

CHAPTER TWELVE

JESUIT SCHOOLS AND MISSIONS IN THE ORIENT¹

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Missions in India

The Northern Province: Goa²

On 27th February 1540, the Papal Bull *Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae* established the official institution of The Society of Jesus, centred on Ignacio de Loyola. Its creation marked the beginning of a new Order that would accomplish its apostolic mission through education and evangelisation. The Society's first apostolic activity was in service of the Portuguese Crown. Thus, Jesuits became involved within the missionary structure of the Portuguese Patronage and ended up preaching massively across non-European spaces and societies. Jesuits achieved one of the greatest polarizations and novelties of their charisma and religious order precisely in those ultramarine lands obtained by Iberian conquest and treatises³. Among other places, Jesuits were active in Brazil, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Japan and China. Their work gave birth to a new concept of *mission*, one which, underlying the Society's original evangelic impulses, started to be organised around a dynamic conception of "spiritual conquest" aimed at converting to the Roman Catholic faith all those who "simply" ignored or had strayed from Church doctrines.

In India, Jesuits created the Northern (Goa) and the Southern (Malabar) Provinces. One of their characteristics was the construction of buildings, which served as the Mission's headquarters and where teaching was carried out. Even though we have a new concept of college nowadays, this was not a place for schooling or training, but a place whose function was broader than the one we attribute today. Nevertheless,

we chose the traditional definition and will understand college mainly as a locus for teaching “science” and doctrine. Using Father Francisco Rodrigues’ terminology, many Colleges and Seminaries were built by the Order. Not all achieved the same success, though, and we find very scarce references to their activity⁴. Many were merely centres for missionary propagation, whereas many others were restricted to teaching the rudiments of literacy and the Human Sciences⁵. In Asia, three Colleges founded by Jesuits stand out: St. Paul’s of Goa, St. Paul’s of Macao and St. Paul’s of Nagasaki.

The first successful missionary experience took place in Goa. There, a process of Westernisation and Christianisation had started almost half a century earlier, resulting mainly in the destruction of native cultures, forcing local populations to submit to Portuguese jurisdiction⁶. Goa became the first Asian city subjected to Portuguese rule. In 1533, the Diocese of Goa was created, followed by the metropolitan archdiocese, in 1557. Goa became not only the political capital city, but also the economic, cultural and religious centre of Portuguese India. This led to the creation of a series of institutions, designed to spread Christianity as well as to develop the clergy and to disseminate Western culture, as it was the case of colleges and seminaries⁷.

The first institution to be created was the Confraternity of the Holy Faith (1540), a charity financed by goods confiscated from Hindu temples⁸; in 1542, the Seminary of the Holy Faith was built by the Vicar General Miguel Vaz and the Friar Diogo Borba and handed down to the Jesuits the following year⁹. On 8th March 1546, King John III donated a yearly grant of 800.000 *réis*, to be collected from the Royal Revenue of Goa¹⁰. When St. Francis Xavier arrived there, he realized that most students were only able to read, pray and write. He then advised on the introduction of Grammar, and of some items from the Holy Bible or from Sacrament Matters¹¹. In order to avoid animosity among students, only pure natives were accepted, therefore, excluding Portuguese and multiracial candidates¹². Students were admitted between thirteen and fifteen years of age to take advantage of the knowledge in language they already had. Once ordained priests, they would preach the Gospel across their own lands.

However, the most important Jesuit College in India was founded in 1548: St Paul’s College of Goa¹³, connected to the Seminary of the Holy Faith. Along with the Mother of God’s College in Macao, it was one of the main centres of European culture in Asia. In that same year, Rector António Gomes, based upon the students’ poor pedagogical and moral performance, restructured the school, separating native students from the

Portuguese, giving preference to the latter¹⁴. The former were ordered to live apart and the rector justified this measure by saying that the institution was destined for higher education only. This caused native students to resign, creating great polemic in the city.

António Gomes, the new governor, took charge and then native students began being admitted again, in order to learn Latin and how to read, write and pray. But they were only allowed to remain in school until the age of fifteen, when they could return to their places of origin as preachers or important members of society, in case they did not want to pursue the ecclesiastic career. The process of regimenting pupils soon followed. Father Lanciloto sent in fifteen children from Couvão (nine from Costa da Pescaria). A few were also sent from Baçaim and Cochim, and the number soon reached forty, whereas the goal was to reach up to eighty children in this primeval institution¹⁵.

In 1549, Governor Jorge Cabral determined that all possessions belonging to the gentile temples and their servants were to be reported to Álvaro Afonso, head of The Revenue Office, so that the income was transferred to the College of the Holy Faith to finance it. Harsh penalties were applied to those who broke the law¹⁶.

St Paul's College was regarded as an apostolic School from the Order as well as a Seminary destined to the formation of native clergy for the countries located to the East of the Cape of Good Hope¹⁷. It was destined to students of Philosophy and Theology, and also to those who attended other colleges but showed ability for philosophical studies. According to Father Simão Rodrigues, the college should become a second Coimbra, a University of the Society for Philosophy and Theology¹⁸, where education would be conducted by the best books and professors¹⁹. Compared to other European colleges, St Paul's organisation bore no major differences²⁰. However, local specificities made its functioning different. For example, eight to ten different languages were spoken within its walls and, as students did not learn Portuguese, they would simply repeat what they heard. Learning local languages was considered essential for priesthood, in order to do away with the need for interpreters both in educational and missionary functions.

In the College of Goa, studies were organised in three classes of Latin, a course in Arts, three lessons on speculative Theology and Moral and one on the Holy Bible²¹, maintaining the Humanist tradition of the solid and rational *Ratio Studiorum*²². The *Ratio* calls the Jesuits' attention to the need for respecting the Constitutions, which meant that what Aristotle interpreted had to be followed, except when it proved impossible to adapt his ideas to Catholic orthodoxy²³. According to Domingos Maurício, the

secondary studies syllabus consisted of Music, Grammar, Rhetoric, Philosophy and Theology. Both Jesuit and secular students would learn how to read, write and count in the college. Classes became public in 1556, consisting of three courses on Latin culture, one on Philosophy and one on Moral. The Arts course was replaced by two on Speculative Theology²⁴. Such syllabus seems to have been kept until the Jesuits were gone, for in the 17th Century Fernão Guerreiro stated that in the College of Goa one would read Latin, Arts, Theology and cases of conscience, and added that there was also a school for boys²⁵. In 1703, Luís Filipe Thomaz says that for some time there was a Medicine course, later reinforced by a course on surgery in 1716. These early experiences were the embryos for the Medical-Surgical School, officially created in 1842²⁶.

We did not find much information about the teaching of Mathematics, other than references pointing out that in both colleges students were taught how to count. However, the historian Ugo Baldini wrote that possibly every missionary province should have a complete *cursus studiorum*, which included three years of Philosophy and yearly Mathematics, training experts in all fields. Therefore, automatic reproduction should be the rule for Mathematics also, even though this did not happen for a long time. Only a few higher colleges in the Asian provinces had the complete *cursus* and only in Goa and Macao was it continually applied. As in Iberian colleges, Philosophy teachers sometimes made up for the absence of Mathematics by inserting a treatise about the “sphere” on their courses on Natural Philosophy. Obviously, such treatises did not provide students with technical knowledge. Thus, in the 18th Century, the Missions still had to rely on Europe for personnel to teach Mathematics, the same happening for almost all teachers of Philosophy and Theology²⁷.

The Southern Province: Malabar

Compared to the characteristics of Portuguese colonisation in Malabar, the missionaries’ *modus operandi* also assumed some peculiarities. There, Portuguese action was subordinated to the local monarch’s compliance. As a result, European missionaries had to adapt—either they had their actions restricted or had to respect the rules and interests of the land²⁸. The Christian communities settled there dated back to the Apostle St. Thomas and to those converted during the 1520’s. The Dutch threat to the region seriously damaged Portuguese aspirations, affecting both commerce and the religious mission.

Legend has it that Christianity in India dates back to St Thomas the Apostle, i.e., St Thomas’ Christians, who followed Eastern rites. Later,

between 1521 and 1527, thousands of Paravas (pearl divers from Costa da Pescaria) were converted by Franciscans²⁹. In this latter instance, conversion had political rather than dogmatic reasons and took place because of the great instability of the region, shaken by the struggle between Portuguese and Muslim interests. Paravas accepted conversion in exchange for protection from Portugal.

In Craganor, Province of Malabar, there was a Franciscan seminary founded by Friar Vicente de Lagos in 1540, which was attended by St Thomas' Christians and taught Latin, Theology and Music, aiming at Latinizing this community.

When Xavier visited Cochim in 1548, he unsuccessfully tried to found a college there³⁰. During Garcia de Sá's government, Father António Gomes was in Cochim, where he tried to convert the king³¹. Captain Francisco da Silva Meneses and the Christian population donated a large piece of land covered with palm trees. Forty years earlier a member of the noble Mendonça family had built a church by the sea in the best location in town. It was worth more than 1.100 *cruzados*. Six hundred *pardeus* were added to these donations. Francisco Rodrigues indicates that both the College of the Mother of God and the Seminary of Cochim were built in 1560. However, there are some documents referring that those places could receive fifty people in 1549 and also that in January 1552, the College had 150 pupils, Portuguese, native and multiracial³². Other documents indicate that in 1594, the College of the Mother of God³³ had already taught the first two years of elementary school³⁴ and had two teachers of Humanities, who also taught Latin. The school had nine students. This college never reached the prestige and academic standards of Goa. All the same, it was fundamental for the education of local Christians.

Regardless of the number of students or syllabus, the College was the main cultural centre of Cochim, along with the Seminary. When the Province of Malabar was created in 1605, it became its main college. This status was changed only when the Dutch conquered Cochim on January 1603³⁵.

Maduré is another part of Malabar we would like to point out. The reason is not the building of Colleges, but rather, the difficulty in converting the locals. In 1559, the Jesuit missionary activity spread to Maduré, Southern India, centre of the Tamil culture. The Naique—title of the local king—allowed Jesuit Father Gonçalo Fernandes to live there and evangelise the area. Results were disappointing, though. The power of the caste system and the absence of Portuguese troops in the region made it difficult for Christianity to penetrate further than the coastal areas.

Missionaries were understood to belong to the caste of the untouchables. The term *farangi*, which designated the Europeans, became a symbol of social rejection. The Brahmans did not interact with missionaries, because the latter did not respect the notion of caste purity. Malabar, the Southern Province, particularly inland, was one of the regions that required the most care as to the application of missionary methodologies. Hindus had the power there and Westernisation was met with a series of obstacles that caused missionaries to adapt and demanded better knowledge of local cultures. It would not be an overstatement to affirm that *another mission* was constituted in Maduré, one personified by the individual task of missionaries.

The pioneer was Roberto de Nobili, who used a method developed by Matteo Ricci, in China. The latter was the oldest son of Count Pier Francesco Nobili, a general and member of the Roman nobility³⁶. He joined the Society of Jesus in Naples, where he studied Philosophy and Theology in the Roman College. In 1601, he offered his services to the newly-created (1559) Mission of Maduré in India. He arrived in Goa in May 1605, stayed three months in Cochim and three more in Tuticorin, until he finally reached Maduré in 1606.

Soon after his arrival, he realized that the Mission was utterly useless, with none converted whatsoever. Nobili's main action was to open Christianity to all castes. After a few months living with Father Gonçalo Fernandes, a parangui (the Portuguese), Nobili was allowed to set up his own home by the Archbishop of Cranganor, D. Francisco Ros. He then started his adaptation to local culture. Only then, the first Maduré Christian community was born (1606-1610). It consisted of two Brahmans, two families of Vellalas, three of Nayaks and others, making up sixty neophytes. A church of tiles was built in Dravidian style and the group succeeded in obtaining help and support from Captain Rama Sakthi, a friend of the Nayaks. New Christians were allowed to use some elements of Hindu culture: the Brahman Thread (three cotton strands that Brahmans wore), the *Kudumi* (a lock of hair), the use of sandalwood for body friction, the ritual baths, and the use of marks on one's forehead to indicate caste, among others. In order to evangelize, Nobili had to accept some Hindu customs and leave aside some from the West, including in liturgy, such as the use of saliva in Baptism. There were protests against his methods and The Holy See ordered an investigation under the responsibility of the Goa Inquisition³⁷. The case was tried and Nobili was acquitted. On 31st January 1623, Pope Gregory XV approved the use of the Brahman threads, sandalwood and ablutions in his apostolic constitution *Romanae Sedis Atist*.

As a connoisseur of Sanskrit, Nobili wanted to organise a Brahman college or university that would offer a course on Western Philosophy. Lack of resources and people who knew the language prevented the idea from seeing the light of day. Even though his work contributed to raise the number of conversions, he was never able to establish a teaching system comparable to others elsewhere in India, as described above.

Missions in China and Japan

The Province of Japan

The Portuguese first reached the island of Tanegashima in 1543³⁸. Later, they visited Usuki (1544) and Funai (Oita) in 1545, in the kingdom of Bungo; Kagoshima (1549) and Tanegashima (1580), in the kingdom of Satsuma; and Hirado or “Firando” in 1590³⁹.

In 1571, the ‘Nau do Trato’ or *Kurofone* (“black ship”), commanded by Captain Tristão Vaz da Veiga, anchored in the Nagasaki harbour. From then on, Nagasaki became the only port of commerce between Macao and Japan, until its definitive suspension in 1639. Actually, from 1640 to 1848—a period known as *Sacoku* or ‘closed kingdom’—Nagasaki was only open to commerce with Holland and China. Consequently, it was the only contact between Japan and the rest of the world⁴⁰.

Fearing internal political instability, a few daimyos supported the Jesuits, hoping to defend their regions in cases of threat. Such were the case of the daimyos of Omura and Arima⁴¹. Roughly speaking, the Jesuit mission demanded a large income to operate, once it was not a mendicant order. Since the expenses in Japan were too large, they had to take part in the silk trade between Macao and Nagasaki. The terms for their participation were determined by the Portuguese King in a special permit in 1584, ratifying the agreement made by Alessandro Valignano with Macao’s tradesmen⁴². The missionaries were the first to contribute to the development of the relationship between Japan and Portugal. Nevertheless, their insistence upon remaining in the country even after the prohibitions, made it impossible for this commerce to go on⁴³. Jesuit participation in this trade was prohibited by the Portuguese King and the Archbishop of Macao in 1610. In the following year, the King lifted the prohibition until Pope Urban VIII banned this commerce altogether in 1633⁴⁴.

The Nagasaki College was founded in 1598, but, in fact, it had started its activities twenty years earlier, once it was open in Funai (Oita) by Father Alessandro Valignano in 1580. Between 1590 and 1597, it functioned in Kawachinoura (Amakusa) and only then was transferred to Nagasaki, where it remained until 1614, when persecution and the edict of

expulsion brought it to an end⁴⁵. How did those colleges start⁴⁶? When St Francis Xavier left Japan in 1551⁴⁷, he put Cosme Torres in charge of the Jesuit enterprise. Torres was replaced by Francisco Cabral in 1570⁴⁸.

Father Francisco Cabral became intimate friends with the Otomo family, who ruled Bungo⁴⁹. As a result, when the daimyo learned that the Jesuits wished to open a college in Japan, he insisted it was set in his kingdom (Bungo)⁵⁰. He told missionaries to choose a building among the existing houses and temples within his vast dominions and offered to financially compensate its owners. Due to disturbances in Funai (Oita), Otomo Yoshishige had moved his court to Usuki, some twenty miles away. It was there that Francisco Cabral chose a place by the ocean to set the college⁵¹. However, a period of intense political instability, violence and persecution against the Jesuits followed⁵².

On 25th July 1579, Alexandre Valignano arrived in Kyushu for the first of three visits to the Japanese Mission⁵³. It was then that he stated the principles of his policy toward missionary adaptation⁵⁴. Struggling against Francisco Cabral's opposition, his superior, Valignano insisted on the need to learn Japanese and adapt to the Japanese way of life⁵⁵. In 1580, he accepted Father Francisco Cabral's resignation, replacing him by Gaspar Coelho, more flexible yet uncharismatic⁵⁶.

In 1580, Valignano went to Bungo after visiting Otomo Yoshihige in Usuki. He called a meeting with all local Jesuit missionaries, where it was agreed to establish a novitiate in Usuki and a college for Jesuit students in Funai (Oita). The novitiate would be financially maintained by the income from properties Jesuits had in Baçaim, even though it was not enough. The novitiate was located by the sea near daimyo Otomo's castle. It remained there until December 1586, when the building was destroyed by Satsuma's forces⁵⁷. During the first years of its existence, the novitiate was poorly equipped, with few books to help educating the novices. Therefore, much of the teaching was conducted through oral lessons and lectures. During the first two months, Valignano himself taught the Portuguese novices twice a day. Luís Fróis, who knew Japanese very well, translated the lectures and gave them to Japanese novices⁵⁸. During the five years of its existence, the novitiate was run by Pedro Ramon, a Jesuit from Saragoza. He translated into Japanese part of the book *Introducción del Symbolo de la Fé*, written by Luís de Granada. The book was printed in Amakusa by the Jesuit press under the name *Fides no Doxi* in 1592. It was during this trip to Bungo that Valignano wrote his book *Advertimentos e avisos acerca dos costumes e catangues do Japão*. It was also during his stay there that he started building the church close to the novitiate, financed by Otomo Yoshishige⁵⁹.

Besides the novitiate in Usuki (1580), Valignano opened St Paul's College in Funai (Oita) in 1581. It was erected in an unpleasant site and the thousand annual *ducados* from Malacca promised by the King were not initially paid⁶⁰. Pupils were taught Latin and Paulo Yoko gave them daily classes of Japanese. A course on Christian Apologetics was offered to refute Buddhist objections. As soon as Portuguese students became reasonably fluent in Japanese, they started their apostolic services, preaching during Mass either in Funai or its surroundings. The study of Japanese was emphasised and even native students were instructed in grammar and writing. A Japanese grammar and dictionary, as well as a catechism, were compiled in Funai at the end of 1581. Probably handwritten, the material was devised to help students⁶¹. On 21st October 1583, the first course on Scholastic Philosophy was set in Funai. Under Prenestino's direction, the course was an abridged version of Francisco Toledo's course on Aristotle Logic⁶². Students were also offered lessons on Cosmology and Natural Sciences⁶³.

The first course on Western Philosophy taught in Japan ended in 1585. Even though students graduated in Philosophy, they did not finish their Theology course, because the political situation caused its suspension. When Satsuma's troops invaded Bungo, the college and the novitiate were transferred to Yamagushi. Students remained there until 1587, when *shogun* Hideyoshi issued an edict expelling the Jesuits⁶⁴. At the end of 1588, Funai College was moved to Nagasaki, Chijiwa and, finally, to Arie⁶⁵.

Miyako (Kyoto) and Arima seminaries were founded by Valignano in 1580 and 1581, respectively. These schools had been settled to provide children from good families with a Christian education, so that they could spread Christianity, either as laymen or not (such institutions are normally referred to as Seminaries)⁶⁶. The syllabus also consisted of Latin, Japanese, Chinese Literature, Arts, Humanities, Music, Sciences, and Japanese Etiquette and Ceremonial⁶⁷. Due to the scarcity of books, the Jesuit press of Macao started to produce them. Special emphasis must be given to two volumes: *Christiani Pueri Institutio* (1588) and *De Missione Legatorum Iaponensi* (1590)⁶⁸.

Father Alessandro Valignano's main purpose was to constitute a native clergy, especially of Japanese Jesuits, to perform in the country's churches. Arima and Azuchi (Miyako) Seminaries, Funai College, the Novitiate and the Press all originated from the same project⁶⁹.

In 1614, *shogun* Tokugawa Ieyasu decided to expel all Jesuits from Japan, extinguish all churches and forbidding Christian practices (the 1614 Edict). Commerce with the Portuguese was still permitted because it was

also convenient to the Japanese. Then, in order to remain in Japan, many priests disguised themselves as tradesmen⁷⁰. In 1616, *shogun* Ieyasu's son Hidetada issued a new edict reinforcing his predecessor's ban on Christianity. He ordered all foreigners to the ports of Nagasaki and Hirado, from where they could not escape and could be watched more easily⁷¹.

Hitedata's son, Tokugawa Iemitsu, was even crueller to Christians. He confined the Portuguese to the artificial island of Deshima (which he had built near Nagasaki), in 1635⁷². This led to the Shimabara Revolt⁷³ and to the order of expulsion of missionaries from Japan in 1638⁷⁴.

In 1639, the *Bakufu* (military government) put into practice the measures that its isolationist policy had been hinting for some time with the help from the Dutch. The main reason was that the *shogun* Tokugawa Iemitsu feared the subversive effects of Christianity⁷⁵. In August 1639, an envoy of *shogun* Iemitsu left from Yedo (Tokyo) with the decree that announced the end of commercial relations between Portugal and Japan⁷⁶.

Macao and the Province of China

The bull *Super Specula Militantis Ecclesiae*, by Pope Gregory XIII, created the Diocese of Macao on 23rd January 1576. The Diocese had jurisdiction over China, Japan, Korea and 'adjacent islands' and was subordinated to the Goa Bishop⁷⁷. Thus, Macao became the centre of Catholicism in the Far East⁷⁸.

The Society of Jesus played a crucial role in Macao's foundation, development and maintenance⁷⁹. Jesuits settled down definitively in Macao only in 1563, when Fathers Francisco Peres, Manuel Teixeira and André Pinto arrived together with Diogo Pereira⁸⁰. In 1565, Father Francisco Peres headed for Canton seeking permission to enter China, but he was denied entrance⁸¹. Back to Macao, he founded the residence of the Society of Jesus, next to St Anthony's Chapel, that also served as hospital and support for missionaries going to Japan⁸².

In 1572, a school for 'Reading and Writing' was added to the residence founded by Father Peres. Soon, Latin studies were also added⁸³. In 1579, the Jesuits built another residence and a new church was erected on the hill in 1582, where the ruins of St Paul's Church stand today⁸⁴.

In 1592, the building of a college for Japanese Jesuits out of Japan was considered, because of the civil wars in the country⁸⁵. Besides avoiding the troubles caused by wars at home, young Japanese would profit from the contact with the totally Christianised Western culture of

the Portuguese presence in Macao, where they would learn the language, the customs and the European way of life⁸⁶.

Valignano exposed his project to Father Duarte de Sande, head of the Mission in China, to whose jurisdiction the territory belonged, and it was immediately accepted⁸⁷. The construction of the new St Paul's College began as soon as Rome granted its authorisation. The chosen site was located near the Jesuits' residence⁸⁸. In 1594, the school had four courses: 'Reading and Writing' for more than 250 boys, Grammar, Humanities and, starting in 1595, the first Arts course (with Jesuits from Japan and Goa). In addition to these, there were also classes on Moral Theology⁸⁹.

Alessandro Valignano left for Goa in November 1594, but in April 1597 returned to Macao, where he arrived on 20th July. He remained there until July 1598⁹⁰. He reorganised the College's Basic and Superior Studies, whose institutional and pedagogical practices were based on the *Ratio Studiorum*, published in Rome by Claudio Acquaviva in 1591⁹¹. He adapted the Coimbra University's system and regulations—mainly the Arts College statutes of 1559 and 1565⁹²—to Chinese needs. The syllabus then was composed of Chinese, Latin, Philosophy, Theology, Mathematics, Astrology, Physics, Medicine, Music, Rhetoric, among others⁹³. There were also St. Ignacio's Seminary (for the Japanese, from 1603 to 1701), St. Francis's Javier Seminary (for the Portuguese) and St. Joseph's Seminary (for the Chinese, 1732)⁹⁴. An infirmary (with its own drugstore), a General Library (with more than 5000 volumes) and the Archive of the Japanese Jesuit Province were also in activity⁹⁵.

The school year would begin on 15th September with the Profession of Faith, performed in church, after the students' Mass. It was conducted by the school principal, teachers and substitutes, following Pope Pious IV's doctrine⁹⁶. The morning Latin class started at seven, when there was a fifteen-minute long speech in Latin. The same happened in the afternoon. Classes began and ended with a short prayer, with students kneeling before a statue⁹⁷. Greetings between masters and students followed the etiquette of those times⁹⁸. Teachers paid special attention to students' spiritual lives⁹⁹, and they were forbidden to carry weapons in classes or in the patio¹⁰⁰. Vacations and days off as well as schedules for the different classes were all carefully organised¹⁰¹.

The academic activities of the Arts course in Macao followed a ceremony identical to those in Coimbra. The same happened in Brazil and in St Paul's College in Goa¹⁰². St Paul's College in Macao was neither a full ecclesiastic university nor a civil one (General Studies). In spite of that, it was a true academic centre for superior studies, graduating

students since 1597, and keeping a formal organisation for advanced studies in Arts and Theology¹⁰³.

The opening of St Paul's College was not only the result of economic development, but it also happened mainly because of the needs of the Society of Jesus, whose purpose was to train Jesuits for Missions in China, Japan and other Eastern regions. Therefore, its structure, syllabus, the origin of its pupils and the purpose of their education were connected to Christianisation¹⁰⁴.

St Paul's Colleges in Macao and Goa trained Jesuit missionaries to work in Japan, Tonkin, Tidore, China, Ternate, Siam, Cambodia, Solor, Conchinchina, Makassar, Bengal, Bisnaga, Madure, Costa da Pescaria, Sri Lanka, Travancor, Malabar, Goa, Salsete do Norte (Mumbai), Lahore, Diu, Ethiopia, Monomotapa (East Africa), etc¹⁰⁵.

Fathers Michele Ruggiere, S. J. (1543-1607), and Matteo Ricci, S. J. (1552-1610) were the first Jesuit missionaries to introduce the new laws concerning adaptation to local cultures and customs. They were also the first to use the Chinese language¹⁰⁶. They arrived in Goa on 13th September. Ricci stayed there for three years teaching Greek and Grammar at St. Paul's and also continued with his theological studies. He was ordained a priest in Cochin on 25th July 1580¹⁰⁷.

Most missionaries who went to the East—including Japan and China—spent some time in Goa for training and adaptation, to whose Diocese (created in 1534) they belonged. Ricci himself completed his education in Coimbra and Goa before heading to Macao¹⁰⁸. He was sent there on 26th April 1582 in order to study Chinese and the country's culture¹⁰⁹.

The purpose was the spiritual conquest of the Middle Empire, which did not admit missionaries in its territory and, if possible, reaching the Court in Beijing. Such tasks were assigned to Ricci and Ruggiere by Father Alessandro Valignano, S. J.¹¹⁰

Ruggiere preceded Ricci in Macao and in trying to enter China, with no immediate results¹¹¹. In 1581, Ruggiere accompanied some tradesmen to the fair in Canton¹¹². When the coastal clerk (haidao) realised he was an educated man, who was studying Chinese and the country's literature and was also obeyed by the Portuguese, he treated Ruggiere very amiably. He was also able to make friends with the regional commander (Zongping), to whom he gave a clock and visited many times¹¹³. In the autumn of 1582, Chinese authorities in Canton invited Michele Ruggiere to settle down in Shiu Hing (Zhaoqing). He left for the city with Father Francesco Pasio on 27th December 1582¹¹⁴.

The first Mass in Shiu Hing was celebrated on 10th January 1583¹¹⁵. Ruggieri returned to Canton in March 1583. Soon after that, he was granted permission to live in China by the Cantonese General Governor (Viceroy of Kuang-Tung and Juang-Si) in Guangxi. In September, Ruggieri and Ricci went to Zhaoqing, where they were aided by Wang Pan (the town's mayor) in obtaining some land¹¹⁶. They were allowed to build a church and a house by the Chongning Tower, East of Zhaoqing¹¹⁷. This is how the first Catholic Mission and Christian church were founded in China in 1584¹¹⁸.

Due to the success of the Missions in China, two provinces were created in Macao: the Province of Japan and the Vice Province of China, whose vice-governor was Father Matteo Ricci¹¹⁹.

In 1584, Ruggiere published *Tianzhu shilu* (*The True Treatises on the Lord*)¹²⁰, the first book in Chinese printed by Europeans¹²¹. The book consists of a dialogue between a European and a Chinese man about the true God and religion.

Ricci also prepared a world map that would prove to be very important in the future¹²², for he situated China in the centre of the map, just to please the Chinese¹²³. This was the first world map made in China, drawn according to cartographic methods, using latitudes, longitudes and scientific knowledge of the five continents and zones¹²⁴.

In 1586, Governor Guo Yingping invited Michele Ruggieri to go to Shaozing, in Zhejiang, to start his missionary activity¹²⁵. Valignano was aware of the advances and setbacks of the Mission in China. He knew that Catholic priests had to win more respect from officials and educated men and could not remain there without the Emperor's permission. So, during his third visit to Macao (1590), he decided to ask for a papal ambassador to remain in the Chinese court. He wrote a long letter to the Society's Head in November 1588 and sent Ruggieri to Rome to personally petition the Pope¹²⁶.

He asked the Pope for help and protection on both spiritual and practical matters. He also asked for an ambassador to be sent to Emperor Wanli's court (1573-1620), so that he could obtain the Emperor's protection for the missionaries to evangelize freely, without fear of religious reprisal. This papal embassy did not materialize due to internal problems in the Vatican (the death of four Popes in a row)¹²⁷. Ruggieri, who had been ill for a long time, saw his health decline in Italy, where he died in Salerno, in 1607¹²⁸.

Ricci spent the rest of his life in China, travelling to many cities, founding several churches and missions and also converting many Chinese to Catholicism, including educated men and authorities¹²⁹.

Jesuits stationed in Asia had started collecting data about the Chinese culture in the middle of the 16th century. They had realised the importance that educated men had in China, since imperial administration was practically in their hands¹³⁰. Thus, understanding the importance of the Mandarins, Ricci informed Valignano of the need to drop *Bonze* (Buddhist monk) manners and appearance and adopt the educated style (long hair and beard, silk clothing)¹³¹. In 1594, Ricci started to grow a beard and in May 1595, he was seen for the first time bearing the kind of garment worn by the educated elite¹³².

A deeper knowledge about the Chinese scene, obtained during more than a decade spent there, determined radical changes in the missionaries' strategies. After trying to establish analogies with Buddhism, they started to mingle with Chinese intelligentsia, since they were the highest class in Imperial China. From 1595 onwards, Jesuit missionaries called themselves *xishi* or Western-originated intellectuals and started being called "masters of the religion of the Lord above"¹³³.

From 1595 to 1598, Matteo Ricci settled down in Nanchang (capital of the province of Jiangxi), thus broadening the possibilities of expansion of Christianity in China¹³⁴. Father João Soeiro and Brother Francisco Martins accompanied him, leaving Ricci with more time to strengthen his ties and cultural exchanges with intellectuals. He wrote his first book in Chinese, *Tratado sobre a Amizade*, followed by *Tratado das Artes Mnemónicas* and a new Catechism (to replace Michele Ruggieri's, where missionaries were still identified as *bonzes*, i.e., Buddhist monks)¹³⁵.

As one can see, Ricci was aware of China's cultural context and started writing in the language, and not only about religious themes. The 'acculturation method' began to show results and Ricci's reputation as a learned man would grow among the Chinese. Also, his writing circulated freely across the country¹³⁶.

In 1599, Matteo Ricci moved to Siu-Chau (Shaozhou or Shaochow). In 1600, accompanied by Father Diego Pantoja, he left for the capital city on a boat that belonged to a eunuch nicknamed Lieu¹³⁷. On 24th January 1601, they offered Emperor Wan Li precious European pieces, such as an 'image of the Lord', two of the 'Virgin Mary', one of God, a cross embedded with pearls, two clocks, an atlas and two Western musical instruments. The Emperor enjoyed the gifts and granted them permission to stay in town. As a result, the fourth Society's residence was set up in China¹³⁸.

Matteo Ricci never left Beijing, using his very personal strategy to consolidate the prestige and position of European preachers in order to

guarantee some degree of freedom to Jesuit missions, which little by little were spreading throughout the Empire¹³⁹.

Between 1601 and 1610, Matteo Ricci and a few other Jesuits, such as Diego Pantoja, Gaspar Ferreira and Sabatino de Ursis won the respect and benevolence of Emperor Wan Li and many courtly mandarins. They achieved that status due to their knowledge of Mathematics, Astronomy, Geography, Music, Chinese and the country's cultural classics¹⁴⁰. Following the Beijing example, other Jesuit residencies across the country (in Xaoquin, Nanchang and Nanquim) attempted to win the benevolence and friendship of local mandarins¹⁴¹.

Father Matteo Ricci was the first to be granted the title of mandarin and Head of the Tribunal of Mathematicians, being in intimate terms with the Emperor until the monarch's death¹⁴². Ricci was accepted by the intellectuals almost as if he were one of them, converting some mandarins to Christianity in the process¹⁴³.

Ricci was an astronomer and a mathematician, fields much appreciated within the Chinese court. The missionary, then, asked the Head of the Jesuits in Rome to send Jesuits with some knowledge on these areas¹⁴⁴. Some of them were: Schall, Verbiest, Valignano, João Rodrigues and Luís Fróis¹⁴⁵.

Final Considerations

In these pages we have explored some of the orientations that guided the Society of Jesus and their place within the context of the Portuguese expansion towards East. The Society's action in India cannot be restricted to teaching or to the syllabus that was taught, even if they had to undergo slight alterations when compared to what was taught in Portuguese Jesuit colleges. The purpose of the Society in every overseas territory was to promote catechisation and Westernisation. Seminaries and colleges were means to reach those goals. According to López-Gay, from the experience he had in those parts, there was no way to perpetuate the Society through the local Indians¹⁴⁶. The first step towards adaptation, he said, was the training of a native clergy, either laymen or secular, which would constitute a Church adapted to local customs¹⁴⁷.

The action and importance of the Colleges in Goa and Cochim as cultural centres were partly due to the characteristics of Portuguese colonisation. Whereas Goa's administration was in charge of the Portuguese, in Cochim local authorities had to approve everything. We also have to keep in mind those different styles of missionary work—among different Orders, but sometimes within the same—and the

existence of pre-Vasco da Gama Christian communities, which led to several misunderstandings. Such situations hindered or caused many missionary strategies to fail.

Another point to consider is the use of certain procedures by the Society, but also by some of its individual members. When we talk about Jesuits in Asia, we tend to generalise some concepts, especially the use of science and the question of adaptation. However, after studying missionary policies, we sometimes realize the lack of rigor in their application. We think that the preparation of the Jesuit missionary runs parallel with social origin and individual traits, which are decisive for their action. Especially in the beginning, the Society was very selective as to the approval of new members. If they sometimes allowed the entrance of some soldiers who were disenchanted with life, at least these people expressed a strong desire to leave for the 'Indies'. Their motivation would range from their social origin, the style and meaning of the missionary enterprise to subjective reasons, such as missionary vocation and martyrdom. From the many letters written by young missionaries desirous to leave, we can identify a common 'desire for the Indies', that is, the wish to be missionaries in unknown areas and follow the example of 'great' missionaries. This is what Father António Cabral expressed in a letter written in Coimbra in 1600, that he wished to follow the Cross, the suffering of Christ and the examples of St Francis Xavier, Antonio Criminal and Gonçalo de la Silveira¹⁴⁸.

If disposition, science and virtues were preponderant for admission into the Order—particularly to go on Imperial missions¹⁴⁹—the missionaries' education was the necessary complement for the survival of the evangelisation project¹⁵⁰. Thus, adaptation meant acceptance of local cultures and of the newly converted. It also meant the use of science, as in the Chinese court, where Mathematics and Astronomy were much appreciated¹⁵¹. There were successive Jesuits experts in those fields, such as Adam Schall, Gabriel de Magalhães, Manuel Dias, Ferdinand Verbiest, Tomás Pereira, etc. Many were even chosen as Presidents of the Astronomical Observatory in Beijing¹⁵². The last Jesuit Astronomer in China was Father José Bernardo de Almeida, who died in Beijing in 1803¹⁵³.

One can state that the contact with the complex Japanese culture and society was the reason behind the change in missionary strategies¹⁵⁴. The *accommodatio* (accommodation) method was specifically conceived for the Mission in Japan. Later it was used in China by Matteo Ricci, and, from there, it was taken to the Indian Mission in Madurai by Roberto Nobili. The method consisted of getting to know the spiritual structure of

Asian cultures, regarded as “pagan”, but also as complex and “civilized” societies. The purpose was to introduce Christianity through the substitution or redefinition of existing “social” customs. Conversion was based upon the ideas of St Ignacio de Loyola—founder of the Society—expressed in the book *Spiritual Exercises*. According to the book, conversion should be an ‘interior’ and ‘personal’ action, made effective by persuasive rather than coercive means. As Portuguese temporal and ecclesiastic power was located too far from the East, the experiences of ‘cultural adaptation’ progressed through linguistic knowledge and the writing of catechisms in local languages, as well as through texts and treatises describing local religions and social customs. There was also an effort towards educating the local clergy and creating a closer relationship with local political elites¹⁵⁵. Whereas St Francis Xavier, who arrived in Japan in 1549, took the first steps toward the new conversion method, the *accommodatio*’s true engineer was Alessandro Valignano, one of the Italian Jesuits sent to Asia. He started seminaries and novitiates for the education of Japanese priests, encouraged the publication of catechisms and historical books, organised a Japanese embassy in Europe and obtained exclusive rights on the evangelisation of Japan for the Society of Jesus from Pope Gregory XII in 1585¹⁵⁶. On the other hand, Jesuits had already started learning erudite Chinese at the Mother of God College in Mafra in order to be able to penetrate and preach into the country. They also learned Chinese customs, a method that had proved indispensable in Japan. Ricci, along with Fathers Ruggieri and Pasio, studied everything a mandarin was expected to know and soon realized that they were less interested in religion than in the sciences, especially Mathematics, Astronomy and Horology. So, he studied these subjects, being able to make friends with high-ranked Chinese and imperial employees¹⁵⁷.

Cultural adaptation had been in use by the Church since its beginnings. Ricci’s relationship with the Chinese does not indicate unilateral submission or accommodation. Rather, it shows understanding and respect for the dominant culture and, in return, it shows the qualities of his own culture¹⁵⁸.

Concomitantly, there were some activities designed to approach cultures that were radically different in their essence. Such preoccupation dates back to early missionary work. While waiting to embark to India, Francis Xavier asked Ignacio de Loyola about the way to deal with ‘infidels’. During his stay in the country, he contacted local religious authorities and made rude observations about their lives and science, considering the Brahmans as the great obstacle to conversion¹⁵⁹. Curiosity for cultures and the wish to combat “the other” produced a set of practices

that became peculiar to the Society of Jesus. From such practices we highlight the learning of local languages and the publication of books about doctrine, but also about local customs. Alessandro Valignano was the first Jesuit to publish a summary about Hinduism: *História do Princípio e Progresso da Companhia de Jesus nas Índias Orientais (1580-1583)*, which describes some qualities, customs, religion and ceremonies of the inhabitants. In 1594, Sebastião Gonçalves was commissioned to write a History of the province. He gathered information until 1606, but part of it was lost. Later, in his *Conquered East*, Francisco de Souza tried to reconstruct those missing pieces. Souza wrote about transmigration of souls and Hindu deities and ceremonies. Giacomo Fenizio was more thorough in his *Livro da seita dos Índios Orientais*, written in Malabar. Fenizio analysed Hinduism and his book contains an introduction and footnotes as well as extracts from the epic poems *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana*. Gonçalo Trancoso wrote the most important book on Hinduism before the 19th century: *Tratado sobre o Hinduísmo*, published in Maduré in 1616¹⁶⁰. In *História do Malabar*, Diogo Gonçalves analysed the History and customs of the region: weddings, rites of passage, festivities, superstitions and so on. We have to bear in mind that such analyses/descriptions did not mean respect for local cultures. On the contrary, they almost always refuted local cultures in favour of Christian/European values.

Up North, in Goa, Jesuit missionaries would discuss the work of the Brahman Gità Veaco. The same was happening in the southern province. In his book *Contra as fábulas dos gentios*, Father Henrique Henriques refuted the so called transmigration of souls, attacking many superstitions and traditions believed by inferior castes. We want to point out Roberto de Nobili's work in Maduré, one of the missionaries who most emphasised philosophical studies. As an expert in Sanskrit, he wished to found a Brahman college or university, which would offer a course on Western Philosophy. The idea did not come true due to lack of funding and knowledge of Sanskrit. In 1609, he published *O Livro da Ciência da Alma*, a philosophical treatise written in Tamil. Much appreciated by the Hindu intelligentsia, the book opposes the Brahmanic concept of the soul locked in the body to the Aristotle idea of form, *principium vitae*¹⁶¹.

We do not know of Philosophy books produced in those colleges. When consulting the list of published books we found none, since the emphasis was on Linguistics or religious edification. Nevertheless, we know that many books were brought from Europe. Also, there were numerous libraries in Jesuit colleges and homes, where important works

could be found, such as St. Thomas' *Summas*, works by Pedro da Fonseca and Plato, *The Conimbricenses Course*, Aristotle's *Ethics*, etc¹⁶².

We want to outline the production of books on Linguistics now. Even though they are not part of the corpus of the present study, we wish to bring attention to this important Jesuit component, especially relevant in India. As mentioned above, missionaries made great efforts to learn local languages, following Francisco Javier's example. According to Francisco Rodrigues, several language schools for missionaries were open: Punicale, Salsete, Ambalacate and Vaipicota¹⁶³. Results would not have been so efficient, especially in Malabar, if the clergy had not learned the local languages¹⁶⁴. The purpose was to reach the goals defined by the Society, that is, to refute foreign doctrines. They did not learn the languages out of appreciation for local cultures but, instead, they wanted to destroy them.

Among the many who stood out in this field, we point out: Father Henrique Henriques, who published *Arte da Língua Tamulica e Vocabulário*, two catechisms, *Vidas de Jesus Cristo, Maria*, etc; Father Gaspar de Aguilar, who wrote *Arte da Língua Tamulica*, which was later turned into a compendium; Father Antão de Proença wrote *Vocabulário Tamulico-Português*. In Konkani, we can mention Father Thomaz Estêvão who, along with Purâna, translated Father Ignácio Martins's *Cartilha da Doutrina Cristã* and published a Konkani Grammar; Father Diogo Ribeiro wrote, among others, a Konkani-Portuguese dictionary: *Vocabulário da língua Canarina, feito pelos Padres da Companhia de Jesus, que residem na Christandade de Salcete e novamente acrescentado com vários modos de fallar pelo P. Diogo Ribeiro*. Other missionaries, such as Roberto de Nobili and Antão de Proença, studied Sanskrit in order to know Brahman literature¹⁶⁵.

Valignano took the printing press to Japan in 1587, so several books were published there, first in Macao (1588-1590) and later in Japan. The most important publications were: *Arte de Lingoa de Japan*, by João Rodrigues, published in Nagasaki (1603-1608); a Portuguese-Japanese dictionary, also printed in Nagasaki; a Latin-Portuguese-Japanese dictionary, printed in Amasuka (1595). Japanese texts written in Western characters were also published: Taiheiki's *Crónica da Grande Pacificação*; Wakan-Roeshu's *Colecção de Poesia Nipo-Chinesa*; Kinkushu's *Colecção de Provérbios*; Heike's *Contos* and many other *monogatari* (short stories). Some European works were translated into Japanese, such as religious books (*Imitatio Christi*, published as *Contemptus Mundi*), and Aesop's Fables¹⁶⁶.

In China, the Christian press had begun with Father Michel Ruggieri, who published a Catechism in Chinese¹⁶⁷. In December 1591, while in Shaozhou, Father Matteo Ricci decided to start the translation of Chinese classics, such as *Os Quatro Livros*. In 1595, already in Nanjing, he wrote *Tratado de Amizade*, printed in that city¹⁶⁸.

During the second half of 1587, in Macao, the young Japanese who had served as ambassadors in Europe¹⁶⁹ persuaded Father Duarte de Sande to publish *Christiani Pueri Institutio*, written by Joannes Bonifacius¹⁷⁰. The clergyman wrote and published¹⁷¹ *De Missionum Legatorum Iaponensium Ad Romanam Curiam, rebusque in Europa, ac toto itinere animadversis Dialogus (1690)*, the report composed by the young ambassadors¹⁷².

In the 18th century, the oldest publication in Latin was *Epistola P. Ferdinand Verbiest, Vice-Provincialis Missionis Sinensis anno 1678 die 15 augusti, ex-curia Pekinensi in Europam ad Sócios missa*, published in 1678 in Beijing¹⁷³. Verbiest is also the author of *Yixiang tu*, which means *For a New Spherogram* (an instrument of the Beijing Astronomic Observatory), in 1683¹⁷⁴. In 1700, Father Gaspar Castner prepared a xilographic edition named *Relatio Spulturæ magno orientis apostolo S. Francisco Xavier*¹⁷⁵. Louis Le Comte, a Jesuit who arrived in Macao in 1697, published *Nouveaux Mémoires sur l'État présent de la Chine* (with a detailed map of Shangchuan Island, including St Francis Javier's tomb) in Paris¹⁷⁶. In the 17th century, another bibliographic work was published: *Sapientia Sinica Exponente P. Ignatio a Costa Lusitano*, by two clergymen, Inácio da Costa (Portuguese) and Prospero Intorcetta (Italian). The book was printed by the Society of Jesus in Jianchang (China), using the usual xylographic technique¹⁷⁷. An anonymous publication came out in 1717, *Informatio pro Veritate Contra iniquiorem famam sparsam per Sinas cum Calumnia PP. Soc. Jesu*, in Latin¹⁷⁸.

As a conclusion, we can state that the Jesuit cultural and missionary action in the East was decisive for the implementation and dissemination of European and Portuguese values in the region, between the 16th and 18th centuries. Jesuits showed Asians the configuration of the planet, its continents, peoples and oceans as well as several unknown products and techniques. They improved metallurgic techniques, naval sciences, Mathematics, Geography, Engineering and Music. They also introduced a new kind of medicine and pharmaceuticals, together with new urban styles and many other practices, in this fruitful intercultural dialogue.

Notes

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² Due to the complex official nomenclature of the regions under Jesuit presence or spiritual guidance, we will not use the official names by which they have been known over the years. We will only use them in the cases of administrative or geographical names that have become relevant throughout time.

³ António da Silva Rego, *O Padroado Português do Oriente, Esboço Histórico*, Lisbon: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1940.

⁴ Regardless of the discussion and based on Francisco Rodrigues's *A Companhia de Jesus em Portugal e nas Missões*, Porto: Edições do Apostolado de Imprensa, 1935, we indicate the following colleges and residences in the two Jesuit provinces in India: Province of Goa: Seminary of the Holy Faith of Goa (1542); St Paul's College (1548); Jesus of Baçaim College (1548); St Ignatius College of Rachol (1574); Rachol Seminary (year of foundation unknown); College of the Eleven Thousand Virgins of Damão (1581); The Mother of God's College of Taná (1599); Taná Seminary (1551); College of the Holy Ghost of Diu (1601); St Peter and St Paul's College of Chaul (1611); College of the Ascension of Mozambique (1613); Our Lady's College of Agra (1630); The School of Bandorá (1576). Province of Malabar: Mother of God's College of Cochim (1560); Cochim Seminary (1560); Malaca College (1576); The Holy Cross Seminary of Vaipicota (1584); Coulão College (16th c.); Coulão Seminary (16th c.); Tuticorim College (16th c.); Tuticorim Seminary (16th c.); Meliapor College (16th c.); Meliapor Seminary (16th c.); Ternate College (17th c.); Cranganor College (17th c.); Colombo College (17th c.); Jafanapatão College (17th c.); Bengala College (17th c.); Negapatão College (17th c.); Ambalacata College (1633); Ambalacate Seminary (1663); Topo College (17th c.).

⁵ Domingos Maurício, "Para a História da Filosofia Portuguesa no Ultramar. I: Índia", *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia*, Lisbon, January - March, Fasc.1, 1945, p.177.

⁶ Teotónio R. de Souza, *Goa Medieval. A Cidade e o Interior no Século XVII*, Lisbon: Ed. Estampa, 1994, p. 87, wrote that when the Portuguese adopted the conversion policy during the 1540's, they destroyed almost three hundred Hindu temples in each of the three talukas. An average of four or five temples in each village suggests that a tremendous religious control was brought upon rural life.

⁷ Luís Filipe F. R. Thomaz, *De Ceuta a Timor*, Lisbon: Difel, 1994, pp. 248-254.

⁸ The first income came under the rule of Fernão Rodrigues de Castelo Branco, who was temporarily replacing Governor D. Estêvão da Gama, on 28th June 1541. It was destined to the restoration of some chapels in the city. *Documenta Índica*, Joseph Wicki (ed.), Roma: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1948, vol. I, pp. 756-771. Martim Afonso de Sousa offered the money to the Society's clergymen

on 2nd August 1542 (*ibidem*, pag. 801), allowing them to control its collecting from Brahman Ramu Sinay (*Ibidem*, pp. 804-808). This provision got lost and Jorge Cabral published a new bill of land donation (*Ibidem*, p. 498).

⁹ It was founded by Miguel Vaz and Diogo Borba. Since 1542, the Jesuits started to influence it as professors, spiritual counselors and, a little later, as deans. However, it was only in 1548 that the Society took full control: Francisco Rodrigues, *A Companhia de Jesus em Portugal e nas Missões*, 2nd Ed., Porto: Ed. Apostolado da Imprensa, 1935, p. 58. *Documenta Indica*, Joseph Wicki (ed.), vol.I, Roma: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1948.

¹⁰ G. Schurhammer; J. Wicki, *Epistolae S. Francis Xaverri*, Tome I, Romae: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1945, pp.108-109.

¹¹ Padre Niceno de Figueiredo, *Pelo Clero de Goa. Duas Lendas: O Cisma de Goa e Ignorância do Clero Goês*, Bastorá: Tip. Rangel, 1939, pp. 312. A letter from Goa written in 1542 and published by Joseph Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, vol.I, p.121, mentions that Grammar, Arts, Logic, Philosophy and Theology were taught there. It recommends that students should be taught by books and professors better suited to religion. On a footnote, Joseph Wicki states that it is the *Rationis Studiorum*. Luís Filipe Thomaz, *De Ceuta a Timor*, pp.254-255 also writes that Latin, Philosophy, Moral and Dogma were taught. In 1545 D. João de Castro created parochial schools where Portuguese, Christian Doctrine and Religious Music were taught. Domingos Maurício. “Para a História da Filosofia Portuguesa no Ultramar”, does not offer such information. He only registered what Father Niceno Fiegueiredo wrote and many of these disciplines only appear in the syllabus of St Paul’s College.

¹² *Documenta Indica*, vol. I, p. 142, letter from Father Lancilote in 1546. Except in very few cases, this rule was kept over the years. St. Francis Xavier recommends that there were two reasons why the Society of Jesus could not recruit members among natives: firstly, most of them had a weak character, so nothing could be achieved without the Portuguese; secondly, the Portuguese in India would refuse to confess with native or multiracial priests. Therefore, Father Francis agreed on founding different colleges for the Portuguese and the locals. See: Georg Schurhammer, S. J., *Francisco Xavier. Su vida y su tiempo*, T.III: *Índia: 1547-1599*, Gobierno de Navarra, Compañía de Jesús, Arzobispado de Pamplona, 1992, p. 446.

¹³ Luís Filipe Thomaz, *De Ceuta a Timor*, p. 255, indicates that St Paul’s College was founded in 1557, but all other sources indicate 1548.

¹⁴ *Documenta Indica*, vol. II, pp. 10-11;15, 140.

¹⁵ *Documenta Indica*, vol.II, pp. 142 and 148.

¹⁶ Domingos Maurício, “Vice-Reis e governadores xaverianos. Jorge Cabral: Ceilão e Malabar”, *Broteria, revista contemporânea de Cultura*, vol. LVIII, fasc. 2, Lisbon, 1954, p. 219

¹⁷ Georg Schurhammer, S. J., *Francisco Xavier. Su vida y su tiempo*, T.III, p.321. Idem, *Ibidem*, p.322

¹⁸ Idem, *Ibidem*, p. 445. Concerning *Curso Conimbricense*, we recommend: Alfredo Dinis, “Tradição e transição do Curso Conimbricense”, *Revista Portuguesa de*

Filosofia. Filosofia em Portugal, VI. Comemorando 450 anos da Companhia de Jesus, Braga, October-December, T. XLVII, Fasc. 4, 1991.

¹⁹ *Idem, Ibidem*, p. 322.

²⁰ According to Adelino de Almeida Calado, in his article: “Um Documento seiscentista da Companhia de Jesus na Índia”, *Brotéria*, Lisbon, vol. LXIII, nº 1, 1957, p. 13. In the Eastern Provinces, one would find identical yet simplified programs. Even though the author does not say this comparison is about India, we assume it as such.

²¹ Francisco Rodrigues, *A Formação Intelectual do Jesuíta*, Porto: Livraria Magalhães e Moniz Ed., 1917, p. 173. Francisco de Souza, *Oriente Conquistado*, conq. I, div. II, & 41, cited by Adelino de Almeida, “Um Documento seiscentista da Companhia de Jesus na Índia”, *op. cit.*, p. 13 said that, along with virtues and good customs, students must be taught the Human and the Divine Letters, Latin, Arts, Philosophy as well as Moral and Speculative Theology and also that, in many regions, boys must learn how to read and write.

²² Francisco Rodrigues, *A Companhia de Jesus em Portugal e nas Missões*, p. 7. We recommend: Miguel Maria Santos Corrêa Monteiro, *Os Jesuítas e o Ensino Médio. Contributo para uma análise da respectiva acção pedagógica*. Photocopied text, Lisbon, 1991, and “Ratio Studiorum da Companhia de Jesus (1599-1999)”, *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia*, Braga, July-September, T. LV, Fasc. 3, 1999.

²³ Alfredo Dinis, “Tradição e transição no Curso Conimbricense”, *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia*, Braga, October-December, Tome XLVII, Fasc. 4, 1991, p. 538. The author writes that such an obligation did not constitute an obstacle to the Jesuits’ freedom of investigation.

²⁴ Domingos Maurício, *op.cit.*, pp. 178-179. Father António Quadros, an eminent professor from Coimbra University, was the first Philosophy teacher. Father Niceno de Figueiredo, *Pelo Clero de Goa. Duas Lendas o Cisma de Goa e a Ignorância do Clero Goês*, Bstora: Tip. Rangel 1939, p. 313, citing Mariano Saldanha also wrote that Jesuit studies began only with the arrival of António Quadros in 1555 and consisted of Grammar and cases of consciousness.

²⁵ Cited by Domingos Maurício, *op. cit.*, p. 181. A document dating 1666, written by Manuel Barreto, published and analyzed by Adelino de Almeida Calado, *op. cit.*, states that, by then, St Paul’s College had three Latin teachers, one Philosophy teacher and three who taught Theology. It had courses on reading, writing and Arithmetic, with a religious teacher and two secular assistants. In the introduction to *Documenta Indica*, vol. II, 1557, we read that the College had: General Studies: 2 classes of Humanities, Logic and Moral; Elementary School: reading, writing, arithmetics and Christian Doctrine; during secondary school students would read Virgil, Cicero, Ovid and Sédulo. Aristotle was followed in Philosophy and St. Thomas in Theology. In order to obtain better results from education they would use: public discussions, conclusions and representations. A document cited also by Joseph Wicki, *Documenta Indica...*, vol, XVI, p. 994, mentions the names of some teachers and their disciplines: Theology, Cases, Philosophy, Humanities and School of Reading and Writing. Teotónio de Souza, *Goa Medieval*, p. 91, gives us some more information, but also regrets the lack of sources to clarify this matter,

writing that there is not much information on how teaching was conducted or about the syllabus, that would allow further discussion. The better organized colleges in Old Goa—in charge of the Jesuits in Rachol and the Franciscans in Reis Magos—had syllabi that included Latin, Latin Literature, Religion and Liberal Arts, including vocal and instrumental music. Local languages were also taught in order to prepare catechists, who would later return to their villages to help priests convert other natives. Jesuits at St Peter’s of Goa, where only boys could study, paid special attention to Arithmetics, since this subject was very much appreciated by the locals and their business-oriented minds. Narratives made by Jesuits state that it was not unusual to find adults among the students in Arithmetic classes. There are differences between other sources and what we stated in our text about what was taught at St Paul’s. The dates of their introduction are even more controversial. This is the reason why we chose to present different citations. We agree with Teotónio de Souza when he laments the scarcity of reliable and clarifying sources. To conclude, it seems that St Paul’s was actually composed of two institutions: one destined to pupils who wanted to be priests and taught Latin, Philosophy and Moral Theology; the other was for those who wanted to learn the Humanities and Mathematics.

²⁶ Luís Filipe Thomaz, *op cit.*, pp. 255. Adelino de Almeida, *op. cit.*, p.13, wrote that there was not a Medicine course there, thus disagreeing with Luis Filipe Thomaz. We want to point out that Almeida does not make any specific reference to colleges or dates, but, as the article is about India, we think it refers to Indian schools. Medicine and Law were excluded since they did not interest Jesuit teaching. In the Eastern Provinces there were similar yet simplified syllabi. Actually, all studies we consulted have difficulties indicating a precise date for the inauguration of the Medicine course in Goa until the 19th century. Alberto Germano da Silva Corrêa, *História do ensino médico na Índia Portuguesa*, Nova Goa, Imprensa Nacional, 1917, writes on p. 3 that if 1534 can be regarded as a faint attempt to inaugurate a program of surgical teaching in Goa, 1691 marks a serious attempt, which unfortunately did not succeed.

²⁷ Ugo Baldini, “As Assistências ibéricas da Companhia de Jesus e a actividade científica nas missões asiáticas (1578-1640). Alguns aspectos culturais e institucionais”, *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia*, Braga, April-June, Tome LIV, Fasc. 2, 1998, pp. 205-206. We recommend Baldini’s text for further information on the subject. According to him, Jesuit missionaries who traveled to India studied several topics, such as Mathematics. He adds that letters exchanged between Rome and the Missions contributed reciprocally to scientific knowledge in both places: the telescope and Galileo’s observations in *Sidereus Nuntius* were already known in Goa in 1612, pp. 220 -221. Also, when in Goa, Cristóvão Bruno wrote a treatise that spread the theory of the tenuousness of the Universe to such distant places as Persia, Arabia and Armenia: *De nova mundi Constitutione juxta systema Tichonis Brahe aliorum que recentiorum mathematicorum* (1523).

²⁸ We suggest the following texts about the subject: Jorge Manuel Flores, *Os Portugueses e o Mar de Ceilão. Trato, Diplomacia e Guerra (1498-1543)*, Lisbon: Ed. Cosmos, 1988; Thomaz, Luís Filipe, *op. cit.*, pp.189-289.

²⁹ We only refer to large Christian communities, but that does not mean that individual conversions could not have existed. Cranganor College was founded to make St Thomas' Christians acquainted with Latin culture: A. M. Mundadan; *History of Christianity in India*, vol. I: *From The Beginning Up To The Middle of The Sixteenth Century*, Bangalore: Church History Association of India, 1989, pp. 323. We suggest: E. P. Anthony, *The History of Latin Catholics in Kerala*, Ernakulam: I. S. Press, 1992.

³⁰ *Documenta Indica*, vol. I, p. 417.

³¹ *Ibidem*, p. 556.

³² *Ibidem*, vol. I, pp. 289-291.

³³ *Documenta Indica*, vol. I, p. 521.

³⁴ The 1594 catalogue published by Joseph Wicki, *Documenta Indica*, vol. XVI: (1542-1594), p.1000, says that there were two Humanities teachers: one for the first class and another for the second. There was also a Latin class with 9 students.

³⁵ Francisco Rodrigues, *A Companhia de Jesus em Portugal e nas missões*, p. 60.

³⁶ Regarding Nobili and the Mission in Maduré we suggest: Fernão Guerreiro, *Relaçam annual que fezeram os padres da Companhia de Jesus nas partes da india Oriental & em algumas outras partes da conquista deste reyno no ano de 606 & 607 & do processo de conversão da christandade daquelas partes*, Lisbon: Pedro Crasbeeck, 1609, p. 112 on. Also: Diogo Gonçalves, *História do Malabar*, Ed. Josef Wicki, Munster: Aschendorffsche Verlangsbuch Handlung, 1995; Gonçalo Fernandes, *Tratado sobre o hinduísmo*, José Wicki (ed.), Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1973.

³⁷ Read: Célia Tavares, *Jesuítas e Inquisidores em Goa*, pp. 171-174. ANTT, Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício, Parecer de João Delgado Figueira, promotor e deputado da inquisição de Goa sobre os sinais gentílicos (1619), Liv. 474. This brings information about gentile rites and the practices defended by Roberto de Nobili. The National Library in Rio de Janeiro has the documentation on Roberto de Nobili (erroneously referred to as Hobili) and the Inquisition: *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional*. Vol. 120—2000. Rio de Janeiro, 2006: http://objdigital.bn.br/acervo_digital/anais/anais_120_2000.pdf. We thank Prof. Patricia from Universidade Federal de Viçosa for the information. HOBILI, Roberto: "Petição ao reverendo governador do arcebispado de São Tomé, Jerônimo de Sá, solicitando que os direitos concedidos aos cristãos de Madurê pelo breve de Gregório XV sejam estendidos aos cristãos de São Tomé". São Tomé, 08/04/1649. 1f. Copy. Manuscript. Accompanied by favourable response from governor Jerônimo de Sá. - 25,1,004 n°161: "Mesa da Inquisição de Goa. Ofício não permitindo a autorização dada pelo governador de São Tomé, Jerônimo de Sá, ao padre Roberto Hobili, sobre a extensão dos direitos concedidos aos cristãos de Madurê e aos brâmanes para os cristãos de São Tomé". Goa, 07/11/1650. 2 f. Original. Manuscript. Document signed by Paulo Castelino de Freitas, Manuel da Cruz, Francisco de Barcellos, Lucas da Cruz, Manuel de Mendonça and [José Rebelo Vás]. Reply by Jerônimo de Sá in 25,1,004 n°161A.

³⁸ Benjamim Videira Pires, S. J., *Embaixada Mártir*, Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macao, 1988, p. 16.

³⁹ Benjamim Videira Pires, S. J., *Embaixada Mártir*, p. 17.

⁴⁰ Benjamim Videira Pires, S. J., *op. cit.*, 1988, pp. 17-19.

⁴¹ Benjamim Videira Pires, *op. cit.*, p. 23. Mogui was located one league from Nagasaki and was the natural path from the Arima feud to Omura. It was donated to the Jesuits, together with Uracami, nowadays a Nagasaki neighbourhood, by Arima's daimyo.

⁴² Armando Martins Janeira, *O Impacto Português sobre a Civilização Japonesa*, Lisbon: Publicações D. Quixote, 1988, p. 128.

⁴³ Armando Martins Janeira, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem.*

⁴⁵ *Ibidem.*

⁴⁶ The designation "college" is controversial. Luís Fróis, in his *Historia de Japam*, tells us about the Society's houses, especially the novitiate and the seminary for the young Japanese. Cf. Luís Fróis, S.J., *Historia de Japam* (annotated by José Wicki, S.J.), Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional de Lisbon, p. 28.

⁴⁷ About St. Francis Xavier in Japan, read: Léon Bourdon, *La Compagnie de Jesus et le Japon*, Lisbonne-Paris: Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian-Centre Culturel Portugais, 1993, pp. 153-246.

⁴⁸ Michael Cooper, S. J., *Rodrigues, O Intérprete. Um Jesuíta Português no Japão e na China do Século XVI*, Lisbon: Quetzal Editores, 2003, p. 45.

⁴⁹ Japan was governed by an Emperor, who named officials to manage the provinces and collect taxes. However, the monarch's power was undermined by powerful clans that possessed great fiscal freedom. So, these Lords ruled their territories as they saw fit. Cf. Michael Cooper, S. J., *Rodrigues, O Intérprete. Um Jesuíta Português no Japão e na China do Século XVI*, Lisbon: Quetzal Editores, 2003, p. 14.

⁵⁰ Michael Cooper, S. J., *Rodrigues, O Intérprete. Um Jesuíta Português no Japão e na China do Século XVI*, pp. 45-46.

⁵¹ Michael Cooper, S. J., *op. cit.*, p. 46.

⁵² V. João Paulo A. Oliveira e Costa, *A Descoberta da Civilização Portuguesa pelos Portugueses*. Lisbon: Instituto de História de Além-Mar, 1995.

⁵³ Cooper, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

⁵⁴ Cooper, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem.*

⁵⁶ Cooper, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

⁵⁷ Cooper, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

⁵⁸ Cooper, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

⁵⁹ Cooper, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

⁶⁰ Cooper, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

⁶¹ João Rodrigues would publish his *Arte da Língua do Japan* based on the structure of a Latin grammar, which he probably read while studying at Funai's College. Cf. Michael Cooper, S. J., *Rodrigues, O Intérprete. Um Jesuíta Português no Japão e na China do Século XVI*, Lisbon: Quetzal Editores, 2003, p. 60.

⁶² Cooper, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

⁶³ Cooper, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

⁶⁴ Cooper, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

⁶⁵ Cooper, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

⁶⁶ Cooper, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

⁶⁷ Cooper, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁹ Diego Yuuki, S.J., “O Colégio de S. Paulo de Macao e a Igreja do Japão”, in *Revista de Cultura*, n. 30, II Series, 1997, p. 127.

⁷⁰ Armando Martins Janeira, *O Impacto Português sobre a Civilização Japonesa*, Lisbon: Publicações D. Quixote, 1988, pp. 58-59.

⁷¹ Armando Martins Janeira, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

⁷² *Idem*, *Ibidem*, pp. 60-61.

⁷³ The Shimabara Rebellion (1637-1638) originated from the oppression of peasants, so heavily taxed that they reached a desperate situation. To this, we add the equally persecuted and oppressed Christians, spread across Kiushu. Aided by the Dutch, the Japanese succeeded in removing rebels from Hara Castle and slaughtered 37.000 survivors. Cf. Armando Martins Janeira, *O Impacto Português sobre a Civilização Japonesa*, Lisbon: Publicações D. Quixote, 1988, p. 61.

⁷⁴ Armando Martins Janeira, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

⁷⁵ Charles R. Boxer, *O Grande Navio de Macao*, Macao: Fundação Oriente/Museu Marítimo de Macao, 1989, pp. 138-139.

⁷⁶ Charles Boxer, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

⁷⁷ Beatriz Basto da Silva, *Cronologia da História de Macao (séculos XVI-XVII)*, vol. I, Macao: Direcção dos Serviços de Educação, 1992, p. 53. Nevertheless, this jurisdiction was reduced by the creation of the Diocese of Funai (in Japan) in 1588 and the Dioceses of Beijing and Nanquim (in China) in 1690. In the 19th century, Macao's jurisdiction reached Timor (1874), Singapore and Malaca (1886-1887). Cf. Manuel Teixeira, *Macao e a sua Diocese, vol. XII: Bispos, Missionários, Igrejas e Escolas*, Macao: Tipografia da Missão, 1976, pp. 108-110.

⁷⁸ V. Eusébio Arnaiz Alvarez, *Macao, mãe das Missões no Extremo Oriente*, Macao: Tipografia Salesiana, 1957.

⁷⁹ Benjamim Videira Pires, S.J., *A Embaixada Mártir*, p.14.

⁸⁰ Huang Qichen, “The First University in Macao: the Colégio de S. Paulo”, in *Religion and Culture: an International Symposium Commemorating the Fourth Centenary of the University of St. Paul* (ed. John W. Witek), Macao: Macao Ricci Institute, 1999, p. 253.

⁸¹ F. Cronin, S. J., “Fr. Ricci and his Work in China”, in *Instituto Português de Hong Kong*, n.º. 1, July 1948, p. 96.

⁸² Fernando António Baptista Pereira, “A Conjectural Reconstruction of the Church of the College of Mater Dei”, in *Religion and Culture*, Macao: Macao Ricci Institute, 1999, pp. 205-243.

⁸³ Domingos Maurício Gomes dos Santos, *Macao, Primeira Universidade Ocidental do Extremo Oriente*, Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa de História, 1994, p. 8.

⁸⁴ Manuel Teixeira, *Japoneses em Macao*, Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macao/ Comissão Territorial para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1993, p.7.

⁸⁵ Domingos Maurício Gomes dos Santos, *Macao, Primeira Universidade Ocidental do Extremo Oriente*, Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa de História, 1994, p. 9.

⁸⁶ *Ibidem.*

⁸⁷ *Ibidem.*

⁸⁸ Domingos Maurício Gomes dos Santos, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

⁸⁹ Domingos Maurício Gomes dos Santos, *Macao, Primeira Universidade Ocidental do Extremo Oriente*, Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa de História, 1994, p. 16.

⁹⁰ Domingos Maurício Gomes dos Santos, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁹¹ *Ibidem.*

⁹² *Ibidem.*

⁹³ Huang Qichen, “O Colégio de São Paulo: a Primeira Universidade em Macao”, in *Revista de Cultura*, II Série, nº 30, pp. 109-122.

⁹⁴ Domingos Maurício Gomes dos Santos, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

⁹⁵ Benjamim Videira Pires, S.J., *A Embaixada Mártir*, Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macao, 1988, p.14.

⁹⁶ Domingos Maurício Gomes dos Santos, *Macao, Primeira Universidade Ocidental do Extremo Oriente*, Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa de História, 1994, p. 18.

⁹⁷ *Ibidem.*

⁹⁸ *Ibidem.*

⁹⁹ Domingos Maurício Gomes dos Santos, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibidem.*

¹⁰¹ *Ibidem.*

¹⁰² Domingos Maurício Gomes dos Santos, *op. cit.*, p. 25. Veja-se, também, Francisco Rodrigues, *A Companhia de Jesus em Portugal e nas Missões*, Porto: Tipografia Fonseca, p. 58.

¹⁰³ *Ibidem*, pp. 28-29.

¹⁰⁴ Huang Qichen, “O Colégio de São Paulo: a Primeira Universidade em Macao”, in *Revista de Cultura*, II Série, nº. 30, p. 111.

¹⁰⁵ Aloysius B. Chang, S. J., “The True Significance of the College of St. Paul”, in *Religion and Culture*, Macao: Macao Ricci Institute, 1999, pp. 367-382. Sobre o Colégio de S. Paulo veja-se: BA, Cod. 49-V-5 - “Cartas Anuas do Colégio de Macao (1603-1621)”; BA, Cod. 49-V-7: “Cartas Anuas do Colégio de Macao (1616, 1620-22)”; BA, Cod. 49-V-22: “Cartas Anuas do Colégio de Macao e Missão de Cantão (1692)”.

¹⁰⁶ Benjamim Videira Pires, S. J., “Jesuítas Beneméritos da Macao”, in *Religião e Pátria*, vol. XLII (26, 27, 29, 32), 1st July, 8th July, 29th July and 12th August, 1956, pp. 606-608, 626-632, 678-680, 771-773.

¹⁰⁷ BA, Cod. 49-V-5—*Série Província da China (1600-1623)*: “Vida e morte do Padre Mateus Ricci”.

¹⁰⁸ Armando Martins Janeira, *O Impacto Português sobre a Civilização Japonesa*, Lisbon: Publicações D. Quixote, 1988, p. 160.

¹⁰⁹ Edward J. Malatesta, “Alessandro Valignano, Fan Li-An (1539-1606): estratégia da Missão Jesuíta na China”, in *Revista de Cultura*, II Série, nº. 21, Macao, Oct.-Dec. 1994, p. 52.

¹¹⁰ *Ibidem*. See also, BA, Cod. 49-V-5—*Série Província da China* (1600-1623): “Vida e morte do Padre Alexandre Valignano” and “Vida e morte do Padre Mateus Ricci”.

¹¹¹ *Ibidem*.

¹¹² Michael Cooper, S. J., *Rodrigues, O Intérprete. Um Jesuíta Português no Japão e na China do Século XVI*, Lisbon: Quetzal Editores, 2003, p. 98.

¹¹³ Edward J. Malatesta, “Alessandro Valignano, Fan Li-An (1539-1606): estratégia da Missão Jesuíta na China”, in *Revista de Cultura*, n. 21, II Series, Macao, Oct.-Dec. 1994, p. 16. See also, Gonçalo Mesquitela, *História de Macao*, vol. I, Tome II, Macao: ICM, 1996, pp. 142-143; and, Benjamim Videira Pires, “Matteo Ricci e João Rodrigues, Dois Elos de Interpenetração Cultural na China e no Japão”, in *Revista de Cultura*, II Série, nº 18, Jan.-Mar. 1994, p. 5.

¹¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 16. See also Artur Levy Gomes, *Esboço da História de Macao*, Macao: Repartição Provincial dos Serviços de Economia e Estatística Geral, 1957, p. 71.

¹¹⁵ Benjamim Videira Pires, “Matteo Ricci e João Rodrigues, Dois Elos de Interpenetração Cultural na China e no Japão”, in *Revista de Cultura*, II Series, nº. 18, Jan.-Mar. 1994, p. 5. Cf. Manuel Teixeira, “O 350 Aniversário da Fundação da Missão de Shiu-Hing”, in *Boletim Eclesiástico da Diocese de Macao*, Ano XXXI, nº 355, October 1933, pp. 260-276.

¹¹⁶ John W. Witek, S. J., “Introdução”, in *Dicionário de Português-Chinês, of Michele Ruggieri & Matteo Ricci* (dir. by John W. Witek, S. J.), Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, 2001, p. 17.

¹¹⁷ Benjamim Videira Pires, “Matteo Ricci e João Rodrigues, Dois Elos de Interpenetração Cultural na China e no Japão”, in *Revista de Cultura*, II Series, nº. 18, Jan.-Mar. 1994, p. 6. See also, Isabel Pina, *Os Jesuítas em Nanquim (1599-1633)*, Lisbon: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macao, 2008, p. 28.

¹¹⁸ *Ibidem*. Cf. Edward J. Malatesta, “Alessandro Valignano, Fan Li-An (1539-1606): estratégia da Missão Jesuíta na China”, in *Revista de Cultura*, II Series, nº. 21, Oct.-Dec., 1994, p. 52.

¹¹⁹ Artur Levy Gomes, *Esboço da História de Macao (1511-1849)*, Macao: Repartição Provincial dos Serviços de Economia e Estatística Geral, 1957, p. 90. In 1611, the region was promoted to the category of Province (in China), whose first governor was Father Valentim Carvalho. Cf. *Cartas Ánuas do Colégio de Macao (1594-1627)*, (dir. João Paulo Oliveira e Costa), CTMCDP/Fundação Macao, 1999, p. 32.

¹²⁰ Isabel Pina, *Os Jesuítas em Nanquim (1599-1633)*, Lisbon: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macao, 2008, p. 25.

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- ¹²¹ John W. Witek, S. J., “Introdução”, in *Dicionário de Português-Chinês, de Michele Ruggieri & Matteo Ricci* (dir. John W. Witek, S. J.), Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, 2001, p. 17.
- ¹²² Gonçalo Mesquitela, *História de Macao*, vol. I, Tome II, Macao: ICM, 1996, pp. 146-157.
- ¹²³ V. Theodore N. Foss, “Uma Interpretação Ocidental da China: Cartografia Jesuíta”, in *Revista de Cultura*, II Series, nº. 21, Oct.-Dec. 1994, pp. 129-150.
- ¹²⁴ E.R. Hugues, *The Invasion of China by Western World*, New York: The Mac Millan Company, 1938, pp. XV-XVI.
- ¹²⁵ Huang Qichen, “Macao, Ponte de Intercâmbio Cultural entre a China e o Ocidente, do Século XVI ao Século XVIII”, in *Revista de Cultura*, II Series, nº. 21, Oct.-Dec., 1994, pp. 154-115.
- ¹²⁶ E.R. Hugues, *The Invasion of China by Western World*, New York: The Mac Millan Company, 1938, pp. XV-XVI.
- ¹²⁷ Paul Fu - Mien yang, S. J., “Introdução Histórica e Linguística”, in *Dicionário Português-Chinês de Michele Ruggieri & Matteo Ricci* (dir. by John W. Witek, S. J.), Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, 2001, pp. 29-77.
- ¹²⁸ *Ibidem*.
- ¹²⁹ Paul Fu - Mien yang, S. J., “Introdução Histórica e Linguística”, in *Dicionário Português-Chinês de Michele Ruggieri & Matteo Ricci* (dir. John W. Witek), Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, p. 31.
- ¹³⁰ Rui Manuel Loureiro, *Nas partes da China*, Lisbon: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macao, 2009, p. 250.
- ¹³¹ Edward J. Malatesta, “Alessandro Valignano, Fan Li-An (1539-1606): estrategia da Missão Jesuíta na China”, in *Revista de Cultura*, II Series, nº. 21, Macao, Oct.-Dec. 1994, pp. 51-66.
- ¹³² Isabel Pina, *Os Jesuítas em Nanquim (1599-1633)*, Lisbon: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macao, 2008, pp. 28-29.
- ¹³³ Rui Manuel Loureiro, *op. cit.*, p. 250.
- ¹³⁴ Paul Fu - Mien yang, S. J., “Dicionário Português-Chinês de Michele Ruggieri e Matteo Ricci: Introdução Histórica e Linguística”, in *Dicionário Português-Chinês de Michele Ruggieri & Matteo Ricci* (dir.), p. 31.
- ¹³⁵ Horácio Peixoto de Araújo, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-117.
- ¹³⁶ Rui Manuel Loureiro, *op. cit.*, p. 254.
- ¹³⁷ BA, Cod. 49-V-1: *Ásia Extrema*, I, p. 235.
- ¹³⁸ Horácio Peixoto de Araújo, *Os Jesuítas no Império da China: o Primeiro século (1582-1680)*, Macao: IPOR, 2000, pp. 118-120.
- ¹³⁹ Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: the Jesuit mission to China, 1579-1724*, Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007, pp. 25-56.
- ¹⁴⁰ Horácio Peixoto de Araújo, *op. cit.*, p. 121.
- ¹⁴¹ *Ibidem*. Cf. BA, Cod. 49-V-1: *Ásia Extrema*, I, p. 447.
- ¹⁴² *Ibidem*.
- ¹⁴³ Ian Rae, “A Abordagem Comunicativa Intercultural dos Primeiros Missionários Jesuítas na China”, in *Revista de Cultura*, II Series, nº 21, Oct.-Dec., 1994, p. 123.

¹⁴⁴ Ian Rae, “A Abordagem Comunicativa Intercultural dos Primeiros Missionários Jesuítas na China”, in *Revista de Cultura*, p. 124.

¹⁴⁵ Armando Martins Janeira, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

¹⁴⁶ J. López-Gay, “Vocaciones Indígenas”, *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, directors: Charles E. O’Neill, S.I and Joaquin M. M^a Dominguez, S.I., vol. IV, Rome: Institutum Historicum, S.I.; Madrid: Universidade Pontifícia Comillas, 2001, p. 2750: “Carta de S. Francisco Xavier, 12 de Janeiro de 1549”.

¹⁴⁷ J. López-Gay, “Vocaciones Indígenas”, *Diccionario Histórico...*, vol. IV, p. 2705.

¹⁴⁸ Marina Massimi, *Um incendiado desejo das Índias...*, p. 101. We recommend this study, which includes the “Litterae Indipetae”, letters written between the 16th and 17th centuries by young Jesuits asking to be sent to the Missions.

¹⁴⁹ Silva Rego, *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente (Índia)*, vol. IV, Lisbon, p. 156. Eduardo Javier Alonso Romo, *Los Escritos Portugueses de San Francisco Javier*, Universidade do Minho: Centro de Estudos Humanísticos, 2000, p. 556.

¹⁵⁰ Silva Rego, *Documentação...*, vol. XV, p. 143. This compilation includes many documents, which contain the intellectual and moral abilities that would count on the candidates’ admission. Such abilities did not exclude the need to be good preachers, theologians, confessors etc. As Missions progressed, such standards were not always maintained.

¹⁵¹ Ian Rae, “A Abordagem Comunicativa Intercultural dos Primeiros Missionários Jesuítas na China”, in *Revista de Cultura*, n. 21, II Series, Oct.-Dec., 1994, p. 124.

¹⁵² Ian Rae, “A Abordagem Comunicativa Intercultural dos Primeiros Missionários Jesuítas na China”, in *Revista de Cultura*, p. 125.

¹⁵³ Domingos Maurício Gomes dos Santos, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

¹⁵⁴ Ana Maria R. P. Leitão, “Alexandre Valignano: um Missionário Inovador no País do Sol Nascente”, in *Encontro Portugal-Japão* (scientific coordination João Paulo Oliveira e Costa), 3rd fascicle, Lisbon: Grupo de Trabalho do Ministério da Educação para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, (1999), pp. 29-35.

¹⁵⁵ Michael Cooper, *Rodrigues, o Intérprete...*, pp. 221-226.

¹⁵⁶ Gonçalo Mesquitela, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-150.

¹⁵⁷ Gonçalo Mesquitela, *História de Macao*, Vol. I, Tome II, Macao: ICM, 1996, p. 152.

¹⁵⁸ Ian Rae, “A Abordagem Comunicativa Intercultural dos Primeiros Missionários Jesuítas na China”, in *Revista de Cultura*, p. 122.

¹⁵⁹ J. López-Gay, “Encuentro con las Religiones no-cristianas del Oriente”, *Diccionario...*, vol. IV, p. 2706.

¹⁶⁰ For a better understanding and clarification of the matter, we recommend the following works, among the many sources available: Georg Schurhammer, *op. cit.*, tome III, pp. 591-627; Joseph Wicki, *Dicionário...*, vol. III, pp. 2708-2708. Jesuits also took an interest in other religions. We recommend the aforementioned *Dicionário...*, pp. 2708-2711. The *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesus*, ed. Carlos Sommervogel S.J., (alphabetically ordered), Tome I, II and III contains

biographies of Jesuits who visited the East. Many left written testimonials, such as Manuel Barradas, Francisco Barreto, Francisco Garcia, Baltasar da Costa, Fernão de Queiroz, etc.

¹⁶¹ All this information was taken from Domingos Maurício, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-186. He writes about this and other aspects, giving us a comprehensive summary of the themes discussed by missionaries. It is difficult to sketch an outline of the penetration of Western Philosophy through missionaries in these few pages.

¹⁶² Idem, *Ibidem*, pp.182-183.

¹⁶³ Francisco Rodrigues, *A Formação Intelectual do Jesuíta*, Porto: Liv. Magalhães & Moniz Editores, 1917, pp. 341-343.

¹⁶⁴ Pe António Lourenço Farinha, *Vultos Missionários da Índia Quinhentista*, Ed. Missões Cucujães, 1955, p. 97.

¹⁶⁵ We only painted a very brief sketch about this subject, too important to be left aside. Many reached distinction in those regions, others focused on other fields of knowledge, such as the case in China, but they all had a common goal: the Mission. We recommend the following works: Francisco Rodrigues, *A Formação Intelectual do Jesuíta*, pp. 143-358; Leonor Buesco, *A Galáxia da Língua Malabar em Português*, Lisbon: Ed. Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1992; David Lopes, *A Expansão da Língua Portuguesa no Oriente nos séculos XVI, XVII e XVIII*, Barcelos: Portucalense Editora, 1936. Another important aspect of Jesuit activity is the writing and the use of catechisms. See: Cândida Barros, “Notas sobre os catecismos em línguas vernáculas das colónias portuguesas (séc. XVI - XVII)”, *Revista Iberoromania*, n.º 57, Max Niemeyer Verlag Tubingen, 2003.

¹⁶⁶ Armando Janeira, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

¹⁶⁷ Manuel Cadafaz de Matos, “The Missions of Portuguese Typography in the South of China in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries”, in *Religion and Culture*, Macao: Macao Ricci Institute, 1999, pp. 79-80.

¹⁶⁸ Manuel Cadafaz de Matos, “The Missions of Portuguese Typography in the South of China in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries”, in *Religion and Culture*, pp. 81-82.

¹⁶⁹ Valignano sent these four young Japanese noblemen as ambassadors to the Pope and to Philip II, King of Portugal and Spain, in 1582. They traveled to Macao, Goa, Lisbon, Madrid and Rome, from where they returned to Japan arriving there six years later, after visiting Macao.

¹⁷⁰ Manuel Cadafaz de Matos, *Ibidem*, p. 83.

¹⁷¹ This work has been sometimes attributed to Father Alessandro Valignano (Daniel Bartoli, 1608-1695). Cf. Américo da Costa Ramalho, “Father Duarte de Sande, S. J., Genuine Author of *De Missionum Legatorum Japonensium Ad Romanam Curiam... Dialogus*”, in *Religion and Culture*, Macao: Ricci Institute, 1999, pp. 89-101.

¹⁷² Manuel Cadafaz de Matos, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

¹⁷³ Manuel Cadafaz de Matos, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

¹⁷⁴ Manuel Cadafaz de Matos, “The Missions of Portuguese Typography in the South of China in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries”, in *Religion and Culture*, Macao: Macao Ricci Institute, 1999, p. 86.

¹⁷⁵ Manuel Cadafaz de Matos, op. cit., pp. 86-87.

¹⁷⁶ Manuel Cadafaz de Matos, “The Missions of Portuguese Typography in the South of China in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries”, in *Religion and Culture*, p. 87.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 88.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibidem*. P. 87.