





# *Tempestatem, Quae cum Adventuro D. Francisco Pallu Timero Potest*

Jean-Baptiste Maldonado SJ, a Missionary Caught Between Loyalties  
to the Portuguese Padroado and the Political Ascendancy  
of the Missions Étrangères de Paris in the Siam Mission

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## INTRODUCTION

A French-speaking Fleming from Mons, whose family infiltrated a number of religious institutions, Jean-Baptiste Maldonado (1634-1699) may nevertheless have been the progeny of Spanish Marrano emigrants to the Low Countries in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Maldonado seems to have been a name appearing in Spanish records for some Jews who converted after the expulsion in 1492 and came back to their property with the hope of starting a new life.<sup>1</sup> Later a Professor of Poetry and Rhetoric in northern France and Belgium, as early as 1655 Maldonado expressed his desire to serve the downtrodden in the Indies.<sup>2</sup> Offering the General of the Jesuit Order his name as a companion for Giovanni Filippo Marini SJ<sup>3</sup> into the Japanese province 'in exile' in 1663, Maldonado ended up spending the last twenty-six years of his working life amongst primarily Portuguese Jesuits in the Residence founded by that order in Ayutthaya.<sup>4</sup> While there are important books from Jesuits such as Tachard, Bouvet, Bèze and Le Blanc on Ayutthaya in this period, the numerous and substantial letters of Jean-Baptiste Maldonado, although published a

hundred years ago, have not been translated from Latin, nor sufficiently analysed.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, the Jesuit is frequently confused, with both the Dominican Juan Maldonado, who died off Cochinchina in 1599, and on other occasions with his compatriot Father Antoine Thomas SJ<sup>6</sup> from Namur.<sup>7</sup> Others have mistakenly considered Maldonado Portuguese.<sup>8</sup>

The purpose, then, of this paper is threefold: to elucidate Maldonado's role in this important Portuguese-speaking religious community on sensitive issues such as the Oath of Loyalty demanded by the Holy See from 1680; what light his biography can shed on the functioning of St. Paul's College in Macao, at which he spent two important episodes of his life; and, as a prodigious letter-writer, Maldonado's personal response to a very dynamic period in Siamese history. Early conclusions suggest that Maldonado was neither a vigorous church builder like Tommaso Valguarnera,<sup>9</sup> the founder of the first permanent Jesuit Residence in Ayutthaya some time after 1656, nor a charismatic *anunciador* bearing the Good News to new mission-fields and rewarded with between 27,000-30,000 baptisms like António de Rozário in Bengal. Rather, Maldonado might be considered the type of clergy

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'Iudia ou Siam', in *Description de L'Univers*  
by Alain M. Mallet (Paris, 1685).







## HISTORIOGRAPHY

happier to work within pre-established structures, coming to constitute the bedrock of a given Residence after decades of faithful service.<sup>10</sup> He was, moreover, a prescient pragmatist, who led the Jesuit order away from conflicts with other orders, primarily the predominantly French Propaganda Fide-backed Missions Étrangères de Paris (MEP), and won the warm and lasting affection of the Siamese King Narai, escaping the worst of the indignities heaped upon Europeans who attempted to stay in Siam and weather the storm that was the 'National Revolution' of 1688. There is one great lacuna in Maldonado's life, which keeps us guessing: what Jean Burnay considers the 'mysterious' voyage he made to Macao on behalf of the King of Siam, departing 21 July 1684, which kept him away for up to three years.<sup>11</sup> Otherwise, Maldonado remained a solid presence in the Jesuit residence in Ayutthaya right up to the tail-spin at the end of his life, which forced him to leave Siam in 1691 on an arduous crusade across many different lands in a bid to clear his name.

## MALDONADO AND THE CHINA MISSION

Having been ordained in Douai in 1665, Maldonado was already an old candidate for the missions in the Orient. The historian Ugo Baldini explains how candidates from the 26-27 age bracket were preferred, as they had to set aside further years of study for the mastery of Asian languages and thirty year-olds were considered too old to begin missionary work.<sup>12</sup> He nevertheless managed to convince his superiors, and set sail from Lisbon on 13 April 1666, spending three months in Goa before sailing on, via Batavia where he stayed a month, to Macao, where he arrived on 29 July 1667.<sup>13</sup> His stay in Batavia was eventful, as Maldonado became embroiled in the ongoing controversy regarding the Catholic renegade to Calvinism, João Ferreira de Almeida, who from 1663 exercised his ministry at the head of the Protestant Portuguese community of Batavia and who wrote various tracts explaining the decisions for his conversion. Various Catholics fought back with their pen, like the Reverend Father Hieronymo de Siqueira, author of *Carta apologetica em defensão da Religião Catholica Romana contra João Ferreira de Almeida*,

*Presidente da secta Calvinista feita em Bengulla* (1670). Maldonado seems to have written two texts in the short time he was at Batavia denouncing the doctrines of Ferreira de Almeida. The first was in French, and the second translated from Latin into Portuguese by Maldonado's Dominican travel companion Friar Manuel de Santa Teresa as *Dialogo Rustico e Pastoril, entre o Cura de hua aldeia e hum Pastor de overlhas, tocante o verdadeiro, puro e legitimo modo de como o Deus nosso Senhor havemos de server, e assi infalivelmente conseguir, e deaçar a vida, gloria e bemaventurança eternal. Compreendendo as razoes do muy Reverendo e Docto Padre João Bautista Maldonado, Religioso professo da Companhia de Jesus, e Missionario Apostolico, contra as de João Ferreira A. D'Almeida, Ministro ou Predicante Calvinista* (Batavia, c. 1700).<sup>14</sup> Such texts immediately brought Maldonado to the attention of the Dutch Governor General Joan Maetsuycker, who retaliated by expelling Maldonado and his colleagues summarily from the city.

Maldonado moved on to Macao, where he spent the next few years editing the *cartas annuas* for the Province of Japan in 1668, 1670 and 1672.<sup>15</sup> In one of his letters, dated 10 December 1671, he comments on the return of the Manuel de Saldanha mission from Peking to Macao, a mission which had attempted to broker a relaxation of the Manchu strangle-hold over Macao and its trading activities following what the historian Charles Boxer has summed up as 'years of crisis'.<sup>16</sup> While the historian Jean Burnay advances the date of 1673 for Maldonado's move to Siam, he was writing letters on 'l'État politique de la Chine' as late as 24 April 1675, suggesting he may still have been in Macao.<sup>17</sup> An unlikely party to take an interest in the Chinese Confucian rites controversy, the Archbishop of Cambrai may well have been inspired by letters on the topic sent from Maldonado to his brother working under the Archbishop. Maldonado may have been one of those many missionaries who could only dream of entering China, that 'dessert' (*postre*) as Friar Pedro de Ayaro called it, of any missionary career.<sup>18</sup> In 1686, the influential Jesuit at the Celestial court, Ferdinand Verbiest,<sup>19</sup> complained to the General about the long-standing practice of the Province of Japan of deliberately retaining missionaries in Macao sent from Europe specifically for the China enterprise, suggesting that the Vice-Province of China be raised to a full province so as to counteract this deliberately political ploy to

Detail of a map of the Kingdoms of Siam, Tunquin, Pegu, Ava Aracan. in Bellin's *Le Petit Atlas Maritime* (1764).

## HISTORIOGRAFIA

minimise the activity and importance of the China mission-field.<sup>20</sup> Instead, Maldonado, like many others, was sent to secondary mission-fields like Ayutthaya.

While one of Maldonado's biographers unfairly considers this a disappointing posting, writing of 'la árida cristiandad de Siam', the kingdom could boast an established and important Residence since 1656 and was in many ways a magnet in the 'Sinic archipelago'.<sup>21</sup> The Jesuits were the main Christian presence in Ayutthaya in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and an integral part of the interface between the Siamese court and the substantial European presence in that river-state. Jesuit superiors were on occasion headmen of the Portuguese *bandel*, or settlement, and the clergy on occasion served as translators to the King, doctors to members of the royal family, and civil engineers busy with waterworks and improving the fortifications of the city. They established a college, the College of São Salvador in 1656, ministered to the needy in both prisons and on the battle-field, and, following the model of Pedro Claver, manumitted slaves and those

trapped in debt.<sup>22</sup> Although challenged by the Missions Étrangères de Paris, who established their base in the same city from 1662, and who ultimately persuaded the authorities in Rome to invest greater authority in their Vicars Apostolic, the Jesuits continued to benefit from both the Portuguese and French king's favour and survive the events that constituted the Siamese 'national revolution' of 1688 more easily.<sup>23</sup> From 1656 the Jesuits, unlike other orders, constituted a fixed mission in Siam, under the inspiring direction of Tommaso Valguarnera, head of the church in Siam on two separate occasions (1654-1671, 1675-1677).<sup>24</sup> The Jesuit Residence and College came to attract 'floating clergy' from across the 'Sinic archipelago', proving a valuable way station en route to the highly prized China mission-field.<sup>25</sup> Individuals made their way from as far afield as Macao to receive 'holy orders' for the priesthood in Siam, whilst failing missions such as that in Cochinchina in the mid-1660s bailed out to take refuge in Siam.<sup>26</sup>

The second chapter of Maldonado's engagement with the China mission revolves around the 'mysterious' mission of 1684. This was mysterious, given that

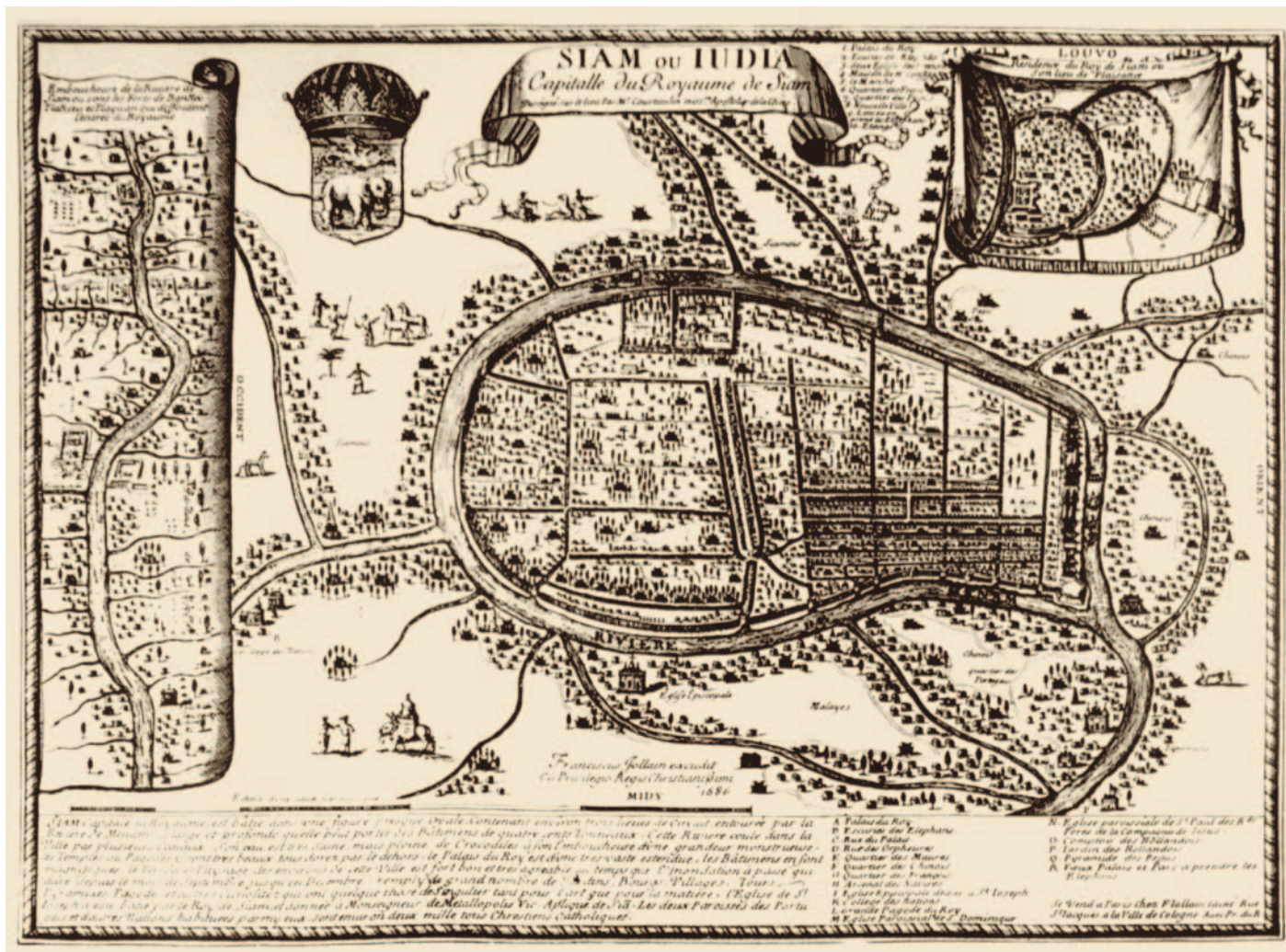
in the key letter sent the day prior to his departure, Maldonado refers only to 'matters [previously] mentioned' (*pro expedienis quibusdam negotiis*).<sup>27</sup> It might be assumed that Maldonado was transported with the returning Lopes Vaz de Siqueira mission following his diplomatic visit to Ayutthaya.<sup>28</sup> Certainly, the dates would seem to coincide: Pero Vaz de Siqueira was writing letters from Siam on 24 June 1684,<sup>29</sup> and once again, this time from Macao, on 18 November 1684.<sup>30</sup> Maldonado's 1684 voyage, however, unlike Siqueira's, did not arrive at its destination; it was thrown onto the coast of Cochinchina as a result

Siamese embassy to Louis XIV in 1686, by Nicolas III de Larmessin.





## HISTORIOGRAPHY



Map of Ayutthaya by Jean de Courtalin de Maguillon, 1686.

of bad weather, as happened on another occasion to Fontaney, Bouvet, Visdelou and Gerbillon in July 1686.<sup>31</sup> This may then have been one of the ships returning in Siqueira's fleet; in his Macanese letter of 18 November, Siqueira explains how he had also wanted to go to Cochinchina on a 'second Embassy' as per his orders, but that he missed the monsoon. However, Siqueira speaks of no lost ships and on his journey into Siam appears to have travelled in a solitary vessel.<sup>32</sup>

D. Mauricio thinks that Maldonado was dispatched to negotiate with the Chinese authorities, and was sent as a Siamese ambassador as far as the court at Peking between 1685-1687.<sup>33</sup> Certainly, Maldonado's letter of 20 July 1684 dwells largely on recent embassies to the Chinese emperor. D. Mauricio's implicit supposition is that the Siamese king was keen to

emulate the Celestial Emperor, inviting a team of Jesuit scientists to construct an Astronomical Academy similar to that set up in Peking. They arrived in the Kingdom on 27 September 1687 and were accommodated in the Jesuit Residence in Lopburi. Maldonado, moreover, is described by the historian Vongsuravatana as an 'enthusiastic collaborator of the Jesuit mathematicians from France'.<sup>34</sup> However, it remains a fact that Maldonado did not accompany the mathematician and his good friend Antoine Thomas on the first leg of the journey to China, since the latter was already writing letters from Macao dated 27 February 1684, nor on the second leg, which was led by Claudio Filippo Grimaldi SJ,<sup>35</sup> who arrived in Macao on 15 August 1685 to lead Thomas' party to Peking and which does not name individual members of the party.<sup>36</sup> In any case, we have a

## HISTORIOGRAFIA

letter from Maldonado from Macao dated 4 November 1685, and we know that Antoine Thomas arrived in Peking on 8 November.<sup>37</sup> Diplomatic journeys between the two cities lasted six months in the case of Manuel de Saldanha in 1670, and four months in the case of the Goyer-De Keyser embassy of 1656, so there is no chance Maldonado went with Thomas's party.<sup>38</sup>

Another possibility is that Maldonado travelled to Macao with the Franciscan Bishop Bernardino della Chiesa, who fulfilled his original plan to go to China by persuading the Siamese king to provide him with money, clothes, food and even transportation.<sup>39</sup> But again the dates do not quite coincide: Della Chiesa's ship landed in Canton on 27 August 1684, and did not stop in Cochinchina.<sup>40</sup> Another letter details the party that travelled with Della Chiesa, specifically Fathers da Lionessa and Nicolai.<sup>41</sup>

Most likely however, Maldonado travelled in a 'boat of that realm (Siam)' captained by one Joseph Cardoso, known to Della Chiesa and his companion Basilio Brollo da Gemona. He was reported to have left Siam the year prior to a letter Brollo sent to the Cardinals of the Sacred Congregation dated 6 October 1685, but 'through misadventure carried on to the Cochinchinese coast, where he was forced to spend the winter'. The rest of the letter dwells on the abuses recorded in the administration of the sacraments by a certain 'M. Goussaint' (almost certainly M. Toussaint Ferét MEP) ministering in the port of Fumoy, who apparently took money for absolutions.<sup>42</sup>

This is the best course that we can plot regarding Maldonado's 'mysterious' mission to China. We know, however, that he was back in Ayutthaya by the time of the Jesuit astronomers' visit to Ayutthaya in September 1687.<sup>43</sup>

## THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

In the Ayutthayan mission, alongside prosaic tasks like delivering marriage certificates, Maldonado helped filter manuscripts that his *confrères* in the China mission-field wanted to see published back home in Europe through the relevant channels and into departing vessels.<sup>44</sup> He kept contacts with the most reliable letter-deliverers in the VOC at Batavia, like the preacher Theodorus Sas.<sup>45</sup> His network of informants was massive, and kept him abreast of affairs in China and the conflicts between the orders there.<sup>46</sup> Otherwise,

he prepared the ground for Constantine Phaulkon's 'abjuration' of Protestantism, which was actually carried out by his fellow Belgian Father Antoine Thomas on 2 May 1682, and remained on good terms with King Narai's favourite.<sup>47</sup> Tachard wrote that 'he [Phaulkon] always had much sympathy' towards Maldonado.<sup>48</sup> It is through Maldonado's letters that a lot is known about this man and his origins, including his father's name, Gerakis, and Maldonado remained sufficiently close to him throughout the stormy events of 1688 to understand his overtures to the French and the limits to his strategy.<sup>49</sup>

Scholars such as Vongsuravatana call him the 'lynchpin' (*cheville ouvrière*) of the mission in this period, at a time when the other established Jesuit in Ayutthaya, Emmanuel Suarez (or Soares), following Valguarnera's death named the Superior of the Residence and an old hand who had spent more than thirty years of his life in Siam from the time of the Makassar diaspora, was increasingly 'enfeebled' (*affaibli*). Soares, for example, simply followed Maldonado's lead on the controversial political relationship with the MEP, one of the very first to agree to the Oath of Loyalty, a signed oath with respect to 'all the orders that are proclaimed by the Holy Congregation in Rome', an instruction from the Holy See issued in 1680.<sup>50</sup> A number of contemporary observers actually refer to Maldonado as the Superior of the Jesuit mission, reflecting the *de facto* distribution of power rather than its letter.<sup>51</sup>

Maldonado also won the good favour of the Siamese King Narai, with whom he seems to have formed a filial relationship. Like his Belgian *confrère*, Antoine Thomas, who assiduously studied 'the Talapoin sect' during his stay in Ayutthaya between September 1681 and some time in late 1682, Maldonado seems to have appreciated the wisdom in accommodating to the political establishment in Siam rather than following the belligerent injunctions of other contemporary church authors like Father Paulo da Trindade, who called for a 'most fierce' spiritual war on 'Oriental idolatry' so as to 'despoil it of its raiments and rich jewels, wreck many of its houses, prohibit its feasts, stop its ceremonies, banish its priests, deprive them of their vast income, and deliver them from their power many thousands of souls'.<sup>52</sup> He was enough of a realist to chastise Bénigne Vachet MEP for having encouraged the French court to believe in Narai's conversion.<sup>53</sup> In the proceedings of a reception in 'Levau' (Lopburi), for

## HISTORIOGRAPHY

example, Maldonado was given a large, golden crucifix 'in recognition of the good services that he had rendered [the King] the previous year in Macao'.<sup>54</sup>

But entering the 1680s, the political circumstances surrounding the Jesuit presence in Ayutthaya became more complicated. Maldonado himself fell under scrutiny concerning his loyalty to the *Padroado*, the 'Crown Patronage' or international jurisdictional primacy attributed the Portuguese Crown over territories conceded it by the papacy in an agreement hammered out through a series of papal bulls issued between 1452 and 1514.<sup>55</sup> At first, Maldonado had proven very loyal to the Portuguese and a strong support to his old *confrère* Manuel Soares.<sup>56</sup> Maldonado's early historical work *Palmae Valentinae, seu valentiana victrius armis philippi quart Regis catholic, joannis austriaci felicibus auspiciis ab obsidione gallorum liberate*, published by J. Boucher in 1660, was essentially an apologia for the remarkable victory of the Spanish army led by Juan José de Austria and Louis II of Bourbon over the French forces besieging the city.<sup>57</sup> Maldonado's early friend, Jean de Haynin<sup>58</sup>, described him in 1675 as 'horrendus hostis Gallorum', a terrible enemy of the French, and in the letter of 16 November 1681, it can be seen that Maldonado was actively contemplating 'the measures needed to keep the tempest that the prospective visit of Father Pallu represents at arms' length' (*tempestatem, quae cum adventuro D. Francisco Pallu timeri potest*).<sup>59</sup> In 1682 he wrote to Charles de Noyelle,<sup>60</sup> who had succeeded Oliva as Superior of the Jesuit Order, '*Aspera sunt tempora*' (the times are harsh). Here we are actively caught between the hammer and the anvil, assailed on one side by the decrees of the Sacred Congregation, and on the other by the edicts of Portugal'.<sup>61</sup> Maldonado here shows that he was fully aware of political developments back home in Europe, and the instruction given by the General of the Jesuit Order, G. P. Oliva<sup>62</sup> on 26 June 1680 that the Society preach the said 'sermon' of obedience as stipulated from Rome on 29 January 1680. However, like Marcel Le Blanc,<sup>63</sup> Maldonado must have found it very difficult to deal with this threat from fellow Frenchmen.<sup>64</sup>

The flashpoint issue in the subsequent unrolling of events was Maldonado's decision to sign the oath of allegiance, given the way the winds of fortune were blowing around 1681. This was a signed document of 10 October 1681, although historians rely on letters from Constantine Phaulkon in 1684 and Louis Laneau

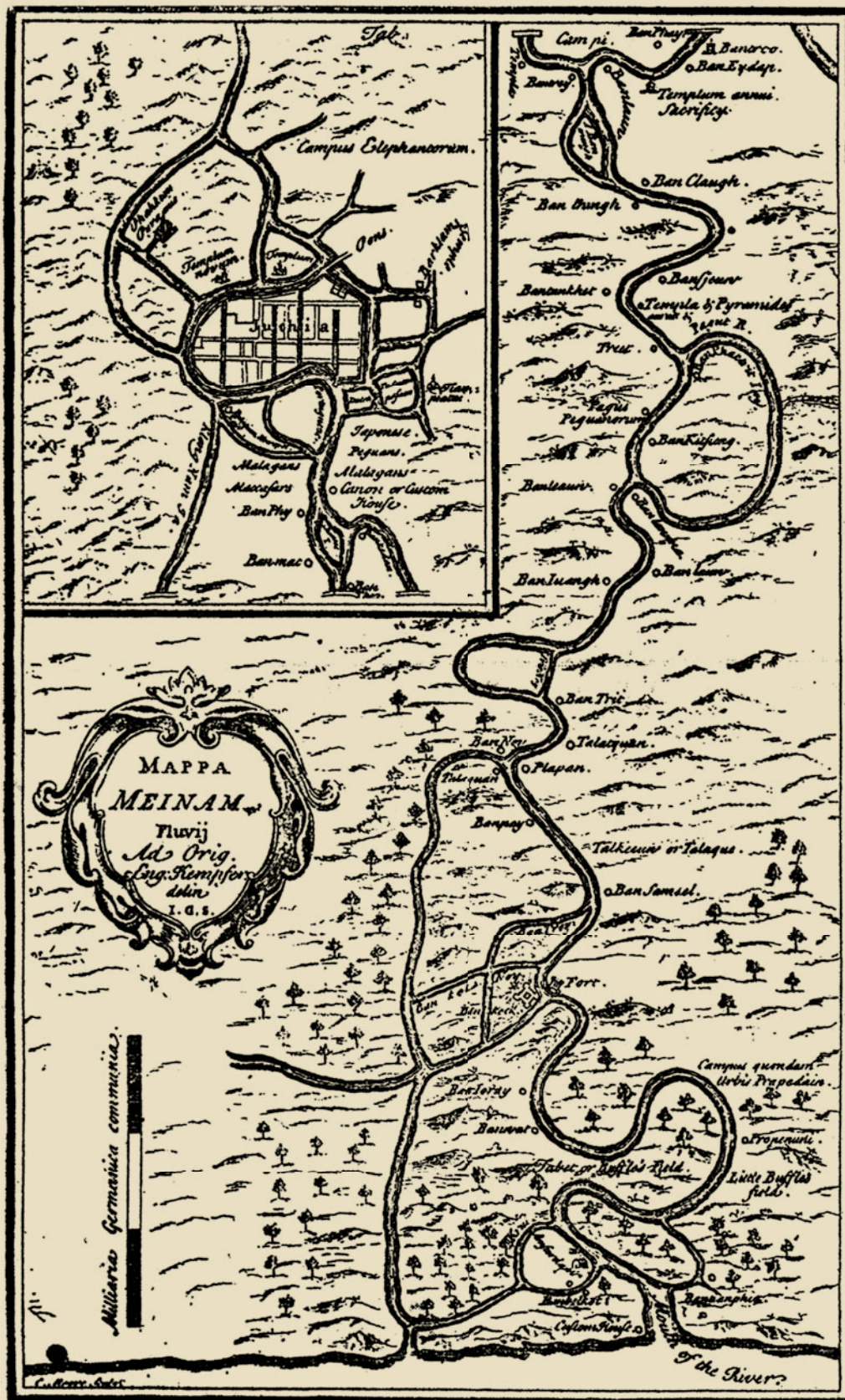
in 1685 to testify to the fact that this oath was formally taken.<sup>65</sup> A fuller version of the oath (*Formula Juramenti*) was included in Constantine Phaulkon's letter of 1688 together with a 'Brief Abstract of the Essential Terms of the Oath'; it can be consulted in the Centre des Archives Diplomatiques de la Courneuve in France.<sup>66</sup> A number of problems continue to surround this document, however. Firstly, it discredits existing historical opinion that the text of the oath was only brought by Bishop François Pallu on his third visit to Siam in July 1682.<sup>67</sup> Secondly, there is the lingering resistance to the French Apostolic Vicars from within Jesuit ranks in Siam. From the original signed document of 1681 we can appreciate that this concession was not a lone decision on the part of Maldonado: the deed was co-signed by his colleague Suarez, Antoine Thomas and Dominicus Alvarez. We know from another source that 'Thomas ... spared nothing to persuade Mgr. de Metellopolis (i.e. Louis Laneau) to write to the Holy See to say that he was satisfied with the obedience of the Fathers' following this declaration.<sup>68</sup> It seems the community of Siamese Jesuits wanted to pre-empt Pallu's arrival and openly assert their cooperation, rather than resistance. It is unlikely, but also possible that although the document reproduced here held 'beta' status, an acknowledgement or ratification from a higher authority was still needed. In any case, the 1681 oath as signed by the Jesuits was followed shortly afterwards by a similar statement from some members of the Franciscan order, who issued a carefully worded *Serment de Fidélité aux Vicaires Apostoliques* to their followers.<sup>69</sup> In this dispute, the Dominicans in Siam also deferred to the lead taken by the Jesuits there. As Bèze writes:

By asking the Jesuits to take the oath of allegiance [to the French Vicars] in priority to them ... they added it was only right and proper for the Jesuits to lead the way by reason of the influence they enjoyed both in court circles and with the masses, as this influence rendered them better able both to gain approval for those who took the oath and to obtain remission of the threatened sanctions.<sup>70</sup>

Although the oath had been signed, the Franciscan Giovan Battista Morelli reported that 'all in all twenty-four [clergy] abstained from swearing the oath and abandoned all their daily tasks of being missionaries', most likely in response to the Viceroy Távora's letter of 28 April 1682 from Goa ordering all priests that fell



## HISTORIOGRAFIA



## HISTORIOGRAPHY

under Padroado jurisdiction not to preach the sermon of obedience.<sup>71</sup> In light of Távora's letter, Maldonado felt obliged to renounce the Oath in a personal letter to Father Pallu bearing five carefully stipulated points. These were:

1. We have been prevented by the Prince of Portugal, since he defends his Crown Patronage in these mission fields of the Orient from the Pope, from obeying external bishops, and those who are opposed to them have announced very great penalties; to be sure, the loss of goods, and the infamous reputation of rebels.
2. [Thus] it suits us in the Portuguese colony, that the Portuguese prefect should govern alongside the Episcopal Bishop of Malacca, actually resident here according to the will of the King of Siam, in accordance with a safe pass.
3. The laws of the Kingdom of Siam hold that one nation alone should not dominate over another.
4. There would be a great tumult and scandal, if in that Portuguese colony one individual were to rise up against another, and if the people saw that, namely that there was resistance to he who is publicly considered Pro-Bishop, having read his letters [decrees].
5. Your Illustrious Lordship can easily imagine the very great disturbance to people's consciences if that were to happen. Having described this, we proclaim in the presence of God, that we have always been and always will be most obedient to the Holy See. In fact, as regards the actual situation, it seems to be clearly necessary to ask Your illustrious Lordship to delay the execution of what is to be decreed until the reasons given are noted by the Supreme Pontifex, the most just judge of all, at whose feet we prostrate ourselves most humbly.<sup>72</sup>

On 21 and 31 December 1684 Mgr. Della Chiesa advised Rome that he would dispense with the controversial 'sermon' in order to avoid the ruin of the China mission, and permitted those priests who refused to swear the Oath of Allegiance the right to continue with their priestly ministry.<sup>73</sup> Some members of the Jesuit community continued to hold out for more while the row as to who possessed authority over the

mission-fields of the Orient continued to rumble. As late as 1685, as reported by Bouvet, the Jesuits held on to the contradictions implicit in what Silva Rego has called the problem of 'double jurisdiction' (*dupla jurisdição*) arguing that: 'although they recognised the authority of the Vicars Apostolic over other nations, they were in this case exempt from their jurisdiction and dependent only on the Bishop of Malacca and the Archbishop of Goa, as they always have been'.<sup>74</sup>

On Maldonado's return from Macao around 1687, however, Portuguese voices started to demand his resignation because of his perceived act of treachery.<sup>75</sup> The issue of Maldonado's loyalties came to a head when, with the acquiescence of Soares, Maldonado refused a lay priest, Friar Sylvestre, the opportunity of proclaiming in church 'a regulation of the Inquisition in Goa'. Sylvestre complained to Goa and Goa put pressure on Macao to recall these two priests.<sup>76</sup> We would do well to recall how sensitive the archbishopric in Goa must have felt on the topic of Padroado priests conniving with the French in the wake of the humiliating Matteo de Castro affair, whereby a Goan prelate had accepted the Vicariate of Idalcan in 1637—a terrible case of biting the hand that had hitherto fed this particular priest.<sup>77</sup> At any rate, the Viceroy and the Inquisition ended up issuing a ban dated 22 August 1691 summoning Maldonado for trial in Goa.

Sylvestre was not the only Padroado diehard remonstrating in Ayutthaya against the compliant members of the Jesuit and Dominican orders there. One Augustinian by the name of Pedro Martyr seems to have been both particularly confrontational and ambitious. Once appointed 'Vicar and Commissioner of the Sacred Office for the Portuguese', he wrote a letter to Père de la Chaise, the Sun King Louis XIV's confessor, complaining of the 'perverse and unprincipled new missionaries (i.e. the MEP), who are the cause of 4,000-5,000 abstentions from the Sacraments'.<sup>78</sup> Martyr took the oath of submission from Laneau's hand, but then retracted it, arguing that 'he was intimidated into taking it', for which Laneau suspended him 'with penalties to be incurred for violating [that suspension]'.<sup>79</sup> From this correspondence, we learn that the Dominicans, who had previously taken the Jesuit side of things with respect to the Oath of Submission, now started to denounce their Jesuit co-religionists. The Jesuits were unable to go about their business, such as burying the deceased Luiz Madre de Deus, a Philippine Franciscan originally from

Map of Menam River by Engelbert Kaempfer, *History of Japan*, 1728.



ILLUSTRE  
CERTAMEN  
R. P. JOANNIS  
DE BRITTO  
E SOCIETATE JESU  
LUSITANI,

In odium Fidei à Regulo Maravâ  
trucidati,

Quartâ die Februarij 1693.

Autore R. P. JOANNE BAPTISTA  
DE MALDONADO, Societatis JESU.



ANTVERPIÆ,  
Apud PETRUM JOURET, in plateâ dictâ de Melck-Marckt, sub signo  
trium Monachorum. Anno 1697.

## HISTORIOGRAPHY

Spain who had been working at the French College since 1670, but also won fame as a medical specialist whom the King of Cambodia was keen to appropriate. He died after being brought in chains by ship to the capital during the court revolution, where he was imprisoned, and expired following mistreatment on 23 September 1689.<sup>80</sup> In his letter, Laneau was sympathetic to the Jesuit predicament, but Maldonado was helped more by being kept informed of developments in Goa and at Rome via friends in Goa, a *confrère* in China and by Bernardino Della Chiesa, Bishop of Argolis, whom he got to know during this Franciscan's passage through Siam in the period 1682-1684.<sup>81</sup>

Following the visit of a Siamese embassy to the Vatican over Christmas 1688 and New Year 1689, and the country reports which accompanied it, the Propaganda started to realise that its Oath of Allegiance had created more division than unity in the East, with Iberian powers intent on maintaining their historic privileges there.<sup>82</sup> This at least is how Donald Lach and Edwin Van Kley read the scenario.<sup>83</sup> But King Louis XIV also felt strongly that he should appoint the missionaries he was sending to South-East Asia rather than leave it to Rome. He expressly forbade the French Jesuits who came out with Chaumont's Embassy in 1685, and again with La Loubère in 1687, from taking the oath drawn up by the Propaganda.<sup>84</sup> The Holy See intervened and on 23 November 1688 abolished the Oath of Allegiance for Augustinian, Dominican and Franciscan orders of the Spanish *Patronato Real*, the privileges originally conceded to the rulers of Castile via the bull *Universalis ecclesiae* on 28 July 1508. For some time already, the Spanish ruler had refused the indispensable subsidies for the lives of missionaries operating in the East. After meeting with the Jesuit diplomat Guy Tachard SJ<sup>85</sup>, the Commission for the East Indies repealed the requirement that the missionaries of Siam, Cochinchina, Tonkin and China should take the Oath of Obedience to the Vicars Apostolic, and the Jesuit General was invited to send four members of the Society to replace those recalled. In France, the breach was healed by a convention of sixteen articles concluded between representatives of Jesuits and the Paris seminary and signed on 13 March 1689. By this convention, the Jesuits agreed to recognise the authority of the Vicars Apostolic in Indochina and to work with them to end the schism dividing Christians in Tonkin and Cochinchina. The Portuguese however

were left out of both of these important reconciliations, remaining thus at odds with both the Papacy and the French priests of the MEP<sup>86</sup>

## FLIGHT FROM SIAM

In the midst of the escalating conflict, Maldonado remained charitable to the French, particularly after the fall of Constantine Phaulkon in 1688 and the subsequent imprisonment and disgrace of the MEP missionaries left in Ayutthaya. Of these events Maldonado provides a very informative account. In one document, for example, Maldonado reports how the 'rage (*furor*) of the Siamese found vent in imprisonment, blows, defilement, and every form of insult, indignity (*ad omnem ignominiam conjectas*) which was levelled against the French'.<sup>87</sup> In another, he expresses surprise at being allowed to go free following the convocation of a tribunal which at the same time reduced Mgr. de Metellopolis to the *cangue* (a kind of pillory), chained at the neck and kept in solitary confinement.<sup>88</sup> The historian Van der Cruysse believes that this was because Maldonado was considered Portuguese.<sup>89</sup> In a third document, Maldonado wrote to Rome that the recently converted Peguans and Siamese almost all apostatised.<sup>90</sup>

Meanwhile, the Jesuit Visitor to the Province of Japan Francisco de Nogueira wrote to Manuel Soares from Macao, 13 January 1691, concerning the steps he wanted to see taken in Siam regarding the Jesuit Residence there and its occupants.<sup>91</sup> He sent Father Aleixo Coelho to Siam as Visitor, responsible for Siam, Cambodia and Cochinchina. We know relatively little of Coelho, who was described by Laneau as 'one of the most serious men I have met in the Indies' (*l'un des hommes les plus graves que j'ai connu dans les Indes*).<sup>92</sup> Coelho arrived in Siam at the end of March 1691.<sup>93</sup> According to his instructions, he replaced Maldonado at the head of the mission by the young António Dias, and took steps to bring Maldonado back to Macao (Soares meanwhile was excused as too old and infirm).<sup>94</sup> Without awaiting the concrete results of his command, Coelho then left for Cambodia accompanied by Father José Pires SJ, destined for Tonkin.<sup>95</sup>

Bishop Louis Laneau saw in Coelho's measures a challenge to his authority and told Maldonado to go to Rome to exonerate himself. Laneau remained deaf to the measured protests of Dias.<sup>96</sup> First of all



## HISTORIOGRAFIA

Laneau contemplated sending Maldonado overland to Tennasserim, from where, as Friar Domingo Navarrete OP explains, 'here are always vessels to go over to Coromandel, Bengala and other Parts; this is a convenient way for those that have not much baggage'.<sup>97</sup> The route, however, was barred to him following Siamese connivance with the Portuguese. Finally, it was decided to send him via Manila. He travelled on a junk of the King of Siam departing 30 August 1691, armed with a travel stipend (*viatique*) and with letters from Laneau for the Propaganda, for the Préposé Général de la Compagnie and for Father Cloche, Maître Général des Dominicains.<sup>98</sup>

Maldonado, Burnay argues, wanted to go to Rome himself to clear his name before the Propaganda. But the junk only got as far as Melaka, whence Maldonado travelled to India.<sup>99</sup> According to the *Anecdotes orientales*, M. de la Vigne, Procurator for the MEP at Pondicherry, wrote on 7 September and 16 October 1692 that Maldonado was 'here' i.e. in Pondicherry.<sup>100</sup> Maldonado almost certainly discussed his situation with Guy Tachard, SJ who was there at the time. The city, however, was seized by the Dutch in September 1693, and many of the men of the cloth deported. Maldonado was lucky to escape to the Portuguese community of Gudalur (Porto Novo), from where he wrote to La Vigne that his efforts to go further had failed, and that he was trying to gain Europe via Manila and that he hoped to embark in October.<sup>101</sup> But he gave up on this unlikely project and can be found in S. Tomé de Meliapur on 16 May 1694, a city under the fellow Jesuit Bishop Gaspar Afonso Álvares<sup>102</sup> and where, according to a letter from Ferreux dated 1717, he held a conversation with M. de la Vigne.<sup>103</sup> According to this same letter, Maldonado had decided to go back to Macao 'having come to an agreement with the Fathers'. This in effect was his journey: he proceeded via Melaka. He arrived in Macao on 15 August 1694, where he stayed for a little less than 18 months.<sup>104</sup> Here he rewrote his *Illustre certamen*, an account of the glorious end of the second 'Francis Xavier' Saint João de Brito SJ,<sup>105</sup> martyred in Marava on 4 February 1693, at a time when Maldonado was in India.<sup>106</sup>

The *Illustre certamen* is an extremely rare work.<sup>107</sup> It is above all a historical work where the author removes himself and his ideas from the text, but it was clearly a reflective time for Maldonado in which he wanted to compare his life's trials with those of fellow missionaries

working in the Indies. There were yawning differences between the two men, to be sure. Maldonado seems to have been a far more balanced and I would suggest less 'radicalised' missionary than de Brito; neither an ascetic nor courageous enough to willingly sacrifice his life for his religious cause. We do not know for sure if Maldonado and Brito ever met, though P. A. Saulière wrote a novel, *Red Sand* (Madura 1947), which imagines that the two men met at the end of July 1691. But in July 1691 Maldonado was in Siam, and as far as we know the last journey of Brito to Pondicherry took place in September 1691.<sup>108</sup>

It cannot have been a time of complete reclusion, for in Macao Maldonado continued to receive correspondence from his *confrères* informing him of the running battles between the MEP and Jesuits in the China mission-field. Alessandro Ciceri,<sup>109</sup> for example, a Milanese Jesuit who had been consecrated Bishop of Nanjing in 1696, decried the 'incredible excesses' committed by the French at the court of the Celestial Emperor, intimating to Maldonado that they had brought 'perpetual infamy to the Society, perturbation and danger to the whole mission, scandal to Christians and heathens, and discredit to the missionaries and the Holy Faith'.<sup>110</sup>

Having redeemed himself in the eyes of the Portuguese authorities through his hagiography of de Brito, and his personal submission to the College at Macao, Maldonado was assigned the post as Superior of the Mission in Cambodia. He was allowed to set sail for Siam in 1696 with his *confrère* and Portuguese watchdog, Father João de Bastos (sometimes written Basto).<sup>111</sup> Here he celebrated a mass during the Holy Week, before moving on to Cambodia shortly afterwards, where there had long been a perceived shortage of Jesuits.<sup>112</sup> Indeed, Maldonado had apparently submitted a number of requests to the Bishop that missionaries be sent there, perhaps in a bid to rival the aggressive missionary ambitions of the M. E. P in that mission-field. Père Lenoir MEP was sent towards the end of 1680, followed by Père Jean Genoud MEP and Père Luís de Madre de Deus, who had gone to Lauwek in 1682 with a letter from the Phraklang (or Chief Minister) of Siam to carry the mission to Cambodia.<sup>113</sup> Here they were offered considerable privileges by the ministers of the prince, as recorded in a note by Mgr. Laneau dated 1682.<sup>114</sup> The mission had ultimately foundered following the violence and destruction wrought by a Vietnamese

## HISTORIOGRAPHY

military expedition, so now it was Maldonado's turn to see what he could make of a chequered mission racked by isolation, unruly flocks of Japanese trading families, and running battles between the 'old families' congregated in rival parishes.<sup>115</sup> Unfortunately, we have little more than his name, which appears repeatedly in a catalogue of priests serving the Company of Jesus in the 'Prouincia Japponica'.<sup>116</sup> While Burnay has Maldonado's death taking place on his voyage to Cambodia, more reputable sources affirm that he died on 5 August 1699, that is, after three years in Thonol, on the outskirts of Phnom Penh, when he was immediately replaced by Father de Bastos.<sup>117</sup> But high tensions in this mission-field, culminating in the murder of a Father Miguel Dono at the hands of three local Christians in January

1717, forced Bastos himself to move on prematurely around 1705, leaving the Cambodia mission, in the words of the historian Vanessa Loureiro, 'completely abandoned at around this date'.<sup>118</sup> This marks a sad end to the life of a man who gave so much for his missionary ideals, but Jean-Baptiste Maldonado might have heeded his predecessor Fray Juan Maldonado, who had intervened in Cambodia almost exactly a hundred years earlier and who had written an admonitory letter to his prelate and to the Order of St. Dominic in the Philippines 'charg[ing] it upon their consciences not again to become the instruments for returning to Cambodia' for the political changes that went with becoming embroiled in that part of the world.<sup>119</sup> **RC**

## NOTES

1 Jean-Baptiste was the son of one Nicolas Maldonado and Michelle Le Brun, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), Rome, Jap.-Sin. 25, 249v. See, for example the case of the Jew Carlón who came back under the name Maldonado to reclaim his house in Torrelobatón (Haim Beinart, *The Expulsion of the Jews from Spain*. Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2002, pp. 367-368). To my knowledge, however, Jean-Baptiste Maldonado was never subject to the anti-Semitic suspicion and abuse that other of his colleagues in the eastern missions were. João de Abreu, for example, was considered 'ignorant and suspect of Judaism' by the French missionary Pierre Langlois MEP, *Relation de Siam*, 1675, Archives des Missions Étrangères de Paris (AMEP), vol. 857, fo. 107.

2 For the outline of Maldonado's biography, I have relied on the archivally-based entries in Joseph Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800*, Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu (IHSI), 1973, #512, p. 164 and in *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús: biográfico-temático*, edited by Charles E. O'Neill and Joaquín María Domínguez, Rome/Madrid: IHSI: Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2001, vol. 3, p. 2693. A number of Maldonado's letters are written to his brother who was a canon (*chanoine*) under the Archbishop of Cambrai. Noël Golvers, *François Rougemont, Missionary in Ch'ang-shu (Chiang-nan): A Study of the Account Book (1674-1676) and the Elogium*, Leuven: Leuven University Press/Ferdinand Verbiest Foundation, 1999, p. 364, fn. 51, has ascertained that his niece, known as Mother Angélique-Claire du Saint Esprit, was Superior of the Carmelite nuns in Antwerp. Could the Belgian Maldonados have been a branch of the Maldonado de Galdo clan, of whom one contemporary member, Francisco, was the Inquisitional Commissary in Málaga? See Yosef Kaplan, *From Christianity to Judaism: The Story of Isaac Orobio de Castro*, Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2000, p. 51.

3 \*1608; SJ 18.2.1625; †17.VII.1682.

4 Giovanni Filippo Marini, *Delle Missioni de' padri della Compagnia di Gesù nella provincia di Giappone*, Rome: N. A. Tinassi, 1663. Some chapters of this work have been translated by Cesare Polenghi, 'An Annotated Translation of the chapters on Cambodia, Siam and

Makassar from G. F. Marini's Delle Missioni', in *Journal of the Siam Society*, vol. 95 (2007), pp. 25-72; Giovanni Filippo Marini, *Historia et relatione del Tonchino e del Giappone: ... con le missioni fattevi dalli padri della compagnia di Giessu ee 1663*, Venice, 1665.

5 Other (early) letters are written in French until, on 24 April 1675 and in Macao, Maldonado wrote 'Je commence à oublier de ma langue avec la variété de tant de langages comme nous avons icy', in 'Correspondance de Jean-Baptiste Maldonado de Mons, Missionnaire belge au Siam et en Chine au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle', edited by H. Bosmans, *Analectes pour Servir à l'Histoire Ecclésiastique de la Belgique* [ASEB], vol. 36 (1910), doc. 67, p. 195. Thereafter, he decided to stick to Latin, although letters in the ARSI Jap.-Sin. collection are in Portuguese. The other Jesuit texts are, Père Joachim Bouvet, *Voyage de Siam du Père Bouvet, 1685*, edited by J. C. Gatty, Leiden: Brill, 1963; Claude de Bèze, *Mémoire du Père de Bèze sur la vie de Constance Phaulkon, premier ministre du Roi de Siam Phra Narai et sa triste fin. Suivi de lettres et de documents* (writt. 1687-1688), Tokyo: Presses Salesiennes, 1947; Marcel Le Blanc, *Histoire de la révolution de Siam arrivée en l'année 1688*, Lille, 1691; Guy Tachard, *Voyage de Siam des pères jésuites, envoyez par le roy aux Indes & à la Chine. Avec leurs observations astronomiques...* [*Second voyage du père Tachard et des jésuites envoyez par le roy au royaume de Siam, contenant diverses remarques d'histoire...*]. Paris: 1686-1689, 2 vols.; Guy Tachard, *Second Voyage du Père Tachard et des Jésuites envoyez par le Roy au Royaume de Siam, etc*, Amsterdam: Mortier, 1690. Also in Jacques-Philibert Rousselot de Surgy, *Histoire générale des voyages, ou Nouvelle collection de toutes les relations de voyages par mer et par terre qui ont été publiées jusqu'à présent dans les différentes langues*, Paris: 1746-1801. \*25.I.1644; SJ 24.IX.1660; †29.VI.1709.

6 Fr. Juan Maldonado de San Pedro Mártir of Alcalá, *collegial* of St. Gregorio de Valladolid, died off Cochinchina one hundred years earlier. For this Maldonado, see the letter in Antonio de Morga, *The Philippine Islands, Moluccas, Siam, Cambodia, Japan, and China, at the Close of the Sixteenth Century*, London: Hakluyt Society, 1868, p. 96, and *Reseña biográfica de los religiosos de la Provincia Santísimo Rosario de Filipinas desde su fundación hasta nuestros días por un religioso*



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- de la misma provincia y mandado dar á luz de orden de Ntro. M. R. P. Provincial Fr. Santiago Payá, Manila, 1891, I, 91 ff. Maldonado is confused with Thomas because both came from what is today Belgium, a term Maldonado himself uses in his writing even if it did not yet exist politically, see 'Correspondance de Jean-Baptiste Maldonado de Mons', edited by H. Bosmans, ASEB, vol. 36, (1910), doc. 62. A biography of Thomas has been written by Yves de Thomaz Bossierre, *Un Belge mandarin à la cour de Chine aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles. Antoine Thomas, 1644-1709. Ngan to P'ing-che*, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1977.
- 8 E. W. Hutchinson, 'The French Foreign Mission in Siam during the Seventeenth Century', *Journal of the Siam Society*, vol. 26 (1933), p. 55, note 1.
  - 9 \*XI.1609; SJ 6.III.1627; †I.1677
  - 10 For Valguarnera, see Giovanni Gnolfo, *Un missionario assorino: Tommaso dei conti Valguarnera: 1609-1677*, Catania: Sicilgraf, 1974; for Rozário, see 'Letter of 1678 from António de Magalhães, SJ', in J. J. A. Campos, *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*, Calcutta: Butterworth, 1919, p. 267; see also Sushanta Sarker, 'Dom António', in *Banglapedia. National Encyclopedia of Bangladesh*, Dhaka: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 2003, vol. I, p. 226. For Maldonado, see Jean de Haünin (Haynin), *Anecdotes orientales*, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF), Fonds fr. 25057, s.n. and Dirk Van der Cruysse, *Siam and the West*, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 2002, p. 120.
  - 11 Jean Burnay, 'Notes chronologiques sur les missions Jésuites du Siam au XVIIe siècle', *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu [AHSI]*, vol. 22 (1953), p. 193.
  - 12 Ugo Baldini, 'The Jesuit College in Macau as a Meeting Point of the European, Chinese and Japanese Mathematical traditions', in Luís Saraiva and Catherine Jami, *The Jesuits, the Padroado and East Asian Science (1552-1773)*, World Scientific Publishing Co., 2008, p. 41.
  - 13 José Wicki SJ ed., 'Liste der Jesuiten-Indienfahrer, 1541-1758', *Aufsätze zur Portugiesischen Kulturgeschichte*, vol. 7 (1967).
  - 14 There is a copy in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek at The Hague, The Netherlands.
  - 15 The Annual Letter of 1668 (dedicated to Fr. Giampaolo Oliva) is in Rome at ARSI, Jap.-Sin. 48 ff. An extract is published in *The Jesuit Makasar Documents, 1615-1682*, edited by H. Jacobs, Rome, IHSI, 1988, pp. 219-221. For conditions for missionaries working in Macao, see Ugo Baldini, 'The Jesuit College in Macao' and L. Saraiva and H. Leitão, 'The College of S. Paulo in Macao: A Background (16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries)', in A. K. L. Chan et al. (eds), *Historical Perspectives on East Asian Science, Technology and Medicine*. Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2003, pp. 285-298.
  - 16 Maldonado in 'Correspondance de Jean-Baptiste Maldonado de Mons', edited by H. Bosmans, ASEB, vol. 36 (1910), p. 44. C. R. Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East, 1550-1770. Fact and Fancy in the History of Macau*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1948, pp. 139-199. For an impression of the day-to-day realities under the state of siege, see J. F. Marques Pereira, 'Uma Ressurreição Histórica (páginas inéditas d'um visitador dos Jesuítas, 1665-1671)', in *Tá-Ssi-Yang-Kuo*, 1900, vol. 2, pp. 693-699.
  - 17 Jean Burnay, 'Notes chronologiques sur les missions Jésuites du Siam au XVIIe siècle', *AHSI*, vol. 22 (1953) (see fn. 8); see 'Correspondance de Jean-Baptiste Maldonado de Mons', edited by H. Bosmans, ASEB, vol. 36 (1910), doc. 67, p. 187.
  - 18 Cited in Joannes Beckmann, 'China im Blickfeld der Mexikanischen Bettelorden des 16. Jahrhundert', in *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, 19, (1963), pp. 81-92, 195-214; Reverend Eusébio Arnaiz Alvarez, *Macau, Mãe das Missões no Extremo Oriente*, Macao: Tipografia Salesiana, 1957 (trad. from Spanish by Fr. Artur Augusto Neves); António Vale, 'Macau: porta da China', *Revista Além Mar*, Dezembro 1999.
  - 19 \*X.1623; †28 January 1688.
  - 20 John Witek SJ, *Controversial Ideas in China and in Europe. A Biography of Jean-François Fouquet, 1665-1741*, Rome: IHSI, 1982, p. 54.
  - 21 'A Missão do Reyno de Siam', in *Breve Notícia das Missões que a Companhia de Jesus tem nas partes do Oriente*, 1686, fol. 250 (Biblioteca da Ajuda, Códice 48-V-34); D. Mauricio, biographical entry for Maldonado in *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, edited by Charles E. O'Neill and Joaquín Maria Domínguez, vol. 3, p. 2693.
  - 22 \*26.VI.1580; SJ 7.VIII.1602; †8.IX.1654.
  - 23 The best English-language medium introduction to the MEP and its activities in Siam is Ronald S. Love, 'Monarchs, Merchants and Missionaries in Early Modern Asia: The Missions Étrangères in Siam, 1662-1684', *International History Review*, vol. XXI (March 1999), pp. 1-26.
  - 24 Giovanni Gnolfo, *Un missionario assorino: Tommaso dei conti Valguarnera: 1609-1677*.
  - 25 I use 'floating clergy' in the sense of footloose regulars who were unable to find a place in one of the many priories and convents in the East after the *numerus clausus* agreements reached in Goa in 1636, who fell out of the strictures of their order (this was particularly true of Franciscans who all too readily accepted invitations of employment from ascendant orders like the MEP), and wandered rather aimlessly (often with delusions) over the course of their lives. I thus distinguish my approach from that of A.J. Russell-Wood, who studies instead the opportunities for professional mobility of the clergy across the Portuguese overseas world as 'career moves', 'Servants of Christ' in *The Portuguese Empire, 1415-1808. A World on the Move*, Baltimore, Md: Johns Hopkins University Press: 1998, pp. 87-94; Stefan Halikowski Smith, 'Floating clergy in the Orient. The papers of Giovan Battista Morelli, 1682-88', *Reinterpreting Indian Ocean Worlds. Festschrift in Honour of Kirti N. Chaudhuri*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011 (forthcoming).
  - 26 François Pallu, *Relation abrégée des missions et des voyages des evesques François, envoyez aux Royaumes de la Chine, Cochinchine, Tonquin et Siam*, Paris, 1668, p. 73; Stefan Halikowski Smith, *Creolization and Diaspora in the Portuguese Indies: the Social World of Ayutthaya, 1640-1720*, Brill: Leiden, 2011, p. 11.
  - 27 'J. B. Maldonado to Charles de Noyelles', dated Siam, 20 July 1684, in 'Correspondance de Jean-Baptiste Maldonado de Mons', edited by H. Bosmans, ASEB, vol. 36 (1910), doc. 14, p. 68.
  - 28 'Copy of a letter of Padre Manuel Soares of the Company of Jesus, Superior of the Residence of Siam, written to the Count of Alvor Viceroy and Captain General of India', in Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (AHU) [Lisbon], Índia, cx. 59, doc. 236, Siao, 24 June 1684.
  - 29 Leonor Seabra, *The Embassy of Pero Vaz de Siqueira (1684-1686)*, Macao: University of Macau, 2005, pp. 69-81.
  - 30 Ibid., pp. 83-94, see fn. 24.
  - 31 In Cochinchina, Maldonado ministered to the Christian community and confessed believers, despite his lack of mandate and the entrenched hostility of local MEP missionaries. See comments of Marin Labbé, Pierre Langlois and Robert Noguette in Nola Cooke, 'Strange Brew: Global, Regional and Local Factors Behind the 1690 Prohibition of Christian Practice in Nguyen Cochinchina', *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, vol. 39, 3, (2008), p. 395.
  - 32 Leonor Seabra, *The Embassy of Pero Vaz de Siqueira*, p. 84, see fn. 24. Whilst in Siam, Siqueira actively oversaw the construction of a frigate *Nossa Senhora da Conceição* for dispatch, however, to Goa.
  - 33 Cf. John W. Witek SJ, 'Reporting to Rome: Some Major Events in the Christian Community in Beijing, 1686-1687'. In *Échanges Culturels et Religieux entre la Chine et l'Occident: Actes du VIF Colloque International de Sinologie de Chantilly*, 1992, edited by E. Malatesta,

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- 34 Raphaël Vongsuravatana, *Un jésuite à la cour de Siam*, Paris: France-Empire, 1992, see biographical entry for "Maldonado".
- 35 \*27.IX.1638; SJ 13.I.1658; †8-9.XI.1712.
- 36 AMEP, vol. 402, p. 469.
- 37 'Letter to the director of the Plantin-Moretus printing house, Balthasar Moretus III in Antwerp, regarding the transmission of letters to and from P. Louis de Camargo, Superior of the Professed House at Antwerp', in 'Correspondance de Jean-Baptiste Maldonado de Mons', edited by H. Bosmans, ASEB, vol. 36 (1910), doc. 15, p. 71; for Thomas, see Han Qi, 'Antoine Thomas SJ and his Mathematical Activities in China. A Preliminary Research through Chinese sources'. In *The History of the Relations Between the Low Countries and China in the Qing Era (1644-1911)*, edited by W. F. Van de Walle and Noël Golvers. Leuven: Universitaire Pers Leuven, 2003.
- 38 John Wills Jr., *Embassies and Illusions. Dutch and Portuguese Envoys to K'ang-hsi*. Harvard, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984, p. 115.
- 39 *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. VI, edited by Georgius Mensaert et al., Rome: Ad Claras Aquas, 1961, p. 837.
- 40 The date of arrival is stated in Letter XXIII, 'Epistola ad D. Valerium Brollo', *ibid.*; Henri Cordier, 'Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique de l'Extrême Orient, V, Catalogus omnium missionariorum qui Sinarum imperium ad haec usque tempora ad praedicandum Jesui Christi Evangelium Ingressi Sunt', *Revue de l'Extrême Orient*, II (1883), pp. 53-71; John Witek SJ, 'Reporting to Rome: Some Major Events in the Christian Community in Beijing, 1686-1687' (see footnote 27) is disappointing and unenlightening as to possible conjunctions.
- 41 'Epistola ad confratres Provinciae Venetae', Canton, dated 3 January 1685, Letter XXI in *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. VI, edited by Georgius Mensaert et al., p. 841.
- 42 Basilio Brollo, 'Epistola ad Cardinales S.C.', Canton, 6 October 1685, *ibid.*, p. 864.
- 43 More documentation regarding Maldonado's voyage of 1684-1687 needs to be unearthed from the AMEP and at the BNF in Paris.
- 44 For example, to one Sieur Coche, employee of the French *Compagnie des Indes Orientales*, AMEP, vol. 879, p. 713. See Maldonado's letter of 6 January 1680, in 'Correspondance de Jean-Baptiste Maldonado de Mons', edited by H. Bosmans, ASEB, vol. 36 (1910), pp. 83-84.
- 45 'Letter of 25 September 1690', *ibid.*, pp. 223-225.
- 46 See, for example, letter of 21 January 1685, text in Archives of the Propaganda Fide (APF), Rome, *Scritture Originali della Congregazione Particolare dell'Indie e Cina*, 1686-1689, fo. 111-114.
- 47 For Phaulkon's conversion, see Pierre Joseph d'Orléans SJ, *Histoire de M. Constance Phaulkon*, Lyon: chez Dupain, 1954, pp. 14 and 21; Claude de Bèze SJ, *Mémoire du Père de Bèze...*, pp. x, 29, 30; E.W. Hutchinson, *Adventurers in Siam in the Seventeenth Century*, London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1940, and *idem*, *1688 Revolution in Siam*, Hong Kong: University Press, 1968; Archivum Secretum Vaticanum (ASV), Rome, Fondo Missioni MSS 113, 'De conversione primi Ministri Regis Siamensis ad fidem catholicam opera Patris Antonii Thomas et de praeclaris viri doctibus virtutibus'. A letter of 26 October 1682 recommended that the Jesuits send Phaulkon a warm letter to retain his favour and high regard, ARSI, Jap.-Sin. 76, f. 252v.
- 48 Guy Tachard, SJ, *Voyage de Siam des pères jésuites*, p. 165.
- 49 APF, *Scritture Riferite nei Congressi*, vol. IV, fo. 11; see also Maldonado's letter of 9 October 1688 in ARSI, Jap.-Sin. 76, f. 341r.
- 50 Vongsuravatana, *Un jésuite à la cour de Siam*, see biographical entries for "Maldonado" and "Suarez".
- 51 'Letter to Our Lord and Father Pope Innocent XI from Constant Phaulkon', dated 1 January 1688, repr. E.W. Hutchinson, 'The French Foreign Mission in Siam during the Seventeenth Century', *Journal of the Siam Society*, vol. 26 (1933), p. 55 (see fn. 6).
- 52 Paulo da Trindade, *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, 1630-1636, repr. by Fr. Félix Lopes OFM, Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1962-1967, ch. 66.
- 53 'Letter of 9 October 1688', ARSI Jap.-Sin. 76, 341r (in Portuguese); Bénigne Vachet, *Mémoires de Bénigne Vachet, missionnaire apostolique*, Paris: Imp. Victor Goupy, 1865.
- 54 'Letter of Jean François Gerbillon', Siam, 18 June, 1686, an extract of which is published in 'Le Voyage du Père de Fontaney', in *Bulletin de l'Université Aurore*, vol. 3, 2, (1942), pp. 257-258.
- 55 António da Silva Rego (ed.), *O Padroado Português do Oriente: Esboço Histórico*, Lisbon: Ministério das Colónias, 1940. A good introductory article to the Portuguese Padroado is João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, 'The Padroado and the Catholic Mission in Asia during the 17<sup>th</sup> Century', in *Rivalry and Conflict. European Traders and Asian Trading Networks in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, edited by E. Van Veen and L. Blussé, Leiden: CNWS, 2005, pp. 71-88.
- 56 \*1614; SJ 1630; †1692. We can judge this from the letter he wrote to Louis Laneau MEP on 17 June 1691 where Soares expresses strong solidarity with Maldonado, AMEP, vol. 880, p. 597.
- 57 A more readable account of this victory is provided by Maurice Hénault, *Récit du siège de Valenciennes en 1656*, Valenciennes, 1889. Further context can be found in Francisco Martin Sanz, *La política internacional de Felipe IV*, Editorial Libros En Red: 2003.
- 58 \*16.VII.1633; SJ (ordained) 1665; †29.V.1682.
- 59 H. Bosmans ed., *Correspondance de Jean-Baptiste Maldonado de Mons, missionnaire belge au Siam et en Chine au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Louvain: Van Linthout, 1911, doc. 11-. The Letter of 16 November 1681 is reproduced and translated in Stefan Halikowski Smith, *Creolization and Diaspora in the Portuguese Indies*, Appendix 11 (see fn. 21). Otherwise, H. Bosmans ed., 'Correspondance inédite de Jean de Haynin d' Ath', ASEB, vol. 34 (1908), pp. 197-224. Lettre no. III au Provincial de la Gaule-Belgique, dated 20 January 1675.
- 60 \*28.VII.1615; Superior General 1682-86; †12.XII.1686.
- 61 'Letter 15-16 November 1682', H. Bosmans ed., 'Correspondence de Jean-Baptiste Maldonado de Mons', ASEB, vol. 36 (1910), p. 187.
- 62 \*4.X.1600; SJ 21.XII.1616; Superior General 1664-1681; †26.XI.1681.
- 63 \*1653; †1693.
- 64 Marcel Le Blanc, *Histoire de la révolution de Siam* (see fn. 5); Marcel Le Blanc, *The History of Siam, 1688*, edited by Michael Smithies, Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2003.
- 65 D. Mauricio, biographical entry for Maldonado in *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, edited by Charles E. O'Neill and Joaquín Maria Domínguez, vol. 3, p. 2693.
- 66 I thank Anne-Sophie Cras for this information. The letter was originally in the French Foreign Office at the Quai d'Orsay in the collection 'Asie-Indes Orientales', vol. 2, nos. 17, 64, 66. The Oath is attached to 'Letter to Our Lord and Father Pope Innocent XI from Constant Phaulkon', dated 1 January 1688, which is reproduced in E.W. Hutchinson, 'The French Foreign Mission in Siam during the Seventeenth Century', *Journal of the Siam Society*, vol. 26 (1933), pp. 64-67 (see fn. 6).
- 67 *Ibid.*, p.13 (see fn. 6).
- 68 'Letter from an anonymous Frenchman, dated 1683', in Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris, mss. no. 1951 (2260).
- 69 'Nos infra scripti, Societatis Jesu Sacerdotes, agnoscimus Illustrissimum ac Reverendissimum Dominum Ludovicum Laneau', dated 10 October, 1681, repr. as Appendix 11 in Stefan Halikowski Smith, *Creolization and Diaspora in the Portuguese Indies: the Social World of Ayutthaya, 1640-1720* (see fn. 21) ; 'Le Serment de Fidelité aux Vicaires Apostoliques', in *Relationes et Epistolae Fratrum Minorum saeculi XVII et XVIII*, edited by Anastasius van den Wyngaert, OFM, Rome: ad Claras Aquas, 1942 (*Sinica Franciscana*, vols. 2 and 4).



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- 70 *Mémoire du Père de Bèze...*, pp. 41-42. Van der Cruysse thinks that the Dominicans submitted to Mgr. Laneau on 27 November 1678, *Siam and the West*, p. 187.
- 71 Giovan Battista Morelli, OFM, Letter no. 277, Filza no. 1606, dated London, 2 April 1688, Fondo Mediceo del Principato, Archivio dello Stato, Firenze. There is a copy of Távora's letter in the BNF, mss. Fr. no. 9773.
- 72 1. A Principe Lusitaniae, dum ille Patronatum suum in has Orientis Missiones coram Summo Pontifice tuetur, nobis interim prohibitum esse Episcopis exteris obedire, intimates [intimatas?] vero fuisse gravissimas poenas, nimirum jacturae bonorum, et notae rebellionis incurrendae ab iis, qui contravererint.
2. Nos in coloniâ Lusitanâ decre [decere?], quam ita volente rege Siamensi, per expressum diploma, praefectus Lusitanus et proepiscopus Malacensis actualiter ibi residentes gubernant.
3. Legem regni Siamensis esse ut una natio in alteram non dominetur.
4. Magnum fore tumultum, et scandalum, si in eadem coloniâ Lusitanâ, alius contra alium insurgat, spectantibus id gentibus, eique in faciem resistatur, qui publice ut Proepiscopus, lectis jam ejus litteris, est habitus et agnitus.
5. Maximam inde secuturam perturbationem conscientiarum illustriss. Dom. Vestrae animo occurrere facillime possunt. 'Quibus ita expositis, coram Deo protestamur, nos ergo sedem Apostolicam obedientissimos esse, et semper fore. Verum pro temporis exigentiâ et praesenti rerum statu, as Christianae Religionis famam coram gentilibus servandam, nobis videri plane necessarium petere ab Illustriss. Dom. vestrâ, ut censurarum executionem differat, dum Summo Pontifici, aequissimo omnium judici, cujus pedibus humillime advolvimus, rationes allatae innotescant.
- Datum in Residentia nostra Siamensi, vigesima secunda Augusti 1682.
- 73 APF, *Scrittura Riferite nei Congressi*, vols. 3-4.
- 74 *Voyage de Siam du Père Bouvet*, p. 106 (see fn. 4); for more on the issue of *dupla jurisdição*, see A. da Silva Rego, *Lições de Missionologia*. Lisbon: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar/Centro de Estudos Políticos e Sociais, 1961.
- 75 See 'Letter to T. Thyse Gonzales' (13<sup>th</sup> Superior General of the Society of Jesus, 1686-1705)', 22 August 1691, Lettre no. XXVI in, 'Correspondance de Jean-Baptiste Maldonado de Mons', edited by H. Bosmans, ASEB, vol. 36 (1910); Vongsuravatana, *Un jésuite à la cour de Siam*, biography of J.-B. Maldonado.
- 76 There is abundant documentation on this "affaire" in AMEP. Laneau and Ferreuz wrote a full *mémoire* dated 10 October 1691 destined for Quémeneur, Procurator of the MEP in Rome (AMEP, vol. 250, pp. 1-9), who was to sustain Laneau's views in front of the cardinals of the Propaganda Fide, the congregation of the Roman Curia responsible for missionary work and related activities, in Rome.
- 77 Josef Metzler, 'Der Brahmanenspiegel des Matthäus de Castro', in *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, 1967, pp. 242-265. Some of Castro's letters, albeit of later origin, are in the collection 'Indie Orientali, Cina 1675-80', APF, *Scrittura Riferite nei Congressi*.
- 78 'Letter to de la Chaise of 2 January 1688', Siam dossier at the Oriental Library, Tokyo, 75/6.
- 79 Louis Laneau, 'Letter of 23 November 1689, to the Sacred College, Siam', APF, *Scrittura Riferite nei Congressi*, vol. 5, fo. 195.
- 80 Leonhard Lemmens OFM, *Geschichte der Franziskanermissionen*, Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorff, 1929, p. 109.
- 81 Bishop Bernardino della Chiesa's letters are published in Latin in *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. V, *Relationes et Epistolae Illmi D. Fr. Bernardino della Chiesa*, OFM, edited by Anastasius van den Wyngaert and Georgius Mensaert, Rome: Collegium S. Antonii, 1954.
- 82 Michael Smithies and Luigi Bressan, *Siam and the Vatican in the Seventeenth Century*, Bangkok: River Books Co., 2001, ch. 8.
- 83 Donald Lach and Edwin J. Van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. III, *A Century of Advance*. Chicago: Chicago Univ. Press, 1993, p. 256.
- 84 E. W. Hutchinson, 'The French foreign mission in Siam during the Seventeenth Century', *Journal of the Siam Society*, vol. 26 (1933), (see fn. 6)
- 85 \*1648; SJ 20.IX.1668; †21.X.1712.
- 86 Henri Chappoulie, *Aux origines d'une église. Rome et les missions d'Indochine au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris: Blout et Gay, 1943, vol. II, ch. XI.
- 87 'Letter of Maldonado to the General of the Jesuit Order', Siam, 26 November 1688, pp. 177-80, APF, *Scrittura Riferite nei Congressi*, vol. V, fo. 104. Cf. 'P. Ioannis Bapt. Maldonado Epistola ad P. Franc. Xav. Filippucci, Siam, 27 November 1688', resumé in *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. VI, edited by Georgius Mensaert et al., p. 1233 (see fn. 32)). See also ARSI, Jap.-Sin. 76, f. 341 ff and f. 383.
- 88 'J. B. Maldonado to François d'Aix de la Chaize', Siam, 26 November 1688, repr. in 'Correspondance de Jean-Baptiste Maldonado de Mons', edited by H. Bosmans ASEB, doc. 18, pp. 77-79 (original in ARSI, Jap.-Sin. 76, ff. 353-354).
- 89 Van der Cruysse, *Siam and the West*, p. 460 (see fn. 7).
- 90 Maldonado, in ARSI, Jap.-Sin. 76, f. 342.
- 91 AMEP, vol. 427, p. 527.
- 92 See his instruction to Quémeneur, AMEP, vol. 250, p. 10. Laneau calls him Francisco Coelho and judges him to be around 60 years old.
- 93 'Laneau to the Superiors and Directors of Siam', 12 July 1691, AMEP, vol. 880, p. 614.
- 94 António Dias was thought to be the real person behind the pseudonym Frei Hieronimo de Sequeira in the publicised quarrels over faith in Batavia during Maldonado's outward journey to Macao, but by 1691 it is doubtful whether he could still be considered 'young', see David Lopes, *Expansão da Língua Portuguesa no Oriente nos Séculos XVI, XVII e XVIII*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Oporto: Tipografia Nunes, 1969, p. 185.
- 95 AMEP, vol. 850, p. 142. This record shows Pires returning to Ayutthaya by mid-November as he was unable to find 'passage ny commosité quelquonq'. He returned thanks to 'nos susdits boucaniers'.
- 96 'Letter of Dias and response to Laneau, July 1691', AMEP, vol. 880, p. 183.
- 97 *The Travels and Controversies of Friar Domingo Navarrete*, edited by J. S. Cummins, London: Hakluyt Society, 1962, vol. 2, p. 384.
- 98 It was very common for the King of Siam to outfit ships and provide 'tutto il necessario' for missionaries to travel on to China, see 'Epistola ad Cardinales S.C., Cantone 6 Octobris 1685', in *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. VI, edited by Georgius Mensaert et al., p. 851 (see fn. 32).
- 99 AMEP, vol. 850, p. 140.
- 100 BNF, Fonds fr. 25057, p. 564. This is probably the same 'Mr. de la Vignée' passing through Ayuthia from his mission-field in Tonkin en route to his new posting to the procure in Pondicherry. See 'Letter to Our Lord and Father Pope Innocent XI from Constant Phaulkon', dated 1 January 1688, repr. E.W. Hutchinson, 'The French Foreign Mission in Siam during the Seventeenth century', *Journal of the Siam Society*, vol. 26 (1933), p. 51 (see fn. 6). I thank Brigitte Appavou of the MEP Archives in Paris for help ascertaining Vigne's biography.
- 101 Lettres de la Coste, I, AMEP, vol. 954, p. 293. For some context to these still predominantly Portuguese settlements on the South-East Indian coast, see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'Staying on: the Portuguese of southern Coromandel', in *Indian Economic Social History Review*, 22, no. 4 (December 1, 1985), pp 445-463.
- 102 Made Bishop 1691; †1708.
- 103 AMEP, vol. 955, p. 64.

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- 104 For the date of his arrival, see *Anecdotes orientales*, BNF, Fonds fr. 25056, 19/15. 'Letter of Fr. Simon Bayard SJ to M. de Cicé MEP', dated Macao 15 October 1694. In a post-scriptum, Bayard writes that 'Maldonado is here for two months'. There is a letter signed by Maldonado's hand to La Vigne, dated Macao 20 November 1694 (AMEP, vol. 405, p. 247). Regarding his journey to Malacca, see Laneau to Ferreux, from Siam, 14 November 1694 (AMEP, vol. 861, p. 390): 'Fr. Maldonado has written from Malacca that he visited the French fathers in China, who will make peace everywhere' [i.e. resolve the Oath of Loyalty issue].
- 105 \*1.III.1647; 17.XII.1662; †4.II.1693.
- 106 On Brito, see Fernando Pereira de Britto, *História do Nascimento, Vida e Martyrio do Beato João de Britto*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Lisbon: Typ. de A. S. Monteiro, 1852; J. Brodrick, 'The Significance of St. John de Britto', in *The Month*, published by Longmans, Green & Co. Ltd., 184 (1947), pp. 205-215; A. Bessières, *Le nouveau St. François Xavier, Saint Jean de Britto, martyr*, Toulouse, 1947; M. Farnum, *The Sacred Scimitar. Life of Blessed John de Brito*, Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co, 1946; A. N. Nevett, *John de Britto and his Times*, Anand (India): Gujarat Sahitya Prakash, 1980; Marinho da Silva, *São João de Brito, Mártir da Missão Lusiada*, Lisbon: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1947.
- 107 A copy used to be held in the Bibliothèque Adrien Carrère in Toulouse before it was disbanded; another is held by the Universiteit Maastricht and by the Dibam Biblioteca Nacional de Chile. The copy held in the Reservados section of the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal has been recently digitised, see <http://purl.pt/13819/3> (consulted 8 January 2011).
- 108 Riba Leça, 'Roteiro de S. João de Brito', in *Brotéria*, XLIV, p. 712. Jean Burnay who has investigated the canonisation procedure of Saint John finds the 'Illustre certamen' one of the historical sources confirming John's canonisation and where Maldonado is qualified as *historicus* and not *de testis*. BNF, Canonisations, H 1031, 431 (3915), p. 9.
- 109 \*1639; SJ 18.X.1655; †22.XII.1703.
- 110 'Ciceri to J. B. Maldonado', Peking, 11 June 1695, ARSI, Jap.-Sin. 166, fl. 64r.
- 111 AMEP, vol. 864, p. 242. In a letter of Antonio Pinto to M. Basset, from Siam, on 10 June 1696 it is written that de Bastos and Maldonado publically celebrate the sacraments in their church during the Holy Week. I have concluded that the two fathers arrived in Siam shortly before 15 April 1696
- 112 'Letter to Our Lord and Father Pope Innocent XI from Constant Phaulkon', dated 1 January 1688, repr. E.W. Hutchinson, 'The French Foreign Mission in Siam during the Seventeenth century', *Journal of the Siam Society*, vol. 26 (1933), p. 54.
- 113 Adrien Launay, *Histoire de la Mission de Cochinchine, 1658-1823: documents historiques*, Paris: Missions Étrangères de Paris/Les Indes Savantes, 2000 (repr. of Paris: Tequi, 1923-1925), vol. 1, pp. 247-248.
- 114 'Mémoire de Bénigne Vachet sur la Cochinchine', edited by L. Cadière in *Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique de l'Indochine*, 1913, pp. 1-77; Adrien Launay, *Histoire de la Mission de Cochinchine*, vol. 1, p. 316.
- 115 Vanessa Loureiro, 'The Jesuits in Cambodia: a Look upon Cambodian Religiousness', in *Bulletin of Portuguese-Japanese Studies*, 10/11, (2005), pp. 193-222. Frédéric Ponchaud, *La cathédrale de la rizière: 450 ans d'histoire de l'église au Cambodge*, Paris: Fayard, 1990, chapter 4 is good on these conflicts.
- 116 Primus Catalogus Patrum ac Fratrum Societ. JESV, qui in Prouincia Japponica sunt anno 1697', ARSI, Jap.-Sin. 25, fl. 232.
- 117 On Maldonado's death, see AMEP, vol. 851, p. 299. On his departure for Cambodia, see Pocquet to the Directors, from Siam, 27 December 1696: 'He came this year to Siam, from whence he departed fairly shortly for Cambodia, where he was sent by his Superiors in Macao.' D. Mauricio, in *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, edited by Charles E. O'Neill and Joaquín María Domínguez, vol. 3, p. 2483. François Ponchaud sees Thonol coming about as a splinter settlement of Ponhéa Lu, patronised by the Diaz clan following Dono's murder in 1717, *La cathédrale de la rizière*, p. 59, but from Maldonado's death we can see that Thonol was somewhat older. Thonol is a khmer toponym, *thnal*, meaning 'road', or way'. For de Bastos' replacement, see Albus Sociorum Prouvinciae Japoniae per loca, et official confectus 14 Decembris 1700', ARSI, Jap.-Sin. 25, fl. 249.
- 118 'Litera P.P. Capucinatorum appulsorum ad Cambodiam ad Illustrissimus Busiens; in quibus licentiam petunt ad exercenda ministerial; et multis probare intendunt illam itissionem ad eos pertinere', ARSI, Jap.-Sin. 76, fl. 450; Loureiro, *The Jesuits in Cambodia*, p. 213 (see fn. 98).
- 119 Antonio de Morga, *The Philippine Islands*, p. 196.