



Macao and the Jesuits:

A Reading through the Prism of History

From the growth of Macao in Late Ming times
to Saint Paul's University College and its role

Yves Camus, s.j.

Macao Ricci Institute

Abstract

Matteo Ricci used to offer “prisms” to his Chinese friends, literati and officials, who marvelled at the beautiful colours that were hidden in the pure light. Similarly, this paper would like to use history to get a closer look at the development of Macao: from a fishing village that it was to a city that has been of world stage importance. The Society of Jesus, as the Jesuits are known in the Catholic Church, has been from its early beginnings in the 1540s quite influential in this regard. It was due first to the establishment of caritative and social service institutions like the Casa de Misericordia, still extant, and hospitals. But the College of Saint Paul, operative in the city for 168 years (1594-1762) until the suppression of the Society in Macao (effective world-wide in 1773) extended its influence beyond the city walls inside China and farther afield. During these years, 665 young Jesuits completed their formation in the College. Their majority was not Portuguese but coming from sixteen or so different European and East Asian countries. After the suppression of the Jesuits, the college lost its academic and intercultural vocation. The essentials of this historical phase will first be narrated and then the light will shift into some less glorious colours: inquisitive questions will have to be asked. For instance, how the warrantor, so to say, of the Portuguese ‘Padroado’ of the Christian Missions, the Marquis of Pombal, Minister of Portugal, has so swiftly destroyed what the ‘Padroado’ had helped to foster for 268 years (since the Tordesillas Treaty in 1494)? Reflections will finally be proposed on the risks involved in too closely mixing inter-cultural values with the struggle for political influence and economic affluence. On the stage of history, the Jesuits and Macao must have learned some lessons.

In his Journals entitled in their original Italian version *Della Entrata della Compagnia di Gesù e Christianità nella Cina* [On the Entry of the Society of Jesus and of Christianity in China],¹ Matteo Ricci relates fifteen times how helpful it had been for him and his companions to offer as gifts to officials and to his friends what he calls “pieces of triangular shaped glass” or prisms made of glass (not of crystal, despite the appearance!). Here is the first episode:

“When the two delegates² came into the presence of the Viceroy of Sciaoquin [Zhaoqing], they presented him with the clock and also with several pieces of triangular shaped glass in which objects were reflected in beautiful multi-coloured tints. This was something new for the Chinese, and for a long time they believed that the glass was a kind of precious stone of wonderful value. It was surprising to note how pleased the Viceroy-Governor was with the gifts and how cordially he received the visitors.”³

The topic of this article: “Macao and the Jesuits” is quite well known to historians of Macao, but some precisions on the intended objective of the paper might perhaps be useful at the start. The Society of Jesus has been present in Macao from the very beginning of its own history (it had been formally established in Rome in 1540), and equally from the beginning of the historical role played by the small city of Macao. In other words, since the time of Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) much has already been written on the development, based on Macao, of “the Christian expedition into the Kingdom of China” (as Nicolas Trigault 金尼阁 (1577-1628), the first translator of Ricci’s journals, has called it).

The history of the Jesuits in China remains nevertheless until now and still for many years to come an immense field of research for a deeper understanding of what that “Christian expedition” was all about. It has to be researched as if exposed under the diffracted light of one of these prisms given by Ricci to his friends. Perhaps then would it not be too farfetched to think that, by insisting only on China proper, the role of Macao in the “expedition” has run the risk not to appear in the whole “spectrum” of history. For two or three decades already, authors more often than not mention the historiographic “paradigm shift” that has developed in the historical research on the Christian missions. At the early age of the discipline the focus was on the persons, the activities and the institutions of the missions; it should now be on the reception of “the

¹ Cf. D'Elia, Pasquale M., *Storia dell' Introduzione del Cristianesimo in Cina / Scritta da Matteo Ricci S.I.*, Roma, La Libreria Dello Stato, 1942, 1949. — *China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci, 1583-1610*, Translated from the Latin by Louis J. Gallagher, S.J., Random House, New York, 1942, 1953. — 利玛竇中国札记 / (意) 利玛竇, (比) 金尼閣著; 何高济, 王遵仲, 李申译, 桂林, 广西師範大学出版社, 2001.

² They were the two Jesuit priests Francisco Pasio and Michele Ruggieri.

³ D'Elia, *op. cit.*, Parte I: Libri I-III, No. 219, p. 166, § 3 — Gallagher, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-139 — 何高济, 王遵仲, 李申, 中译本, 第 105 页。

Christian impact”.⁴ It remains nevertheless surprising that, in the *Handbook of Christianity in China, Volume One: 635-1800*, no mention is made of Macao except as a ‘necessary point of passage’ — or a place of exile, or still worst the place of some house of arrest, etc.⁵

Yet a “triangular shaped glass” or prism is not a magnifying lens! By this is meant to say that this paper is limited: its scope will be what the Jesuits did in Macao in the early ages of their presence and in the historic and intercultural context of those times. From such a plain reading of things past, some reflections would then be drawn by placing Macao and the Jesuits in a broader historical perspective out of which some lessons might perhaps more easily be perceived. So let us try.

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Ming China facing the Portuguese and Spanish Rivalries (‘Padroado’, ‘Patronato’)

Our “plain reading” of history should start about one century before the Jesuits established their first presence in Macao. This time span is not indifferent for matters that concern intercultural encounters. To make the story brief, the geopolitical context of that epoch had some similarities with what in our time is now called “the cold war” period (1947–91) that followed World War II: there was a continuing state of political conflict, military and naval tension, particularly along the commercial lanes crossing the Atlantic Ocean towards the West and South, and winding around Africa towards South and South-East Asia. There were proxy conflicts and intense competition between Portugal and Spain. Both countries were intent on exploiting the natural resources of newly discovered territories that they attributed to themselves. Indeed, two years after Christopher Columbus (c. 1451-1506) had returned from his initial voyage in 1492 that included the discovery of “the New World”, a “cold economic competition” developed on the seas and in many places visited by Portugal or Spain. It was urgent that a treaty mitigates the disputes.

It was arbitrated by Pope Alexander VI Borgia (1431-1503) and signed in Tordesillas, Spain, in 1494 between the two countries in order to prevent continuous skirmishes from flaring up. Drawing an arbitrary line along “a meridian 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands (off the western coast of Africa)”, the world was to be divided in two equal zones of trade and

⁴ *Handbook of Christianity in China, Volume One: 635-1800*, edited by Nicolas Standaert, Brill, London-Boston-Köln, 2001, p. ix. — See Jacques Gernet, *China and the Christian Impact: A Conflict of Cultures*, Cambridge University Press, 1985, 310 pp. and 中國與基督教：中西文化的首次撞擊，謝和耐著；耿昇譯，上海：上海古籍出版社，2003.

⁵ See. *Handbook*, Index, p. 947 for references to the 31 short mentions of Macao.

influence (see Figure 1): for Portugal on the eastern side, for Spain on the western side of the arbitrary line. In exchange for the economic advantages of such a convention, both powers would provide logistic help and military protection to the Christian missions in their world zones.

What is commonly known as the Portuguese ‘Padroado’ and the Spanish ‘Patronato’ was “a set of privileges granted by the Pope to the Portuguese and Spanish crowns for the management of all religious buildings in the new territories of both countries and the right to propose to Rome the lists of Church officials for those territories. This agreement guaranteed to both sovereigns a portion of the ecclesiastical revenues of their kingdoms. In exchange, they were to send missionaries to their newly occupied territories and endow the religious establishments founded there for this purpose.”⁶ Despite such a convention, the tensions remained vivid, not only in South America, but also in South-East Asia. Later history of Macao has not been deprived of threats generated by these geopolitical conventions.

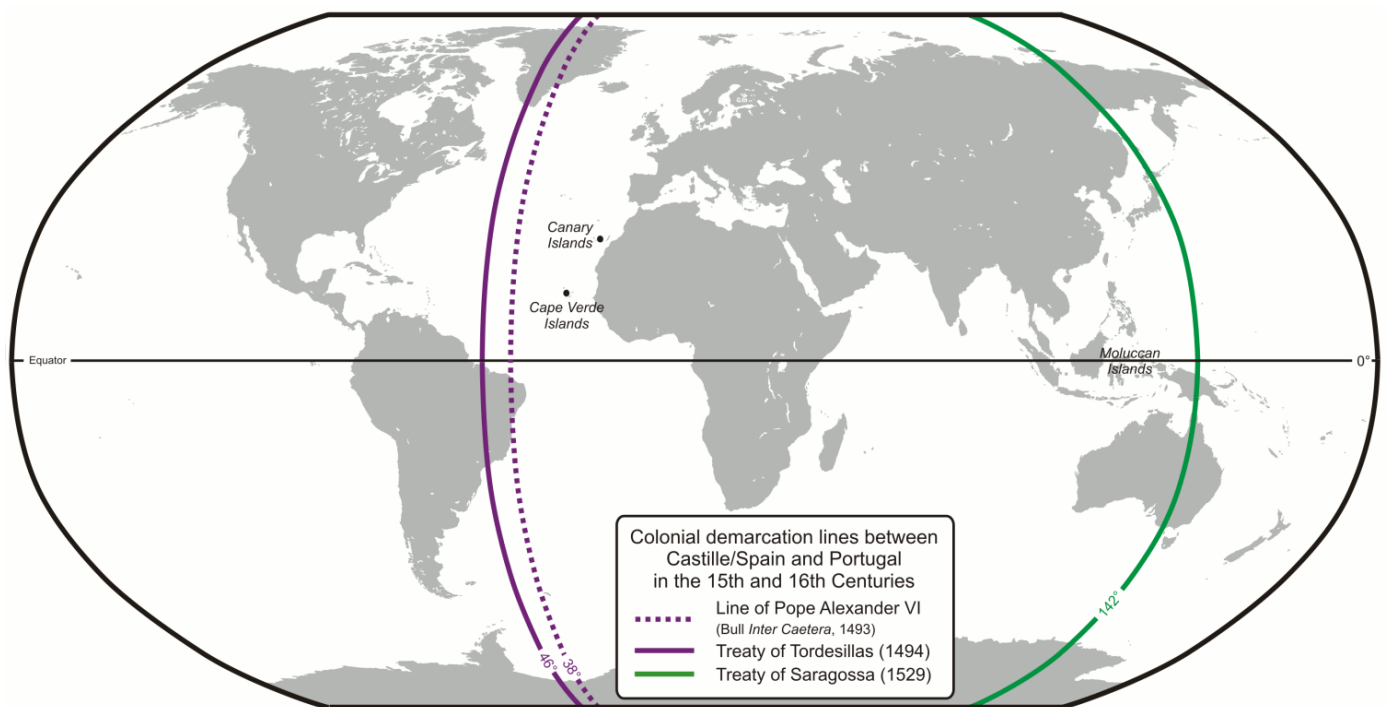


Figure 1 : Lines dividing the non-Christian world between Castille (modern Spain) and Portugal: the 1494 Tordesillas meridian (purple) and the 1529 Zaragoza antimeridian (green). From Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treaty_of_Tordesillas, accessed 2010.12.08.

In fact, Spain and Portugal had signed the Treaty of Tordesillas as an agreement to divide the world into two zones of exploration and colonization: the western part was exclusive to Spain and the eastern part to Portugal. But at that time both crowns were not yet concerned by discoveries farther afield across the Pacific Ocean. Seventeen years later this would soon happen.

⁶ This sentence is based on *The Jesuits, the Padroado and East Asian science (1552-1773)*, edited by Luís Saraiva and Catherine Jami, Singapore, Hackensack, NJ, World Scientific, 2008, p. ix, note 1.

In 1511 Portugal conquered Malacca, a commercial hub of Asian trade. From Malacca an expedition was sent towards the Moluccas Islands, famous for their “spices” that were the main purpose of such an exploration. In early 1512, a Portuguese fortress was built in Ternate. It was not long before the Spanish crown launched a circumnavigation expedition that reached the Moluccas in 1521, led by Fernão de Magalhães, famous Portuguese explorer at the service of Spain (hence his Spanish name Fernando de Magallanes or Magellan (1480 ?–1521), who began to colonize the islands. Spain claimed that according to the Treaty of Tordesillas they were in its zone. The conflict with the Portuguese, already established in Ternate, was unavoidable. After a year of skirmishes that were to last nearly a decade, the Spanish were defeated over the possession of the archipelago.

To resolve the issue, in 1524 a conference was organized by both parties in order to find the exact location of the anti-meridian of Tordesillas, a necessary step to pursue the division of the whole world into equal hemispheres. Each delegation included three astronomers, three cartographers, three pilots and three mathematicians. Despite several meetings at Badajoz and Elvas, but due to the lack of more accurate calculation of the longitude, the board did not reach any agreement, and each delegation “attributed” the islands to its sovereign, John III of Portugal (1502-1557) and Charles V of Spain (1500-1558). Both kings then agreed to stop all expeditions to Moluccan spices until an agreement be reached on whose hemisphere were the islands. It took five years before a new treaty be signed in 1529 at Saragossa, Spain, stating the continuation of the meridian defined at Tordesillas in the opposite hemisphere, that is 297.5 marine leagues (or about 1,487 kilometers) east of the Maluku Islands and of the other islands known nowadays as the Philippines.

But eight years earlier in 1521, Fernando Magellan had arrived on these islands and claimed them for the king of Spain, Charles V. Notwithstanding, to avoid costly conflicts it was understood that the Philippines and the Maluku Islands would be considered on the Spanish zone but that the Maluku Islands would be sold by Spain to Portugal for 350,000 ducats of gold, a money badly needed by Spain at that time for its war against France. In fact, irony of history!, later measurements have shown that according to the exact anti-meridian of Tordesillas the Maluku Islands and the Philippines were in the Portuguese hemisphere.

These diplomatic and mercantile details remain more often than not hidden in the history of the Portuguese ‘Padroado’ or in the history of the similar Spanish ‘Patronato Real de las Indias’, under which Macao and Manila have been important places in the Catholic missions of East Asia. They rather better explain the tension between Spain and Portugal that existed around

the world at that time. As the first Portuguese ships had already moored nearby the Pearl River estuary in 1513, that tension was due to reverberate between Manila and Macao.

These world-wide tensions were not unknown to the Ming imperial court in Beijing under Emperors 嘉靖 Jia Jing (1522-1567) and 萬曆 Wan Li (1573-1620): there was already a long time that China after the death of 鄭和 Zheng He (1371-1435) had closed itself against foreign contacts and their influences, and against the pressures exerted by the Northern and Western Tribes, leaving the seas open to smuggling and piracies. This is also part of the context amidst which Macao grew in historical importance.

Macao's Position at the Fringe of Both Zones (1580-1640)

It is therefore worth noting that the first Portuguese ship to reach China did not moor at Macao but in 屯門 Tuen Mun, then a small village situated on the west coast of what is now the New Territories of Hong Kong. There, in 1513, Jorge Álvares (? -1521) started to trade with China. Four years later, in 1517, a Portuguese envoy, Fernão Peres de Andrade (? -1523) accompanied by Tomé Pires (1465 ?-1524 or 1540) arrived in Guangdong to negotiate trading relations with China. And fortifications were built on 內伶仃 Neilingding Island, just in case! Japanese pirates or 倭寇 *wokou* were in fact so active along the southern Chinese coasts that in 1547 direct trade with Japan had been forbidden by China. In 1549, Jesuit Francis Xavier (1506-1552) was on his way to Japan on a missionary trip, but never stopped over in Macao.⁷ Back in Goa in 1551, he sailed again a few months later on his way to enter China in order to reach Beijing as an envoy of Portugal. But after difficulties in Malacca he died, rather unknown but exhausted and fairly isolated, on 上川 Shangchuan island. He was only 46 years old. Since then a relic of one of his arms has been preserved in Macao.

Such was the context when in 1553 Portuguese traders started to build some warehouses in Macao proper. Only two years later, in August 1555, the Portuguese Jesuit Belchior Nunes Barreto (1519-1571) was the first to land in Macao, hosted for a while by a friend.⁸ To

⁷ See Georg Schurhammer, 1882-1971, *Francis Xavier – his life, his times*, Volume I-IV, translated by M. Joseph Costelloe, Rome, The Jesuit Historical Institute, 1973, 1977, 1980, 1982. Volume IV, p. 312, note 45: “[...] Tursellinus places Xavier’s prophecy on Velho’s death during this stay of Xavier in 1551, and in Macao instead of Sancian; but Macao was not founded by the Portuguese until 1557, and Xavier never entered it [...]”

⁸ “Although Fr. Melchior Nunes Barreto, S.J., an emissary to Japan, was the first Jesuit to pass through Macau on November 20, 1555, Frs. Luis Fróis [...] and Giovanni Battista Del Monte arrived on August 24, 1562, the year of Xu Gwngqi's birth, and were the first Jesuits to actually set up a residence and start apostolic work there, helping the two diocesan priests who were there ministering to the 5,000 inhabitants of Macau, among whom were 600 Portuguese. [...] In 1563, Fathers Francisco Peres and Manuel Teixeira, the first biographer of Francis Xavier, together with a scholastic, Andre Pinto, reached Macau, and Frs. Fróis and Del Monte went on to Japan. [...] The Jesuits awaited instructions regarding the embassy to Beijing until late in 1565, when they received word from the Jesuit Provincial, Antonio de Quadros, to erect a permanent residence for the Society in Macau. They began to build at the end of December 1565. The new residence and chapel were made of earth and covered with wood and straw, and stood next to the humble hermitage and church of Santo Antonio.” — Adapted from “Macao the First Western University in the Far East” by Domingos Maurido Gomes dos Santos, in *Review of Culture*, No. 21 (1994) p. 8.

consolidate its trading outpost on the peninsula, Portugal obtained, but only in 1557, to lease Macao from China. As far as the Jesuits are concerned, they had to wait until 1565 to really set up their first residence in the small city and to build their first church, Saint Antony. Their community would soon welcome Melchior Carneiro (1516-1583), a person of great leadership and talents who was to be very efficient in the development of the Jesuit presence in the small city.

In 1543, Carneiro,⁹ aged 24, had entered the Society of Jesus when he was a student at the University of Coimbra, Portugal. After only eight years of formation, he had been appointed the first rector of the newly built College of Évora (1551-53). Not long later, he was called to be Superior of the Professed House in Lisbon (February-June 1553), but, in the same year, he was to accompany to Rome the first Superior Provincial of the very first Jesuit province erected in 1546 in Portugal, Simão Rodrigues de Azevedo (1510-1579). The man was called by Ignatius of Loyola, the founder and first Superior General of the Society of Jesus, in order to justify his governance of the province. It was during that sojourn in Rome that Pope Julius III (1487-1555), at the request of King John III of Portugal, chose Carneiro to be coadjutor bishop with the right of succession of another Jesuit, João Nunez Barreto, appointed Patriarch of Ethiopia. Both of them were the first Jesuits ordered by obedience to the Pope to accept to be bishop. Ignatius had accepted the papal selection because their future duties will be full of hardships, not of honours! So, at the end of 1554 Carneiro, aged 35, set sail for India with a group of 12 other Jesuits, arriving there on April 1 1555. In Goa he taught moral theology (1555-56) and dogmatic theology (1558) and worked as a missionary on the Malabar Coast. His Episcopal ordination took place in Goa in 1562. In fact, Pius V, in 1566, seeing the impossibility for Carneiro to go to Ethiopia, appointed him bishop of Japan and China. Carneiro then sailed farther eastward and in 1567, aged 48, reached Macao.

As he was the first Catholic bishop to live in the growing Portuguese settlement, Melchior Carneiro is not remembered first for his scholarly or scientific achievements as one could have expected from a Jesuit, but for his caritative foundations. The first was in 1569, soon after his arrival, the ‘Santa Casa de Misericórdia’, the Holy House of Mercy: still extant as the oldest social institution in Macao, it is a “white-washed neoclassical structure”, one of the most

⁹ For the following détails, see Louis Pfister, S.J., 1833-1891, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine, 1552-1773*, 2 volumes, Shanghai, Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1932-1934 [Variétés Sinologiques, Nos. 59-60], Notice No. 5 et Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800*, Roma, Institutum Historicum S.I., and Paris, Letouzey & Ané, 1973, p. 45.

prominent buildings at the 'Largo do Leal Senado'. His intention was to do charitable work for the local community, and in so doing, to establish long lasting and fruitful contacts.¹⁰

It is a matter of history that most of the Jesuits already living in Macao had experienced the difficulties of learning the local language, and therefore had a natural inclination to attend the needs of the growing Portuguese community of seamen, traders and officials. With the help of some interpreters who would more easily learn the Portuguese language, the House of Mercy was instrumental in the role of a bridge-head, so to say. The long lasting relations evidently bore fruit on some higher level and perhaps in an unexpected way: to Bishop Carneiro is also attributed the merit of establishing the first two western-style hospitals in Asia. There patients suffering from leprosy and other tropical or contagious diseases were treated. One was named St Lazarus Hospital — by allusion to the resurrection of Lazarus related in John's Gospel (chapter 11) — and gave its name to the district; the second was St Raphael Hospital, by allusion to the miraculous healing of Tobit in the Old Testament of the Bible. Through both hospitals, Bishop Carneiro might also have initiated the first historical contacts between Chinese and western diagnostic methods and medical therapies.

As Macao was growing not only in the number of its inhabitants but also in importance, two unrelated measures are here worth a note. The first, in 1573, was the Chinese authorities' decision to have a wall constructed between Macao and China, less imposing but having the same purpose as that of the Great Wall in the North: to ward off the southern barbarians! The second, in January 1576, was the decision of Pope Gregory XIII (1502-1585) to erect Macao as a Catholic diocese with Carneiro as its bishop. In 1581, Bishop Carneiro, aged 62, with the permission of the Holy See and of the Jesuit Superior General Everard Mercurian (1514-1580), renounced his Episcopal office and started to live in the Jesuit community a simple religious life without any position or authority. Dom Belchior Carneiro (as he is also known) died two years later (1583) as he was about to leave for Japan. His remains have been kept later in the church of St. Paul, soon to be build, in Macao. To honour his memory, his skull is now exhibited in the Museum that has been established in recent past in the 'Santa Casa de Misericórdia'.

A few years before this death, the geopolitical context of the world changed dramatically due to important events on the Iberian Peninsula. In 1578, while fighting in Morocco, Portugal's young King Sebastian, who had no son, died in the Battle of Ksar El Kebir. This tragedy opened a dynastic crisis that lasted for two years until some members of the Council of Governors in Lisbon, who were determined to maintain the country's independence, sought help to find a new

¹⁰ On the topic of "charitable and religious institutions" established in Macao since its early ages, see, among many other studies, César Guillén-Nuñez, *Macao's church of Saint Paul : A glimmer of the baroque in China*, Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press in conjunction with Instituto Cultural do Governo da R.A.E. de Macao, 2009, p. 54-56.

king in the person of Philip II of Spain (1527-1598). From his mother's side, as the grandson of King Manuel I of Portugal, Philip could claim the Portuguese throne: he marched into Portugal and defeated the troops of his opponents in the Battle of Alcântara (August 25 1580). By so doing he was realizing his ancestors' early ambition to federate the whole of the Iberian Peninsula. This 'dynastic union' was the union of two royal powers in one single sovereign, each power administering its respective colonial territories. What the historians use to call the 'Iberian Union' was to last for sixty years (1580-1640), but not without consequences on the later developments of many events around the world, including in Macao.

The Iberian Union had not been established yet that another remarkable leader had entered the Asian stage in the person of the Neapolitan Jesuit Alessandro Valignano (范禮安 1539-1606). Born in Chieti to a respected Italian family, Valignano had done excellent studies in Law at the University of Padua, Italy. It happened that in 1562, aged 23, he was accused in Venice (perhaps without proof) of wounding a woman, then apprehended, condemned to some heavy fine, further on incarcerated for a few months, but finally freed with the help of some friends. Three years afterwards he met some Jesuits in Rome and, through a thorough spiritual conversion in 1566, aged 27, he entered the Jesuit Novitiate. In the 'Colegio Romano' he studied philosophy, helped the Jesuit community in some venial offices and studied theology. In 1570, aged 31, he was ordained a Catholic priest. Later on for two months he had to substitute the Master of the novices who had fallen ill; among the new Jesuits was Matteo Ricci, a young man aged 18 whom he would meet again in Macao.

But in July 1573 (the year the wall was built between Macao and China!) Gonçalo Alvares (1527?-1573), the first Visitor of the Jesuit missions in the East, died in a shipwreck on its way from Macao to Japan. It is therefore remarkable that Valignano, after only seven years of Jesuit life and aged 34, had already been chosen by the Jesuit Superior General Everard Mercurian to succeed Alvares as Visitor (that is Major Superior or Provincial) of all the Jesuit missions in the East, from Mozambique in Africa to Japan: these missions were forming the enlarged East Indies Jesuit Province, erected in 1549 and having Francis Xavier appointed as its first Provincial. These new responsibilities were crossing over the virtual boundaries of both "ecclesiastical" Portuguese 'Padroado' and Spanish 'Patronato', but the choice was not without reasons and it bore fruit.

First, during his formation as a Jesuit at the 'Colegio Romano', Valignano might have been highly esteemed not only by his teachers but also by two brilliant young Jesuits of his generation, who became extremely influential at that time of European Renaissance and Reformation in the Church. One was Christopher Clavius (1538-1612) from Germany, who

became a famous mathematician and astronomer, and the leading figure in the reform of the modern Gregorian calendar. He was one of the main authorities in European astronomy, and would continue to influence astronomical education for over fifty years; his textbooks were used all over Europe and relied on by missionaries. The other was Roberto Bellarmino (1542-1621), an Italian who in 1599, aged 57, became a cardinal of the Catholic Church. His teaching on dogmatics, his pedagogy on controversies and his redaction of a new catechism made him one of the most influential cardinals of the Catholic Church of that period. Valignano must have enormously benefited from the extended contacts he had with both of them for his future tasks on the field.

Secondly, the nomination of a Neapolitan priest to supervise the development of the Jesuit missions in Asia might perhaps have appeared quite controversial at that time. In fact, the Portuguese 'Padroado' and Spanish 'Patronato' in Asia had been in effect already for nearly fifty years. Knowing, as we have seen, what pure and not so pure motives had inspired the Treaty of Saragossa in 1529, Church authorities might have desired to put a few things in order. Valignano's nationality may be considered secondary, but not his apostolic ideas on the "enculturation" of Christian faith and practices, a perspective shared in the contacts aforementioned with some of the greatest minds of the European humanistic Renaissance. All this may have been interpreted as an effort by Rome to care more thoroughly for the quality of missionary activities in the East.

In summing up Valignano's duties, a commentator has written: "As Visitor, it was Valignano's responsibility to examine and whenever necessary reorganize mission structures and methods throughout India, China and Japan. He was given an enormous amount of leeway and discretion, especially for someone so young, and was answerable only to the Superior General in Rome. His commanding presence was only increased by his unusual height, enough to 'turn heads in Europe and to draw crowds in Japan'."¹¹ In the context sketched out above, had Valignano not reached Macao, the Jesuit presence in the future history of the city would have not been the same.

Leaving Rome for Lisbon on September 20 1573, in the Portuguese capital the young Major Superior took time to soundly establish the Jesuit Procuration for the Jesuit province of the "East Indies". The province, the headquarters of which were in Goa, needed a "procuration" that was to be the administrative centre of the financial transactions destined to support its Jesuit missions. And on March 21 1574, he left Lisbon for Goa that he reached only six months later, in early September 1574.

¹¹ Evangelization Dictionary Online, <http://dictionary.editme.com/Valignano> – accessed 2010.11.26.

Valignano staid in India for four years, visiting and reorganising the missionary work that the Jesuits had developed since Francis Xavier reached Goa in 1542. As Visitor, he was busy visiting, observing and reforming the work of the Jesuit communities. It should not be farfetched to think that his intuitions had been confirmed by what he saw and what he was determined to implement in Macao and in Japan, where he was sent for such a purpose. As a recent writer has concluded: Valignano was intent to insist “on a number of strategies” which were necessary for the Jesuit mission to succeed “in the hitherto closed countries of Japan and China: the need for accurate translations of texts to present Christian doctrine in an accessible language; respect for indigenous culture and mores; resistance to identifying mission activity with the expansion of the commercial interests and conquistador mentality; and, finally, exertions to insure a native clergy and hierarchy.” All these approaches were not only quite “novel” but “prescient”.¹²

Not until 1578 did he sail east towards Japan. On his way he stopped for a while in Macao. This first stay in the small town would not be long, only ten months (September 6 1578-July 7 1579). Melchior Carneiro had not retired yet and the Jesuits were busy in ministering in three parishes centred on poorly built churches (St. Lazarus, St. Anthony and St. Lawrence).¹³ They had also opened in 1572 an elementary reading and writing school (that is, teaching the Latin alphabet to read and understand some simple Portuguese language). An intermediary college would also be added a few years later where Latin language was also to be taught.¹⁴ But the impression Valignano received was that the Jesuits were discouraged and frustrated.

First, since the arrival in 1555 of Belchior Nunes Barreto and Fernão Mendes Pinto (1515-1583), that is twenty-three years earlier, Jesuits had tried several times, with or without the Portuguese envoys to the Chinese Emperor, to obtain a 票 *piao* or visa to travel and to settle inside China, but to no avail: as they could not speak the language, permission could not be granted.¹⁵ Secondly, the difficulty to learn how to speak and to read the local Cantonese language in order to get into a closer contact with the local Chinese population was a source of great frustration. They had nevertheless, around 1565, established a poorly equipped residence, enlarged later,¹⁶ but they were naturally rather inclined to address the moral and spiritual needs of the Portuguese community. In 1562, it is reported that “the total number of Portuguese inhabitants of Macao

¹² Lawrence S. Cunningham, reviewing Andrew Ross, *A vision betrayed: The Jesuits in Japan and China, 1542-1742*, Maryknoll, New York, Orbis Books, 1994, in *Commonweal*, March 22, 1996.

¹³ Cf. Domingos Mauricio Gomes dos Santos, “Macao, the First Western University in the Far East” in *Review of Culture* No. 21 (2nd Series) English Edition, *The Jesuits 1594-1994: Macao and China, East Meets West*, Macao, Instituto Cultural de Macao, 1994, pp. 5-25.

¹⁴ “The number of students grew rapidly. In 1592, there were two hundred, which included children of the inhabitants of Macao and captive boys who came to serve them.” – Cf. Gomes dos Santos, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

¹⁵ Gomes dos Santos, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

¹⁶ Gomes dos Santos, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

reached already at that time some 500 or 600”¹⁷ persons comprising sea men, traders, officials, staffs and their families (if they had started any).

Valignano employed himself to remedy to that situation. In a short while of only a few months, in the tiny agglomeration of Macao he had had quite a few occasions to appreciate the human qualities of simple Chinese families of fishermen, their living conditions and difficulties, their culture that was supporting their traditions, the popular festivals that were punctuating their lives and the pros and cons that laid behind the sophistication of the Ming administration. Still more deeply than what he had encountered for the last four years in Goanese India, all these observations were not necessary to convince him: as Visitor, Valignano was not in charge of the missions in the Philippines, but even under any ‘Padroado’ or ‘Patronato’, Jesuits could not start any work in China unless they were admitted into the cultural “fabric” of their land of adoption; they desire to settle in China, they have first to learn to speak, read and write the language that opens heart and mind to the values it is made to express.

Accordingly, before leaving for Japan, he wrote to the Jesuit Superior of India instructing him to send at least one Jesuit priest to Macao, the gifted companion he had known in India, Bernardino de Ferraris (1537-1584). But as the man was the new rector in Cochin, Michele Ruggieri (羅明堅, 1543-1607), doctor in law, was chosen in his stead as equally qualified for the job. Ruggieri arrived in Macao in July 1579, just a few weeks after Valignano had already departed for Japan but not without leaving his written instructions: no other task ought to be given to any of the new comers in Macao than to dedicate all their energy to learn the language and whatever is connected with it as the best preparation to their future work in China.

Michele Ruggieri started to do so without delay but, it should be noted, without proper teachers or proper study materials, and he invested himself in the task assigned to him: to learn the Chinese language spoken in Macao. That task was already difficult enough, but he soon discovered that the language of the Chinese officials (官話 *guan hua* or Mandarin Chinese) was different.¹⁸ As he was also attentive to learn Chinese etiquette and ways of proceeding with the ‘mandarins’, he became in this regard very helpful in his community, although tacitly confronted

¹⁷ Gomes dos Santos, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

¹⁸ See www.ricci.org/eng/features/index.htm accessed on 2010.11.28 : Yves Camus, *Jesuits’ Journeys in Chinese Studies*, p. 3 : Yang Fu-Mien, a Jesuit specialist in Chinese dialectology, is quoted with such a comment: “[...] By comparing the phonological and lexical features of the Mandarin dialect as described by Ruggieri with those of the Northern Mandarin dialect, we are able to prove that the official or standard Mandarin dialect of the late Ming dynasty was not based on the Northern Beijing dialect, but, most probably was based on a commonly accepted Southern dialect variety of Mandarin, more specifically the dialect of Nanking and its nearby environs.”– Cf. Ruggieri, Michele, 1543-1607; Ricci, Matteo, 1552-1610, *Dicionário português-chinês — Portuguese-chinese dictionary*, Editor John W. Witek, Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional Portugal; Macao, Instituto Português do Oriente; San Francisco, Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History, University of San Francisco, 2001, “Historical and Linguistic Introduction” by Yang Fu-Mien, p. 208-209.

with the disdain of some of its members who ignored the value of his efforts. For he realized the daunting task that he had to face. He wrote to Valignano, explained the situation and suggested sending to Macao his compatriot he had known and esteemed in India, Matteo Ricci, to share with him the burden of the work. The suggestion was accepted and followed in 1580, and Ricci, whom Valignano had known as a novice in Rome, arrived in Macao on August 7 1582. Thanks to Ruggeri's friendly contacts with officials in Guangzhou and Zhaoqing, both men were authorised to enter China and to settle first for a while in Zhaoqing, the capital of the province, in a better environment to learn Mandarin Chinese. So much so that, "between 1583 and 1588, but without any learning manuals, Ricci and Ruggieri started compiling what was to be the first bilingual European-Chinese, that is "Portuguese-Chinese", dictionary."¹⁹

As Ruggieri and Ricci had left Macao for good, or so will it be, similarly let us leave them in their "Christian expedition into the Kingdom of China". Meanwhile, Valignano in Japan had started implementing his apostolic policies that were going to be developed also in Macao in the following years.

In 1581, the Jesuit missions in Japan had been erected into a Jesuit vice-province, including also Macao, and detached from the Jesuit East Indies Province with Goa as its centre. In Japan the Visitor continued to urge the implementation of what he had already requested in India and summed up above: mastery of the language, respect for indigenous culture, resistance to mercantile and conquistador mentality, preparation for a native clergy and its hierarchy. Japanese candidates would be accepted in the Jesuit noviciate. But he had to overcome the dynamic opposition of the Jesuit Superior of Japan, Francisco Cabral (1529-1609), whose "method of evangelization was in direct contrast to Valignano's directives".²⁰

Valignano wrote later that although the mission had made some major gains during Francisco Cabral's tenure of office, the general methods used by the Superior were severely lacking. In addition to the problems of language study and racism, some of the Jesuits, and specifically Cabral, "were in the habit [so writes Valignano] to regard Japanese customs invariably as abnormal and to speak disparagingly of them. When I first came to Japan, our Jesuits (the crowd usually follows the leader), showed no care to learn Japanese customs, but at recreation and on other occasions were continually carping on them, arguing against them, and expressing their preference for our own ways to the great chagrin and disgust of the Japanese." There is an implicit belief in the Visitor's writing that leaders' influence is responsible for the behaviour of

¹⁹ Yves Camus, *op. cit.*, p. 4: "The manuscript has been lost for years, kept unknown in the Jesuit Archives in Rome. It was fortuitously discovered in 1934 by the Jesuit historian Pasquale M. d'Elia (1890-1963), and has only recently been reproduced and published in 2001."

²⁰ Evangelization Dictionary Online, <http://dictionary.editme.com/Valignano> , 3a – accessed 2010.11.26.

those of lesser rank. Thus in Valignano's view any lapse in the mission's behaviour towards the Japanese was surely a result of Cabral's heavy handedness. He immediately began to reform many aspects of the mission, and wherever possible, undermined Cabral's authority as Superior of the Jesuit mission in Japan."²¹

Besides these internal difficulties, Valignano wanted to secure the apostolic and financial support of Pope Gregory XIII in Rome and Philip II of Spain, the head of the 'Patronato': as the Iberian Union had just begun two years earlier, he organised the first ever diplomatic mission from Japan to Italy, Spain and Portugal (1582-1590), a group composed of four Christian Japanese boys, a Jesuit priest as interpreter, all under the protection and support of three *daimyos* of Kyushu converted to Christian faith.²²

Then adversities began soon to strike: back in Macao in 1582, and then in Goa as Provincial of the "Oriental Indies" (1583-1587), in 1585 the papal order came that the Jesuit mercantile transactions in Nagasaki had to be stopped immediately: the matter was that the local *daimyo* of Nagasaki, Ōmura Sumitada (1533-1587), who controlled the port of Nagasaki and in 1580 converted to Christianity, had as a gift of gratitude entrusted to the Jesuits the management of the harbour, including its fortress,²³ and entitled them to perceive the taxes due on the lucrative trade between Japanese silver against Chinese silk, regularly shipped from Macao. The Jesuit mission's development had till then relied heavily on that main source of financial support needed to sustain parishes, Jesuit communities, noviciate, seminaries, printing press and publications.

Soon afterwards, in 1587, a second blow was received: fearful of the growing popular interest for and financial importance of Christianity in Japan, the *daimyo* Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537-1598) issued an edict expelling all Christian missionaries from the country. Fortunately, that edict was not strictly enforced.

Appointed again as Visitor (1587-96), Valignano continued to promote his apostolic reforms in the following years, travelling back and forth between Japan and Macao where he sojourned for two important years in 1592-1594. He had just held an important meeting with Jesuits in Nagasaki, the second Vice-Provincial Congregation of the Jesuits in Japan. The main topic under discussion was the establishment outside of Japan of a college destined to the formation of the younger Japanese Jesuits, the number of which was steadily growing in the ever

²¹ *Ibid.*, <http://dictionary.editme.com/Valignano>, 3a.

²² Cf. *Japanese Travellers in Sixteenth-Century Europe. A Dialogue Concerning the Mission of the Japanese Ambassadors to the Roman Curia (1590)*. Edited by Derek Massarella, Chuo University, Japan, Translated by J. F. Moran, Hakluyt Society, Third Series: 25, Ashgate, December 2012, 504 pp.]

²³ Cf. http://wapedia.mobi/en/Alessandro_Valignano, '5. Mercantilism and the Port of Nagasaki' and '5. 1. Conflicts with Rome', accessed 2010.11.26.

more troublesome context of the civil war in the country (1584-1598) between the powerful two *daimyos* Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543-1616). In the projected college, in some more peaceful surroundings, the young Jesuits “could only benefit from having contact with the completely Christian western atmosphere, which was, in spite of everything, the Portuguese atmosphere of Macao — learning the language, customs and manners of the Europeans [...] Macao, in the heart of the Far East, was an ideal site for this objective.”²⁴ As recent new investments of the Japanese Province could support the project, Valignano decided to implement it.

As fecund as the idea has proven to be, it did not realise without difficulties: the former Provincial of Japan, “a tried and true expert in Japanese affairs” but whom the Visitor had to replace by somebody else, Francisco Cabral himself feared that the direction given to the project was “perhaps a process of Westernisation”.²⁵ Valignano knew how to deal with the strong man and with that objection, but some stronger opposition came also from the Jesuit leadership in Goa which had already and successfully established such a college in 1542—fifty years earlier. Valignano, thinking about Japan and China, considered the distances, the risks at sea, the delays of navigation and the cultural differences with the Indian world; about all of these challenges, he had acquired a vivid experience. So, in a letter to the Jesuit General Superior Claudio Aquaviva (1581-1645), he refuted one by one the fifteen or so reasons given by Jesuit authorities in Goa²⁶ against the project of a new foundation in Macao, and then pushed ahead for its realisation. He left for Macao which he reached in late October 1592 for that purpose.

“While he awaited passage to Goa at the [Residence-College of the] Holy Mother of God [...], he communicated about the project with the priests of the China mission, under whose jurisdiction the territory fell. The initiative was done in a whisper”, relates historian Domingos Mauricio Gomes dos Santos.²⁷ This remark seems to allude to the Jesuit context of the scene: the Italian Visitor had a project generated by the apostolic needs of the Japan mission, that was under Spanish ‘Patronato’ and growing at full speed despite local difficulties as already mentioned, and he was addressing a Jesuit community under Portuguese ‘Padroado’ at the time of the Iberian Union and struggling with difficulties to enter China!

Fortunately, as Gomes dos Santos continues, “in fact, the Superior of that mission, Rector of the Residence-College of the Holy Mother of God, Fr. Duarte Sande ([in charge] 1585-1598) was thinking about construction. The installations were already tight and uncomfortable even for the day-time students. [...] Why not think about a centre for cultural expansion for the Far East,

²⁴ Gomes dos Santos, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

²⁵ Gomes dos Santos, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.* p. 9.

like the [College of] St Paul's of Goa was serving for all of India, even Malacca and the Moluccas, Eastern Africa and Ethiopia."²⁸ When one knows the apostolic policies and methods cherished by Alessandro Valignano in Japan and for China, as recalled above as "cultural adaptation", one cannot but just wonder if they included also in any direction some already mentioned "cultural expansion". Yet the history of the project he had in mind could provide elements able to dispel any doubt.

So the project took shape without delay. The focus of this paper is not to delve on the stages of its construction, which has been the focus of various specialised studies.²⁹ It is just to recall how Alessandro Valignano's ideas for the Jesuit missions have been realised in Macao and not in Japan for some historical reasons: he had not foreseen them before his death in 1606, in the city.

SAINT PAUL'S UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF MACAO

With the 'Santa Casa de Misericórdia' that still stands in the very centre of Macao, Saint Paul's College remains the most important establishment of Jesuit history in the place. Despite the fact that even its ruins have nearly totally disappeared, was it not for the landmark façade of its church, its development and its destruction continue to attract the attention of historians of architecture and arts as the energy of a black hole witnesses for the earlier age of a star.³⁰ Studies have been published that comment on the architectural and aesthetic value of what remains of its grandeur. But our attention will try to explore just a few aspects of the intercultural, scientific and religious role it played, directly or indirectly, in East Asia. This role barely survived the expulsion from Macao and the suppression of its Jesuit founders in 1762, before itself vanishing in 1835 as a military barrack, in fire and smoke.

In 1592, when the decision was taken to go ahead with the project, Jesuits in Macao had already twenty years of experience in primary and intermediary education, as it had been briefly mentioned earlier in this paper.³¹ The purpose of the new establishment was first and foremost intended to address the intellectual and apostolic formation of young Japanese Jesuits; they had

²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 9.

²⁹ See *Religion and Culture: An International Symposium Commemorating The Fourth Centenary of the University College of St. Paul, Macao, 28 November to 1 December 1994*, Editor John W. Witek, Co-ordinator Michel Reis, Macao, Instituto Cultural de Macao, University of San Francisco, Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History, 1999, 398 pp. — Pinheiro Francisco Vizeu, Yagi Koji, Korenaga Miki (Tokyo Institute of Technology, Japan), "St. Paul's College Historical Role and Influence in the Development of Macao", in the *Journal of Asian Architecture Building Engineering*, Vol. 4, No. 1, 2005, pp. 43-50 — César Guillén-Núñez, *Macao's church of Saint Paul : A glimmer of the baroque in China*, Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press in conjunction with Instituto Cultural do Governo da R.A.E. de Macao, 2009, xv, 178 pp.

³⁰ The construction of the Sao Paulo church lasted thirty-five years, beginning in 1602, completed only in 1637.

³¹ Cf. note 11 above for details. See also *Religion and Culture*, p. 323: "The Society provided since 1572 a school that taught how to read, write, count and learn music. In 1584 grammar classes were begun with twelve students."

to flee Japan after the Hideyoshi's expulsion edict of 1587 to some more secure place; there they would pursue their spiritual training before being admitted to priesthood. Valignano had already acquired some experience on such a field in Japan through the running of two seminaries; those had been established in disaffected Buddhist temples and for them he had written some regulations.³²

What would have been the sources of these regulations? When in 1573 Valignano left Rome, the Jesuits had already some experience in secondary and tertiary education: their first schools had been established already before the death of Ignatius of Loyola in 1556. But, except for the personal experiences of the Jesuits during their own years in university college, in Paris or elsewhere, these beginnings in Jesuit education had little to compare with their later pedagogical experiences. Discussions in Évora and Coimbra, Portugal, would result in the successive redactions of the famous compendium entitled *Ratio and Institutio Studiorum Societatis Jesu* or "Method and System of the Studies of the Society of Jesus".³³ Valignano might have heard of the preparation of such an influential document before he left Europe in 1573 or through the many Jesuits who stopped over in Goa or Macao on their way to Japan. But researchers in the archives of St Paul's College, scattered in a few places of Europe, do not seem to give any hint that he had taken part into the survey.

The same year it opened its classes, that is "before the 28th of October 1594, the College had four courses: one for Reading and one for Writing, with more than two-hundred and fifty boys; another for Grammar; and another for Humanities, which had been added in that year and in which, aside from external students, seven Jesuit brothers from India studied. A few more students from Japan and Goa were awaited in the following year in order to form the first course

³² "The need for a natively trained clergy was obvious to Valignano, and so, in 1580, a recently emptied Buddhist monastery in Arima province was converted into a nascent seminary. There twenty-two young Japanese converts began to the process of instruction towards holy orders. The process was repeated two years later at Azuchi, where the seminarians numbered thirty-three." [...] "...because Valignano emphasized the need for cultural adaptation, the original décor was left largely unchanged. This pattern was repeated in other seminaries at other sites" [...]. See "the 1580 *Principles for the Administration of Japanese Seminaries*, which goes into great detail about seminary methods." – http://wapedia.mobi/en/Alessandro_Valignano, 4.

³³ "During the generalate of Claudius Acquaviva (1581-1614), the educational methods of the Society [of Jesus] were finally formulated. In 1584 six experienced schoolmen, selected from different nationalities and provinces, were called to Rome, where for a year they studied pedagogical works, examined regulations of colleges and universities, and weighed the observations and suggestions made by prominent Jesuit educators. The report drawn up by this committee was sent to the various provinces in 1586 to be examined by at least five experienced men in every province. The remarks, censures, and suggestions of these men were utilized in the drawing up of a second plan, which, after careful revision, was printed in 1591 as the *Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum*. Reports on the practical working of this plan were again sent to Rome, and in 1599 the final plan appeared, the *Ratio atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Jesu*, usually quoted as *Ratio Studiorum*. Every possible effort had been made to produce a practical system of education; theory and practice alike had been consulted, suggestions solicited from every part of the Catholic world, and all advisable modifications adopted. The *Ratio Studiorum* must be looked upon as the work not of individuals, but of the whole Society." – New Advent-Catholic Encyclopedia online, www.newadvent.org/cathen/12654a.htm, accessed 2010.12.04.

in Arts. In addition, there were courses of Morals and of Theology.”³⁴ One may assume that the medium of teaching at the elementary and intermediary level was Portuguese for these boys and young Jesuits of overseas various origins.

But Valignano, who had left for Goa in November 1594 and returned to Macao in April 1597 would soon proceed in writing down the new *Ordo* or “regulations” for the College as he had done in Japan. When he was in Goa, he might have received a copy of the 1591 provisory edition of the *Ratio Studiorum*, for he writes in the Preface of the new *Ordo*: “As this College is now beginning to take shape with regard to studies and lacks a sure order to follow, and as the teachers and brothers who will read and study here come from diverse Provinces where there are different College customs; [...] [thus] it seems necessary to me to make some notes about what the studies should be like, aside from all that [is] required by the *Ratio Studiorum*, all of which can be put into practice according to the number of teachers and courses in this college.”³⁵ And as he did in his regulations written for seminaries in Japan, he insisted first on the learning of the necessary languages, that is first Japanese or Chinese, and Latin for all intermediary and advanced students.

Apart from these basic requests, other detailed regulations can here be left over to some other specialised inquiry. More important matters have to be touched upon that are relevant to the influence exerted later by St Paul’s College in Asia.

The main issue concerns certainly the curriculum followed by the college, particularly as far as humanities and sciences and the balance between the two are concerned. In an important article on such topics,³⁶ Professor Ugo Baldini first makes a sobering remark: “The college’s primary purpose was to be a training place for missionaries to Japan, and overlooking this fact may easily lead to systematic distortions in historical reconstructions.”³⁷ Based on this premise, his research is very careful in observing the “development of the courses and the teaching programmes” in order to take into account, as far as it is documented, the real situation of the college at least during its fifty or so first years of existence (see Table A).

As far as humanities are concerned, courses were basically of three kinds: philosophy, moral theology and theology, and as far as sciences were concerned, only mathematics are documented with the names of the Jesuit teachers and the sheer number of students for each course. Most of the time there were less than 10 students each year, as the annexed table can

³⁴ Gomes dos Santos, *op. cit.*, p. 12., quoting José Montanha, *Apparatos para a Historiada Bispaço de Macao*, fol. 247.

³⁵ Gomes dos Santos, *op. cit.*, p. 12, quoting Montanha, *ibid.*, fol. 277ro ff.

³⁶ Ugo Baldini, “The Jesuit College in Macao as a meeting point of the European, Chinese and Japanese mathematical traditions. Some remarks on the present state of research, mainly concerning sources (16th–17th centuries)” in *The Jesuits, the Padroado and East Asian science (1552-1773)*, edited by Luís Saraiva and Catherine Jami, Singapore, Hackensack, NJ, World Scientific, 2008, pp. 33-79.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

easily show. Occasionally, one can also see that mathematics and philosophy are linked in the curriculum. This reflects the opinion of Johannes Kepler (1571-1630) who had written: “The main objective of all investigations of the outside world is the discovery and the harmony that God imposed and that He has revealed in the language of mathematics.”³⁸ Hence the importance of mathematics in the *Ratio Studiorum* in the 1566 version that Valignano might have known of: “Concerning mathematics, the mathematician shall teach, in this order, the first six books of Euclid, arithmetic, the sphere [of Sacrobosco],³⁹ cosmography, astronomy, the theory of the planets, the Alfonsine Tables, optics, and timekeeping. Only the second year philosophy students shall hear his lectures, but sometimes, with permission, also the students of dialectics.”⁴⁰

***The Church of
The Mother of God***

*Bell tower,
Procuratoria of Japan,
Rooms and workshops,
Japanese Seminar*

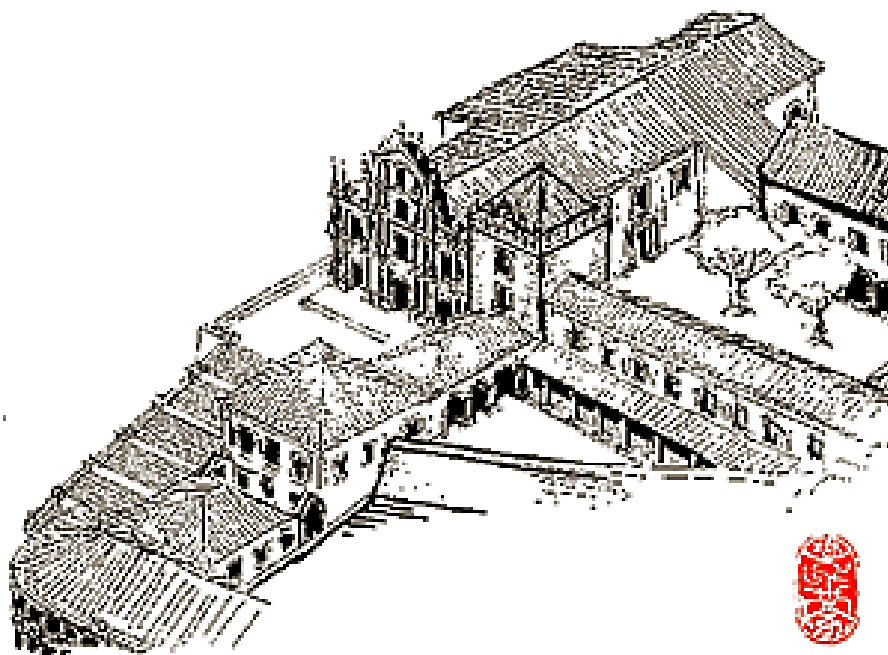


Table A

Documented courses on philosophical and theological subjects in Macao up to 1650 (those before 1594 were private and reserved for Jesuits) and Mathematics courses (year, number of students, teacher’s name). This table is based on Ugo Baldini, “The Jesuit College in Macao as a meeting point of mathematical traditions” in *The Jesuits, the Padroado and East Asian science (1552-1773)*, edited by Luís Saraiva and Catherine Jami, Singapore, Hackensack, NJ, World Scientific, 2008, pp. 46 and 55.

³⁸ Gianni Criveller, “The Background of Matteo Ricci: The Shaping of his Intellectual and Scientific Endowment” in *Portrait of a Jesuit: Matteo Ricci*, Macao, Macao Ricci Institute, 2010, p. 25-26, quoted in Michela Fontana, *Matteo Ricci. Un Gesuita alla corte dei Ming*, Milan, Mundadori, 2005 (translation from Italian by the author).

³⁹ John of Holywood (c. 1195-c. 1256) also known as Johannes de Sacrobosco or Sacro Bosco was a scholar, monk, and astronomer (probably English, but possibly Irish or Scottish) who taught at the University of Paris and wrote the authoritative mediaeval astronomy text *Tractatus de Sphaera*. See Wikipedia, accessed on 2011.01.07 : http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Johannes_de_Sacrobosco .

⁴⁰ Gianni Criveller, *op. cit.*, p. 26, quoting Albert Van Helden and Elizabeth Burr, Se in *The Galileo Project*, Houston, Rice University, <http://galileo.rice.edu/gal/romano.html>, accessed 3 October 2008.

Philosophy, Theology Courses		Teaching Mathematics		Time in Macao
		1578 / 9 1579 / 8 1580 / 1 1581 / 2 1582 / 3	Michele Ruggieri 羅明堅 M. Ruggieri M. Ruggieri M. Ruggieri; Pedro Gomez M. Ruggieri; P. Gornez; Matteo Ricci	1579-1582 1581-1585 1582-1583
1592-93 1595-96 1596-97	Theology; Moral Theology Theology, Philosophy Theology; Moral Theology	1597 / 8	Nicola Longobardi 龍華民; Diego Pantoja 龐迪我	1597 1597-1600
1601-02	Theology; Philosophy	1598 / 9 1601 / 2	D. Pantoja Carlo Spinola; Muzio Rocchi; Francisco Lopes	1601-1605 ?
1602-03	Theology; Moral Theology; Philosophy	1602 / 3	M. Rocchi; F. Lopes	
1603-04	Theology; Moral Theology; Philosophy	1603 / 4	M. Rocchi; Sabatino De Ursis 熊三拔; F. Lopes	1603-1606
1604-05	Theology; Philosophy		M. Rocchi; S. De Ursis; F. Lopes	
1604 : The China Mission becomes independent from Macao (apostolic centre of the Jesuit Province of Japan)				
1606-07 1607-08 1608-09	Philosophy Philosophy Theology; Moral Theology;	1605 / 6 1606 / 7 1607 / 8 1608 / 9	S. De Ursis; Manuel Dias Jr. 錢德明; F. Lopes M. Dias Jr.; F. Lopes M. Dias Jr.; F. Lopes M. Dias Jr.	1605-1611
1609-10 1610-11	[Philosophy] Theology; Philosophy	1609 / 10 1610 / 11	M. Dias Jr. Giulio Aleni 艾儒略 (rmathematics)	1610-1612
1611-12	Mathematics	1611 / 2	M. Dias Jr.; Francesco Sambiasi G. Aleni, F. Sambiasi	1610-1613
1612-13 1614-15	Mathematics	1612 / 3	(one of them taught rmathematics) G. Aleni, F. Sambiasi	
1615-16 1616-17	Theology; Moral Theology Moral Theology [Theology, Philosophy]	1616 / 7 1617 / 8	(one of them taught mathematics) Jan Wremann (Uremann); Cristoforo Borri	1616-1620 ?
1617-18 1619-20	Moral Theology; Philosophy; Mathematics; A Course On "Livros Sinicos" Moral Theology	1618 / 9 1619 / 20	J. Wremann (teacher of mathematics); C. Borri; M. Dias Jr.; S. De Ursis S. De Ursis; J. Wremann. M. Dias Jr.	
		1619 / 20 1620 / 1	Johann Schreck 鄧玉函(Terrentius); Johann Adam Schall 湯若望; Wenceslas Pantaleon Kirwitzer; Francisco Furtado. M. Dias Jr. J. Schreck; J.A. Schall; W.P. Kirwitzer; M. Dias Jr.	1619-1621 1619-1627 1619-1627 1619-1625
1623-24	Moral Theology	1620 / 1 1621 / 2	J.A. Schall; W.P. Kirwitzer Giacorno Rho 羅雅谷	
1634-35	Theology; Moral Theology; Philosophy	1622 / 3 1623 / 4 1625 / 6	G. Rho; C. Borri W.P. Kirwitzer	1622-1624
		1638 / 9 1639 / 40 1640 / 1 1641 / 2 1642 / 3	Giovanni Antonio Rubino G.A. Rubino; G. Aleni G. Aleni [G. Aleni ?] Martino Martini 衛匡國	1638
1643-44 1645-46	Theology; Moral Theology; Philosophy Theology; Moral Theology; Philosophy	1645 / 6 1646 / 7	F. Sambiasi; (Michael Boym?); Johannes Nikolaus Smoguleck ⁴ Michal Boym 卜弥格	1642
1647-48 1649-50	[no higher course taught] [no higher course taught]			1645-1646 1649-1650

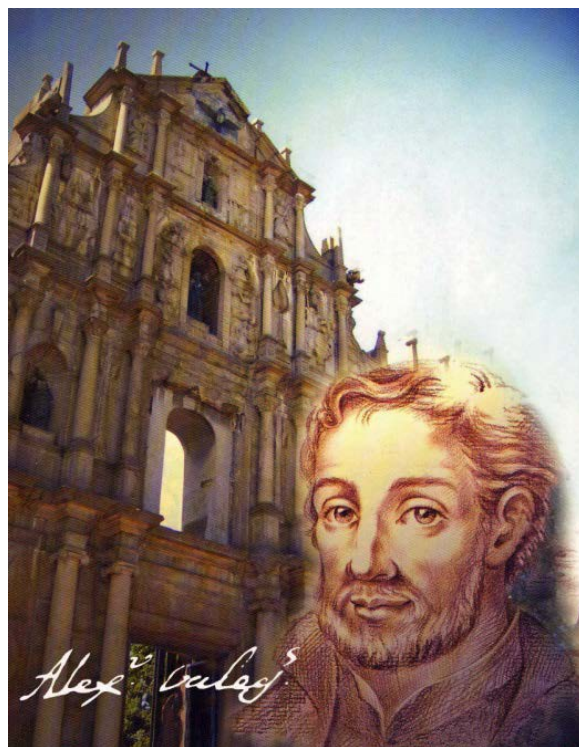
As far as teaching materials are concerned, most of them were the syllabus that the teacher had written himself in Latin beforehand. That was the basis of his teaching which he dictated to the students for later usage, be that reviewing, memorizing or disputing in public debates. That had been the most traditional and pedagogically fruitful method recommended by the *Ratio Studiorum*. Most of these materials are now lost or scattered, ignored for most, in various archives repositories in Europe, or they have simply disappeared in the chaos of history. But some others have survived many of these crises, in particular the printed materials the existence of which was due to Valignano's "humanistic spirit": does he not boast that in Nagasaki a Japanese grammar and a dictionary had been printed after a compilation that lasted from 1590 till 1603, thirteen years of hard labour on 32,798 entries?⁴¹ To achieve that feat he had ordered a printing press be shipped to Japan, and another to Macao in 1595, a copy of which is still exhibited in the Macao Museum of History. The printing press has been the source of many pastorally useful catechetical materials, translations of eastern or western Classics, and other scholarly publications.

But soon after the first years of operation of Saint Paul's College in Macao, two important unrelated events have affected the future destiny of the establishment. The first in 1604 was the Jesuit decision in Rome to appoint Matteo Ricci Superior of the China Mission as independent from Macao (that remained the centre of the Japanese Province). The second, ten years later in 1614, was the order of the first *shogun* of Japan, Tokugawa Ieyasu, to expulse all missionaries from the country. They took refuge in Macao. That was the beginning of a terrible persecution against Japanese Christians. Since that time on, Japan would remain closed to all foreign influences until two and a half centuries later when the Meiji reforms in 1868 would open a new era.

In Macao, the main purpose of the college was to foster the spiritual and academic formation of young Japanese Jesuits and seminarians: that was therefore maintained in the initial orientation at the service of this exiled young clergy. But, as it remained under the Portuguese 'Padroado', it became more important than even before as the only gate to enter China. That is why its continued development, as shown in Table A, was mainly geared towards the China Mission. Actually most of the famous graduates of the college have been important Jesuit China missionaries, most of them former teachers of mathematics — understood in the rich meaning of the term as detailed in the above quotation of the *Ratio Studiorum*. And in 1615, the Jesuit Superior General Aquaviva erected the China Mission into a Jesuit Vice-Province independent from the Jesuit Province of Japan, which still kept its centre in Macao.

⁴¹ [http://wapedia.mobi/en/Alessandro Valignano](http://wapedia.mobi/en/Alessandro_Valignano), 3. 1. Language study – accessed 2010.12.05.

It would exceed the scope of this article to give here a rather complete list of Jesuits who graduated at Saint Paul's College in the first 50 years of its operation (1594-1644) — that is before the Manchu conquest of China and the establishment of the Qing dynasty. Out of a longer list that would span late Ming and early Qing times, thirty-two persons only have been selected, either for their scholarly work in compilation of the necessary study tools, in translations of Chinese Classics, in commentaries made on these texts, on scholarly publications in China⁴² or in Europe, on their scientific expertise, on their contributions to the Chinese Imperial



court or on the Jesuit responsibilities they had been entrusted with. The list is therefore meant to be just a sample of the fruitful formation completed at St Paul's College.

These men, including those fully immersed in direct missionary activity, were on the average in their thirty years of age when they arrived, stayed usually for two or three years in Macao and then spent the remainder of their life, long or brief, in the Chinese Empire (see Table B). Among them was one of the first Chinese Jesuits, 吳歷 Wu Li, aliás 漁山 Yushan (1632-1718), a man of letters (*literatus*) and painter known as one of the "Six Masters of Early Qing" school. Wu Yushan spent seven years at Saint Paul's College where he became a Jesuit before ministering until his death Catholic communities living under persecution in the 江南 Jiangnan region, at the time of the so called "Rites Controversy" in China.

⁴² See for instance recently published the *Sequel to the Chinese Christian Texts from the Zikawei Library*, Nicolas Standaert, Ad Dudink and Wang Renfang editors, 34 volumes, Taipei, Taipei Ricci Institute, 2013. This collection reproduces not yet known or not yet published texts which were originally co-produced by Chinese and Europeans in China. These prints and manuscripts revive the early contacts between China and Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. — "The present collection of 34 volumes includes 84 titles from the Zikawei (Xujiahui) Library in Shanghai. Two of these titles cover already 14 volumes: 張星曜 Zhang Xingyao's 天教明辨 *Tianjiao mingbian* and Louis de Poirot's translation of the *Old (incomplete) and New Testament*. The remaining 82 titles cover a wide range of subjects such as Bible texts, Christian explanations of the *Book of Changes*, apologetics, history of religion and science, and include unique or rather rare titles, for example 敬一堂誌 *Jingyi tang zhi*, 人類源流 *Renlei yuanliu*, 崇修精蘊 *Chongxiu jingyun*, 呂立本 Lü Liben 易經本旨 *Yijing benzhi*, 尚祐卿 Shang Huqing 補儒文告 *Bu Ru wengao*, 陸希言 Lu Xiyuan 億說 *Yishuo*, and 陳薰 Chen Xun 性學醒迷 *Xingxue xingmi*." From www.riccibase.com/index.php/-activities-menu/publications/32-publications2, accessed 203.09.13.

Table B :

Dates of Presence in Macao of a Few Jesuits of the China Mission

[after 1594, at St Paul's College]

Emperors' Name	Jesuit's Name	Dates	In Macao	Age in China
明 MING 萬曆 WANLI 1573-1620	Michele Ruggieri 羅明堅, <i>天主實錄 Tian Zhu Shi Lu</i> (The real record of the Lord of Heaven)	1543-1607	1579-1582	36-64
	Pedro Gomez First Jesuit Superior in Macao, Vice-Provincial (Japon-China)	1535-1600	1581-1585	46-65
	Matteo Ricci 利瑪竇 1588 Chinese-Portuguese dictionary. 1593 Tetrabiblion Sinense de moribus , "The Chinese Four Books on morals" – 交友論 <i>Jiao You Lun</i> (On Friendship), 天主實義 <i>Tian Zhu Shi Yi</i> (The real meaning of "Lord of Heaven"), etc.	1552-1610	1582-1583	30-58
明 MING 泰昌 TAICHANG 1620-1621	Lazzaro Cattaneo 郭居静 Chinese vocabulary arranged in the usual alphabetical order of the Europeans and arranged according their accents), a Chinese-uropean Vocabulary. In 1594. foundation of Saint Paul's College	1560-1640	1593	33-80
	Nicola Longobardi 龍華民 Succeeds to M. Ricci as superior of the China mission 1610-1622	1565-1655	1597	32-90
	Diego Pantoja 龐迪我 Musician; astronomer (correction of the calendar) and geographer (measure of latitudes).	1571-1618	1597-1600	26-47
	Sabatino De Ursis 熊三拔 Astronomer and hydraulician, introduces in China European pharmacopeia and essences distillation.	1575-1620	1603-1606	28-45
	Manuel Dias Jr. 錢德明 唐景教碑頌正詮 <i>Tang Jing jiao bei song zheng quan</i> (Correct interpretation of the praise carved on the Tang stele of the Luminous doctrine, <i>Jing Jiao</i>).	1574-1659	1605-1611	31-85
	Nicolas Trigault 金尼閣 西儒耳目資 <i>Xi Ru Er Mu Zi</i> ["audio-visual" aid to western scholars]. Translator of Ricci's Journals <i>Della entrata della Compagnia de Giesù e Christianità nella Cinà</i> into Latin.	1577-1628	1610	33-51
	Giulio Aleni 艾儒略 Mission in Shansi and Fujian, Vice-Provincial of China 1641.	1582-1649	1610-1612	28-67

Emperors' Name	Jesuit's Name	Dates	In Macao	Age in China
明 MING 天啓 TIANQI 1621-1628	Álvaro de Semedo 曾德照	1585-1658	1616-1621	31-73
	1625, Xi'an (西安府), 陝西 Shensi, discovery of the 景教 Jingjiao stele, Vice-Provincial of China 1645-1650.			
	Johann Schreck 鄧玉函	1576-1630	1619-1621	43-54
	Astronomer in Beijing to reform the calendar, naturalist and collector (<i>Plinius indicus</i>).			
	Johann A. Schall 湯若望	1592-1666	1619-1627	27-74
	Succeeds to Schreck in correcting calendar; president of tribunal of Mathematics; promotes European astronomy; 1648, superior of the Beijing residence, builds 南堂 Nan Tang church; mandarin of 1 st order, astronomer; historian.			
清 QING 順治 SHUNZHI 1644-1662	Giacomo Rho 羅雅谷	1592-1638	1622-1624	30-46
	Astronomer, cooperates with Shall on calendar.			
	Ignacio da Costa 郭納爵	1599-1666	1634	35-67
	大學 <i>Da Xue</i> : <i>Sapientia Sinica</i> (Chinese wisdom).			
	Martino Martini 衛匡國	1614-1661	1642	28-47
	Geographer and historian: <i>Novus Atlas Sinensis</i> (Rome, 1654), <i>De bello Tartarico in Sinis historia</i> (1654), <i>Sinicae historiae decas prima res à gentis origine ad Christum natum in extrema Asia, sive Magno Sinarum Imperio gestas complexa</i> (The first ten divisions of Chinese history, affairs in far Asia from the beginning of the people to the birth of Christ, or surrounding the emerging great empire of the Chinese), Munich 1658 and Amsterdam 1659.			
清 QING 順治 SHUNZHI 1644-1662	Johannes N. Smogulecki 穆尼閣	1610-1656	1645-1646	35-46
	Mathematician, introduced logarithms to China			
	Michał Boym 卜弥格	1612-1659	1649-1650	37-47
	Herbalist, author of <i>Flora Sinensis</i> , envoy of Southern Ming court to Europe.			
	Ferdinand Verbiest 南懷仁	1623-1688	1658	35-65
	Astronomer for the reform of the calendar, rebuilt Beijing Observatory, wrote <i>Grammatica tartarea</i> (Manchu grammar) <i>Elementa linguae tartaricae</i> (Elements of the Manchu language), printed in Beijing 坤輿全圖 <i>Kun yu quan tu</i> (Map of the terrestrial globe, Beijing 1674).			
清 QING 順治 SHUNZHI 1644-1662	Philippe Couplet 柏應理,	1622-1693	1659	37-71
	西文四書直解 <i>Xi wen si shu zhi jie</i> : <i>Confucius Sinarum philosophus, sive scientia Sinensis latine exposita</i> (Confucius, philosopher of the Chinese, or the Chinese learning explained in Latin, Paris 1687. <i>Chinese Grammar, Chinese Dictionary</i> .			
	Prosper Intorcetta 殷鐸澤	1625-1696	1659	34-71
	中庸 <i>Zhong Yong</i> : <i>Sinarum scientia politico-moralis</i> (Politico-moral science of the Chinese) <i>Vita Confucii, principis sapientiae sinicae</i> (Life of Confucius, Prince of the Chinese wisdom). <i>Lun Yu</i> under the title <i>Sententiae</i> (Maxims). 1667. <i>Grammatica linguae Sinensis</i> (Grammar of the Chinese language) — <i>Testimonium de Cultu Sinensi</i> (Testimony on Chinese Cults), Paris, 1700 (318 pages in-8°).			
	Wolfgang Hertdrich 思理格	1625-1684	1660-1662	35-59
	文字考 <i>Wen zi kao</i> (Research on the Characters)			

Emperors' Name	Jesuit's Name	Dates	In Macao	Age in China
清 QING 康熙 KANGXI 1662-1723	Tomás Pereira 徐日升	1645-1708	1672	27-63
	Brilliant musician called to Beijing, he was sent by Kangxi Emperor, in 1648, to Nerchinsk [尼布楚] as interpreter with Gerbillon between Russian and Chinese delegations, musician, unofficial director of the imperial observatory.			
	Jean-François Gerbillon 張誠	1654-1707	1687 Ningpo	33-53
	Geographer, <i>Carte nouvelle de la Grande Tartarie</i> (New map of the Great Tartary or Manchuria).			
	Louis Le Comte 李明	1655-1728	1687 Ningpo	32-73
	<i>Nouveaux Mémoires sur l'état présent de la Chine</i> (New Memoirs on the Present State of China), Paris, 1696.			
	Joachim Bouvet 白進	1656-1730	1687 Ningpo	31-74
<i>État présent de la Chine</i> (The present state of China, Paris 1697), <i>Portrait historique de l'Empereur de Chine</i> (Paris, 1697).				
清 QING 雍正 YONGZHENG 1723-1736	Dominique Parrenin 巴多明	1665-1741	1698 Canton	33-76
	Translation of 資治通鑑綱目, 前編 <i>Zi zhi tong jian gang mu, qian bian</i> (Comprehensive Mirror to aid in Government, first part) by 司馬光 Sima Guang (1019-1086), <i>Histoire de la Chine</i> (History of China).			
	Henri M. de Prémare 馬若瑟	1666-1736	1698	32-70
	<i>Notitia linguae sinicae</i> (Note on the Chinese language), Guangzhou 1728, in 4 volumes, in Malacca (1831) and later on translated into English (Canton, 1847).			
清 QING 雍正 YONGZHENG 1723-1736	Joseph-Marie-Anne de Moyriac de Mailla 馮秉正	1669-1748	1703	34-79
	French translation of 朱熹 Zhu Xi (1130-1200), the 通鑑綱目 <i>Tong jian gang mu</i> (Universal Mirror, main lines and facts).			
清 QING 雍正 YONGZHENG 1723-1736	Antoine Gaubil 宋君榮	1689-1759	1722 Canton	33-70
	<i>Histoire abrégée de l'astronomie chinoise</i> (A Brief History of Chinese Astronomy), Paris 1729— <i>Traité de l'astronomie chinoise</i> (Treatise on Chinese astronomy) — <i>Histoire de Gen-tchis-can et de la dynastie des Mongou</i> (History of Genghis Khan and of the Mongol Dynasty), Paris 1739 — <i>Histoire de la grande dynastie des Thang</i> (History of the Great Tang dynasty, Paris 1791 — <i>Traité de la Chronologie chinoise</i> (Treatise on Chinese Chronology) <i>Description de la ville de Pékin</i> (Description of the City of Beijing), Paris 1765 — translations: 書經 <i>Shu Jing</i> (Paris, 1770); le 易經 <i>Yi Jing</i> et le 禮記, 1734.			
清 QING 乾隆 QIANLONG 1736-1796	Pierre Noël Le Chéron d'Incarville 湯執中	1706-1757	1740	34-51
	<i>Herbier des plantes de Chine</i> (Herbarium of plants of China) — <i>Dictionnaire Français-Chinois</i> (French-Chinese dictionary), 1752, 1362 pages, 2 columns.			
清 QING 乾隆 QIANLONG 1736-1796	Jean-Joseph-M. Amiot 錢德明	1718-1793	1750	31-74
	<i>Grammaire tartare-mandchoue</i> (Tartar-Manchu Grammar, Paris, 1788), in French— <i>Dictionnaire mandchou-français</i> (Manchu-French Dictionary, 3 vol. Paris, 1789-1790)— <i>Dictionnaire universel de la langue mandchoue</i> (Universal Dictionary of Manchu Language, 1781)— <i>Dictionnaire polyglotte</i> (Polyglot dictionary) in five languages (Sanskrit, Tibetan, Manchu, Mongol, Chinese) and three scripts (Tibetan, Manchu, Chinese),			

Among the late comers in Macao was Jean-Joseph-Marie Amiot (錢德明 1718-1793), a man of extraordinary talents as astronomer and researcher on Chinese history, linguistics, chronology, physics, literature, mathematics and music. He had lived in China for forty-two years, including the difficult last years of the Jesuit community in Beijing until 1775: it took in fact two years for the 1773 papal Decree on the abolition of the Jesuit order in the Catholic Church to reach Beijing and to be officially promulgated and implemented in China. Later on, Amiot continued alone his difficult pastoral activities, intercultural research and scientific publications for twenty more years until his solitary death.

In Macao, the Jesuits had already been abolished much earlier in 1762, four years after the Marquis of Pombal, Minister of Portugal, had banished all the Jesuits and their institutions from all Portuguese territories and possessions. So the Jesuits had to let other missionary personnel take over their work in Macao, first in Saint Paul's College established 168 years before, then in the Saint Ignatius Seminary established in 1623 and in the Saint Joseph Seminary established in 1728 for the formation respectively of the exiled Japanese and Chinese Catholic clergy. St. Joseph Seminary Church, still extant and recently restored to its original beauty, remains "an important heritage building and testimony to the missionary history of Macao" expressed in some Baroque architecture in which "western and local influences merge harmoniously through its structure and ornamentation". It was completed in 1758, just in the year when in Lisbon Pombal had the Jesuits removed and imprisoned. In Macao, the Society of Jesus had been actively present for 179 years.

From this historically important growth and dramatic decline remains the world known landmark of the ruins of Saint Paul's College and of its church of 'Madre de Deus'. The buildings of the college had partly been transformed into a military compound: a fire in the kitchen burned beyond control and destroyed the whole complex in 1835. Not until the end of the century did the Jesuits return to Macao for a future that has not been deprived from new trials: restored in 1814, the Society of Jesus did not return to Macao until 1890 at the instant request of the bishop of the diocese. The Jesuits resumed teaching in the diocesan seminary they had established in 1728, and later were entrusted with its direction. But due to re-ignited political tensions between Portugal and the Holy See, they were again expelled from Macao in 1910 and moved to Zhaoqing. Portugal authorities admitted them again in 1913 under the condition that they would work only in the Chinese part of the diocese of Macao.

Looking with hindsight through the prism of history at the complex but fruitful intercultural encounter initiated in Macao as a stage and with a few early generations of Jesuits as main actors, some refractions of the light, in other words some critical observations might be in order as to stimulate a better understanding of what had been at stake.

To start with, it is worth noting that the dynamics of the Portuguese and Spanish ‘protectorates’ concluded with the Holy See at both treaties of Tordesillas (1494) and Saragossa (1529) was first of all mercantilist and much less missionary as subsequent geopolitical events have shown. Macao had first been developed as a trading outpost at the door of China and a few years later in competition with Manila. Macao has experienced several times the military dimensions of this competition not only with the Spanish establishment but also with the Dutch⁴³ and the British.

Consequently, had not the Jesuits made good use of the ‘Padroado’, the intercultural role that Macao had inherited from their active apostolic “enterprise”, so thoroughly studied by Dauril Alden,⁴⁴ would have probably not been so important. In fact the trade scheme used by Valignano between Nagasaki and Macao to support the Japan mission might have been one of the causes, as explained supra, of the anti-catholic Hideyoshi persecutions out of which the construction of Saint Paul’s college was decided.

It is generally said that such an institution was the first western university college established in Asia (although Goa had already one since 1542!). But ‘Saint Paul’s’ in Macao has really been an intercultural hub in not a few aspects, among them the following.

In operation for 168 years under Jesuit leadership until the abolition of the Society of Jesus, it had benefited from the most advanced European pedagogical experience — as codified in the *Ratio Studiorum* — adapted by Valignano to the apostolic needs in Japan and in China. Through the teaching given there, a total of 665 young Jesuits, among them a majority of 404 was not Portuguese but coming from sixteen or so different European and East Asian nations. All of them finished their formation at the college before entering China.⁴⁵ The majority of them did pastoral work in all provinces of the Empire for 222 years (1553-1775), only a minority of them had been employed at the imperial court as “foreign experts”, as present day Chinese terminology uses to say. It has been through such a diversified approach that both Chinese and European cultures and traditions including Christianity—as shown above for the greatest of them—have been mutually introduced both in China and in the West.

⁴³ Three Dutch V.O.C. attacks on Macao in 1607, 1622, 1627.

⁴⁴ Dauril Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise : The Society of Jesus in Portugal, its Empire, and Beyond 1540-1750*, Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 1996.

⁴⁵ Cf. Joseph Dehergne S.J., *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800*, Roma, Institutum Historicum S.I., Paris, Letouzey & Ané, 1973, pp. 397-407.

This intercultural exchange had not been helped by its context, be it geopolitical (already mentioned) or historical. The ‘Copernican Revolution’,⁴⁶ the Reformation of the Catholic Church⁴⁷ and the age of Enlightenment had so deeply shaken the European intelligentsia that “adaptation” to foreign cultures might have been deemed by many missionaries too risky an apostolic policy to be followed. On the other hand they were involved — for good or bad reasons (religious orders competition mixed with nationalistic feelings) — in the Chinese Rites controversy. Historians know that “a clash of wills”⁴⁸ resulted that was to destroy mutual understanding between East and West for long decades to come. They know also that to be real, cultural osmosis has to go beyond superficial and narrow intercultural exchange: it does not surge from trade or financial successes nor from military might but from deeply rooted ethical and spiritual values and traditions.

Yves Camus, s.j.
《神州交流—*Chinese Cross Currents*》
Former Editor
Macao Ricci Institute

⁴⁶ In 1543, Nicolaus Copernicus published his treatise *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* (On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres), which presented a heliocentric model view of the universe. It took about 200 years for this model to replace the Ptolemaic model. (from Wikipedia).

⁴⁷ It was launched by the Council of Trent (twenty five sessions in three periods during eighteen years! 1545-1563).

⁴⁸ Edward J. Malatesta, S.J.: “A Fatal Clash of Wills: The Condemnation of the Chinese Rites by the Papal Legate Carlo Tommaso Maillard de Tournon”, in David E. Mungello, *The Chinese Rites Controversy : Its history and meaning*, Nettetal, Steyler Verlag, 1994. Monumenta Serica Monograph Series ; XXXIII, pp. 211-246.