

# In the Light and Shadow of an Emperor



In the Light and Shadow of an Emperor:  
Tomás Pereira, SJ (1645–1708), the Kangxi  
Emperor and the Jesuit Mission in China

Edited by

Artur K. Wardega, SJ,  
and António Vasconcelos de Saldanha

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**P U B L I S H I N G**

In the Light and Shadow of an Emperor:  
Tomás Pereira, SJ (1645–1708), the Kangxi Emperor and the Jesuit Mission in China,  
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*Jidujiao sixiang pinglun*, 10/12 (2009). He has edited the 2007 MRI Symposium proceedings under the title *Belief, History and Individual in Modern Chinese Literary Culture* (Cambridge, 2009) and (with Anders Hansson) *Portrait of a Jesuit: Matteo Ricci*, MRI Jesuitas Publication Series (Macau, 2010). Recently he edited trilingual book jointly published by the MRI and Centre Sèvres of Paris, *Playing Bach in France and in China: An Encounter of Musicians in Macau* (Macau, 2011).

**Liam Matthew Brockey** is an Associate Professor of History in the Department of History at Michigan State University (U.S.A.). He is a specialist in the social and religious history of Early Modern Europe, with particular interest in the Portuguese empire and Roman Catholic overseas missions. His first book, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579-1724*, was published by Harvard University Press (2007) and consists of a reconceptualization of this important episode in Sino-European relations. Professor Brockey is also the editor of a volume of essays entitled *Portuguese Colonial Cities in the Early Modern World*. He is currently working on a collection of biographies of ecclesiastical figures from across the Portuguese and Spanish empires in the mid-seventeenth century.

**Claudia von Collani** 柯蘭霓 studied Catholic theology at the University of Würzburg, specializing in missiology. Her 1983 dissertation in missiology was about Figurism, and in 2005 she obtained her Habilitation in Münster in the field of ‘East-Asian Mission History’. She is involved in several research projects: on the ‘Chinese Rites Controversy’ (Ricci Institute, San Francisco), the ‘Acta Pekinensia’ by Kilian Stumpf (Macau Ricci Institute), the first translation of the *Daodejing* into a European language, the Internet ‘Encyclopedia’ of Stochastikon GmbH, and as a fellow in the International Consortium for Research in the Humanities ‘Fate, Freedom, and Prognostication’ at Erlangen University. Her special fields are Figurism, history of science, inculturation, and cultural exchange between China and Europe. She has published five books and about 110 scholarly articles. Her newest publications comprise: ‘The first Encounter of the West with the *Yijing*’, *Monumenta Serica* 55, 2007; together with Harald Holz, Konrad Wegmann (Introduction, first publication, translation and annotations), *Uroffenbarung und Daoismus: Jesuitische Missionshermeneutik des Daoismus* (Reihe *Daodejing-Forschungen*/ Series *Daodejing Research*, vol. 1 (Bochum, 2008), a contribution to the *Festschrift in Honour of Angelo Lazzarotto P.I.M.E.* (Sankt Augustin, 2010), ed. Roman

Malek, and a short biography on the Vicar Apostolic Johannes Müllener, CM, in Sichuan.

**Ad Dudink 杜鼎克** studied theology and history of Chinese religions in Amsterdam and was a student of Erik Zürcher (1928–2008) in Leiden, where he gained a doctorate in 1995 in the history of Christianity in Late Ming China. Since 1996 he is a researcher at the Department of Sinology of the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in Belgium. He collaborated with Nicolas Standaert in the revision of the *Handbook of Christianity in China*, vol. 1: 635–1800 (Brill, 2001), and in the production and elaboration of the database Chinese Christian Texts ([http://www2.arts.kuleuven.be/info/eng/OE\\_sinologie/CCT](http://www2.arts.kuleuven.be/info/eng/OE_sinologie/CCT)), which is still going on. With Standaert and others, he has edited facsimile editions of hitherto unpublished Chinese Christian texts from the Zikawei Library in Taipei (1996), the Jesuit Archives in Rome (2002), the French National Library in Paris (2009) and the Zikawei Library in Shanghai (2011).

**Gerlinde Gild 戈林德·吉而特** received her doctoral degree at Göttingen University with a thesis on the first *tractatus* on Western music written in Chinese by Tomás Pereira and Teodorico Pedrini, the *Lülü zhengyi xubian* (1713). Habilitation followed in 1999 with a thesis on the reception of Western music in China.

From 2005 to 2009 she was head of the Department of East Asian Studies at Göttingen University, where she had been a lecturer in the same department since 1999. She has been APL professor of sinology at Göttingen University since 2006.

From 2008 to 2010 she held the honorary position of head of the Confucius Institute in Hanover. Beginning in 2007 she cooperated with Prof. Cai Jianguo from Tongji University, Shanghai and since holds an advisory professorship and an assignment as a two-year research fellow at the International School, Tongji University Shanghai (2009–11).

Her research interests include Chinese avant-garde literature; Chinese music and Western influence; mentality, cultural and indigenous psychology in China.

**Noël Golvers 高華士** holds a PhD in classical philology and is a senior researcher at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven and lecturer in Latin at the Katholieke Hogeschool Leuven. Since the mid 1980s he has studied texts in Latin, Portuguese etc. on the Jesuit mission in China, especially in the early Qing period, starting with Ferdinand Verbiest's scientific works, *Ferdinand Verbiest and the Astronomia Europaea* (1993), *Ferdinand*

*Verbiest and the Chinese Heaven* (2003), which received the award of the Royal Academy of Belgium in 2004, and Verbiest's mathematical manuscripts from Constantinople (2009; with E. Nicolaidis). Another book (2001) is about François de Rougemont's account book (1674–76) and daily life in the Jiangnan area (translated into Chinese). Many shorter contributions deal with mainly cultural aspects of the Jesuit mission, for instance on the history of science and book culture, and the communication networks between Europe and China. Currently Golvers is preparing a comprehensive study of the circulation of Western books between Europe and the Jesuit mission in China between c.1650–1750 (on the basis of references in the letters from China and compared with extant books) and a supplement of 65 letters from Verbiest's correspondence.

**João Paulo Janeiro** divides his activity between research, concerts, recordings and teaching. He studied musicology, organ, harpsichord and clavichord in Lisbon.

He has presented papers at several international conferences and published articles on Portuguese music and organology in the Baroque period and is responsible for the critical editions of some major works of eighteenth-century Portuguese composers. In 2002, he completed the historical organs inventory of the Portuguese province of Alentejo, and supervised several restoration interventions. He has recorded several CDs devoted to the Portuguese music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Presently, he is an associate professor at the Escola Superior de Artes Aplicadas teaching harpsichord, basso continuo, chamber music and orchestra. He also teaches the same disciplines and organ at the Escola de Música de Linda-a-Velha. He is one of the founding members of CESEM, a research unit of the Faculty of Humanities of the Universidade Nova de Lisboa. To put his work as musicologist into practice he founded the Flores de Música and Capella Joanina Early Music ensembles. He has been called to give master classes on historical performance.

He is preparing his PhD thesis on the basso continuo in Portugal in the seventeenth century.

**金國平 Jin Guoping** is a research fellow with the Centre for the History of Macau in the University of Macau and a history consultant for the Macau Foundation and the Cultural Institute of Macau. His main areas of research are the history of East-West communication, the history of the Portuguese in China, and the history of Macao. His publications include 中葡關係史地考證 *Zhong-Pu guanxi shi-di kaozheng* [A historical and

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**古偉瀛 Ku Weiying** was born in 1949 and got his BA and MA from National Taiwan University and his PhD in history from the University of British Columbia in Vancouver. He was chairman of the Department of History, National Taiwan University, 1994–97 and continues to teach in that department. He has been a visiting scholar at the University of Marburg, the Harvard-Yenching Institute, and also visiting historian of the Japan Association in Taiwan. His fields of research include the historical methods and the history of the Catholic Church in China and Taiwan. He has published many articles and two books. His latest publication is 臺灣天主教史研究論集 *Taiwan tianzhujiao shi yanjiu lunji* [Essays on the history of Taiwan Catholicism] (Taipei, 2008).

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Her early research was devoted to the European scientific revolution through a social and cultural history of scientific practices: she studied the Jesuits' contribution to the development of scientific teaching in early modern Catholicity. The first results of this project were published under the title *La Contre-réforme mathématique: Constitution et diffusion d'une culture mathématique jésuite à la Renaissance (1540–1640)* (Rome, 1999). Her field of investigation deals more widely with early modern science in relation to the Catholic world, and she has thus focused for many years on Rome and science, organized a collective and international research program, written various publications on the subject and a collection of essays, *Rome et la science moderne entre Renaissance et Lumières* (Rome, 2008). Her current research attempts to analyse a specific configuration (social, political and cultural): science within the missionary 'enterprise', one of the first historical expressions of the 'science and empire' issue. Two major geographical areas constitute the core of her work: China and New Spain are central to her perspectives, studied in relation to the shaping of European early modern science.

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As a specialist on the Marquis of Pombal, the Inquisition, and Macao history and culture, she has published extensively in both historical and literary journals. She has been involved in several research projects covering Macao’s history and historiography; Macao’s autonomy and relations with continental Southeast Asia; Chinese mission studies, both Catholic and Protestant (seventeenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries), the cemeteries in Macao, Canton and the foreign trade (eighteenth and nineteenth centuries), and foreign travellers on the south-eastern coast of China. Currently she is researching the history of translation in Macao.

She has lectured in Macao, Hong Kong, the People’s Republic of China, the United States, Thailand, Japan, and Portugal. She also writes literary reviews and is the author of *Macau nas Palavras*, a CD-ROM on Macao literature (Macao, 1998) and the author and editor of the ‘Introduction’ to the reprint of Wenceslau de Moraes’s *Ô-Yoné e Ko-Haru* (1923) published in Lisbon by Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda in 2006.

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## PREFACE

*J'aime que l'homme donne sa lumière.  
À sa seule flamme je mesure sa qualité.*  
—Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, *Citadelle*

*Estas são as nações simultaneamente  
grandes e frágeis que criam a civilização.*  
—Fernando Pessoa, *Escritos autobiográficos*

Like many scholarly anthologies, this volume has its origins at a specific point in time and space: an academic international symposium in commemoration of the third centenary of the death of Fr Tomás Pereira, SJ, entitled 'In the Light and Shadow of an Emperor: Tomás Pereira, SJ, (1645–1708), the Kangxi Emperor and the Jesuit Mission in China' that was held both in Lisbon<sup>1</sup> (10–12 November 2008) and in Macao (27–29 November 2008).<sup>2</sup> The symposium gathered a roster of experts from various fields related to Manchu rule and the person of Tomás Pereira and his Jesuit companions. The participants were both Chinese and Western. Several Chinese university professors and researchers from Beijing, Xiamen, Guangzhou, Zhejiang, Hefei, Harbin, and also from Hong Kong and Taiwan, came to Macao and showed their interest and knowledge in the history of the Jesuits in China, and they had found much information about Pereira and his work in Chinese sources of the Qing dynasty. Then there were renowned scholars from Portugal, France, Germany, Poland, the United States, Russia, Italy, Belgium, and Australia, who shared their

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<sup>1</sup> Simpósio Internacional Comemorativo do 3º Centenário da Morte de Tomás Pereira, S.J.: 'Na Luz e na Sombra de um Imperador—Tomás Pereira, S.J. (1645–1708), O Imperador Kangxi e a Missão Jesuíta na China'.

<sup>2</sup> The organizers of the symposium were the Macau Ricci Institute and the Instituto do Oriente ISCS (Universidade Técnica de Lisboa) and Centro de História das Ciências Faculdade de Ciências (Universidade Clássica de Lisboa) of Portugal. Co-organising institutions were the Centre for the Study of Christianity in the Institute for World Religions of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, the National Research Centre of Overseas Sinology of Beijing Foreign Studies University, both the Portuguese and Chinese Provinces of the Society of Jesus, the Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesus, and Fundação Oriente.

unique insights and engaged in dialogue with their Chinese counterparts. Some of them had a very deep knowledge of the Society of Jesus and its history. Once more it was demonstrated that the first Jesuit missionaries developed a great love for China and for the Chinese people and that they did all they could to serve China, while at the same time propagating the Christian faith.

Xuanye (1654–1722), better known as the Kangxi emperor, was one of China's most outstanding and enlightened monarchs who celebrated refinement in culture, scientific curiosity and political sensibility, and this led to the admission of the Jesuits at his court. This attitude reached its apex in the proclamation of the Edict of Tolerance of 22 March 1692 allowing the Catholic faith to be preached and practised in China. It was an uncommon gesture of openness towards the West that led to the flourishing of the Catholic mission in China. It also confirmed the respectability of Western learning in China and secured Macao's fragile situation as a European entrepôt.

Working at the Kangxi court for more than thirty years (1673–1708), Tomás Pereira (徐日昇 Xu Risheng) not only forged a unique and privileged personal relationship with the Emperor but also served as an innovative musician and a skilful mediator in Sino-Russian affairs. He built the new Nantang church in Beijing, and was joint acting head of the Directorate of Astronomy as well as an effective representative and protector of the Christian missions in China.

Closer examination of the historical and social endeavours, as well as of the divine gifts and personal achievements of this outstanding Portuguese Jesuit have led us to the 'Lights and Shadows' of the reign of the Kangxi emperor and to the Jesuit mission in China.

However, we have to keep in mind that from the very beginning, the desire and efforts of all the Society of Jesus were aimed at understanding and sharing Christian belief and Western knowledge with Chinese officials and their subjects. In this respect they adapted to the Confucian values of *learning, friendship, personal integrity* and *obedient service* as the only means and way to the throne of the Golden Dragon. While sharing European knowledge and various personal talents and skills they adopted Chinese customs and traditions. Acting as courtiers at the court they were not only able to preserve a fragile Christian life and Catholic mission in China, but thanks to his natural and religious disposition based on the wisdom and clear-sightedness acquired from his Jesuit formation, Fr Tomás Pereira was able to play a decisive role at this moment of Sino-Western history.

While adopting Confucian ethics and Manchu customs, Pereira was

gaining Emperor's attention and favour, while at the same time in Europe, Voltaire (Jean-Marie Arouet), impressed by Fr Louis Cousin and Jean de la Brume's book *La Morale de Confucius*,<sup>3</sup> wrote the following words which may describe Confucius' as well as Fr Pereira's personality and mission: 'Sans éblouir le monde, éclairant les esprits, il ne parla qu'en sage, et jamais en prophète; Cependant on le crut, et même en son pays.'

In 1675, Tomás Pereira was called from Macao to the imperial court in the Forbidden City when he was only twenty-seven, and there he rose (as his Chinese name Risheng, 'the sun rising', clearly indicates) to have exceptional favours bestowed on himself by the Kangxi emperor and through him on the *patres Pekinenses*. He died there three hundred years ago when he was sixty-three. Pereira was about nine years older than the Emperor and was his teacher in many matters. They eventually became very intimate, and the Emperor had great admiration for the moral probity of Pereira, who was able to be at the same time a faithful 'servant' to the emperor and one of the few people who would always be 'truthful' with him. The Emperor even put the destiny of the whole country in his hands when he sent him to negotiate (successfully) a border treaty with Russia at Nerchinsk, which is considered by modern historians as a treaty among 'equals' in sharp contrast with later treaties with Western powers. Pereira was the person who finally convinced the Emperor to issue the 'Edict of Tolerance' (1692) for the missionary activity of the Church in the whole of China.

Nevertheless, it is hard to figure out how that unique historical encounter could fully succeed and take shape, an encounter between a Western educated religious man and a Manchu emperor with a Chinese education, who trusted to his foreign friend not only with the intimate thoughts of his heart and mind but even with the defence of vital interests of his empire.

These and many others fascinating matters from Western and Chinese history were explored and brought to the light by learned forum of distinguished scholars and experts whose contributions are contained in this publication.

Corresponding to one of the most decisive and controversial moments in the history of the Jesuit mission in China during the Kangxi era (1662–1722), the present collection of essays produced by an international team of scholars cover a wide range of topics that correspond to a permanent academic interest (in Europe and the United States as well as in

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<sup>3</sup> Published in Paris in 1688, one year after *Analects* of Confucius had been translated by Fr Philippe Couplet.

China) in the history of the Catholic mission in China, Sino-Russian diplomacy encounters, the history of Western sciences in China, intercultural history and history of art.

I am grateful that once again, in this tiny Sino-Portuguese city of Macau, its Diocese and governmental and cultural institutions, together with Jesuits, Macau Ricci Institute friends and research fellows, were able to create a platform for scholarly exchange between Europe and China, an encounter which allowed us to revisit the shadows of the past and bring to the light this almost unique moment of openness and intensive interaction which cleared the way for Sino-European relations recorded in Chinese dynastic historical records and nowadays scholarly memory.

On the special occasion of the publication of this book my first and foremost very cordial thanks go both to Dr Anders Hansson, chief editor of MRI publications and to Prof. António de Saldanha, a long-time friend and member of the MRI and co-editor of the present publication, for their patient and dedicated work on the manuscripts of the essays and for their knowledgeable expertise and unfailing support. It goes without saying that such a complex, two-parts symposium held in Lisbon and in Macao would not have been possible without the goodwill and cooperation skills from all sides, especially from Prof. de Saldanha, acting on behalf of the Instituto do Oriente (Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas - Universidade Técnica de Lisboa), the Centro de História das Ciências (Universidade de Lisboa), and Dr Tereza Sena, acting for the Macau Ricci Institute. To both I express my sincerest gratitude.

With each of the coordinating institutions located in Europe and in Asia, planning and preparations for the symposium would have been impossible without the help of a competent and dedicated academic committee. Here, I would like to thank in particular Prof. John W. Witek, SJ, of Georgetown University in Washington DC, and Prof. Paul Rule of the Ricci Institute for Chinese Western Cultural History in San Francisco for their invaluable academic advice and continuing support for our MRI symposia and publications. We are also grateful to Prof. Enrique Leitão of the Universidade de Lisboa, Fr Thomas McCoog, SJ, of the Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu in Rome and especially to Ambassador João de Deus Ramos, member of the Board of Directors of the Fundação Oriente in Lisbon for his strong support. We would like also extend our thanks to Prof. Lin Qian of the Chinese National Commission for the History and the Qing Dynasty, in Beijing, and Dr Jin Guoping of the Instituto do Oriente (Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas - Universidade Técnica de Lisboa), all of whom shared their expertise with us and helped us formulate and compose the programme of our symposium.

I would like to express special thanks to the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus (Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu) and its director Rev. Fr Brian Mac Cuarta, SJ, who graciously permitted us to publish the manuscript map 'Tabula Geographica Orientalis' and the document explaining of the imperial calligraphy, 'Omnium rerum vero Principio'.

Besides ARSI, we also give thanks to the following institutions for their kind permission to reproduce a number of images in this volume: Archivio della Congregazione per l'Evangelizzazione dei Popoli 'De Propaganda Fide' for the 'Edict of Toleration', Archivio Segreto Vaticano for the first and last folios of 'Eulogium Europeorum Doctorum', Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino for the drawing of the Nantang church in 1775, Biblioteca da Ajuda for José Monteiro's apologia 'Declaram se, e provam se livres de toda a censura ...', Rainer Daenhardt, Lisbon, for Verbiest's letter to the Most Serene King of Portugal, the Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments for the image of the virginal in St Cecilia's Hall in Edinburgh, Princeton University Library for Athanasius Kircher's engraving *Ars Magna Lucis at Umbrae*, and the World Digital Library of Library of Congress for two pages from *Shishi yuanliu yinghua shiji*.

The three organizing institutions of the symposium express their deep gratitude to the following institutions for their generous financial support: in Portugal the Instituto do Oriente (Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas - Universidade Técnica de Lisboa), the Fundação Oriente, and the Portuguese Province of the Society of Jesus; in Macao, China, the Fundação Macau, Fundação Oriente, Banco Nacional Ultramarino, Banco Delta Ásia, Direcção dos Serviços de Turismo da RAEM, Companhia da Electricidade de Macau, San You Development Company Ltd, CESL Asia, and the Roman Catholic Diocese of Macao; and in Taiwan the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange.

A memorable and deeply impressive moment of the Macao symposium, highly appreciated by all participants and invited guests, was 'The Musical Heritage of Tomás Pereira: Music from Braga and Coimbra', an evening of chamber music held at the São José Seminary Church and performed by voices, harpsichord and viola da gamba under the brilliant direction of Dr Joyce Lindorff of Temple University of New York and with Dr Tina Chancey and the chorus of the Hong Kong Academy for Performing Arts as guest artists. Here I would like to address my most cordial thanks to the two coordinators of this evening, Fr Luís Sequeira, SJ, and Dr César Guillén Nuñez for their enthusiasm, dedication and expertise in organizing such a delightful and unforgettable musical occasion.

Many thanks are due to the diligent and friendly staff of the MRI, past and present, especially to Fr Yves Camus, SJ, Dave Cheung, Chris Choi, Jerónimo Hung, Josiana Lee, Gary Lei and Sandy Lei, as well as our simultaneous interpreters, Wang Dan and Zhang Lihua.

I am aware that words of thanks are often incomplete as there are inevitably many others who should have been acknowledged for their support and contributions. As I mentioned above, the preparation of the symposium was a complex operation in Europe as well as China (Macao) and the preparation of this volume for Cambridge Scholars Publishing required much time and effort of many people involved in it; so if by any chance I have unwittingly missed someone to whom recognition is due, I apologize and would like them to know that their help was most appreciated.

At the end, I would like to express my sincere hope that the present volume of essays, which reflects the panorama of the life of Tomás Pereira, SJ, and the struggles and hopes of the Society of Jesus at the imperial Kangxi court, broadly discussed and debated both in Lisbon and in Macao, will continue through this publication to inspire further research into the history of Sino-Western relation with the special attention given to Christianity in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Artur K. Wardega, SJ

萬德化

Director

Macao Ricci Institute



# INTRODUCTION

## PAUL RULE

The articles that appear here are mostly based on those given at two symposia in Lisbon and Macao in November 2008 to commemorate the third centenary of the death in Peking of the Portuguese Jesuit, Tomás Pereira (1645–1708). They locate Pereira's personality and activities in the broad contexts of the Jesuits at the court of the Kangxi Emperor of China, the Portuguese in China and the ethos of the Society of Jesus in the seventeenth century.

Many of the authors complain of the neglect of Pereira in comparison with other better known Jesuit missionaries in China, a complaint fully justified although somewhat rectified in recent years. As a graduate student who had already spent some years studying the Jesuit China mission and was not aware of Tomás Pereira, I was fortunate to be introduced to him by that great enthusiast for the Portuguese in China, José Maria (Jack) Braga and to hear his paper on Pereira at the 28th International Congress of Orientalists (Canberra, 1971). It was a valuable correction to then current historiography of the mission which focused on the Italian, French and, to a lesser extent, German missionaries in what was predominantly and in origin a Portuguese Jesuit enterprise.

Historians with an interest in cross-cultural influences and historical crossovers have rightly focused on the court Jesuits to whose ranks Tomás Pereira belonged. Although he worked for a time in the Directorate of Astronomy he was not an original astronomer to rank with his predecessors Ferdinand Verbiest and Adam Schall von Bell. His importance as a musician, musical theorist and musical instrument maker has only come to light in our times. This is even more so in the case of his role as a protector of all Christian missionaries in China through his indefatigable activities as what would be called today a lobbyist or influence pedlar, which has only become clear as the huge volume of records on the early China mission in Europe and China has become accessible through print and electronic publication. But his relationship with the Emperor went beyond that; there seems to have been a true

meeting of minds and character. Both were men of inflexible principle combined with an openness of mind and interest in the other.

We still lack a full biography and bibliography of Pereira, but enormous steps have been taken in the last few years as this collection demonstrates. He wrote only two works for publication (both in Chinese) although a few of his writings in Latin and Portuguese were published later. But many of his manuscript accounts of his travels on imperial business, his letters on affairs of the mission, his passionate defence of the Portuguese missionaries against what he regarded as dangerous intrusions by non-Portuguese, including representatives of Rome, and his interventions on behalf of Christians under threat well deserve publication and scholarly attention.

What is becoming clear is that of all the Europeans at the Qing court Tomás Pereira was the closest to the Son of Heaven himself. He had long personal conversations with the Kangxi emperor, only a few of which, unfortunately, Pereira noted down afterwards or reported to others. The language used by the Emperor about Pereira as well as the latter's comments on his lord and master show a deep and mutual regard. Furthermore, the examination of Pereira's contacts at the court in the following articles give us a privileged insight into the workings of the inner court and its officials. Pereira was not a missionary and mandarin but a member of the Kangxi emperor's household, a courtier and 'foreign expert'.

After Pereira's death there was a distinct cooling off in the Emperor's attitude towards Christianity. Partly this was due to the intervention of Rome, through the papal legate Charles Thomas Maillard de Tournon, in the Chinese Rites dispute. Pereira played a key role in this episode, fatal for the nascent Christian church in China. The Legate himself was inclined to place all the blame for the failure of his mission on the pernicious influence of the Portuguese Jesuit, but the detailed records of the legation, from de Tournon's followers as much as from the Jesuit side, show Pereira's attempts to warn the Legate being constantly disregarded to his eventual cost. The description of Pereira by the Legate's procurator and chronicler, Giovanni Giacomo Fattinelli, as 'the iron genius of that Religious, favourite of the Emperor', was perhaps more apt than he intended.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> 'Il genio ferreo di questo Religioso favorito dell'Imperatore'; see Fattinelli's 'Istoria della spedizione del Card. C. Th. Maillard de'Marchesi di Tournon, visitatore e commissario generale alle missioni della Cina ed altri regni delle Indie Orientale ...' in the Bibliotheca Canatenense in Rome, ms 1637, fol. 9v). Fattinelli probably meant something like the English 'evil genius', but *genio* in Italian is sufficiently broad to have a positive sense.

The Legate's enmity pursued Pereira even after his death. He remarked when the news of the death of the Jesuit reached Macao:

God who has reserved to himself avenging the innocent has now visibly punished the leaders of this persecution. Father Pereira has died after a stroke, without the power of speech, the night of 23 December last, and has gone to render an account of his wicked conduct to a Visitor who is not subject to trickery and violence.<sup>2</sup>

Through the voluminous records of his legation published during the eighteenth century this black image of Pereira has survived to the present day. Perhaps the forthcoming publication of the Jesuit version in the 'Acta Pekinensia' will reverse the verdict of history.

Some of the opprobrium that fell on Pereira was due to his interventions on behalf of the merchants and people of Macao, but he was by no means controlling what happened at the other end of China. Indeed, the conditions of Maillard de Tournon's house arrest in Macao for which the Legate's suite blamed Pereira, seem due to a combination of the Emperor's instructions, righteous indignation on the part of the Macao authorities at de Tournon's arbitrary and vindictive acts of excommunication, and actions by local Chinese officials and guards. Nevertheless, it may make us pause to reflect when we find that the Visitor Giampaolo Gozani, in his report on Pereira's death, while praising his strict observance of his vows of chastity and obedience notes that they found in his room many furs and 4000 ounces of silver.<sup>3</sup> Were they used for winning over recalcitrant officials? And did they come from Macao?

Gozani also notes in the same report that Pereira had protected by intervening at the court many of his most bitter enemies among the missionaries. While they wrote to Manila and Europe letters that blackened his reputation, they owed their very survival, certainly their continued presence in China, to the same man.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> De Tournon to Gaspard-François Guéty, Macao, 4 February 1709, in *Memorie Storiche dell' Eminentissimo Monsignor Cardinale Di Tournon esposte con monumenti rari ed autentici non più dati alla luce*, (Venezia: Giuseppe Bettinelli, 1761), 2: 37–38.

<sup>3</sup> Gozani to Michelangelo Tamburini, Peking, 22 October 1709, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome, *Jap. Sin.* 173, fol. 153r.

<sup>4</sup> In Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, *Jap. Sin.* 164 to 166 (filed by date), there are copies of numerous letters from a dossier sent by Pereira to Rome to demonstrate his constant interventions on behalf of Franciscan and Dominican friars including some who were his enemies, such as Thomas Croquer. Many have been published in *Sinica Franciscana*.

Yet, after reading so many of his letters, I still find Pereira enigmatic. He did not have the openness and generosity of his contemporary at the Court, Antoine Thomas, nor the humour and brusqueness of the German, Kilian Stumpf, who wrote of him at length in the *Acta Pekinensia*. He was a fighter and fierce defender of his loyalties—to Portugal, to his friends and above all to the Society of Jesus. A hard man in many respects, he was not always appreciated by his fellow Jesuits, but his thirty-five years in Peking are the apogee of the China mission due in large measure to his efforts. Of all the imperial eulogies the Kangxi emperor issued on the deaths of his Jesuit servants, that of Pereira is the most personal and most congratulatory. This is the measure of his achievement.

## **PART I:**

### **THE MISSION AND THE MAN**

# ROOT AND BRANCH: THE PLACE OF THE PORTUGUESE JESUITS IN THE EARLY MODERN CHINA MISSION

LIAM MATTHEW BROCKEY

Metaphors drawn from agriculture and, more broadly, from nature abound in the writings of early modern authors. Some, such as the ‘vineyard of the Lord’, have biblical pedigrees, while others are of classical coinage. Still others date from the Middle Ages and can be found throughout the great theological *summae*. Such metaphors abound in Jesuit writings. For example, missionary authors frequently wrote of their labours in language plucked from parables about the workers of the vineyard, elaborating on their efforts of ‘cultivating Christians’ at the far corners of the globe, of tending the seeds and shoots of piety as good farmers would. Theologians tended to organize their biblical and scholastic references as ‘forests’ filled with the strong wood of the teachings of the Church fathers. And ‘bouquets’ of saintly *exempla* were gathered by other authors with the purpose of presenting edifying lives in beautiful arrays. One such text, published in 1650 by António Francisco Cardim, went so far as to graft the gory reality of martyrdom onto the solid stock of botanical metaphor with the title, *Ramalhete de Flores Borrifado com o Sangue dos Religiosos da Companhia de Jesu* (Bouquet of flowers sprayed with the blood of the religious of the Society of Jesus).<sup>1</sup>

The metaphor of the tree was used to describe the Society of Jesus with all of its organizational components. Taking their cue from medieval representations of the Tree of Jesse, Jesuit authors conceived of their order as sprouting forth from the *radix Ignati*. Two engravings of this image were produced in the heady climate surrounding the Society’s centenary in

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<sup>1</sup> António Francisco Cardim, *Elogios, e Ramalhete de Flores Borrifado com o Sangue dos Religiosos da Companhia de Jesu, a quem os tyrannos do Imperio de Iappão tirarão as vidas por odio da Fé Catholica* (Lisbon: Manuel da Sylva, 1650). As the title indicates, this book contains accounts of the martyrdoms of the Jesuits killed in Japan after the prohibition of Christianity in that country in 1614.