenty thousand Christians led St. Francis Xavier to write in 1542:

“Goa is a truly Christian city, a wonder to behold. There is a monastery of many Franciscan friars, an honourable cathedral and many canons as well as many other churches.”⁶⁶

Prominent in this dense panorama of Christian buildings was the Jesuits’ main school, built in 1548 and dedicated to St. Paul. Later on, the Santa Fé seminary would also be dependent on the Society’s college. Besides the support given to the Jesuit missionaries who came here, St. Paul’s College had, above all, the educational function of teaching children. In 1597 the extraordinary number of seven hundred children matriculated to learn to read, write and count in the Jesuit institution of Goa.⁶⁷ In effect, the Ignatians had always placed great importance on the question of educating the locals, not because they recognized any superior intellectual capacities in them, but because it was a form of recruiting and preparing future missionaries, an otherwise difficult and expensive task if relying on European seminaries and schools alone.⁶⁸

This school also had some residences under its charge for the protection of converts and for doctrinal teaching. The residences subsisted due to the appropriation of income remitted by the major Jesuit schools. During the reign of King João III, all the schools dependent on the Jesuits in territories under Portuguese dominion had impressive revenues, including donations of moveable and fixed assets. At the command of King Sebastião, St. Paul’s School in Goa received the rent from four villages.⁶⁹ The situation of the school of Cochin was a little different, however, never mobilizing as much income as the one in Goa. Thus, in 1601, in the middle of the Philippine dynasty, its missionaries complained that they only had revenues sufficient to sustain about twenty-four people, mentioning that some of the society’s schools were only sustained by alms.⁷⁰ According to available data, we know that between 1570 and 1580 revenues grew by about 141 percent in Portugal, increasing 100 percent in the Province of Goa from 1575 to 1599. However, they decreased in the period when Portugal was ruled by Spanish kings, probably in close connection with the economic and financial alterations of the *Estado da Índia*.

On the southwest coast of India, the Portuguese presence in Malabar and the type of missionary activity was quite different from that practiced by the “Christian city” of Goa. The enduring connection between the kingdom of Calicut and Muslim mercantile interests in the area resulted in a hostile reception to the Portuguese and a series of conflicts over the first fifteen years of Portuguese presence in the Indian Ocean.⁷¹ The multiplicity of small autonomous political territories and the specifics of social organization would greatly hinder relations between these kingdoms and Portugal, bearing in mind that the political power was dependent on Hindus of the higher castes, and the commercial power was dependent on the Muslims. It was necessary to organise political territories that separated political from economic power and questions on land from those of the sea. Given the difficulty in distancing the Islamic merchants, the Portuguese political-commercial strategy was to abandon the diplomacy of alliances and treaties in favour of armed confrontation. Indeed, the Portuguese appeared in the Indian Ocean at a moment in which the Muslim merchants were present in most of the coastal cities of India, thus dominating maritime

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routes and through them transoceanic trade.⁷² In this complex and competitive context, unlike that which had prevailed in the Atlantic, the possibility of establishing commercial hegemony in the Indian Ocean was remote.⁷³ Only by means of treaties with local potentates could commercial relationships be established. In this way, alliances with the kingdoms of Cananor, Cochin and Quilon were made in order to acquire spices outside of the Calicut market, but control over the trade and any sort of “*pax lusitana*” in the area was out of the question, as this soldier’s description reminds us:

“The battle that in other times was fought on the banks of the Mondego and of the Tejo is renewed here on the waves of the ocean. A war without faith or quarter arose as soon as Vasco da Gama had stepped onto the beaches of Calicut. The Rajah of Cochin turned towards us, Samorim remained faithful to his former subjects: the plethora of minuscule rajahs, into which the rest of Malabar is divided, sometimes favoured one side, sometimes the other, whenever their mutual and incessant quarrels permitted such.”⁷⁴

Despite the political and commercial difficulties in these areas of Malabar, the different religious orders, including the Society of Jesus, always showed interest in the local religious movement. Although conscious of the poor results attained by missionaries there, the Jesuits also tried to serve royal interests and strategies in these areas, “conserving the friendship and love of the king for the Portuguese”.⁷⁵ António Bocarro relates that the local Nayers rarely converted to Christianity so as not to lose their status as a higher caste, while the Muslims would not do so “for any reason”.⁷⁶ Be that as it may, these investments in a continued religious movement in the south can also be linked to the tradition according to which there were still the Christians evangelised by St. Thomas.⁷⁷ The Christians of St. Thomas enjoyed certain social prestige, although they were a minority without political expression or economic weight. Political power in the area was Hindu, and the mastery of the seas belonged to the Muslims. The Jesuits always showed great interest in making contact with them, trying to get them to submit to the Latin Church, but divergences appeared in the relations between European priests and this Syro-Malabar community associated with the incompetence

of some missionaries and their disrespect for the non-Latin liturgy. These efforts would end by defining the Christians of St. Thomas as “Nestorian heretics”. For this reason the Synod of Diamper was held in 1599 under the active direction of the Augustinian archbishop of Goa, Aleixo de Menezes, in order to impose Roman discipline on this Malabar Church. In 1608, when the position of archdeacon was created, the differences surfaced again,⁷⁸ revealing a set of divergences over dogma and ritual. The Malabar Christians did not believe in the doctrine of the Virgin Mary, the transubstantiation or the incarnation of the Divine Word.⁷⁹ They did not worship images, and they considered only baptism, the Eucharist and ordination as sacraments. For the orthodox Catholic missionaries it was difficult to overcome these and other doctrinal conflicts, which were based on centuries-old religious, cultural and social traditions that not even the threat of excommunication discouraged. The promise made at the Synod of Diamper of submission to the Latin Rite was ephemeral. The alterations imposed were not well understood and did not correspond to religious practices established over a lengthy period of time by local social and cultural norms.

THE JESUITS: A NEW CONCEPT OF MISSION

The Lutheran Reformation and the development of the European Protestant movements challenged the authority of the only organized Church that had existed in the medieval West, removing an important part of its normative function and the social and moral imperatives that it had imposed on European feudal societies. The contradictions, confrontations and intolerance between the Roman Church and the new Protestant movements and churches multiplied throughout the 16th century. “To love and to practice one’s religion often meant combating the beliefs of the other”.⁸⁰ The Roman Church lost physical space, political territories and considerable populations to the Protestant confessions. Therefore, it called for the armed re-conquest of the religious areas already lost and tried to recover and compensate for the almost definitive loss of its faithful to Protestantism through a new missionary dynamism. It is in this atmosphere of division, cleavage and confrontation that the Roman Church also began the Counter-Reformation and

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renewal, of which the Society of Jesus was a fundamental dynamic element. The society raised by Ignatius Loyola and a handful of student companions in Paris “personifies” the Catholic Reformation as well as typifying the renewed modern missionary culture.⁸¹

Unlike the traditional mendicant religious orders, the founder members of the Society of Jesus did not mark a clear rupture with past ecclesiastical and pastoral policies of the Roman Church. Above all they represented a synthesis of the modern currents of spirituality and *devotio*, underlining the axiology of the *pietas* of Christ’s Passion, defending a piety for action and a piety for life.⁸² The individual’s value and his subjective freedom within Catholic dogma, upon which the theological construction of the Council of Trent was based, were equally part of its theological comprehension. In its methods and techniques it defended the value of initiative, freedom and critical capacity, exalting the value of human knowledge enlightened by Catholicism. They did, however, also demand obedience, a very strict obedience to the Church and Pope in Rome, which lead Fernando Prieto to affirm that the Society was encumbered by personal dramas:

“It is a paradox, and because of it the history of the Society of Jesus would be full of personal dramas, the conflict between the domination of the Superior and the creativity of the subject.”⁸³

This contradiction is justified insofar as its praxis highlighted the refutation of Lutheranism and Protestantism. It defended the principle that the hierarchical structure of the Roman Church is a divine institution and, as such, obliges the religious power of the church to rise above any interference from the state. This was not the case in the restricted communication between the territorial states of northern Europe and the diffusion of Protestantism. From the first steps in founding the new Society, Ignatius Loyola preferred to defend the centralized structures of his time, represented by the Dominican Order and strongly expressed by its production of university theology,⁸⁴ but, above all, by the papacy itself.

Starting from these notions of submission, discipline, hierarchy and uncompromising defence of Roman papal power, the Society raised by Ignatius Loyola and his companions managed to effect a symbiosis of various elements for the creation of a pyramidal structure of government. Power emanated

from the “head”—as the founder designated it—to the remaining elements of the society, while, unlike the other religious orders, there was a nominated lifetime Vicar General.⁸⁵ Another aspect to consider is the repeated use of military terminology in the first texts of the Society, even leading some historians to read, with slight exaggeration, the notion of *militis Christi* as a sort of new religious order with a military organisation. This vocabulary should not surprise us given the context of the period, bearing in mind not only Loyola’s military training but also the agitated period of religious wars and conflicts. More seriously, it is appropriate to see these strong notions within a religious and spiritual renewal that, recreating the lessons of Thomism, introduced the “Ignatian revolution” into the Roman Church. The writings of Eduardo Lourenço speak of this, summing up a transcendent pragmatism in which the means justified the ends and that was so often confused with divine will.⁸⁶

THE INSTALLATION OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS IN PORTUGAL

Following the incontrovertible logic of chronology, King João III was the first European monarch to formally support and welcome the Jesuit project. Interested in renewing the activities of the clergy and religious communities that circulated overseas, the king seems to have found in the formation and programmes of the new society a possible solution for increasing the evangelisation of the Asian territories.⁸⁷ At this time the monarch and his collaborators were interested above all in mobilising men whose religious training and moral behaviour was not only elevated in relation to laymen, but also in relation to the traditional religious orders that frequented the enclaves and territories of Portuguese presence. The Jesuits had placed chastity, obedience and poverty at the heart of their principles, committing themselves to go wherever the Pope wished to send them; characteristics that immediately endowed the society with great dynamism and a sense of effectiveness that would come to be instrumentally useful in the complex areas of the Portuguese presence in the Orient.⁸⁸

In the economic panorama of the Jesuits’ installation in Portugal, their preference for urban locations to the detriment of rural areas should be remembered. The creation of schools was another

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distinguishing feature. However, these were not always due to the Jesuits' active zeal alone, but also to the solicitations and proposals of other religious and civil protagonists. When this protection and interest failed, episodes occurred such as the opposition by the governor of the Island of Madeira to the foundation of the school in Funchal, convinced that the Jesuits were spies.⁸⁹ Strictly speaking, the installation of the Society of Jesus in Portugal cannot be contemplated outside of the firm support it received from the king and eminent figures of the higher social echelons of the kingdom. Should this support only be considered a result of the religious novelty of the Society, or did it also arise from the fact that many of its members belonged to the aristocracy? As we know, this is a question posed whenever the motives structuring the influence of the Society in 16th-century Portugal are examined, but the theme requires detailed interdisciplinary research combining various areas of social, religious and political history. Be that as it may, the sociological itinerary of the members of the Society is not completely clear, and if in the initial phase many recruits were drawn from among aristocratic families, later many humble artisans, traders, retired soldiers, bureaucrats and adventurers entered the ranks of the Jesuits.⁹⁰ Another recent study, which tries to explain the reasons why so many youths from 16th-century Europe entered the Society during the first sixty years of its existence, suggests that many of the new Jesuits wanted to escape the "confusions and the dangers of the world", while more than half were more concerned with the salvation of their own souls than with doing good for their fellow man.⁹¹ Very few really wanted to devote themselves to the "saving of souls" in distant lands of the Portuguese empire.

Another aspect to consider is related to the geographical and even ethnic origin of the candidates. This is quite a complex subject. Globally, neither the *Examen Generale* nor the *Constitutions* include the prohibition of new Christians entering the Society, and some even occupied prominent positions; certainly they proceeded to remote places like the Fishery Coast in India or Malacca in Southeast Asia. Individually, as many elements of the Society as elements of other religious orders presented petitions to exclude individuals belonging to minority groups. We can refer to the request by King Sebastião, and Cardinal Henrique to the Pope not to accept a new Christian

into the Society, while equally well known is the fact that General Claudio Acquaviva prevented the entry of "descendants of Jews or Moor" into the Society without special authorisation (Decree of 1593).⁹² In contrast, there is evidence of a continued admission of many half-castes of Portuguese-Asian origin, but these were almost always in the condition of men-servants or as attendants to European priests. Valignano, for example, ethnocentrically disrespected those born in "Portuguese India" due to the "flaws" provoked by the climate and educational deficiencies. Eurasian half-castes had difficulty being accepted into the Society and having access to higher ranks, even well into the 17th century.⁹³

Support for the installation of the Society of Jesus in Portugal strategically mobilised royal power, most obviously by Cardinal Henrique. The evangelisation of the foreign territories belonging to the Portuguese crown began to feature at the core of the first missions of the Society of Jesus. Significantly, the same did not happen to the remaining European rulers, whose concern was directed toward the internal strengthening of their progressively absolutist states. Spain is a good case in point, only integrating Jesuits into overseas evangelisation some years later. The support dispensed by the Portuguese monarchs was also partly due to the influence that the first members of the Society exercised at the royal court. Jesuits, namely Simão Rodrigues and Leão Henriques, were nominated on various occasions as confessors to not only King João III and Cardinal Henrique but also King Sebastião. In the opinion of many critics, this relationship led them to be able to influence internal government and colonial policies. This type of leverage, however, practically ceased during the Philippine period of Iberian union for two reasons: the Jesuits ceased to be royal confessors, their place being taken by the Dominicans, while their excessive neutrality did not curry favour at court, or in other spheres where Portuguese political opposition was growing. Thus, for Dauril Alden, contrary to what has been written, the role of the Jesuits during the Philippine domination was quite passive, with the exception of a handful of encouraging sermons already very close to the Restoration of 1640. As evidence of this loss of political influence, we should remember the constant concern of the Jesuits in India to demonstrate to all Catholic Europe their spiritual conquests and their prestige as catechisers. This type of initiative worked as a powerful propaganda

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instrument in a similar way to the annual letters printed in anthologies. These were possibly intended to avoid external auditing, not only of religious matters, but also of political, economic and administrative matters as well. Various royal requests in this direction will be analysed at the appropriate time.⁹⁴

A SOCIETY FOR ORIENTAL EVANGELISATION

Since Portugal did not suffer the consequences of the Protestant Reformation, the kingdom did not internally require the activity of a new society with strong obedience to the Pope in Rome, although it did present problems and urgent challenges in the field of the foreign evangelisation. The vastness of the lands discovered and occupied under Portuguese jurisdiction and the distances that separated them from the capital, as well as the demographic crisis that made itself felt, all hindered the proselytising strategies that King Manuel and his successor wanted to combine with the political and commercial presence. Apart from their small number, the monks' preparation was equally precarious in face of the religious, cultural and social complexity of the territories and populations to evangelise. None of the other existing religious orders, including the mendicants, had managed to provide such a militant answer to the challenges presented in the complex evangelising activity and Christian context in the areas of Portuguese presence, namely in Asia.⁹⁵ The Society of Jesus, with its centralised and disciplined structure, dynamism and cohesion allied to the spirit of local adaptation and the articulation of the faith by education, seemed to prepare its members to be more successful where others failed. At the same time, the society was unified by a single spiritual programme; its orientation stemming directly from Ignatius Loyola and his famous *Spiritual Exercises*. The teachings of this manual of prayers, personal training and moral improvement quickly aroused interest among many intellectuals and devout people, making the exercises a milestone in the history of modern Christian spirituality and one of the indispensable documents in the history of the Tridentine Church.⁹⁶ Ignatius Loyola's larger objective when organizing the *Spiritual Exercises* was to make available to his followers the fundamental lines of his thought as a guide to the collective and individual spiritual action of the society

and its members. It was a manual to instruct beginners "in the correct way of meditating making a general confession",⁹⁷ seeking in this way to provide a means of allowing the acquisition of a series of virtues and, above all, imitating the life of Christ as a form of renewing the Church and Apostleship.

The preparation that the members of the Society received, starting with Ignatius Loyola's programme of exercises, frequently included exhaustive personal meditation, and it seems difficult to discover its practical social and religious aspects. The collective baptisms that occurred in some Indian territories were not followed by true instruction or a religious and spiritual framework. At the same time, many of those catechised, generally children and Christianised slaves, were practically Christian only in name, not aspiring to a faith shaped by spirituality. Some researchers consider this to be an intentional programme of evangelisation, primarily concerned with the conquest of nations and continents for Christ—the latinisation of the world—not interested in either the means of conversion or its "quality".⁹⁸ Christianity alone would lead them to salvation because it was the one and only true religion. Generally, the Jesuit missionaries had a tendency to consider themselves "God's chosen ones" to undertake the salvation and perfection of man, a notion clearly expressed in the *Constitutions* of the Society: "The objective of this society is not only to attain through divine grace the salvation and perfection of one's own soul, but through the same intensely seek to help others attain the salvation and perfection of theirs."⁹⁹

In order to bring fruition to these evangelical objectives, significant attention was paid to the conditions and requirements for candidates when entering the Society or leaving for religious activities in Asia. New seminaries and schools were created in order to improve the quality of priests. That of Coimbra was considered "the apostles' nursery", preparing the seminarians to reach the different points of Portuguese movement and settlement overseas.¹⁰⁰ This was the strategic order of St. Francis Xavier from the beginning, followed among others by Father Luís Gonçalves, who in 1561 advised the Visitor of his province to spend more time in Portugal to strengthen the province so that it could sustain "many people raised and educated" in the spirit of the Society.¹⁰¹ St. Francis Xavier, in his second directions to Father Gaspar Barzeo, recommends that he should not receive into the Society

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people “with few qualities and weak, because the society has need of people of courage, with many virtues and qualities”, and insisting that he should “never admit to the Society people without science and virtues proved by many years, because the priests of the Society in its institutions and ministries very much need these qualities, and we have been beleaguered by so many adversities”.¹⁰² In spite of the difficulties that the Society experienced at the end of the 16th century in the recruitment for missionary activities in the East, this general concern from the early period persisted. The Society was frequently opposed to the recruitment of members originating from dubious social positions and situations, as happened in relation to many soldiers and adventurers. They were almost always considered “ignorant”, only seeking the shelter of the Society to flee from the poverty of daily life in the beleaguered Portuguese oriental enclaves in the 17th century.

Caution and exigency were greater still in the selection of the provincials in the areas of evangelisation. Alessandro Valignano, Jesuit Visitor from Japan, reminds us in 1582 that any superior could only execute his mission if he had “the right people to help him”,¹⁰³ recommending with regard to the election of the Provincial of India that

“... there is not in the whole society any other office that requires as many qualities together as the Provincial of India, for having the highest authority over the members of our house and with outsiders, for the diversity of the very serious and weighty matters that he holds in his hands, being not only responsible for the society that is so dispersed over so many kingdoms and counties of diverse languages and customs, but also having responsibility for all the conversions and Christianity that there is in these kingdoms and counties, and also being so far removed from Rome that from the closest part of India, no one can write and receive an answer in less than a year and half, and from other parts three, four and five years.”¹⁰⁴

A MAGNIFICENT SOCIETY OR A WEALTHY SOCIETY?

The Jesuits’ activity in the Asian world did not just mobilise the organic and spiritual advantages of a new dynamic and militant Society protected by royal patronage, strongly mobilised for evangelical activities.

The Jesuit circulation in the Asian territories of Portuguese political presence and commercial movement also demanded more material investments. The voyages were expensive and long, the circulation of church plate was costly, the diffusion of books was demonstrably expensive, and the construction of schools and churches for the Society demanded abundant capital. Often, after the construction of these buildings was concluded, it was still necessary to mobilise capital for the import of statues or their production by good local artists, the raising of altars, decoration in textiles, and various other investments in luxuries without which it would be more difficult to attract the interest of the local populations to the festivals and rituals. The Society added many local protections to the royal investments and a continuous accumulation of revenues, fixed and moveable assets that, as we know, included important positions in the administration and the allocation of profits from commercial transactions, such as the silver of Japan and clove from the Moluccas.¹⁰⁵ Although they repeatedly argued that those were their only means of subsistence in the *Estado da Índia*, a more meticulous study quickly demonstrates that the receipts from this type of income and of other goods exceeded the basic functional needs of the Society by a wide margin, making it one of the richer Catholic religious orders operating in the orient.

Especially from the first decades of the 17th century, and closely related to the debates on the “decadence” of the Portuguese oriental presence, a larger number of accusations criticizing the wealth accumulated by the Society can be observed, even arriving at the point where in the milieu of Goa it was suggested that “they were owners of Salcete”. Economic power strengthened the Society so much that some Indian populations paid more vassalage to the Jesuits than to the royal authorities. The accumulation of these economic and political powers must have transformed insubordination into a current characteristic of the Jesuits circulating in the enclaves and territories of Portuguese India. In effect, disobedience to royal orders became a constant, as much on the part of Jesuits with responsibilities as with those soldiers and adventurers who preferred to “surrender to God in exchange for food” rather than defend the illusion of an empire from which they did not derive any benefit. The ingress of these elements into the Society from the end of the 16th century lowered the threshold for recruitment and

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increased immorality. Many of these Jesuits were far removed from the intellectual and moral qualities of the founding fathers. Therefore, the hard words that Alessandro Valignano himself uses concerning the insubordination of the priests of the School of Cochín are not surprising. “They are all villains, heartless, taken off the streets and dressed in the soutane of the society”.¹⁰⁶ It hardly seems necessary to underline in great detail the association between wealth and slack behaviour that existed in various areas and members of the society, being naturally one of the historical factors that served to justify the abundant anti-Jesuit literature that was extremely commonplace in the Portuguese 17th century.

The Society of Jesus, with its centralised and disciplined structure, dynamism and cohesion allied to the spirit of local adaptation and the articulation of the faith by education, seemed to prepare its members to be more successful where others failed.

The theme of the exaggerated accumulation of wealth by the Jesuits already concerned the Philippine administration, without, however, the crown having either the means or the political will to investigate its acquisition or even the exact extent of the assets that the Society possessed. At this time the Jesuits formed a type of state within a state.¹⁰⁷ This situation was especially apparent in relation to India, where distance from the kingdom decreased control and political supervision. In fact, while the viceroy normally stayed there for a three-year period—insufficient time to comprehend an “empire” so vast and discontinuous—the great majority of missionaries stayed for many years, and some never even returned, as seems to be the dominant practice among the Jesuits.¹⁰⁸ These, apart from remaining for an indefinite period, acted not in individual title but as

a community, which allowed the creation of more solid social structures and influence often competing with the power of the government. Even so, to summarise and portray the varied activities of the Jesuits as exclusively pursuing economic advantage and continuously practicing corrupt acts does not help us to understand that the decadence and transformations in the *Estado da Índia* stemmed above all from economic and political conditions arising from a new distribution of power and competitiveness in the Indian territory from which the Jesuit movement could not escape.

THE SOCIETY AND EVANGELISATION OF THEIR FELLOW MAN

History is the study of contexts. Strictly speaking, the debate concerning the accumulation of wealth by the Society of Jesus in Asia reverts to a specialised historical context. In India, in China, in Japan or in Eastern Indonesia, the Jesuits frequented strongly hierarchical societies with luxurious courts and dynamic and commercially prosperous economies. This made it difficult to apply the notions, still prevalent at the beginning of the 16th century, of the “savage” or even “pre-adamite” as had been the case with the American natives. In the Asian world, one’s “fellow” was different and influenced by centuries of “sedimentation” from civilizations shaped by organized and active religious systems such as Hinduism, Buddhism or Islam. The latter had been more sharply felt since the 13th century, transported by merchants and missionaries, ulema, brotherhoods and intellectual Sufis. The mechanisms used by the Society of Jesus in the conversion of the Indian populations do not reveal, in general, any special respect for local cultures. Rather, they compelled an evident adaptation, at times even surrender, to the potentates, powers and local political territories. In parallel, the schools and seminaries built by the Society, although they were also destined for the education of some locals, naturally served as a means of transmission of western Christian values, and were not concerned with understanding, or much less preserving, local culture. Indeed, the exact opposite took place. By imposing Christianity, the Jesuits had to look toward the rulers and upper echelons for support and protection. They invested in the sumptuous and in ceremonial splendour as a reference for the recently converted and a source of admiration

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for the more sceptical. For this reason, the presence of the Portuguese and local political powers was a constant feature of the great festivals of collective baptisms. Often the viceroy or the territorial rajah was the godfather and sponsor of these massive ceremonies, which were occasions for great pomp and ostentation, not to mention considerable expense.

Far away from these ceremonial investments, the conversion to Catholicism in India was more rare and frequently impossible. Thus, the simplest and most widespread process used by the Society to implant Christianity in India since the time of St. Francis Xavier, had been the instruction and the religious preparation of children of Luso-Asian origin or of local extraction who dwelt in the Portuguese enclaves. These children started to constitute one of the pillars of Catholic evangelisation in India because it was those who more easily assimilated Christianity due to their weak knowledge of the local religion and its specific social conditions. Although everything was planned by the Society in relation to results, it did not suit their purpose that these children should be too young. It was appropriate for them to know and speak their mother tongue in order for them better to assimilate the catechism circulating in both Portuguese and autochthonous languages, while later acting as auxiliaries to the local missions. This recourse to children was already a practice used in Europe, even inside the countries faithful to Rome, for them to serve as an example to their elders. Reference can be made to the case of processions.

“The whole city takes delight with the spectacle of the boys’ very orderly procession to file through the streets with its flags unfurled followed by a great crowd of people.”¹⁰⁹

Although essentially a religious order, the Society of Jesus also used science and teaching as forms of transmitting its religious message. This behaviour not only indicates the collapse of the medieval scholastic system but, due to the time in which it was created, also reflects the concern to educate and to eliminate the Protestant heresy in Europe and reconstruct Catholic unity.¹¹⁰ It was in the East that the Jesuits initially put this idea into practice before they implanted it in European circles. Therefore, in 1542 St. Francis Xavier showed commitment in building a school for the education of boys in Goa. The following year, the Jesuits taught

reading and writing in the Latin language,¹¹¹ which, in the mind of Ignatius Loyola, must contribute towards making an association between piety and letters.¹¹² These institutions were as much destined to prepare the native clergy as the catechists and missionaries arriving from Europe. Before the arrival of the society, the *Confraria da Santa Fé* [Brotherhood of the Holy Faith]¹¹³ had been established by Miguel Vaz and Diogo Borba in 1541, whose direction and spiritual orientation was carried out in 1542 by Jesuits and, starting in 1548, was entirely entrusted to them. To this seminary was annexed the school of St. Paul, one of the more sumptuous Catholic buildings erected in India.¹¹⁴ Inaugurated in January 1543, it was entrusted to the direction of Francis Xavier, and only in 1545 was Nicolau Lancilloto named rector and superior. In this year it received about sixty seminary students aged between twenty and twenty-one, even being frequented by some primary students of seven or eight years and some slaves, at the request of their masters. The school was formed of two institutions, one for those who wanted to be priests, these being obliged to learn classical Latin, philosophy and moral theology, and another for those who wanted to be “learned” and to master mathematics.¹¹⁵ The Society firmly believed that this system of schools would ensure the development of Catholicism in India, adding conversions from the starting point of the “superiority” of Christian education. These investments had some impact, above all in the “Christian city” of Goa, but they would fail in practice within the geographical limits of India. After all, since those heroic debut years of the apostleship of St. Francis Xavier, Catholicism did not manage to penetrate the more than thousand-year-old culture and mentality of Indian society. The heroes and martyrs remained, and still more the legend of the great “apostle of the East”, but the conversion and conquest of the East dreamed of by St. Francis Xavier, between Eurocentric triumphalism and utopias of the faith, never happened. **RC**

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NOTES

- 1 *As Grandes Datas do Cristianismo*, edited by François Lebrun, Lisboa, Editorial Notícias, 1990, p. 139.
- 2 J. S. da Silva Dias, *A Política Cultural da Época de D. João III*, t. II, Coimbra, Universidade de Coimbra, Instituto de Estudos Filosóficos, 1969, p. 805.
- 3 P. Fernão de Queiroz, *Conquista Temporal e Espiritual de Ceylão: com muytas proueitozas notícias pertencentes à disposição, e governo do Estado da Índia*, H. C. Cottle, Government Printer, 1916; Fr. Paulo da Trindade, *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente. Em que se dá relação de algumas cousas mais notáveis que fizeram os Frades Menores da Santa Província de S. Tomé da Índia Oriental em a pregação da fé e conversão dos infieis em mais de trinta reinos, do Cabo da Boa Esperança até às remotíssimas Ilhas do Japão*. 3 vols., Introduction and notes by F. Felix Lopes, OFM, Lisboa, Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1962-1967.
- 4 *Histoire du Christianisme*, under the supervision of J. M. Mayeur, Ch. Pietri, A. Vauchez and M. M. Venard, vol. 8, "Le temps des confessions (1530-1620)," Desclée, 1992, pp. 795-796. On the political and administrative structure of the *Estado da Índia*, also consult Luís Filipe Thomaz, *De Ceuta a Timor*, Lisboa, Difel, 1994, p. 207. In order to highlight the concept of the Portuguese Empire in India, we quote the following from p. 207: "When confronted with the average notion of empire, the Portuguese *Estado da Índia* presents something rather original and, at times, disconcerting. Apart from its spatial discontinuity, the heterogeneity of its institutions and the imprecision of its limits, both geographical and juridical, make it unusual. The reason is that empires usually represent the political structure of certain geographical spaces, while the *Estado da Índia* was essentially a network, that is, a system of communication between various places."
- 5 Luís Filipe Thomaz, "Descobrimento e evangelização. Da cruzada à missão pacífica", *Congresso Internacional de História: Missão e Encontro de Culturas, Cristandade Portuguesa até ao Século XV. Evangelização Interna, Ilhas Atlânticas e África Ocidental*, vol. I, Braga, Universidade Católica Portuguesa/Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses/Fundação Evangelização e Culturas, 1993, p. 119.
- 6 Until 1548 the Dominican presence was undertaken on an individual basis. Only after this date was it organised as a community, a monastery being built in Goa at this time.
- 7 Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa (BNL), *Cod. 177*, p. 322; Biblioteca Pública de Évora (BPE), *CVI2-6*, p. 1
- 8 F. Mateos S. J., "Campo de Apostolado de San Francisco Javier," *Missionalia Hispanica*, año IX, no. 25, Edited by the Instituto Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo, 1952, pp. 452-480.
- 9 Manuel Pereira Gonçalves, "Presença Franciscana na Índia no século XVI," *Portugal no Mundo*, Lisboa, Publicações Alfa, pp. 108-109. On this question see Robert Schrimpf, "Le Diable et le Goupillon," *Goa 1510-1685. L'Inde Portugaise, Apostolique et Commerciale*, edited by Michele Chandeigne, Paris, Ed. Autrement, 1996, pp. 115-134; Fr. Achilles Meersman OFM, *The Ancient Franciscan Provinces in India*, Bangalore Christian Society Press, 1971.
- 10 Manuel Pereira Gonçalves, "Presença Franciscana na Índia no século XVI," cit., p. 108; see Robert Schrimpf, "Le Diable et le Goupillon," cit., pp. 115-134. *Memória Histórica Eclesiástica da Arquidiocese de Goa*, Nova Goa, Tip. A Voz de S. Francisco Xavier, 1933, pp. 1-61. Despite the vast region embraced by the Franciscans, the principal centres of Christianity until the first decades of the 17th century were adjacent to the Portuguese forts and factories.
- 11 *Memória Histórica Eclesiástica da Arquidiocese de Goa*, cit., p. 30. We consider the number of Christians to be exaggerated.
- 12 León Bourdon, *La Compagnie de Jesus et le Japon 1547-1570*, Paris, Centre Culturel Portugais de la Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian et Commission Nationale pour les Comémorations des Découvertes Portugaises, 1993, p. 65.
- 13 Lower caste community on the Costa da Pescaria.
- 14 Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *O Império Asiático Português, 1500-1700. Uma História Política e Económica*, Lisboa, Difel, 1996, pp. 129-130.
- 15 F. Mateos S. J., "Campo de Apostolado de San Francisco Javier", *Missionalia Hispanica*, ed. by Sección de Misiones del Instituto Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo, año I, no. 42, p. 472.
- 16 Luís Filipe Thomaz, *De Ceuta a Timor*, cit., p. 119. The historian stresses that at the time of St. Francis Xavier's arrival in India, the Christian communities of Cochin and Goa approximated ten thousand, while the other towns counted in the order of several hundred.
- 17 In 1546 nine-tenths of the population of Bardez and Salcete became Christian due to the work of the Jesuits and Franciscans. Between 1560 and 1563, the Island of Chorão became Christian. At the end of the 16th century there were 35,000 Christians in Salcete distributed over eleven parishes. Maria de Jesus dos Mártires Lopes, *Goa na Segunda Metade de Setecentos: Esboço de um Ensaio Sócio-Cultural*, Doctoral Thesis on History presented to the Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, cyclostyled text, 1994, p. 243.
- 18 Teotónio de Souza, *Goa to Me*, New Deli, Concept Publishing Company, 1994, p. 85. Even the Christians of St. Thomas were jealous of their caste, refusing to attend mass or catechism in the company of recent converts.
- 19 Jesús María Granero, S. J., *La acción misionera y los métodos misionales de San Ignacio de Loyola*, Burgos, El Siglo de las Misiones, 1931, p. 170.
- 20 I. Iparraguirre S. J., "Los Ejercicios Espirituales Ignacianos," *Studia Missionalia*, vol. V, Romae, Apud Aedes, Pontifical Universitatis Gregorianae, 1950, p. 8.
- 21 António da Silva Rego (ed.), *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente*, 12 vols., 1947-1958, Lisboa, Agência Geral das Colónias, vol. VII, p. 31.
- 22 António da Silva Rego (ed.), *Documentação*, cit., vol. I, pp. 9-10.
- 23 On the concept of the Portuguese *Estado da Índia* see Maria Manuela Sobral Blanco, *O Estado Português da Índia. Da Rendição de Ormuz à Perda de Cochim (1622-1663)*, Doctoral Thesis presented to the Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, cyclostyled text, 1992, vol. I, pp. 1 onwards.
- 24 See Geneviève Bouchon, "Premières expériences d'une société coloniale: Goa au XVI^e siècle," *Histoire du Portugal. Histoire Européenne, Actes du Colloque Paris, 22-23, Mai 1986*, Paris, Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian, Centre Culturel Portugais, 1987.
- 25 On this question read Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Comércio e Conflito. A Presença Portuguesa no Golfo de Bengala 1500-1700*, Lisboa, Edições 70, 1994.
- 26 Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Comércio e Conflito*, cit., p. 67; Bailey W. Diffie and George D. Winius, *A Fundação do Império Português: 1415-1580*, vol. II, Lisboa, Ed. Vega, 1993, pp. 192-193.
- 27 Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Comércio e Conflito*, cit., p. 70. On the administrative structure of the *Estado da Índia* consult the work by Luís Filipe Thomaz, *De Ceuta a Timor*, cit., p. 207.
- 28 Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Comércio e Conflito*, cit., p. 85.
- 29 Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Comércio e Conflito*, cit., p. 87.
- 30 Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Comércio e Conflito*, cit., p. 134.
- 31 On this theme also see Luís Filipe Thomaz, *De Ceuta a Timor*, cit., pp. 149-591.
- 32 Teotónio de Souza, *Goa to Me*, cit., p. 89.

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- 33 Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), *Provincia Goana et Malabarica*, Goa 17, fls. 56-57.
- 34 Alessandro Valignano S. J., *Historia del Principio y Progreso de la Companhia de Jesus en las Indias Orientales (1542-64)*, edited by J. Wicki, Rome, Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1944, p. 1. Another document by ARSI, *Goa 51*, fl. 242v. reads "because in the lands of the King of Portugal it is easier for us to do as we wish."
- 35 Fernão Guerreiro, *Relação anual das cousas que fizeram os Padres da Companhia de Jesus nas suas missões do Japão, China, Cataio, Tidore, Ternate, Amboino, Malaca, Pegu, Bengala, Bisnaga, Madure, Costa da Pescaria, Manar, Ceilão, Travancor, Malabar, Sodomala, Goa, Salcete, Labor, Diu, Etiópia a alta ou Preste João, Monotapa, Angola, Guiné, Serra Leoa, Cabo Verde e Brasil nos annos de 1600 a 1609*, t. I, new edition edited and prefaced by Artur Viegas, Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade, 1930, p. 285; Fernão Guerreiro, *Relaçam Annual das Cousas que fizeram os Padres de Iesu nas partes da Índia Oriental & em algumas outras da conquista deste reyno nos annos de 604 e 605 & do processo da conversam & christandade daquelas partes*, Lisboa, Pedro Crasbeeck, 1607, p. 98.
- 36 ARSI, *Goa 17* (1611) fls. 71-72.
- 37 António Bocarro, *Livro das Plantas de todas as Cidades e Povoações do Estado da Índia*, 2 vols., transcription by Isabel Cid, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1992, p. 78.
- 38 Fernão Guerreiro, *Relaçam annal das cousas que fezeram os Padres da Companhia de Iesus nas partes da Índia Oriental, & em algumas outras da conquista deste reyno no anno de 1606 & 607 & do processo da conversão & christandade daquellas partes*, Lisboa, Pedro Crasbeeck, 1609, pp. 139-140.
- 39 C. R. Boxer, *O Império Marítimo Português 1415-1825*, Lisboa, Edições 70, 1992, p. 92.
- 40 Teotónio R. de Souza, *Goa Medieval. A Cidade e o Interior no Século XVII*, Lisboa, Editorial Estampa, 1994, pp. 29-30.
- 41 António da Silva Rego, "A Primeira Missão Religiosa ao Grão Mogol," *Lusitania Sacra*, t. IV, Lisboa, Centro de Estudos de História Eclesiástica, 1959, p. 161. In 1633 the Christians were persecuted and the sympathy dispensed to the priests of the Society of Jesus ended. A church was taken away from them and their priests imprisoned, although the church was later returned to them. BNL, *Cod. 7640*, fl. 60-60v.
- 42 BNL, *Cod. 7640*, fl. 60-60v.
- 43 To understand the geographical extent read the words of Alexandre Valignano, in a report from 1579: "from Goa to Macao are about fifteen hundred leagues, by which it is possible to perceive how vast is the extent of this province, not only to arrive at its ultimate confines, but also how great is the distance between its colleges and installations, which every day is getting bigger as our members penetrate ever further, taking our mission further afield ..." António da Silva Rego (ed.), *Documentação*, cit., vol. XII, p. 473.
- 44 Eduardo Lourenço, "Portugal e os Jesuítas," *Oceanos*, no. 12, Lisboa, Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1992, p. 47.
- 45 Province of Goa: Seminário da Santa Fé de Goa (1542); Colégio de S. Paulo de Goa (1548); Colégio de Jesus de Baçaim (1560); Seminário de Baçaim (1548); Colégio de S. Inácio de Rachol (1574); Seminário de Rachol (year of foundation unknown); Colégio das Onze Mil Virgens de Damão (1581); Colégio da Madre de Deus de Taná (1599); Seminário de Taná (1551); Colégio do Espírito Santo de Diu (1601); Colégio de S. Pedro e S. Paulo de Chaul (1611); Colégio da Ascensão de Moçambique (1613); Colégio de N.ª S.ª do Nascimento de Agra (1630); Escola de Bandorá (1576). Province of Malabar: Colégio da Madre de Deus de Cochim (1560); Seminário de Cochim (1560); Colégio de Malaca (1576); Seminário de S. Cruz de Vaipicota (1584); Colégio de Coullão (16th C.); Seminário de Coullão (16th C.); Colégio de Tuticorim (16th C.); Seminário de Tuticorim (16th C.); Colégio de Meliapor (16th C.); Seminário de Meliapor (16th C.); Colégio de Ternate (17th C.); Colégio de Cranganor (17th C.); Colégio de Columbo (17th C.); Colégio de Jafanapatão (17th C.); Colégio de Bengala (17th C.); Colégio de Negapatão (17th C.); Colégio de Ambalacata (1633); Seminário de Ambalacata (1663); Colégio do Topo (17th C.). Francisco Rodrigues, *A Companhia de Jesus em Portugal e nas Missões*, Porto, Edições do Apostolado de Imprensa, 1935. On this question see Fortunato de Almeida, *História da Igreja em Portugal*, new edition edited by Damião Peres, Porto, Livraria Civilização, 1968, pp. 25-36; and on the southern province, *Res 985P*, pp. 33-67; ARSI, *Goa 48*, fls. 161-162v.
- 46 Maria Manuela Sobral Blanco, *O Estado Português da Índia*, cit., vol. I, 1992, p. 32.
- 47 According to António Bocarro, *Livro das Plantas*, cit., p. 108, Bassein was "a city of the Portuguese," in which about 400 Portuguese lived, the main part being nobleman and about 200 "coloured Christians." On the northern province consult "O Estado da Índia e a Província do Norte," *Mare Liberum*, no. 9, Lisboa, Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, July 1995. On the Portuguese presence in the Persian Gulf consult António Dias Farinha, *Os Portugueses no Golfo Pérsico (1507-1538). Contribuição Documental e Crítica Para a sua História*, Lisboa, Supplementary Dissertation to a Doctorate in History presented at the Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 1990.
- 48 See "A Epopeia Portuguesa nas Terras do Norte," *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama*, no. 25, Bastorá, Tip. Rangel, 1935, pp. 2-40. According to António Bocarro, *Livro das Plantas*, cit., p. 108, about fifteen Jesuits, eight or ten Dominicans, thirty Franciscans and eight Augustinians were there.
- 49 In Bassein, Mahim, Salcete and Caranjar the order possessed innumerable salt- and rice-producing villages, from which the rents exceeded 216,000 *pardaus*. In Damao they possessed arable terrain, vegetable gardens, salt pits, wells and cotton fields. Maria Manuela Sobral Blanco, *O Estado Português da Índia*, cit., vol. I, p. 38.
- 50 J. Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, 18 vols., 1948-1988, Rome, Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, vol. XVI, pp. 217, 553.
- 51 The fact that the Portuguese presence in India was mainly a maritime force sometimes contributed to them being accepted in some of those parts: "certainly it seems very detrimental for us to have so much as a palm of land beyond the beaches of the Ocean, for, apart from weakening our sea born forces which is at once our fortress and our might, the one thing in the world which best preserves our friendship with the lords of India is for them to be assured that we only wish to have dominion over the sea and that we do neither covet nor have any intentions over their lands ..." BNL, *Cx 206*, 151, fl. 2.
- 52 António da Silva Rego (ed.), *Documentação*, cit., vol. IV, p. 59.
- 53 António Bocarro, *Livro das Plantas*, cit., p. 96.
- 54 Maria Manuela Sobral Blanco, *O Estado Português da Índia*, cit., vol. I, p. 265; J. Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, vol. XII, p. 959.
- 55 António da Silva Rego (ed.), *Documentação*, cit., vol. XII, p. 492: in 1580, in Baccaim there were fifteen or sixteen Jesuits and twelve or fourteen Franciscans. *Ibidem*, vol. XII, p. 958, 1583: mentions that the Franciscans were responsible for half of the converts to Christianity in Bassein.
- 56 On Bassein we suggest reading A. B. Bragança Pereira, "Os Portugueses em Baçaim," *O Oriente Português*, no. 7, 8 and 9, Nova Goa, Imprensa Gonçalves, 1934-1935, pp. 192-193. The mechanisms applied by the Society of Jesus are dealt with in one of the chapters.
- 57 Friar Sebastião Gonçalves, *História dos Religiosos da Companhia de Jesus e do que fizeram com a divina graça na conversão dos infieis a nossa sancta fee catholica nos reynos e provincias da India Oriental*, Published by J. Wicki S. J., Coimbra, Atlântida, 1957, vol. I, p. 80.

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- 58 J. Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, cit., vol. VI, p. 89.
- 59 C. R. Boxer, *O Império Marítimo Português 1415-1825*, cit., p. 83.
- 60 The rivalry between the two orders focused particularly on the dispute over the possession of the churches on the Fishery Coast and the spiritual orientation of the Paravar community.
- 61 *Boletim da Filмотeca Ultramarina Portuguesa* (BFUP), no. 3, Lisboa, 1958. Perhaps if we bear in mind a letter from 1596, the reasons lay in the missionary efforts by different religious orders because the king recommended that the Franciscans be favoured in Bardez, the Dominicans in Solor and Timor, and the Jesuits on the Fishery Coast, for the forms in which they dealt with the conversion of the infidels. We should remember that, at this time, the bishop of Cochin was Franciscan. This situation contributed to the Society of Jesus having total supremacy over these Christians, and it is clear that it was also a cause of many divergences that arose in the area.
- 62 The division was more amiable in relation to the Province of Goa since, as we have already mentioned, the Portuguese presence there was more effective. This was in relation to the Society of Jesus and the other orders because there were moments in which the Franciscans and Augustinians confronted each other, namely at the time of the construction of the Convent of St. Monica.
- 63 Up to 1548 Dominican activity was done on an individual basis because only from this date were they undertaken as a community. Besides settling in Goa, they instituted monasteries in Chaul, Cochin and Malacca. When the area of Goa was divided between the three orders in 1553, the spiritual responsibility of fifteen villages fell to them. The Augustinians arrived in the Orient in 1572 and were dedicated to missions in Bengal and Persia.
- 64 On this question read Francisco Bethencourt, "Os Conventos Femininos no Império Português. O Caso do Convento de Santa Mónica," *O Rosto Feminino da Expansão Portuguesa*, vol. I, Lisboa, Comissão para a Igualdade e para os Direitos das Mulheres, 1994, pp. 631-652.
- 65 Orlando Ribeiro, *Originalidade de Goa*, Lisbon, Separata das Actas do III Colóquio Internacional de Estudos Luso-Brasileiros, 1959, p. 170.
- 66 Schurhammer, S. J., *Francisco Javier. Su vida y su tiempo*, vol. II, Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra/ Compañía de Jesus/ Arzobispado de Pamplona, 1992, p. 347.
- 67 António da Silva Rego (ed.), *Documentação*, cit., vol. XII, p. 483.
- 68 On the behaviour and intellectual capacity of the heathen, we quote: "these people are of little nicety and scarce capabilities and appear, as Aristotle said, by their nature born to serve.... a miserable and highly grasping people." António da Silva Rego (ed.), *Documentação*, cit., vol. XII, p. 475.
- 69 BNL, *Cod. 176*, fls. 77-78. It should be pointed out that these missionaries needed substantial incomes given the type of conversions undertaken. These sums were used for the construction of schools and residences and for the material needs of the great majority of those who accepted Christianity due to their poverty both before and after conversion.
- 70 ARSI, *Goa 15*, p. 60-61. This was the opinion expressed by the Jesuits. It would be useful if the amount and type of alms had been indicated, because only then could we conclude its value. Indeed the receipts granted to the schools of Goa and of Cochin are not comparable, but we also know that the relationship that the missionaries had with the Christians of Goa or Malabar was different—this corresponding to the different type of Portuguese presence. Frequently it was the local Christians who contributed to supporting missionaries, as was the case of the Paravar because, in most cases, the obligations of these Christians were to the Jesuits and not to the Portuguese king.
- 71 Jorge Manuel Flores, "Calecute," *Dicionário de História dos Descobrimientos Portugueses*, vol. I, edited by Luís de Albuquerque, Lisboa, Círculo de Leitores, 1994, p. 162.
- 72 Geneviève Bouchon, "A islamização das regiões costeiras da Índia na época das viagens de Vasco da Gama," *Oceanos*, no. 33, Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimientos Portugueses, p. 16. The above-mentioned historian points out in the article that the Portuguese were surprised by the number of Muslims that they found in Malabar. Although numerous, they were not a majority. The Islamic society of Kerala was divided into two groups: the Pardeshi (foreigners) and Mappila. The Pardeshi lived particularly in Calicut and included Muslims of all the nations: Persians, Turks, and Arabs from Egypt, Arabia and Syria. The Mappila were numerous in Ponnani, Pantalayini Kollam, Dharmapatan and Cananor. In Cochin and Calicut there were also some elements originating from the Far East who were certainly descended from the Chinese Muslims who had participated in the expedition of Zheng He (p. 18).
- 73 On this question see Jorge Manuel Flores, "Malabar," *Dicionário de História dos Descobrimientos Portugueses*, cit., vol. II, p. 655; see Zinadim, *História dos Portugueses no Malabar, Manuscrito Árabe do Século XVI*, published and translated by David Lopes, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, 1898.
- 74 *Memórias de um Soldado da Índia*, compiled from a Portuguese manuscript in the British Museum by A. de S. S. Costa Lobo, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1987, p. 60.
- 75 ARSI, *Goa 64*, p. 13.
- 76 António Bocarro, *Livro das Plantas*, cit., p. 190. The obstacles found in the 16th century were the same as those of the 17th century. The missionaries frequently accused the Samorin of Cochin of persecuting them, and they regularly reported instability in the area, where the Portuguese did not have dominion, and the persecution of Christians. ARSI, *Goa 16*, p. 5-6; *Goa 17*, p. 54-55; *Goa 51*, p. 300-301.
- 77 BNL, *Cod. 299*, fl. 78v. According to this codex the number of Christians was composed of about two thousand honest men and about twenty-five poor people. As we have already affirmed, it is believed that the first Christians in Malabar belonged to the humble and poorer classes. The same did not happen in Goa.
- 78 D. Ferroli, *The Jesuits in Malabar*, Bangalore, 1939.
- 79 Father António Lourenço Farinha, *A Expansão da Fé no Oriente (Subsídios Para a sua História Colonial)*, Lisboa, Agência Geral das Colónias, 1943, pp. 211-213.
- 80 Jean Delemeau, *Nascimento e Afirmação da Reforma*, S. Paulo, Pioneira, 1989, p. 162.
- 81 Fernando Prieto, *Historia de las Ideas y de las Formas Políticas, Vol. III: Edad Moderna, (1. Renacimiento y Barroco)*, Madrid, Unión Editorial, 1993, p. 327.
- 82 J. S. Sebastião da Silva Dias, *Correntes de Sentimento Religioso em Portugal (Séc. XVI-XVII)*, 2 vols., Coimbra, Ed. Universidade de Coimbra, 1960, p. 168.
- 83 Fernando Prieto, *Historia de las Ideas*, cit., p. 327.
- 84 The Jesuits are distanced from this order in many aspects, such as in the abandonment of the choir service in order to allow more free time for external apostleship. Women were excluded on the basis that they had less capacity for the apostolic life, limiting them to internal freedom for the service of the apostleship. They gave special emphasis on an interior liberation to place themselves at the service of others. On this question see Teotónio de Souza, "Freedom for service: individually guided retreats," *Ignis*, vol. 16, no. 101, 1987.
- 85 Dauril Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise. The Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire, and Beyond 1540-1750*, vol. I, California, Stanford University Press, 1996, pp. 8-10.
- 86 Eduardo Lourenço, "Portugal e os Jesuítas," *Oceanos*, no. 12, Lisboa, Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimientos Portugueses, 1992, p. 47. On this question see René Fulop-Miller, *Les Jésuites et le secret de leur puissance. Histoire de la Compagnie de Jesus. Son rôle dans l'Histoire de la Civilisation*, Paris, Plon, 1933.

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- 87 J. S. da Silva Dias, *Correntes de Sentimento Religioso*, cit., t. I, p. 641. See Joaquim Lavajo, "Os Jesuítas e as Missões no Alentejo no Século XVI," *Separata in the Boletim Igreja Eboense*, no. 15, 1991; Joaquim Lavajo, "O Cardeal D. Henrique e a formação do Clero de Évora," *Separata in the minutes of the Congresso de História do IV Centenário do Seminário de Évora*, Évora, 1994.
- 88 Pierre Chaunu, *Église, culture et société. Essais sur Réforme et Contre-Réforme 1517-1620*, Paris, C.D.U./SEDES, 1981, p. 398. Herman Tuchle and others, *Nouvelle Histoire de l'Église*, vol. 3, Paris, Ed. du Seuil, 1968, pp. 157-162.
- 89 Dauril Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, cit., pp. 34-35. About the creation of the schools and increase in the number of Jesuits see Francisco Rodrigues, S. J., *História da Companhia de Jesus na Assistência de Portugal*, 7 vols., Porto, Livraria Apostolado da Imprensa, 1931-1950.
- 90 Dauril Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, cit., vol. I, p. 35. Based on reading alone, we get the idea that initially its founders and some members were from the aristocracy, but we also know that reference to social group is only made when it concerns an outstanding figure. Later on, and in the case of India, it can frequently be read that careful selection should be made of the members and that the ingress of soldiers should be prohibited because there were many who sought out the Society of Jesus as a way of escaping poverty and war. From this fact, we conclude that men belonging to the most diverse social strata were admitted. BFUP, vol. III, no. 8-10, no. 64, vol. 2, vol. 5 to 7, no. 74. The last document indicates that in 1630 about 120 brethren had already entered the monasteries and another 300 were ready to do so, these latter being soldiers. Indeed the Jesuits seemed pleased to admit soldiers into their order or to have them close by their side, for they immediately tried to create a brotherhood of soldiers. This objective was never attained due to the opposition of the Holy House of Mercy of Goa.
- 91 T. V. Cohen, "Why the Jesuits Joined, 1540-1600," *Canadian Historical Association*, Historical Papers, 1974, Toronto, 1974 (study quoted by Dauril Alden, p. 37).
- 92 The acceptance of Christian converts did not please Cardinal Dom Henrique, proven by the two inquiries that he ordered into the subject. The delay in opening the college in Évora seems to indicate the low esteem in which he held the Society of Jesus. On this question see J. S. da Silva Dias, *Correntes do Sentimento Religioso em Portugal*, cit., t. I, p. 175.
- 93 All the information was taken from Dauril Alden's work, pp. 255-259. Although it is not his research; he had recourse to some articles on the matter. A catalogue supplied by the same author shows us something different regarding the supremacy of the Jesuits from Europe: although being a specific situation, the catalogue for 1584 indicates 14.6 percent of the Jesuits serving in the *Estado da Índia* and in Japan as having been born in the Empire. This information is published by J. Wicki in *Documenta Índica*, vol. XIII, pp. 601-658.
- 94 As an example, we quote an extract from one of these inquiries made at the request of the Society of Jesus written in 1583: "Senhor Gonçalo Fernandes of the Society of Jesus, proctor of the priests of the parts of Cape Comorin, informs your grace that it is necessary that the said priests, for the greater glory of God, derive an instrument to show in Portugal and any other place that be inconvenient [should read convenient], as they have done since the year fifteen hundred and forty-two, in which Father Francis Xavier came to these parts, up till now, the priests of the society have had in their care the conversion and guidance of Christendom on this fishing [coast] from Cape Comorin as far as the Isle of Mannar, which must be fifty leagues more or less, and the houses and churches that have been established here, and in such a way that they can finally sustain all the many things in the following articles. Therefore we beseech your grace to examine the witnesses who are presented here in the said articles for this purpose, and by your order instruct them to convey by written deed, upon their honour". J. Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, vol. XII, 1972, pp. 753-816.
- 95 José Marques, "Da situação religiosa de Portugal nos finais do século XV à missão do Brasil," *Revista de História*, vol. XI, Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, Centro de História da Universidade do Porto, Porto, 1991, pp. 50-51.
- 96 William Bangert, *História da Companhia de Jesus*, Porto, Livraria A. I. S. Paulo/Edições Loyola, 1985, p. 20.
- 97 *Ibidem*, p. 35.
- 98 Inacio Iparraguirre S. J., "Espiritualidade Apostolica de S. Francisco Javier," *Manresa*, vol. 24, no. 90, Madrid, 1952, p. 281.
- 99 Sancti Ignatii Loyola, *Constitutiones Societatis Jesu*, Tomus Secundus, Textus Hispanus, Series Tertia, Rome, Monumenta Ignatiana, 1936, p. 7.
- 100 Francisco Rodrigues, *História da Companhia de Jesus na Assistência de Portugal*, cit., vol. III, p. 518.
- 101 *Ibidem*, p. 519.
- 102 António da Silva Rego (ed.), *Documentação*, cit., vol. V, p. 156.
- 103 J. Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, cit., vol. XIII, 1972, pp. 187-688.
- 104 J. Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, cit., vol. XVII, 1988, p. 137.
- 105 British Museum *Add 9852*, published by António da Silva Rego, *Documentação*, cit., 1958, pp. 613-629.
- 106 J. Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, cit., vol. XVII, p. 157.
- 107 As examples, the following situations are mentioned: in 1588 the Society of Jesus was prohibited from receiving gifts offered to the State, but instead they were allowed 2,000 *pardaus* a year. After they complained that the amount was inferior to the value of the gift, the monarch authorized them to receive the donation again. – *Arquivo Portuguez-Oriental*, ed. J. H. da Cunha Rivara, vol. III, Nova Goa, Reed Asian Educational Services, pp. 113 and 441. In 1589, despite being informed of the dealings in goods that the society undertook and on the innumerable assets that it held, the king ordered that good payments always be made. *Ibidem*, vol. 3, p. 180. In 1591 all orders are forbidden to acquire more property. *Ibidem*, vol. 5, T. III, p. 1280-1281, vol. 6, p. 760, vol. 3, p. 593.
- 108 C. R. Boxer, *A Índia Portuguesa em Meados do Século XVII*, Lisboa, Ed. 70, p. 11.
- 109 The situation referred to in Évora. ANTT, *Mss da Livraria*, no. 690, fl. 215.
- 110 F. Charmot, S. J., *La pédagogie des Jésuites: Ses principes, son actualité*, Paris, Editions SPES, 1951, p. 29. On this question see *Características da Educação da Companhia de Jesus*, Lisboa, Gracos, 1987.
- 111 Francisco Rodrigues, *História da Companhia de Jesus na Assistência de Portugal*, cit, vol. III, p. 104; F. Charmot, S. J., *La pédagogie des Jésuites*, cit., p. 40; BNL *Cod.1528*, p. 70-76v.; BNL *Res 985P*, pp. 4-5.
- 112 F. Charmot, S. J., *La pédagogie des Jésuites*, cit., p. 41.
- 113 *Documenta Indica*, cit., vol. XVIII, pp. 811-826. Regimento do Colégio da Santa Fé.
- 114 In the Province of Goa the Society of Jesus came to have ten colleges and three seminaries in Goa, Agra, Bassein, Chaul, Damao, Diu, Rachol, Thana and Mozambique. In the Province of Malabar there were eight colleges and two seminaries in Ambalacata, Bengal, Cochim, Manganapatan, Mylapor, Manapar, Pegu, Travancor, and Vayapuru. They had establishments of learning in Salcete, Vaipicota, Tuticorin and Malacca. In 1594, at the College of St. Paul in Goa, there were more than seven hundred students, including boys from the elementary schools. Francisco Rodrigues, *História da Companhia de Jesus na Assistência de Portugal*, cit., t. I, vol. I, pp. 166-167, 169. See note 76 on p. 38.
- 115 J. Velinkar, "Jesuit Educational Style in Sixteenth Century Goa," *3º Seminário Internacional de História Indo-Portuguesa*, 1983.