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Giulio Aleni S.J. (1582–1649)
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TIZIANA LIPPIELLO and ROMAN MALEK

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**JESUITS, FRANCISCANS AND DOMINICANS IN FUJIAN:
THE ANTI-CHRISTIAN INCIDENTS OF 1637–1638**

EUGENIO MENEGON

Introduction

The anti-Christian campaign of 1637–1638 in Fu’an, northern Fujian, has not attracted much scholarly attention. The modern Church historian José María González O.P. in his *Historia de las misiones dominicanas de China* (1964) has offered the only full account of the events, based exclusively on Dominican sources.

This paper¹ will offer for the first time a brief English narrative of the persecution, and the account will be based on documents from the Dominican Archives of the Province of the Holy Rosary in Avila (Spain), and also on two kinds of sources other than those utilized by González, namely the reports of the Jesuits (preserved in ARSI) and a few proclamations by Chinese local officials, contained in the anti-Christian collection *Poxieji*.

A survey of the previous missionary work by Aleni and the Friars and an evaluation of the different positions of the parties involved (Jesuits, Dominican and Franciscan Friars, Chinese officials) will be offered, in order to clarify the dynamics of the persecution and to identify its causes. Among these causes, the preoccupation of the Chinese authorities with

¹ I would like to express my gratitude to a score of people who assisted me in the research and writing for this paper: to Prof Frederic Wakeman, Jr. (Berkeley) and Prof. Piero Corradini (Rome), who read and commented on earlier versions of this paper; to Fr. Donato González O.P. for his assistance during my research in the Archivo de la Provincia del Santo Rosario (APSR, Avila), and to Fr. Wiktor Gramatowski S.J. of the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI, Rome); to Dr. Adrian Dudink for his meticulous comments, suggestions and corrections, too many to be fully acknowledged, and for his unfailing support; and to Prof. Nicolas Standaert S.J., for his stylistical advice and encouragement. I also received much useful comment from the participants to the discussion panel of the Aleni Symposium at which this paper was originally presented. Owing to my own limitations, some suggestions offered could not be considered and expanded here, and I remain responsible for any errors.

national security, and their fear for the destabilizing nature of heterodox groups figured prominently.

However, the struggle on the Chinese Rites (which had just started) seems to have partly influenced the local officials' perception of the Christians. The authorities of Ningde and Fuzhou distinguished between two different groups of Christians, namely the Jesuits' and the Friars' ones, which were opposed both for liturgical and nationalistic causes. Therefore, what was apparently an internal affair of the Church went beyond the circles of the faithful to influence the government and literati's reactions.

To recover the losses in image and in assets suffered during the anti-Christian campaign, Giulio Aleni implemented a province-wide apologetic campaign in the aftermath of the persecution. This clearly shows the capacity of the Jesuit mission to survive the storm, using political patronage and the network of friendly literati woven by Aleni.

On the other hand, the tenacious defense of the Friars by some literati and many commoners in Fu'an, and the persistence of the Friars' Christianity despite persecution, poses a challenge to the common idea that the Friars' rejection of ancestral rites could lead only to a complete failure.

Giulio Aleni and His First Difficulties in Fuzhou (1625)

Since the beginning of his Fujianese enterprise, Aleni had to overcome a series of oppositions and hindrances to his work, and we can see them as a prelude to the problems he had to face in 1637-1638. His first difficulties in 1625 were closely linked to the political atmosphere of the time, to the standing of foreigners in China, and to the ever-flourishing anti-Christian attitudes of the Chinese literati and Buddhist faithful.

Giulio Aleni arrived in Fuzhou, the provincial capital of Fujian, in April 1625. He had been invited there by his new patron, the former Great Secretary Ye Xianggao. However, the missionary did not find Ye in the city. He was in his country *villa* of Fuqing, one day (thirty miles) from Fuzhou, and it seems that initially Aleni found some difficulty in approaching him. Bartoli gives as the reason for this attitude the fact that Ye was fearful of the reactions of Wei Zhongxian, the notorious and all-powerful eunuch at the imperial court. The province was filled with his numerous spies, and for that reason Ye was living in retirement in Fuqing.² His reluctance was overcome due to the intervention of "Melchiorre Ceu," a Catholic litera-

² Bartoli, Libro IV, pp. 26-27, "Ostacoli alla conversione di Fochièn superati dal P. Aleni."

tus, very famous for his scholarship, but who had been excluded from the official career following an "examination scandal." Melchior was none else but Zhao Mingyang, as recently identified by Adrian Dudink.³ According to Bartoli, he was instrumental in introducing Aleni to many officials and gentry members in Fuzhou, and in obtaining audience for Aleni at Ye's *villa*.⁴ Ye offered a banquet to Aleni, and then had him accompanied back to Fuzhou by his nephew, who recommended Aleni to the *Presidente de' forestieri*, probably the official in charge of foreigners (likely the *xunhai-dao*). Later, this official visited Aleni, "and he took the charge of protecting him, and of taking responsibility for his residency in that city."⁵ Soon afterwards, Ye himself went to Fuzhou, where he visited Aleni three times, and had a eulogy written on silk presented to him. Aleni put the eulogy in full view in his chapel, and soon other officials joined Ye, offering analogous inscriptions.⁶ Apparently, the first difficulty was overcome.

A second difficulty was the opposition to Aleni's stay initially raised by the Governor of Fujian, namely Nan Juyi.⁷ He apparently considered Aleni as a former member of the "Dutch Sect," which two years earlier had occupied one of the Penghu (Pescadores) islands in the Taiwan strait, not far from Xiamen Bay.⁸ However, the Governor soon showed himself very lenient to Aleni. This is probably due to the political position of Nan: he

³ Zhao had been the victim of a fraud during the metropolitan examination (*huishi*) of 1616. One relative, Shen Tonghe, had stolen his examination notes, and won the first place in the exam, while Zhao decided to rewrite his essay and got the sixth position. They were eventually discovered and both were disqualified. Zhao, who was baptized in 1622, had been the tutor of Yang Tingyun's sons in Hangzhou (where he probably learned about Catholicism), and had arrived in Fuzhou a few months before Aleni. See *MS*, vol. 6, *juan* 70, p. 1704; vol. 19, *juan* 217, *liejuan* 105, p. 5743 (biography of Wu Daonan); A. Dudink, "The Sheng-ch'ao Tso-p'i (1623) of Hsü Ta-shou," in: Blussé and Zurndorfer (eds.), note 124, for more bibliographical data.

⁴ Bartoli, Libro IV, pp. 27-28.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁶ Bartoli (Libro IV, p. 29) speaks of the "Presidente del Tribunale de' Riti, e dopo di lui uno dei maggiori Assessori, e poscia altri."

⁷ Nan was Governor of Fujian from July 1623 to May 1625. See his biography by Fang Chao-ying in *DMB*, pp. 1085b-1088a.

⁸ See L. Blussé, "The Dutch Occupation of the Pescadores (1622-1624)," in: *Transactions of the International Conference of Orientalists in Japan* 18 (1973), pp. 28-43.

was an opponent of Wei Zhongxian, and might have thought highly of Ye Xianggao, and consequently of Aleni.

However, the third difficulty, though it was overcome soon, reveals to us the most enduring feature of the Jesuit missionary enterprise in Fujian: alongside a vast success in the realm of religion and ethics, there always existed a more or less open ideological opposition to Christianity coming from the literati. In Fuzhou, a literatus, who was the son of a former governor, had just published in 1625 an anti-Christian book, and was distributing hundreds of copies in the region. This same book had caused much trouble in Hangzhou the previous year. The anti-Christian literatus was none else than Xu Dashou.⁹ In 1623 Xu Dashou had published a pamphlet entitled *Shengchao zuopi* (Assisting the Holy Dynasty in the Refutation of [Heterodoxy]), which was later (1640) republished in the famous anti-Christian collection *Poxieji*.¹⁰ He had many copies printed and circulated in Hangzhou. Xu had been prompted to write his pamphlet by the outburst of the rebellion of Ye Langsheng in 1622.¹¹ Xu presented his book to the magistrate of his native town, Deqing, to warn him on the danger of the Catholic sect, which should be considered as dangerous as the teachings of the White Lotus (revolt in Shandong, 1622) and of Ye Langsheng's group. However, when at the end of 1624 Ye Xianggao passed through Hangzhou on his way to Fujian, he "refuted so strongly the different calumnies of the Mandarins, that the Viceroy [i.e., Governor] changed his mind, revoked the Edict against the Christian Law, and published another one against the other Sects."¹² Xu Dashou moved to Fuzhou soon after, "bringing with

⁹ He was native of Deqing, Zhejiang, the son of the philosopher and high official Xu Fuyuan. Fuyuan had been Governor of Fujian in the period January 1593 - December 1594. His only son, Dashou, had been admitted as a student in the National Academy after his death. Later on, he covered some minor bureaucratic positions, but it seems that his interest was mainly for Buddhism and Taoism, being a member of the Buddhist circle of the famous monk Zhuhong. See A. Dudink, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-109.

¹⁰ Adrian Dudink has successfully demonstrated that the *Zuopi* was written in 1623, and not in the period between 1633-1639, as Jacques Gernet had previously thought. See A. Dudink, *op. cit.*, p. 94; Gernet, "Sources."

¹¹ This rebellion occurred in the district of Changxing, Huzhou prefecture (Zhejiang province), and eventually led to the killing in January 1624 of the local magistrate and his assistant. See A. Dudink, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-117.

¹² *Litt. Ann.* of 1624, published in French in *Histoire de ce qui s'est passé au Royaume de la Chine en l'année 1624. Tirée des lettres écrites & adressées au R.P. Mutio Vitelleschi, General de la Compagnie de Jesus* (Paris 1629), p. 35, as quoted in A.

him many copies of his book, which he went around spreading among the Mandarins, who, preoccupied by his pestilential statements, formed in their minds some prejudices totally contrary to the progress of the Gospel."¹³

A fourth obstacle, not listed by Bartoli here, but alluded to elsewhere, was that Catholicism was still a forbidden sect in 1624. We read in Bartoli that Ye found an impediment to his conversion in the imperial prohibition to practice Catholicism issued by the Emperor Wanli in 1618 after the Nanjing persecution.¹⁴

These impediments to Aleni's missionary work were effectively neutralized for the time being by his diplomatic attitude. Aleni was able to establish a whole network of relations with the local gentry and officials.¹⁵ At the same time, Christianity was flourishing at popular level. Christian collections of miracle tales and visits to the underworld have been preserved, and show some facets of the evangelization work at the grass-root level.

Dudink, *op. cit.*, p. 134. Unless otherwise noted, all translations in this contribution are mine.

¹³ *Litt. Ann.* of 1625, in: *Histoire de ce qui s'est passé au Royaumes d'Ethiopie En l'année 1626, iusqu'au mois de Mars, 1627, et de la Chine, en l'année 1625, iusques en Fevrier de 1626. Tirées des lettres adressées au Père General de la Compagnie de Jesus* (Paris 1629), p. 174, as quoted in A. Dudink, *op. cit.*, p. 134. His persistence in attacking the Christians was due to the fact that he himself might have been a Christian catechumen for a while. Once he understood that no spiritual benefit could be derived from Christianity for his heathen parents, who had died a few years before, and who were condemned to hell according to Catholic theology, he began attacking the missionaries and defending their Buddhist opponents. In the spring of 1625, Xu visited Ye Xianggao in Fuqing. There he met Aleni, and he was quite embarrassed by this occurrence. However, out of politeness and respect for his host, he thanked Aleni for having visited and consoled him after his mother's death. See A. Dudink, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

¹⁴ Bartoli, *Libro III*, p. 401. In the year 1617, the emperor had issued an edict, banning the Catholic religion, as a result of the anti-Christian persecution of Shen Que. The text of this edict can be found in *Ming Shenzong shilu*, under the date "January 16, 1617" (date in which a memorial attacking the Jesuits was submitted), vol. 121, pp. 10425-10426. The real date of issuance was February 3, 1618. For an English translation see E.T. Kelly, "The Anti-Christian Persecution of 1616-1617 in Nanking" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University 1971), pp. 85-86.

¹⁵ On this topic, see E. Zürcher, "Giulio Aleni et ses relations avec le milieu des lettres chinois au XVIIe siècle," in L. Lanciotti (ed.), *Venezia e l'Oriente* (Firenze, 1987), pp. 105-135; and "The Jesuit Mission," pp. 417-457. See also Lin Jinshui, "Giulio Aleni in Fujian Province," Second Symposium of the History of Christianity in China Project, June 17-22, 1990, unpublished.

Aleni proposed some forms of accommodation in the realms of both elite and popular Christianity, and experimented new liturgical forms.¹⁶

The Balance is Broken: the Arrival of the Spanish Friars

The arrival of the Spanish mendicant orders in China in 1630, in J.S. Cummins' words, "set the scene and assembled the *dramatis personae* for the opening stage of the celebrated Chinese Rites Controversy."¹⁷ In fact, the persecution of Fu'an a few years later involved most of the characters in the drama. The Friars' arrival also broke the delicate equilibrium that Aleni had been able to establish in Fujian, even if this equilibrium had never been too firm.

Initially the attempts of the mendicant orders to penetrate into China from the Spanish dominion of the Philippines were greatly limited by the papal bull of Pope Gregory XIII *Super specula* of 1576. The bull established Macao as a diocese comprising "forever" all China, Japan and the surrounding islands, under the superior authority of the bishop of Goa. Both religious and civil Portuguese authorities were opposed to the Spanish influence, and were able to maintain their policy of exclusion for a few decades.¹⁸ In 1600, Clement VIII issued the constitution *Onerosa pastoralis* giving the Friars permission to enter the Jesuit preserve. This constitution was further strengthened in 1633 by another decree of permission. Consequently, starting in 1630, some Spanish Friars were able to circumvent Macao and enter China directly through Taiwan and Fujian. This was facilitated by the Spanish occupation of northern Taiwan, carried out in 1626.

¹⁶ Some studies have been conducted on this topic. See M. Boin, "When the Twain Met ... An Analysis of a 17th Century Chinese Christian Book: 'A Mirror to Encourage Self-Improvement' (*Lixiu Yijian*)," in: *Itinerario* 8(1984)1, pp. 58-76; E. Zürcher, "The Lord of Heaven and the Demons - Strange Stories from a Late Ming Christian Manuscript," in: G. Naundorf et al. (Hrsg.), *Religion and Philosophie in Ostasien* (Würzburg 1985), pp. 359-375; N. Standaert S.J., "Chinese Christian Visits to the Underworld," in: Blussé and Zurndorfer (eds.), pp. 54-70.

¹⁷ Cummins, "Two Missionary Methods," p. 33.

¹⁸ It took the Dominicans almost 45 years of efforts to establish a permanent mission in China. The numerous attempts to enter China are described in detail by González. Groups of Dominican Friars engaged in these attempts in 1590, 1593, 1596, 1604, 1612, 1618, 1619 and 1626. See J.M. González O.P., *Historia de las misiones dominicanas de China* (Madrid 1964), vol. I, pp. 37-55, "Múltiples tentativas de los dominicos para entrar en China."

In 1624 the Dutch had established a base in the Pescadores Islands, but, following orders of expulsion by the Governor of Fujian, they decided to occupy the southern part of Taiwan, an island practically ignored by the Ming government. They chose as their base the harbor of "Tayquan," presently Anping island and harbor. The proximity of the Dutch enemies obliged the Spanish government of Manila to seriously consider the establishment of a military garrison on Taiwan to protect the Spanish-Fujianese commerce, and the stretch of sea between the Philippines and Japan. Governor Don Fernando de Silva asked the Provincial of the Dominicans of Manila, Fr. Bartolomé Martínez, to accompany the expedition, since the Father had already visited the island in 1619.¹⁹ This was also a good occasion for the Friars to establish a missionary basis on Taiwan, as a bridge towards the Chinese mainland.

Significantly, the Dominicans had a major role in establishing the Spanish military base as a springboard to China. The close link of conquest and evangelization between the Spanish Crown and the Catholic Church (especially the Dominican and Franciscan Orders) since the time of the *reconquista* is well-known. This link accounted for the continuous collaboration between religious and civil authorities in the Spanish expansion in East Asia,²⁰ and played an important role in the Jesuits-Friars polemics during the 1637-1638 persecution. As we will see, even Chinese civil authorities were vaguely aware of this link.

The bases established on Taiwan served their purpose well. The island was very near to the coast of Fujian, and thanks to the high number of smugglers and people involved in commerce, it was easy to land along the continental coast. The Friars were initially involved in an official attempt to open regular commercial routes between Taiwan and Fujian, and this aptly suited the interests of the Spanish Crown and of the religious orders as well.

¹⁹ On that occasion, Fr. Martínez submitted a *Memoria* to the Governor, urging him to conquer Taiwan. The Father had been sent as an official envoy to Canton, to contact the Chinese authorities and establish official relations. Due to a storm, the ship had landed on Taiwan, and Martínez advised the government to establish a Spanish base there, instead of one near Canton. See P. Fernández O.P., *Dominicos donde nace el sol. Historia de la Provincia del Santísimo Rosario de Filipinas de la Orden de Predicadores* (Barcelona 1958), pp. 99-100.

²⁰ The literature on this subject is obviously enormous. For a sketchy introduction to the "Chinese case," see Young, chapter 1.

In 1630, Don Juan de Alcarazo, Commandant of the Formosan garrisons, gave Fr. Angelo Cocchi O.P.²¹ the charge of bringing an official communication to the Governor of Fujian, in order to obtain a regular permission of trade. On December 30, 1630, Fr. Cocchi and Fr. Tomás Serra, bearing the ambassadorial credentials and gifts in silver, and accompanied by an escort of soldiers, an interpreter, and young Chinese sailors, left Danshui on two boats. On the morning of December 31, the Chinese captain of the smaller boat mutinied, killed the Chinese sailors faithful to the Spanish, and attacked the other ship. Fr. Serra and two other sailors were killed, and the rest of the Spaniards shipwrecked later on the coast near Quanzhou (Zuimcheo). The survivors were captured by the Chinese, and the local magistrate (we do not know the locality) sent them to Quanzhou, the seat of a sub-prefect. From there, they were eventually transferred to Fuzhou (Ucheo). In the meantime, the Governor²² had already arrested the pirates, and recovered the silver objects brought by the embassy. He received Fr. Cocchi and the others, but since they did not have their credentials any more, he decided to send them back to Taiwan. Almost four months had passed since the beginning of the mission.²³

²¹ See an English biography by Antonio Sisto Rosso O.F.M. in *DMB*, pp. 409b-410b.

²² The name of the governor is not given by Dominican sources. However, we know that Xiong Wencan (?- 1640) was in charge from 1628 to March 1632. Cocchi wrote his report on March 3, 1632. It is very likely that Xiong was still the Governor. According to the *MS*, vol. 20, *juan* 235, p. 6138, the new Governor Zou Weilian "in the 5th year [of Chongzhen], 2nd month [i.e., March] was selected as Right Assistant Censor-in-chief [a title usually given to some Provincial Governors], and substituted Xiong Wencan as Governor of Fujian." See also Wu Tingxie, *Ming dufu nianbiao*, vol. 6, p. 8764. A biography of Xiong Wencan by Fang Chao-ying see in *DMB*, pp. 562-566. In March 1628, Xiong had been sent to Fujian to substitute the former governor Zhu Yifeng, who had been removed because of his incapacity to suppress coastal piracy. Xiong soon reached an agreement with Zheng Zhilong, who was put in charge to fight the other pirates. By September 1631, Xiong reported to the central government that the suppression had been successful, and that it was possible to reopen the coast to sea trade. The quick arrest of the pirates who robbed Cocchi seems to confirm this. Due to this pacification, he was promoted to the post of Governor General of Guangdong and Guangxi in 1632. Later in his career, he was raised to the high position of Supreme Commander (*zongli*) of six provinces, in a campaign to annihilate rebel forces in 1638-1639. His failure to subdue the rebels (especially Zhang Xianzhong) through a policy of appeasement, in Fang Chao-ying's words, "contributed to the eventual fall of the dynasty."

²³ See Diego Aduarte O.P., *Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario de la Orden de Predicadores en Filipinas, Japón Y China*, Biblioteca "Missionaria Hispanica" (Madrid 1962-1963), vol. II, p. 364. An original manuscript report by Cocchi (Fu-

However, Cocchi was able to elude the order of expulsion of the authorities. Fr. Cocchi remained in Fuzhou, in the house of a Christian convert, and even according to Dominican sources, this was known to the authorities:

To the curiosity of the Chinese it is impossible to hide anything. And so the Governor and the mandarins and all people knew of the return of the Father, and in which house he was lodging. However, nobody bothered him and his host, and they [i.e., the authorities] pretended not to know. ... In this case the mandarins went against the current of their laws and costumes, ... even though, ... out of curiosity they all went to look at him, since he was different in manner and complexion (ours is very different from theirs). This did not cause any reaction from their superiors.²⁴

From this, we can deduce that there was some tolerance of the foreigners' presence in Fujian at this point.²⁵ The Jesuits had established their mission a few years before, paving the way also for the Friars, and the pacification of the pirates probably made the authorities less suspicious. The protection which was given by local Christians to the friar must also be kept into account. Aduarte says that the Christian host of Cocchi, who was a physician, hosted him for 50 days, and "debía de ser sólo en aquella ciudad" (must have been alone in that city). This is utterly impossible, since Fuzhou was one of the main centers of the Jesuit mission, with one of the largest Christian communities in the Province.²⁶ It is also very unlikely that the Jesuits were unaware of Cocchi's presence in the provincial capital. In other words, Cocchi could benefit of the general climate of acceptance established by Aleni and his confrères, and of the protection of some Jesuit converts.

Fr. Cocchi grew his beard and hair in the Chinese fashion ("as the Fathers of the Society of Jesus do," specifies Aduarte), stayed in Fuzhou for

zhou, March 3, 1632) is preserved in the Archives of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of Faith (*Propaganda Fide*) in Rome, SI, t. 103, ff. 114-116.

²⁴ Aduarte, *op. cit.*, p. 366. Aduarte (p. 365) specifies that these facts were narrated by Cocchi himself "en sus cartas, que son muchas a diferentes Padres y seglares amigos."

²⁵ This is probably true of Northern Fujian; in the south, an anti-Dutch campaign was being conducted by the governor in conjunction with Zheng Zhilong.

²⁶ Biermann (pp. 31-32, notes 12 and 15) reports that the name of the physician was Lukas Liu, and that he was a native of Fu'an. In 1632 there were at least 600 Christians in Fuzhou itself; Dehergne, "Chrétientés," p. 28.

a while, and then, also upon advice of the Chinese physician, left the city to find a more suitable missionary territory. A group of lower gentry literati from Fu'an, in Funing prefecture (northern Fujian), invited him to their town to establish a long-awaited missionary residence. These literati had been previously converted by Aleni in Fuzhou. There is no evidence that they were aware of the difference between the Jesuits and the other Orders. Cocchi, in a covered sedan-chair, went to Fu'an "provincia de Funinchiu, que es pequeña, de solos 3,000 vecinos" (province of Funinchiu, which is small, of only 3,000 inhabitants), hoping to get there secretly. Instead, his presence was soon detected. Aduarte gives an interesting comment on the local magistrate's reception of Cocchi:

This [i.e., Cocchi's presence] seemed bad to someone, especially to the main mandarin, who said that there were then some Fathers from Macao *in incognito* in his kingdom, but that he pretended not to know it; however, it was not good that Fathers from Luzon went around in his kingdom ... because the Spaniards of Luzon were evil people and enemies of the Portuguese. From the [Portuguese] - I mean from some of them who are ill-intentioned - came this sort of vocabulary among the Chinese, to hinder our commerce, which - they say - ordinarily causes them much losses with the Chinese.²⁷

This comment by the local magistrate of Fu'an, as reported by Cocchi, is quite illuminating on the Jesuit position in the region. The toleration for the Jesuits' presence was largely due to the ability of Fr. Aleni, and to the important official connections he had, but could be guaranteed only as long as they remained *in incognito*. This can hardly mean that their presence went undetected: we should maybe say that the low public profile of the Jesuits, and their strong private connections, were the secrets of the temporary peaceful co-existence in Fujian.

On the other hand, the connection made by Cocchi between the Jesuits and the Portuguese commercial interests, though certainly true to a certain degree, does not seem to loom prominently in the scarce Chinese evidence we have, except for the reference to a different Spanish "Luzon clique" of the missionaries. However, if we take into account the commercial interests of the Fujianese gentry *vis-à-vis* the foreign presence in Fujian, it could be possible that the Portuguese connection of the Jesuits played some role in the acceptance of the latter in Fujian, and in the hostility of the authorities to the Spanish Friars.

²⁷ Aduarte, *op. cit.*, p. 367.

Cocchi's impression was that the Chinese had been "wrongly" informed by the merchants of Macao with regard to the Spanish presence. However, other factors determining this negative attitude must be kept in mind. A few years before (1603), a huge massacre of Chinese, mostly of Fujianese descent, had been perpetrated in the *Parian de los Sangleyes* of Manila, and in 1639 another huge mass killing of Chinese was to occur. Spaniards must have not been too popular in Fujian.²⁸ The tension with the Dutch in the Amoy area was also another reason of discontent for the Chinese.

As we will see later, doctrinal questions also emerged to contribute to the negative image of the Spanish presence in Fujian. Cocchi initially followed the methods already adopted by the more experienced Jesuits: he wore the mandarin garb, and tried to convert the lower gentry members of Fu'an. It is very likely that he was perceived by the authorities as another priest of the "foreign religion," in no way distinguishable from the Jesuits. He went where the Jesuits had not opened a mission yet, but his target - the lower gentry - was the same. Fr. Caballero O.F.M. wrote a few years later (1639):

I say that the house and church they [i.e., the Jesuits] said had been already built in Fogan [Fu'an] when Fr. Angel arrived there, was no more

²⁸ As noted by F. Wakeman, the Chinese State was unable to prevent migration abroad, even though laws were very strict against it, as testified by article 225 of the Qing Code, modeled on the Ming Code: "All ... who remove to foreign islands for the purpose of inhabiting and cultivating the same, shall be punished according to the law against communicating with rebels and enemies and consequently suffer death by being beheaded." Quoted in F. Wakeman Jr., "Voyages," in: *American Historical Review* 1993, pp. 15-16. The Spaniards feared the negative influence of the mass killings of Manila on their relations with the Chinese, but to their surprise they discovered that the Chinese government was indifferent. In a letter attributed to the "Commissary-General of Chincheo" then sent to the Governor of the Philippines Don Pedro de Acuña, we read: "It is not advisable to execute vengeance, nor to war against Lusong ... because those whom the Castillians have killed were wicked people, ungrateful to China, their native country, their elders and parents, as they have not returned to China now for many years. These people, said the king, he valued but little." See G.H. Weightman, "The Philippine Chinese: A Cultural History of a Marginal Trading Community" (Ph.D. diss., Cornell University 1960), p. 75. While this was the attitude of the central government, the local communities linked to the expatriates must have felt differently. Actually, Matteo Ricci in one of his letters of 1605 said that it was advisable to avoid any reference in speech and correspondence to the Spaniards, since the massacre of the previous year had created some sensation in Beijing: "... fu cosa che si parlò molto male in questa corte et avessimo paura che ci facesse qualche male, ancorchè per gli amici di quelli (gli spagnoli), etiandio inanzi a questo successo." Letter to Maselli, 1605, in: Tacchi Venturi, vol. II, pp. 258-259.

than a studio of a relative of one of the ten Christians which Fr. Aleni had baptized in Fucheu [Fuzhou], forty leagues from there, during the [provincial] examinations. ... However the house was not the property of the Jesuits, nor had any Jesuit ever gone there, and still has not been. The said ten Christians were literati, and being so, were as influential as hundreds of [common] people. They were so entrenched in their rites to Confucius, and to the tablets of the ancestors, that they persisted in their belief for more than five years after the arrival of Fr. Angel, and levied much opposition to our religious, both Dominicans and Franciscans.²⁹

The Friars met with opposition from the gentry, "entrenched in their rites to Confucius, and to the tablets of the ancestors," and even if they initially accepted the Jesuit method, doctrinal questions soon arose to create divisions. The converts, at first willing to have a foreign priest in Fu'an, soon realized that the new-comer, and especially those who joined him later, were of "a different kind." Fr. Cocchi was joined in 1633 by Fr. Juan Bautista de Morales O.P., who had worked in the Chinese community of Manila, and by Fr. Antonio de Santa Maria Caballero O.F.M., the first Franciscan of the Fujian mission. They arrived in Formosa in April 1633, and a boat sent by Cocchi brought them to Fu'an, where they arrived on July 2. As recounted by González, some of the Christian literati reported to Aleni in Fuzhou that the practices of the Friars were in contrast with the ancestral cults permitted by him; Caballero reports that Aleni advised the Friars to "retire in a silent place and study the Chinese language and characters."³⁰ Fr. Bento de Mattos S.J., who resided in Fuzhou, was also quite hostile to the Friars: he called them "thieves coming in from the back door [i.e., Taiwan] and not from the main door [i.e., the bishopric of Macao]," and even refused them hospitality.³¹ He was Portuguese, and his opposition

²⁹ Antonio Caballero de Santa María O.F.M., *Respuesta a un papel que an sacado contra los religiosos de la Orden de Santo Domingo y de S. Francisco de la Misión de China, los Reverendos Padres de la Compañía de aquel Reyno, o el Procurador de dhas. Provincias y Misiones en su nombre, llamado Bartolome Rodoredó, que reside en el Collegio de la Compañía de esta ciudad de Manila*. Signed by H. Joan de S. Marcos, but attributed by Navarrete to Caballero (1639), Avila: APSR, "Quinta cosa." Also printed in Domingo Navarrete O.P., *Controversias antiguas, y modernas de la misión de la gran China* (Madrid 1679), pp. 505-556.

³⁰ González, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 66.

³¹ Letter of Mattos to Cocchi, *ibid.*, pp. 67-69: "Ningún Religioso puede administrar los Sacramentos en China, ni predicar, si no es con licencia y bendición de nro. Padre Vice-Provincial, que es el Vicario Foráneo. Y así V. R.as deben ir a verle, y tomar bendición y licencia; porque el que *non intrat per ostium, fur est et latro*. Yo

is no surprise. A subtle mixture of political and religious considerations was probably what inflamed the controversy between Jesuits and Friars. Personal asperities also played an important role: as Cummins observes, "Since every theological dispute is at bottom human, the human dimension is important in any assessment of the missionary controversies about the methods and techniques suited to China."³²

The main religious controversy occurred in 1635. In 1628, before the arrival of other Orders, the Jesuits had organized a conference in Jiading (Zhejiang), discussing the problem of the Rites. Some fathers, led by the authoritarian superior of the mission, Fr. Longobardo, had raised doubts regarding the ceremonies performed for the ancestors and for Confucius, and regarding the terminology to translate the name of God.³³ However, most of the Jesuits finally argued that the indigenous Chinese terminology for God did not taint the Christian God with pagan associations. While there were some differences of opinion among them on the question of terminology, they were nearly unanimous in believing that most rites to ancestors were not idolatrous, but had a merely social and moral significance, which did not violate the monotheistic nature of the Christian God.³⁴

When the Friars arrived in China, they were unaware that these discussions had already taken place, and plunged themselves into preaching with a superficial knowledge of Chinese ancestral cults. While studying the language, Morales and Caballero encountered the character *ji* for sacrifice, and asked their tutor about its meaning. They were told that it corresponded to the Catholic mass, and this led the two Friars to suspect that in the Chinese mind the superstitious notion of sacrifice was polluting the Catholic liturgy. They secretly decided to be present at some rites performed at the ancestral shrines of a prominent Catholic family of Muiyang, the Mius.³⁵ The rites they saw were to them religious in spirit: they could

he visto todos los Breves de los Sumos Pontífices, y no hay quien de ellos conceda que vengan a predicar, si no es por la vía de Portugal."

³² Cummins, "Two Missionary Methods," p. 35.

³³ An enlightening discussion on the interviews conducted by Longobardo, especially with Yang Tingyun, is offered by Standaert, *Yang Tingyun*, pp. 188-194.

³⁴ The minutes of the Jiading Conference have not been preserved. They were probably destroyed by the Jesuits themselves. However, the Friars were able, through a complaisant Jesuit, to know about the subjects of discussion of the Conference, and to read Longobardo's objections, later published in Europe. See J.S. Cummins (ed.), *The Travels and Controversies of Friar Domingo Navarrete, 1618-1686. Edited from Manuscript and Printed Sources* (Cambridge 1962), "Introduction."

³⁵ The best treatment of this episode is Margiotti, "L'atteggiamento," pp. 125-180.

not agree with Ricci's probabilistic statement that "they were certainly not idolatrous and *perhaps* not even superstitious."³⁶ Caballero wrote two letters to Aleni, without receiving any answer. Later (November 22-24, 1635) Fr. Francisco de la Madre de Dios and Fr. Morales met in Fuzhou with Fr. Furtado, Vice-provincial of the Jesuits, and Fr. Mattos, who expressed the opinion that obeisance to Confucius was political and permissible, and the same could be said of the respect paid to the ancestors.³⁷

The Friars, unsatisfied with the Jesuit response, soon decided to interview a group of Christians from Dingtou in a regular canonic trial.³⁸ It was also decided that the voluminous papers produced during these interviews of December 1635 - January 1636 had to be sent to Manila for ecclesiastical examination.³⁹ Cummins points to some reasons that prompted the Friars to act in this fashion instead of looking for a dialogue with the Jesuits:

³⁶ "Sta tutto questo fuori di ogni idolatria, e forse anco si possi dire non esser nessuna superstitione, sebbene sarà meglio commutar questo in limosine ai poveri per le anime di tali defunti, quando saranno christiani" [italics mine]. See *Fonti Ricciane* I, p. 118. This approach reveals the influence of theological probabilism, a Jesuit intellectual trend which was much opposed in Europe by 18th century Jansenists, especially by Blaise Pascal in his *Letters*.

³⁷ We have two relations on the discussion of those days, one by Morales and one by Furtado. See Margiotti, "L'atteggiamento," p. 129, notes 6 and 7.

³⁸ For a brief description, see *DMB*, p. 25; a lengthier treatment is found in Margiotti, "L'atteggiamento". I will not deal with the contents of the trial papers, on which Margiotti has already done some analysis. I saw one of the three copies of these documents in Avila: Francisco de la Madre de Dios O.F.M. and Juan Bautista Morales O.P., *Informaciones juridicas, parte apógrafas y parte autógrafas, acerca de los Ritos Chinos, hacia 1635, por los RR. PP. Fr. Francisco de la Madre de Dios O.F.M. y Fr. Juan Bautista de Morales O.P.*, Avila: APSR, *Ritos Chinos*, t. 1, n. 1, ff. 174-234 (1635). González, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16. These are the original manuscripts (integrated sometimes by copies), with some Chinese characters and quotes, of the following two documents: Caballero, Diez, and Morales. *Primera informacion que se hizo en Tingteu; se principio en 2 de diciembre de 1635 y se termino en 9 de enero de 1636, y actuando en ella de juez el P. Juan Bautista Morales, de notario el P. Francisco Diez, ambos Dominicos, y de testigo interprete de los caracteres chinos el P. Antonio de S. Maria*. [Ms. also in Arch. Prov. 10-2. Pastrana]; Antonio Caballero de Santa Maria and Francisco de la Madre de Dios, *Segunda informacion hecha en Tingteu; se principio en 21 de enero de 1636 y se termino en 10 de febrero de 1636. Actuo de juez el p. Francisco de la Madre de Dios y de notario el P. Antonio de S. Maria, Franciscanos*. [Ms. also in Arch. Prov. 10-2. Pastrana.] See also *BM*, vol. V, p. 770.

³⁹ See *DMB*, pp. 25-27.

It would have been prudent of the Jesuits to have come forward at this point to explain to the Friars the reasons for any apparent eccentricities on their part. But this the Fathers would not. Unfortunately, besides the two principal problems there were a host of lesser ones, which all served to cloud the issues and increase general unease. The Friars found themselves differing in most respects from the Fathers' conception of the mission. They declared, for instance, that Christian missionaries should live poorly, observing their vows of poverty and begging their way through the country, instead of 'sallying forth in sedan-chairs, and rustling silk whenever they stirred.' Moreover, they disagreed with the Jesuit policy of conversion from the top, holding that the poor were more naturally inclined to Christianity. But where they were more intransigent was on the question of the Rites. ... The Friars' main fear was that the Jesuit strategy would ultimately imperil the whole mission, endanger the spiritual well-being of the converts. ... There seemed also to be a danger that the Fathers were laying the foundations of a Chinese "national" Church, with its own rules and concessions, which could not be altered later without the risk of creating groups of "new" and "old" Christians.⁴⁰

Fr. Margiotti, himself a member of the Franciscan order, was less absolute than Cummins. At a point Margiotti writes: "The period of the origins [of the Franciscan mission in Fujian] was characterized by an intransigent rigour, aiming at eliminating all which was, or looked, superstitious, and to substitute it with the rites of the old Christians [of the West]." In the opening lines of his article he clearly takes his stand: "With the reappraisal and the sanctification of those ceremonies [the sacrifice to Heaven and to the ancestors in 1939] a great step forward was taken for the proclamation of the Kingdom of God, and the notorious chapter of the Rites was finally ended."⁴¹

However, in the 1630s we see the beginning of what Cummins describes as the Friars' fear: the danger of division between the Jesuits' and Friars' Christians. Some tension emerged in Fu'an between the local Christian gentry and the Friars, and it is likely that the Friars' effort in evangelizing among the poor was mainly due to the opposition they encountered among the gentry. It might have been easier to have the lower strata of society modify their ancestral costumes, than to do it with the elite, which received its prestige and social cohesion from the clan organization.

⁴⁰ Cummins, "Two Missionary Methods," p. 51.

⁴¹ Margiotti, "L'atteggiamento," p. 125.

Moreover, some hostilities from non-Christian people occurred in December 1634. Apparently, the excessive zeal of some new converts, who had destroyed a Buddhist shrine, obliged the local magistrate of Fu'an to intervene.⁴² He issued an edict, ordering the conversion of the Catholic church into a Confucian school.⁴³ However, this order was never carried out, and things calmed down soon afterwards.

There was substantial tolerance towards the Friars from the Chinese government in the first five years of their presence, probably due to the prestige of the already established Jesuit missionary centers, and also to the very limited number of Friars in China. Once the Friars started to vehemently oppose the ancestral and Confucian rites, and the new Christians, especially the commoners, had clashes with non-Christians, the local authorities began to intervene. The persecution of the years 1637–1638 was a major crisis, and involved the whole Fujianese Christianity, Jesuits and Friars alike.

The Anti-Christian Incidents in 1637–1638

As we have seen, some signs of tension between the new Christians, the local gentry and non-Christian people had been evident in Fu'an since 1635. Starting in 1637, relations with the local authorities became more and more tense. The first episode, which did not involve directly Fujianese officials, is nevertheless significant in order to gauge the dynamics between the Catholic Orders in China, and their interaction with the Chinese local bureaucracy.

Beijing, 1637: "To defend our immaculate faith"

In 1637, a literatus from Fu'an, whose name in the Dominican and Franciscan sources is "[Chiu or Chin] Go-ei-pa," had written and circulated two anti-Christian pamphlets, "y el estilo es por modo de memorial al rey (in a style similar to a memorial to the king)."⁴⁴ This was very likely Chen

⁴² This was probably Wu Sanzhu, a *jinshi* holder native of Longchuan, who became Fu'an district magistrate in 1631. See Gonzalez, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 230; *Fu'an xianzhi* (1829 ed.), pp. 153 and 178.

⁴³ V. Riccio O.P., "Hechos de la Orden de Predicadores en el Imperio de la China, scriptos por el P. Fr. Victorio Riccio," Avila: APSR, China, t. 2 (XIX century copy), 1667, cap. XIV, n. 1, reports a paraphrase of the edict. See also González, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 93.

⁴⁴ See Francisco Varo O.P., *Manifiesto y declaración de la verdad de algunas cosas que se dicen en dos Tratados muy copiosos que hicieron los RR. PP. Diego Fabro y*

Hanxun, a *gongsheng* native of Shang'an (Fu'an).⁴⁵ He was rich – so the sources report – and had some discussions with the Friars. Sometime in late spring 1637 he left for the capital: according to the Friars' informants, he sold his properties and left for Beijing to present the emperor with his anti-Christian memorials.⁴⁶ In June 1637, Fr. Gaspar Alenda O.F.M. and Francisco de la Madre de Dios O.F.M. decided to leave for Beijing, "to defend our immaculate law with our lives and reasons, and also to preach Jesus Christ Our Lord crucified, since few know of Him in China. We were accompanied by three Chinese *dojicos*."⁴⁷

Francisco Brancato, religiosos de la Compañía de Jesús y ministros de este Reyno de China, acerca de la praxi que dichos PP. permiten a sus Xstianos en la veneración del M. Confucio y sus difuntos, Avila: APSR, 1671, as quoted in González, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 96.

⁴⁵ This identification, suggested by A. Dudink, is based on the title of a refutation written by Fr. Caballero against the attacks of a certain "Chin-Han-Sin [Vaupa], *Apologia pro fide Christiana contra Doctorem Chin-Han-Sin*. See *BM*, vol. V, p. 784. "Chin" should correspond to Chen, and Han-Sin to Hanxun. Such a name appears in *Fu'an xianzhi*, *juan* 19, p. 36a (p. 197). According to Varo, *Go-ei-pa* presented his memorials to the *tongzhengsi* in Beijing for transmission, to no avail. He went back to Fu'an, but after "three or four years" he travelled back to Beijing. The sources are not uniform on his death: according to Varo he participated in the anti-Manchu resistance of the Southern Court of the Prince of Lu, under the leadership of Governor Liu Zhongzao (*jinshi* of 1640, died 1649; see *Eminent Chinese*, p. 181), and was killed by bandits with his son in "Kuang-tang" (?). According to Riccio and García, he was decapitated in Fu'an by order of Liu Zhongzao. Liu, "a native of Moyang" (González, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 172) had apparently issued a decree of toleration of Christianity in Fu'an in 1642. His biography can be found in *Fu'an xianzhi*, pp. 249-250, where Suyang, a village in Fu'an district, is mentioned as his native place.

⁴⁶ See a letter of Alenda to Frs. José de Valencia and Jerónimo Nadal, written in Lianjiang (Lien-quian-hien), near Fuzhou, on March 12, 1638, preserved in the Franciscan Archives of Pastrana, now in Madrid, C. II, L. I, n. 3, quoted (p. 582) in L. Perez O.F.M., "Fr. Francisco de Jesús Escalona y su *Relación de China*," in *AFH* 8 and 9 (1915 and 1916), pp. 558-591, resp. pp. 184-218: "un mal hombre, natural de Fungan, licenciado, el qual dió en perseguirnos a nosotros y a los christianos, y para mayor destruillo todo, vendió suazienda que era mucha; conpuso un libro contra nuestra santa fe y nosotros, y fuese a Pequín a darlo al Rei."

⁴⁷ Alenda's Letter, in Perez, *op. cit.*, p. 582: "[para] defender nuestra imaculada ley con las vidas y razones, y así mesmo para predicar a Jesuchristo, Señor nuestro crucificado, que tan poca noticia del se tenía en China, llevando en nuestra compañía tres dójicos de muy buen espíritu." The *dojicos* were young male catechumens who helped the Fathers in their religious and daily duties. For the meaning of *dojicos*, see J. F. Schütte S.J. (ed.), *Monumenta Historica Japoniae I* (Roma 1975), *Brevis*

On August 14, 1637, the two religious and their Chinese servants arrived in Beijing. According to certified translations of Chinese originals, which were produced by the Friars and their *moços* during their captivity in Ningde a few months later,⁴⁸ the Friars stopped outside the gate "Ciam y" (i.e., Changyi, "Gate of Prolonged Righteousness") and found lodging in an inn (*posada*).⁴⁹ A message was sent to the Jesuits, and on the third day, Johann Adam Schall von Bell, the famous Jesuit astronomer, went there to visit them.⁵⁰ He was surprised that the Friars' party could have reached the capital without being stopped by the authorities on the way ("vino el P. Juan Adamo, y maravillándose de cómo havíamos podido llegar sin prendernos, nos llevó a una casa que les dió el Rei ...").⁵¹ However, this is not so surprising, given the fact that the central provinces of the empire were then in turmoil: Zhang Xianzhong had campaigned in northern Nan Zhili for several months in 1637, occupying southern Henan and northern Huguang, while Li Zicheng was active in Shanxi and Shaanxi.⁵² In the general turmoil, the Friars passed unheeded.

Then, Schall brought the whole group to the Jesuit residence, giving order to his Christians to prevent the Friars and their Chinese servants from wandering around.⁵³ The Friars and the Chinese *dojicos* remained in

Iaponia nov. 1592, ff. 21-26. See also J. Ruiz-de-Medina S.J. (ed.), *Documentos del Japon 1547- 1557* (Roma 1990), Apéndice 3, pp. 750-751.

⁴⁸ See these statements, entitled *Cartas que los Padres de S. Francisco embiaron á los suyos de la Ciudad de Macao desde la carcel de Ning-te-hien el año de 1637*, in *Tratado octavo* of Domingo Navarrete, *op. cit.* (see n. 29). I used a manuscript copy preserved in APSR, and checked it against the printed copy in ARSI. For a history of this controversial book, printed in 1679, but never circulated, and immediately forbidden by the Holy Inquisition of Madrid, see Cummins, *op. cit.* (see n. 34), pp. civ-cxii.

⁴⁹ *Cartas*, f. 361: "Al decimo anno del Rey Cum-chin [Chongzhen], en la luna ... quarta, fuimos a Pe-kin ... a los ultimos de la 6a luna llegamos a Pe-kim; aposentamonos fuera de la muralla, junta a la puerta "Ciam y muen," asi llamada." The *Changyi men*, also known as *Guang'an men* (Broad Peace Gate) was located in the southwestern part of the Chinese City in old Beijing.

⁵⁰ See Vâth, pp. 133-134.

⁵¹ Alenda's Letter, in Perez, *op. cit.*, p. 583, note 1.

⁵² See F.W. Mote and Denis Twitchett (eds.), *The Cambridge History of China. The Ming Dynasty, 1368-1644* (Cambridge 1988), vol. 7.1, p. 629.

⁵³ Alenda's Letter, in Perez, "Relación de China," p. 583, note 1: "[E]l tercer dia el P. Juan Adamo de la Comp.a de IHS, vino á la posada ... ; despues los llevó y aposentó en la Iglesia ... para que descansasen allí: encomendo a los Christianos que allí habia que cerrasen bien las puertas y cuidasen no saliesemos fuera, mandoles no

the Jesuit residence for two weeks. Schall feared the attention of the eunuchs or other authorities, and even more the impetuous nature of the Franciscans. In fact, as Schall himself recounts, spies soon denounced the presence of the Friars. In a letter of November 8, 1637 by Schall to his friend Alexandre de Rhodes in Macao, we find a humorous description of the facts:

I went to meet them before they entered the city gate and explained them quietly, but earnestly, why they should act prudently and peacefully. I did not have much success. They harangued me angrily, especially the provincial procurator, Fray Gaspar de Alenda, who had recently arrived from Manila. [...] I then brought them to the burial place of our Father Matteo Ricci to prevent them from going out later and creating confusion. [...] There are thousands here who make their living by acting as informers. And so through such spies their presence here was made known to the authorities who sent to have them seized and then the boys were arrested and enchained. The good Fathers had only enough time to tell me a half sentence on their difficulty, and it was useless for them to pretend to be my assistants in the astronomical bureau, and for me to declare they were my friends, since the mandarins could see they did not have the right attire, and it was of little use the saying *oportet mendacem esse memorem*. [...] I employed all the diplomacy I had learned in Italy in an effort to free them. With the help of some bribes, I persuaded officials not to hale them before the higher tribunals or the emperor. They were content to send them to Fukien, whence they said [they] would sail for Manila.⁵⁴

abriesen la Iglesia grande." This Friars' account is confirmed by Schall himself in his letter to Rhodes, quoted below.

⁵⁴ I follow G. Dunne's translation in his *Generation of Giants*, pp. 252-253. However, Dunne has omitted some sentences, as in the following example: "I then brought them to the burial place of our Father Matteo Ricci [to prevent them from going out later and creating confusion] (*para que no saliesen luego con algun desconcierto*)." The omission of this sentence by Dunne is quite significant: here is the real reason for Schall to keep the Friars hidden, to avoid confusion and possible government retaliation. It is not surprising that the Friars considered themselves almost prisoners. The letter was originally written in Portuguese; when controversies with the Friars arose later, Rhodes sent it to Manila, where it was translated in Spanish. The effect was to produce even more controversies. Copy in Spanish: Adam Schall S.J., *Capítulo de una carta al P. Alejandro Rodés, S.J.*, 8 de noviembre 1637, Avila: APSR, t. 7, n. 1, ff. 301-305; *Ritos Chinos*, t. 2, n. 3, ff. 23-24r. The Spanish version from the Pastrana Archives (C. 10 - L. 3) has been published in: *AFH* 8, pp. 588-589, note; a copy also in Academia de la Historia de Madrid, *Fondo de Jesuitas*, t. 4. Portuguese version in ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 161, II, f. 196r-v.

In the following months and years, innumerable controversies arose on what had happened in Beijing in that month of August, 1637, especially after Schall's version became known in Manila. The version given by the Chinese Christians accompanying the Friars and involved in the affair⁵⁵ was the following:

After a few days, some Mandarins came to the [Jesuits'] Church, with more than ten soldiers, saying that they were "ministers" of the mandarin called *Kem y goei*, official name *Pe hu*.⁵⁶ As soon as they entered, they closed the Fathers in a room; then they captured the three Christians called Gregorio [Lo], Manuel [Lim] and Antonio [Yuen]. ...

The following day, they let the Fathers leave for Fujian, together with a mandarin, and they forbade us to follow them. After three or four days, while we were eating and drinking with him, the sacristan [of the Jesuit church] Joseph told us that those who were escorting the fathers were all Christians and natives of the city of Hangzhou, and their families were Christian too. ...

Pedro Huang [Hoam] heard the Christians of the Society of Jesus in Fuzhou say that the mandarin who had brought the Fathers [from Beijing to Fujian], called Li, received from an important official in the Court called Zhang [Cham], a letter in which he ordered the mandarin of Fu'an district to expel the Fathers from his jurisdiction ...; and the Christians told him [Pedro]: "Do the Fathers leave or not? If they do, it is better that you invite the Jesuits to go to your village of Fu'an."⁵⁷

If we trust this report, the whole persecution was then initiated by a Jesuit plot. Fr. Escalona, a Franciscan who remained in Fujian after the persecution, wrote a narrative of the whole matter probably in the early 1640s, which has been published twice in this century.⁵⁸ His version was very

⁵⁵ They were the three *dojicos* accompanying the Franciscans to Beijing, and a fourth Christian from Fujian, who also gave his witness: Gregorio [Lo], Manuel [Lim], Antonio [Yuen] and Pedro [Hoam]. Gregorio was none else than Luo [Lo] Wenzao, who became a Dominican and later the first Chinese bishop.

⁵⁶ I was unable to find a satisfactory romanization for these words and a corresponding official post.

⁵⁷ Perez, *op. cit.*, p. 583.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* Fr. Francisco de Jesus was born in Escalona, province of Toledo. He was sent to Formosa in 1636; from there he went to Fujian in September 1637. During the persecution of 1638 he sought refuge first in Ningde, then in Fuzhou, where he was the guest of Aleni. Later he went to Guangxi. In 1639 he left China from Macao, but due to a storm, landed in Cocinchina, where he stayed till the beginning of 1640. He arrived in Manila in June 1640, where he exercised his ministry till his death in 1659 or 1660.

similar to the one reported above. He also considered that the Jesuits had planned to have some Christian mandarins imprison the Friars: "The religious were arrested and kept under custody in the same house of the Teatinos,"⁵⁹ and it is to be noticed that those who arrested the boys and the religious were Christians."⁶⁰

A first-hand source on this incident is a letter by Gaspar de Alenda, one of the arrested Friars, written in Lianjiang (Fujian) on March 12, 1638, just a few months after the facts. Alenda so describes the day of the arrest in the Jesuit residence in Beijing:

One Monday, after lunch, two mandarins with many guards called at the door. We retired in a cellar, and when they entered they captured our Chinese servants. They enchained, divided and interrogated them. Then they came to the place where we stayed, and asked us who we were. We brought out our crucifixes, and preached Christ crucified. They took away the crucifixes, closed us in the room and told us to call the Fathers [i.e., the Jesuits]. We wrote [a message], and they came; they opened to us, and told us that those mandarins were from the tribunal of the Ministry of Rites (*Li-pú* [*libu*]), which is the supreme one. One of the Fathers went to talk to Fr. Longobardo, who is a royal favourite, and soon afterwards they received a letter from the President of the Council [of the Ministry] saying: "These foreigners have been here in this house for days now, and you [the Jesuits] are not without fault. Therefore I order that [the officials] await other instructions there." In half an hour these instructions arrived through another mandarin accompanied by soldiers and archers, bearing sedan chairs, one for himself and another for us. They ... told us they were bringing us where the tribunal had ordered. So in six hours they interrogated us, issued a sentence and put it into execution - needless to say that this was all a conspiracy of the [Jesuit] Fathers, as clearly shown by the circumstances - ... Fr. Francisco insisted with the mandarin, asking him what sentence had been issued, and he irritably answered: "it is because you sent Fr. Antonio out of China." Therefore, to have sent Fr. Antonio out of China - he refers to Fr. Antonio de Santa Maria - that was our fault.⁶¹ This was not known

⁵⁹ A pejorative way to call the Jesuits. Before the establishment of the Society, some ecclesiastical authorities, hostile to Ignacius of Loyola, had tried to have his group merge with the Teatin order.

⁶⁰ Perez, *op. cit.*, p. 585.

⁶¹ It refers to the mission on the Rites that Fr. Caballero was then conducting in the Philippines.

to the Council [of the Ministry]. From this, we can deduce there was an understanding [between the Jesuits and the mandarins].⁶²

Dunne dismissed the allegations that the mandarins were Christians faithful to the Jesuits, and that the Jesuits had planned the arrest of the Friars:

Escalona's account makes it clear that they [i.e., Alenda and de la Madre de Dios] both had to rely upon their boy interpreters. Anyone who knows China can easily imagine that the interpreters told them what they thought they wanted to hear. ... Gaspar and Francisco were nothing if not gullible. There is no other reasonable explanation of their notion that everyone who had anything to do with their case in Peking, from the president of the Board of Rites to the lowliest gendarme, was a Christian! ... The Friars brought with them to China an exaggerated notion of the favorable position of Christianity in the empire. ... Among other effects, it gave them an altogether distorted idea of the power and influence of the Jesuits in the realm.⁶³

The Dominican historian González answered in this tone:

[A]s it appears from many documents, there were those who wanted to expel them [i.e., the Franciscans], not only from Peking, but from the whole empire; and not only them, but also the Dominicans, who never went to Peking. ... Christians from Peking, sent from their missionaries intervened and took part in the expulsion and ill treatment of the two Friars ... The expulsion of the Franciscans was planned by four missionaries and by a mandarin called Pedro.⁶⁴

González does not give evidence for this statement, but quotes the titles of a few writings by Franciscans, Dominicans and Jesuits as proofs.⁶⁵ After examining these writings, the overall impression one gets is that the Franciscans did not know the mechanisms of the Chinese government, and they suspected that each misfortune they experienced was directly plotted by the Jesuits. The hostility of the Friars stemmed mainly from their critical attitude towards the arrangement of the Jesuit chapel, and their liturgical habits in general. Inside the chapel there were "two altars, one dedicated to the King of China, ... which had a scroll with golden letters, which praised the

⁶² Alenda's Letter, in Perez, *op. cit.*, p. 586, note.

⁶³ Dunne, pp. 254-255.

⁶⁴ See J.M. González O.P., *El primer obispo chino, Fray Gregorio Lo, o Lopez, O.P.* (Villava - Pamplona, 1966), pp. 23-24 and note 11.

⁶⁵ Reference is given to the materials quoted above, and to the Jesuit reports we will analyze in the second part.

King in this way: 'One thousand million of thousands of millions years of life to Our King.'⁶⁶ On the altar of the Savior, God Our Lord, there was a beautiful painting of the Savior, but with his feet covered."⁶⁷ The two accusations were quite serious: the emperor had been put on the level of God, and the traditional image of a poor, barefoot Christ had been modified and "softened" to please the Chinese.

As to the accusation voiced by Alenda, that the cause of their arrest was the departure of Antonio de Santa Maria from China, this is the only source where I found a reference to it. Being a letter written only a few months after the arrest, it is more specific and circumstantial in its accusations than later documents. In 1635, as briefly illustrated in the preceding pages, Antonio de Santa Maria Caballero had left China with the minutes of the Dingtou trial. His departure and the purpose of his mission were likely known to the Jesuits. In fact, at the beginning of 1635 Caballero had written a letter to Fr. Aleni, asking his position on the ancestral rites. Previously, the Catholic convert from Muyang, John Miu Shixiang, had also contacted Aleni (who had baptized him) in order to solve his doubts on the orthodox position to take. Fr. Bento de Mattos S.J.⁶⁸ and the Vice-Provincial Francisco Furtado S.J.⁶⁹ had both been questioned by Caballero and Morales, and had defended their positions: Mattos had been particularly hostile to the Friars, whereas another Jesuit, Ignacio Lobo, had taken a pro-friar position.⁷⁰ Also Schall and the Beijing Fathers knew of what was

⁶⁶ This is the usual tablet, wishing *wan sui* to the Emperor.

⁶⁷ "... dos altares; el uno que estaba dedicado al Rey de China ..., el qual tenía un rótulo de letras doradas, que decían a este modo, alabando al Rey: *Nuestro gran monarca viva mil millones de millares de millones de años.* En el altar del Salvador del mundo, Dios nuestro Señor, estaba un cuadro del Salvador muy hermoso, pero tapados los pies." Quoted in Perez, *op. cit.*, p. 582.

⁶⁸ Biography in Pfister, pp. 208-211.

⁶⁹ Biography in Pfister, pp. 151-153.

⁷⁰ Lobo, a Portuguese from Coimbra, had a troubled career in the Society of Jesus. He first left the noviciate in 1624, while still in Portugal. He embarked for China, maybe as a simple coadjutor, in 1630, and arrived in China in 1633 already ordained (maybe in India), but entered the noviciate of the Society for a second time only in 1635. Later he left definitively the Society, "je ne sais pour quelle raison" - writes Pfister, p. 209. This likely happened as a consequence of a note of criticism he received from his superiors, apparently before the clashes with the Friars. It could be that his position on the Rites was not in line with that of the Society. He died in India after 1638, his last year documented in China. See Dehergne, *Repertoire*, p. 153.

happening in Fujian (when the Friars arrived in Beijing, Furtado was there, but being a Portuguese, preferred to entrust Schall, a German, with the task of dealing with the Spaniards). The purpose of Caballero's mission was therefore known to the Society in China.

Even if the accusation of a revenge for Caballero's departure is not a sufficient reason to think of a "Jesuit conspiracy," it still casts some shadow on the whole affair. We can imagine that the Jesuits were irritated by the move of Caballero, but why should they take revenge on the Franciscans in Beijing? The explanation for Schall's behaviour lies more in the desire of the Jesuits to keep the court and the central government out of the controversy. He succeeded to a remarkable extent: soon the Friars, under escort, were again on their way to Fujian.

The Incidents of Fu'an

While these events were occurring in Beijing, the situation was also evolving in far-away Fujian. The superiors of the Dominicans and Franciscans in Formosa sent Fr. Díez back to China with five other Friars: Fr. Juan García O.P., Fr. Pedro Chaves O.P., Fr. Onofre Pelleja de Jesús O.F.M., Fr. Francisco de Jesús Escalona O.F.M. and Fr. Domingo Urquicio de Jesús (Vizcaíno) O.F.M.⁷¹ On September 1, 1637, on a Chinese *champan*, they left Taiwan. They were soon attacked by pirates, and were obliged to throw overboard their load to escape. They reached the coast near Fuzhou on September 7, and proceeded to Dingtou, where Fr. Morales O.P. and Brother Juan de San Marcos O.F.M. met and accompanied them to the missionary residence.

Altogether there were then ten Friars in China, six Franciscans and four Dominicans: Fr. Onofre Pelleja O.F.M.⁷² (Fu'an); Fr. Francisco Escalona O.F.M. (Fu'an); Fr. Domingo Urquicio O.F.M.⁷³ (Fu'an); Fr. Gaspar

⁷¹ The main source for the missionary activities of Díez is: Juan García O.P., *Relación de la vida y progresos del venerable y devoto P. Fr. Francisco Díez*, Avila: APSR, 1650.

⁷² He was born in Alcoy, in Alicante province, Spain. He entered the Franciscan Order in 1621, and arrived in Manila in 1629, being selected in 1636 for the Chinese mission. In september 1638 he left China together with Br. Juan de San Marcos and two Dominicans, "more dead than alive," staying in Formosa till 1642. He died in 1650. See Maas, p. 61, note 32.

⁷³ He was a native of the province of Vizcaya, Spain. He tried to reach China, but was caught and brought to Macao. Once back in Manila, he travelled back to China with Fr. Pelleja. He died in 1652. Maas, p. 61, note 33.

Alenda O.F.M.⁷⁴ (Beijing); Fr. Francisco de la Madre de Dios de Alameda O.F.M.⁷⁵ (Beijing); Brother Juan de San Marcos O.F.M.⁷⁶ (Fu'an); Fr. Juan Bautista Morales O.P. (Fu'an); Fr. Francisco Díez O.P. (Fu'an); Fr. Juan García O.P. (Fu'an); and Fr. Pedro Chaves O.P. (Fu'an).

Morales and Chaves left for Zhejiang soon after the arrival of Díez. They stopped in Cixi district, in the prefecture of Ningbo, Zhejiang, where a Christian called "Ceto" gave them hospitality. They found the mixture of Christian and "pagan" rites that the Jesuits allowed the converts to practice so unbearable that they soon left, reaching Hangzhou. They stayed at an inn, "excusando el predicar, por ser ciudad en donde había iglesia de jesuitas" (and avoided preaching there, since that was a town where there was a Jesuit church).⁷⁷ There they learned of the arrest of Alenda and Alameda in Beijing, and decided to go back to Fujian.

After Morales and Chaves had left, Díez, who was the only one who knew the language, was selected as the superior in Dingtou. He went to Muyang, a nearby village where he had already baptized some people before leaving for Taiwan, and tried to continue his apostolate.

Probably in November 1637 (since the sources state that the journey from Beijing to Fuzhou took almost three months) Fr. Alenda and Francisco de la Madre de Dios Alameda arrived under guard in Ningde. Once there, the two communicated with a Jesuit (?), who told them that "the mandarin who was escorting them was one of his friends, and that he would talk to him, and would know the sentence."⁷⁸ With relief, they knew that the sentence was to be expulsion, not death. To their surprise, however, the Friars were freed, and the official in charge told them to go to either Dingtou or Fuzhou. They joined their companions in Dingtou.

Such a concentration of missionaries was considered dangerous: therefore the Friars decided to disperse to different localities. "Fr. Francisco de

⁷⁴ Born in Elche, province of Albacete in East Spain. He entered the Franciscans in 1604 and arrived in Manila maybe in 1628. He was later selected as Superior of the Formosa mission, where he died in 1642. Maas, p. 61, note 31.

⁷⁵ Fr. Francisco Bermúdez de la Madre de Dios or de la Alameda, was a native of Alameda, province of Toledo. He arrived in the Philippines in 1628 and died in Manila in 1657. Maas, p. 51, note 12.

⁷⁶ He was a member of the Province of St. Joseph, and probably arrived in Manila in 1629. He left the Chinese mission in 1638, arriving in Manila in 1640 and died in 1653. See Maas, p. 62, note 35.

⁷⁷ Riccio, *op. cit.*, lib. I, cap. XVII, nn. 5-6-7; see González, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 131.

⁷⁸ Alameda's letter, see Perez, *op. cit.*, p. 591.

la Madre de Dios, Fr. Onofre de Jesus and Fr. Domingo Biscaino went to a scholar's studio one day away from Tingteu [Dingtou],⁷⁹ Alenda, who was sick, remained in Dingtou. According to Western sources, on November 21, 1637, the three Franciscans were arrested and imprisoned in Ningde: "On November 21 the three Franciscans were caught by merciless policemen, who robbed them of all their properties; and enchaining the religious, they had them transferred to the town of Ningteh, and imprisoned in an obscure jail."⁸⁰

One of the very few Chinese documents regarding the persecution is a long report of the Coastal Patrol Circuit Intendant of Fujian, Shi Banyao, to the Governor-general Shen Youlong.⁸¹ It is a detailed description of the arrest of three "barbarians of the Luzon clique of Matteo Ricci:" Ma Fanqi (= Francisco de la Madre de Dios); A Naobai (= Onofre Pelleja); and Duo Ming'ngo (= Domingo Urquicio). The district magistrate of Ningde sent a report towards the end of November 1637, and the report was considered by the Intendant on November 30. The Intendant writes:

According to the report, [Ningde's magistrate] Wang Chunshou⁸² indicted some criminals among the barbarian merchants; it is also stated that he knew there were four of them who received shelter and hid in the hamlet of the former township official Wu. For this reason we prepared a placard and transmitted it to the district.

Acting in concert with the Adjunct Official Gu Shichen, we proceeded to seize them. In the accusation both the persons of the criminal barbarian merchants and the proofs of bribe of the barbarian merchants are clearly listed and described.

After having received this, the said district magistrate immediately secretly deputed [to the task] the policeman and jailor He Ruhuan,⁸³ to-

⁷⁹ "El P. Fr. Francisco de la Madre de Dios, el P. Fr. Onofre de Jesus y el P. Fr. Domingo Biscaino fueron á una casa de estudio apartada un día de camino de Tingteu." Riccio, *op. cit.*, f. 90r.

⁸⁰ González, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 133.

⁸¹ Shi Bangyao, *zi* Ertao, *hao* Siming, was a native of Yuyao (Zhejiang). Shen Youlong was a native of Huating, near Songjiang (Jiangnan). He was governor from Chongzhen 8th to Chongzhen 12th (1635-1639). See *PXJ*, *juan* 2, p. 35a; Wu Tingxie, *Ming dufu nianbiao*, p. 8764.

⁸² Such a name does not show among those of Ningde's magistrates. See *Funing fuzhi*, p. 258.

⁸³ He Ruhuan's name is recorded in the *FJZ*, *juan* 105, p. 6a, reign of the Wanli emperor, under the category "Assistants to the Magistrate" (*zhubu*). He was cer-

gether with the Adjunct Gu. They arrived at the hamlet of the Wu family, and then they arrested one of the barbarians, with his accomplices from Fu'an, Huang Kesi and Huang Shang'ai. As for the other two barbarians, once inside the pavilion of the hamlet the Adjunct Gu had already collected and spread out on display all [their] objects and was inspecting and checking one by one the items he had found [inside] eight bamboo baskets, three leather bags, and three cloth bags. They contained many clothes, three barbarian pictures, and two bear skins. Then he interrogated the barbarians Ma Fanqi [Francisco de la Madre de Dios], A Naobai [Onofre Pelleja], Duo Ming'ngo [Domingo Urquicio], and the people from Fu'an district Huang Shang'ai, the family head from the hamlet Li Cailiu; then he put the objects in baskets and cases and sent them in custody to the district seat. Immediately after, the said magistrate together with the Adjunct Gu and the Jailor He in public audience under the eyes of the barbarians and of Huang Shang'ai from Fu'an district declared the [seized] items one by one, applied a label to them and put them into cases. One of the barbarians had not been captured yet. According to the report he lived in the Baishisi pavilion in Fu'an district.⁸⁴ A runner was immediately sent there to seize him.⁸⁵

On November 23, a second round of arrests was carried on:

According to the report of the Sector (*du*) number 34 of Fu'an district, the Heads of the *baojia* and the Vice Tithing Chiefs [living] at the border of the embankments, Huang Qingbao, Miu Wenming, Huang Xing and Ruan Fu, were all connected [to the plot]. According to the [said] report, in the 9th year of Chongzhen, 8th month [August-September 1636], the *shengyuan* of this district Guo Bangyong,⁸⁶ Huang Dacheng,⁸⁷

tainly in charge of the local public security at least before 1620, date of death of Wanli.

⁸⁴ This could have been Alenda, the only who remained in the territory of Fu'an because of his illness. The locality of Baishisi is south of the district seat of Fu'an. See *Fu'an xianzhi*, map, p. 20.

⁸⁵ From *PXJ*, *juan* 2, pp. 30a-31b.

⁸⁶ Guo Bangyong, Christian name Joaquin, was one of the most prominent converts of Fu'an, together with Miu Shixiang, Christian name John. Guo was one of the witnesses in the 1635 Dingtou trial. Following Cocchi's orders, he brought Fr. Morales and Fr. Caballero from Formosa to Fujian in July 1633. In 1637, as we have seen, he was one of the *shengyuan* arrested by the authorities. In 1638, together with Frs. Morales e Díez, he sailed to Manila. In Bataan he worked with Fr. Díez to compile a Chinese grammar and dictionary (*Vocabulario de Letra China* in BAV, BC 412), becoming eventually a Dominican Tertiary. Together with Díez he returned to Fu'an in the spring of 1642. When, in 1645-1647, Liu Zhongzao became Governor of Fujian under the Longwu regime of the Southern Ming, Guo participated to the anti-

Miu Taomao, and Guo Ruohan established a residence for the barbarians, gathering followers of that religion. As soon as the district magistrate knew it, he issued an order of expulsion from the borders. But [Bang]yong and the others did not obey the command; so at that point the commissioned officials went there and arrested them. According to 28 oral depositions, on the night of the 8th [day, i.e., November 23, 1637] at the second hour, the barbarians met with their faithful Lin Yi, Huang Shanggang and others. These people sheltered them and accompanied them aboard a vessel, so that they could escape. We only captured four criminal followers of the Religion of the Lord of Heaven, Xu Baixian, Huang Liba, Hong Ruohan and Huang Zhan. A basket full of objects was seized and they also had a small and a big shrines of the Lord of Heaven, a repository for the scriptures, ten printing blocks, and two contracts of sale. Everything was brought to the district seat and then what had been found was put in order according to the number and registered. As for the barbarians who had not been captured and the criminal escapee follower Lin Yi and the others, we ask that stringent actions be taken in Fu'an district to arrest them and to know more [about them].

Now the found criminals have been all jointly forwarded with a report, and the numbered items have been all listed. Moreover the details regarding the open denunciation of the *shengyuan* of Fu'an district, followers of the barbarian religion, Guo Bangyong, Chen Taichen, Chen Wuchen, Huang Dacheng, Huang Yuanzhong, Miu Shixiang, Miu Zhao-mao, Miu Zhongxuan, Wang Zhichen, Wang Daoshu, Guo Kun, Chen Duanzhen, Guo Honghui, and Ruan Kongguan have reached this Intendant. The said Intendant has found out that they are from the "Luzon clique of Matteo Ricci," and that they preach Catholicism.⁸⁸

The Friars thought that the arrest had been plotted by the Jesuits: the mandarin in charge of them had freed the captives from Beijing on purpose, only to make the missionaries assemble and to be able to capture them all

Manchu resistance, as a "Visitador" and military leader of the delta of Fu'an. Once the Manchu forces advanced in Fu'an, he left on a boat with a platoon of soldiers, sailing to Funing. There he was captured and beheaded. See González, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 229-230; *DMB*, pp. 24a and 1075b. Guo is also mentioned in the local gazetteer of Fu'an, in the list of graduates "recommended for promotion," see *Fu'an xianzhi*, *juan* 19, p. 36a (p. 197). See biography of Liu Zhongzao, appendix, *juan* 22, pp. 22b-25b (pp. 250-252). The record regarding Guo in the provincial gazetteer has been lost, according to the district gazetteer.

⁸⁷ Huang was one of the witnesses of the Dingtou trial.

⁸⁸ *PXJ*, *juan* 2, p. 31b.

together. Moreover, he did that in accordance to instructions received by Aleni:

The mandarin, knowing or suspecting that [other] religious had arrived from the island [of Taiwan], sent us free to Tinteo [Dingtou]. He said that he wanted to have us patronized by the mandarins of Fungan and Ninte, and that we should first wait in Fucheu or Tinteo. However, I realized their base action – even if it did not help – because [the Chinese] went to a place six days away to communicate with Fr. Julio Aleni, who, among the members of the Society, is the idol of this province.⁸⁹

It is quite unlikely that the Jesuits had any part in this arrest. It is however clear that the Friars were considered by the Chinese authorities as distinct from the Jesuits: they were called "the Luzon clique of Matteo Ricci."

The remaining missionaries in Dingtou were informed by Christians of the arrest, and while Alenda, too sick to be moved, remained hidden in a Christian house, the others escaped to a nearby mountain. They stayed there, finding refuge in the houses of local Christians for more than ten days. Then, during the night of Christmas Eve, they left for Lojia (Lokia). There they stayed in one house for three days; then they dispersed again: Díez to Dingtou, Garcia to Fu'an and the others in the countryside, near the slopes of a mountain. Also Alenda, though he was still ill, had to join them there. On January 6, Christians advised the Friars to leave that locality, because the authority had been informed of their presence. Due to a full moon night, the escapees could walk back to Lojia, where the five religious had to hide in a storage room, being fed by the converts. Díez in Dingtou and Garcia in Fu'an were in no better conditions.

Meanwhile, the three Franciscans were arrested and six other Christians (four according to Chinese sources) were transferred to Fuzhou: there the Coastal Intendant ("Capitan General") ordered the expulsion to Macao of the Friars and had the Chinese swear that they would abandon the heterodox religion. Riccio cites that the Capitan "ordered their head [i.e., of the Christians] to inform him every month whether [Chinese] subjects were following the Fathers, whether there were religious, and where they

⁸⁹ "*Sabiendo o sospechando el mandarin que havían venido religiosos de la isla, nos enbió libres a Tinteo, y dixo que quería apadrinarnos con los mandarines de Fungan y Ninte, y que le aguardasemos en una de dos partes o en Fucheu o en Tinteo; pero yo entendí la vellaqueria, si bien no me valió, porque se fué sies días de camino a comunicar con el P. Julio Aleni, que es de la Compañía el idolo desta provincia.*" Italics mine. Alenda's letter, in Perez, *op. cit.*, p. 591.

lived."⁹⁰ Most probably, this "head" ("principal") was Huang Shang'ai. The Intendant's Chinese proclamation states as follows:

This Intendant has issued an order that Shang'ai and the others abjure their religion, and avoid following the commandments and duties [of that religion]. As far as the other [believers] are concerned, it is better they continue to respect their [religious] duties if they are not willing to abjure the error of that religion. But if we tell them that the *xiuca* cannot follow that religion, they also will not follow it.

The reason why a heterodox religion can make people believe, and become impregnable like this [is the following]: one person can excite ten others to believe; ten can excite one hundred, and they can in turn cheat ten thousand and these can mislead other millions. Each believer of that religion firmly believes this: if they are made to walk into boiling water or jump into the fire, this is something they will shirk. There is nothing you cannot do! This not only makes the Way of men similar to that of the beasts, but will necessarily result in the wild tribes bringing disorder to China.

These current events are indeed a source of great anxiety. Therefore we have recently issued stricter coastal prohibitions. If we treat pacifically and tolerate people who are not of our nationality, then the result will be that they will crowd here. I humbly beg this Office (*yuan*) to strictly notify all the prefectures and districts along the coast, and to forbid [the barbarians] from residing here permanently. From the written explanations contained in the ten-household tablets it appears that there are followers of that religion [in this region].⁹¹ Ten-household groups which are involved in that religion should be dealt with according to the laws regarding heterodox teachings and the misleading of the masses. The three barbarians who have been found [so far] and all the criminals following that religion should be dealt rigorously. Remember that there is always the possibility of them misleading the people. ... As for Huang

⁹⁰ Riccio, *op. cit.*, f. 92v.

⁹¹ This was a tablet on which were recorded the names of the members of a family in the system of mutual responsibility at the village level (*baojia*). Ten households made up a *pai* group. Each family in a *pai* received from the magistrate a door placard listing the name, age and occupation of the family head and the names of other persons in the household, including relatives and servants. The same data were kept on registers. One's activities could hardly escape the eyes and ears of one's neighbors, and it would be difficult for strangers and lawbreakers to hide among the law-abiding residents. Any unlawful activities in the various families were reported (religious heterodoxy and harboring of fugitives or other criminals were considered crimes) through the *baojia* heads. See Ch'ü T'ung-tsu, *Local Government in China under the Ch'ing* (Cambridge, Mass. 1962), pp. 150-151; Morohashi, vol. II, p. 1563, n. 2695/38 (*shi jia pai*).

Shang'ai and the others, let the ... district magistrate explain to them the Village Compact so that they be instructed. If they still do not mend their ways, they should be treated according to the laws. This means to rectify the hearts of men in order to rectify the customs, to prevent disgrace from reaching a point where it cannot be dealt with any more.⁹²

Through the *baojia* system, the authorities were trying to prevent the population from harbouring the missionaries, and the recitation of the Village Compact was intended to prevent the spreading of the heterodox influence.

A more delicate problem was the conversion of lower gentry members to Catholicism. If *xiuca* were converts, their example would have been readily followed by the common people. Two gentry members even dared to go to Fuzhou and defend the missionaries before the authorities:

Among those who are extremely heterodox, as it has been reported in detail, we have the *shengyuan* Huang Dacheng and Guo Bangyong. They felt indignant and disturbed [after the friars' arrest], as when one sees an injustice, and then they proceeded straight to this Intendant as if they were the barbarians themselves defending [their religious] law. They said that among humans to honor the dead and conduct sacrifice are dead acts. Only the Lord of Heaven is the real truth. They surely consider this Intendant peculiarly ignorant of the situation!⁹³

The fact that they considered "to honor the dead and conduct sacrifice" to be "dead acts" sounded particularly dangerous to the authorities. This was one of the results of the Friars' policy towards the Rites.⁹⁴ Guo and Huang were certainly two of the most faithful followers of the Friars' policy, and they had been both witnesses in the Dingtou trial.

Other authorities besides the Intendant intervened. The Regional Inspector Zhang⁹⁵ issued his own official condemnation of the Friars' activities:

⁹² *PXJ*, *juan 2*, pp. 32b-33a.

⁹³ *Ibid.* "Xu wen" means literally "empty texts" or "dead letter." Here I rendered it with "acts."

⁹⁴ This accusation had also been made in the official writings of the previous anti-Jesuit persecution of Nanjing in 1616-1617.

⁹⁵ Zhang Kentang, a sympathizer of the Jesuits, occupied this position sometime in the Chongzhen period; it seems unlikely that he was our Regional Inspector, given the negative attitude towards Catholicism expressed in this proclaim. The only other Inspector Zhang around this time was Zhang Sanmo, a *jinshi* of 1622. Unfortunately the *FJZ* does not supply dates of tenure of either of them (see *ce 51*, *juan 10*, p. 6a).

Gentry and common people are embedded in heresy. This is really surprising. The leaders of the barbarian religion have been ordered back to their countries, and allowed to bring their baggage with them. The shrine of the Lord of Heaven, the printing blocks and the other objects have been burnt and destroyed. The *shengyuan* Wu Baiyi, who harbored the barbarians, and the *shengyuan* Huang Dacheng, who posed as "Protector of the Law," have been made to follow and study the Way and submit to their duty, and a similar duty has been imposed on Huang Shang'ai and the others. On the new moon they proceeded to the district [seat] where they swore an oath [to abjure].

If in this region there are still people who privately practice that religion and [pursue] the crime of this heterodox teaching misleading the masses, this will have repercussions on them. If for one year they will not commit that crime again, then they will be allowed by decree to restore their previous position [be pardoned]. The said Intendant will strictly enforce this order in all the *baojia*. Let the Village Compact be explained and read.⁹⁶

In the meantime, the provincial authorities of Fuzhou got involved in the case. Four days after the issuance of the Intendant's report, on December 20, 1637, the Provincial Surveillance Commissioner issued a proclamation. Strangely, the only Catholic leaders to be singled out for expulsion were not the Friars, as one might expect, but the Jesuits Giulio Aleni and Manuel Dias.

Moreover, for the first time another accusation was levelled against the Catholics: they were a sect very similar to the *Wuwei* sect. A recent episode involving heterodox sects was brought as an example. Two sectarian leaders, Dong Yiliang and Niu Junchen, had been arrested and sentenced to execution through slow slicing of the limbs.⁹⁷ Other sectarian leaders had also been arrested in Fujian. In the Commissioner's words, "Now [the cases of] Dong Yiliang and the others should be taken as an example."⁹⁸ *Wuwei* sect and Catholicism were put on the same level:

Besides having the leaders of the Catholic religion Manuel Dias and Giulio Aleni leave the territory, we jointly issue an edict of prohibition. [We order] that this proclamation be made known to the militia and the commoners. Afterwards each [one] ought to exert every effort to practice loyalty and filial piety, to preserve and defend their families, to avoid the wicked practice of the *Wuwei* and Catholic religions. If in the

⁹⁶ *PXJ*, *juan 2*, pp. 33b-34a.

⁹⁷ I could not find any reference to these sectarian leaders.

⁹⁸ *PXJ*, *juan 2*, p. 36a.

past people had been misled, now each should reform and renew himself. After issuing the proclamation of prohibition, in case they still engage in superstition and do not reform, and do not make the prescribed sacrifices to the ancestors and the lord of spirits, then the said Prefects and District Magistrates and the police official bearing the authorized seal must investigate and clarify the facts. Then they have to proceed to arrest them and inform the Commissioner, and pass and explain the evidence found to the two Tribunals. Enforce the law strictly and implement this policy with severity! Each family will then respect this.⁹⁹

On the same day, the Prefect of Fuzhou issued a proclamation, very similar in tone to that of the Surveillance Commissioner:

Recently Manuel Dias and Giulio Aleni, leaders of the Catholic religion, have been committing mischief against the human heart. If they had not been exposed soon and expelled quickly, the consequences would have been unforeseeable. Even though they have been expelled from the frontiers in chains, still we fear that the heterodox cliques are not extinguished and that they [i.e., the missionaries] may re-enter [the country]. So we have to be even more severe in the classification [of immigrants or vagrants].

You, all families of the *baojia* system, in the future must increase your effort in defense and control. If Manuel Dias and Giulio Aleni and the others, and also the leaders of the *Wuwei* religion, come to the cities of the province, you must immediately notify the officials, in order to seize them with severity and to make an investigation and rule [the case]. In case they are allowed to hide and the fact is not brought forward, once it comes to light, all will be considered accomplices and jointly held responsible. [Let] the ears and eyes of the government officials in high position be close [to the people], let the prohibition laws be strictly enforced, do not be lenient to them any more.¹⁰⁰

The actions of the Friars brought havoc on the whole Catholic mission in Fujian. Aleni and Dias were the superiors of the Jesuit mission in Fujian, and probably well known to the authorities, both for their prominent position in the Catholic community and for their wide network of social relationships. To hit them was to hit the heart of the "heterodox religion." In the proclamations there was a reference to the deportation of the Catholic priests. However, no Jesuit was deported on this occasion. In fact, the

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, ff. 36b-37a.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 38a-b. Also the *Wuwei* groups were accused of abandoning ancestral rites. See B.J. Ter Haar, *The White Lotus Teachings in Chinese Religious History* (Leiden 1992), p. 220.

enforcement of the decrees banning Christianity was not very strict on the Jesuits. The case was different with the Friars. The cause must have been the conduct they kept once the proclaims were posted in Fuzhou and other localities.

According to Riccio, in January 1638 "in the metropolis of Fokien, called Focheu, following the orders of the Vice-Roy [Governor], of the Visitation [Surveillance Commissioner], and of the Captain General [Coastal Circuit Intendant], an edict banning the Catholic religion and his ministers was issued and posted."¹⁰¹ The Friars in hiding, after hearing of it, decided to act. Frs. Morales and Chaves O.P., and Frs. Escalona and de San Marcos O.F.M., accompanied by a Chinese Christian, went on foot toward Fuzhou. They stopped outside the city, and sent the Chinese as a vanguard to check if the edicts were posted. However, the edicts, given the bad weather, had not been posted outside the *yamen*. They decided to wait till the following day, January 22. Then at 11 a.m., they assembled a crowd "in a public place," preaching to them and accusing the authorities of persecuting the Christians. Nobody stopped them. Morales went to the Northern Gate of the town, and inquired with the guards about the edict. He finally saw the text of the edict, "and Fr. Morales saw that the people named for expulsion in the proclamation were two Fathers of the Society of Jesus called Manuel Dias and Julio Aleni. The latter had already retired to the city of Huinghoa [Xinghua], two days away from the capital."¹⁰² Morales told the guards that he was not named in the edict, and that he wanted to enter the city. The "Governador" (probably the Prefect) sent them to another office ("el Teniente del Virrey") and they were then freed. Some Jesuit Christians offered them the house of Aleni, since he had already left for the south. However, some people followed the Friars, threatening to denounce them to the authorities for being accomplices of the Jesuits, and asking for money. They all went back to the magistrate, who decided to have the Chinese man who had tried to extort money flogged. The magistrate was quite friendly, and offered the religious hospitality for the night.

In the meantime, Fr. Garcia remained hidden in Fu'an, while Fr. Díez was in Dingtou. The edict against Christianity was posted in Fu'an, and Díez, who knew about it, went to the town *yamen* and tore the paper into pieces. This provoked his immediate arrest. A few days afterwards, Garcia was sent to Funing, where he stayed twenty days awaiting judgement. On

¹⁰¹ Riccio, *op. cit.*, f. 93v.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, f. 95r.

March 9, 1638, he was flogged and sentenced to be expelled from China through Macao. The Governor confirmed the sentence in Fuzhou, then the Father was sent back through all the administrative units: from Fuzhou, to Funing, and Fu'an.

Morales and his companions came back from their journey to Fuzhou, only to learn of the expulsion of their confrère. They were able to send a Chinese Christian to Fuqing, where he bribed the guards in charge of the expulsion of Díez and was able to free him.

The Franciscans Escalona, Alenda and de San Marcos went to Lianjiang,¹⁰³ whereas the Dominicans remained in the district of Fu'an. In the following months, Morales and Díez went north to Zhejiang and Jiangnan. They stopped in Hangzhou, Suzhou, and finally, on June 11, they reached the region of Nanjing. They stayed in Changshu, a Christian community which was visited only once every three years by the Jesuits.¹⁰⁴ There the Friars attacked the ancestral rites once more. Soon, a pastoral letter from the Jesuits of Nanjing advised the Friars to leave Jiangnan. The two went to Wenzhou, where only two Chinese Christians and a few *Cafres*, African slaves escaped from Portuguese Macao, resided.¹⁰⁵ Discovered by the authorities, they were arrested and expelled to the border of Fujian through the town of Rui'an.

They arrived in Fu'an on August 9, 1638. The local magistrate, who must have been quite amazed at seeing them again, had them arrested and sent to Funing (August 15). They were flogged, and interrogated by the relevant authority, who asked them in an incredulous way: "Weren't you those who had been expelled to Macao? Why didn't you leave?"¹⁰⁶ The patience of the magistrate was probably at an end: the missionaries were left in the cangue (*tablon* or *kia*, i.e., *jia*) for one month. After that period, they were sent back to Fu'an once more. On September 12, 1638, Morales and Díez started their journey to Macao. Morales had asked to be expelled to Taiwan, via sea, but the magistrate decided to expel them via land to Macao. The two missionaries were checked more than twenty times during the journey through Fujian and Guangdong: each administrative post made enquiries and exchanged documents, and the whole process took two

¹⁰³ North-east of Fuzhou, on the coast; see Dehergne, "Chrétientés," p. 30.

¹⁰⁴ District north of Suzhou; see Dehergne, "Chrétientés," p. 58.

¹⁰⁵ This can be found in Riccio, *op. cit.*, f. 105v. Dehergne, "Chrétientés," p. 23, relates of a community of *Cafres* in Quanzhou, Fujian, a few years later.

¹⁰⁶ Riccio, *op. cit.*, f. 111v.

months. The missionaries then had to spend two years in Macao, before finding a passage to Manila. Garcia, who had stayed in hiding all this time, was able to resist till the beginning of 1639, when, sick and very debilitated, decided to sail back to Taiwan.

This long, almost incredible succession of arrests and expulsions well illustrates two aspects of this persecution. On one hand, we may notice the obstinacy of the Friars, and also the unflinching support they found among some of their Christian converts, who had been so for a relatively short time; on the other hand, we might be surprised at the lenient, and quite bureaucratic attitude of the Chinese civil authority in dealing with the foreign priests.

Jesuit Accounts

We do not find much information on the events of the persecution in Fu'an in the Jesuit reports for public consumption. Bartoli, who wrote the history of the China mission up to 1642, purposely left out this unpleasant episode. These are his words:

I have to deal with this matter, but since I feel so uneasy in my heart about it, I will treat it briefly, being such a distasteful matter. And, if it was not that those who, unwillingly, were the cause [of the persecution], had already acknowledged their fault and admitted their mistakes, because they realized the evil effects of those actions which they thought were good (and to know this can be a teaching for the future), I would have omitted to talk about these facts, which however are necessary for the integrity of our history.¹⁰⁷

The main reason for Bartoli's caution was that these issues were too sensitive when he was writing (1660s). Even though the glorification of the Society of Jesus was taking place on a grand scale in Europe,¹⁰⁸ many opponents, especially the Dominicans and Franciscans, were trying to undermine the monopoly of the Jesuits in China, attacking them on the problem of the Chinese Rites.

In some internal reports, written for the eyes of the General, it is possible to obtain more details on the Jesuit-Friar relationship. In the *Annual Letter* of 1638 we read a more detailed description of the facts, and the

¹⁰⁷ Bartoli, Libro IV, p. 506.

¹⁰⁸ See the essays in Accademia delle Scienze di Ferrara (ed.), *Daniello Bartoli, storico e letterato*. Atti dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Ferrara, suppl. al vol. n. 62 (Ferrara 1986). Bartoli has long been considered one of the best Baroque Italian writers. Giacomo Leopardi called him "the Dante of Baroque prose."

diatribe on the rites does loom prominently. The Jesuits thought that after the arrests of late November and the disappearance of the noisiest of the Friars, the situation was under control again. However, on December 3, 1637, a surprise blow followed:

When those religious [i.e., the Friars] were going to Macao [under expulsion], and everything looked calm, the governor of the city of Fuzhou [i.e., the Prefect], knowing that the Fathers [i.e., the Jesuits] preached the same law, on the day of St. Francis Xavier [December 3] sent three officials of the tribunal to interrogate the Father [Dias], who was preparing for mass. He went immediately to the tribunal of the governor, but even before he arrived there, the governor issued an order of expulsion, ordering the Father to leave the city immediately. ... Then [Dias] decided to join Fr. Aleni in Quanzhou. Aleni learnt of this, and the two met half-way in Xinghua ...¹⁰⁹

Aleni started immediately to "pull strings" in order to save the mission, writing to some friendly officials.¹¹⁰ From this and other Jesuit reports,¹¹¹ we have a confirmation that officials in Fuzhou and Fu'an were hostile to the Christians, whereas in the south Aleni could count on good friends.¹¹²

The polemical spirit of the documents we have examined in this chapter makes the task of ascertaining the complete truth probably impossible at this stage. Only a thorough survey of the materials related to the per-

¹⁰⁹ "Anua da Viceprovincia da China de 638" by Joao Monteiro, September 20, 1639, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 121, ff. 183v-184r.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, f. 184r.

¹¹¹ See a controversial report written in Manila by the Procurator of the Far East Missions, Fr. Bartolomé de Roboredo S.J., *Respuesta a que contra los jesuitas de China dicen los dominicos y franciscanos*, Manila, 26 de diciembre de 1638, 19th century copy, Avila: APSR, *Ritos Chinos*, t. 2, n. 4, ff. 25-48. Reprinted in D. Navarrete, *op. cit.* (see n. 29), pp. 484-505; see *BM*, vol. V, p. 772. Excerpts from letters by Dias on the persecution are quoted in Roboredo, f. 24. Roboredo's treatise provoked the sputtering response of the Dominicans and Franciscans, and no less than four other treatises were written as responses. Another Jesuit then wrote a defense of Roboredo: Diego Morales S.J., *Relación del estado de la cristiandad en el amplísimo y popularísimo reino de la gran China contra las calumnias que contra ella y sus ministros, los PP. de la Compañía, han publicado*. September 12, 1641. Avila: APSR, t. 8, ff. 1-302; t. 9, ff. 1-390; t. 10, ff. 1-506. A note on Roboredo see in J.F. Schütte S.J., "Dokumente zur japanischen Kirchengeschichte im Mexikanischen Inquisitionsarchiv (Im Archivo General de a Nación, México)," in: *AHSI* 40 (1971), pp. 37-39.

¹¹² See Lin Jinshui. "Ai Rulüe zai Quanzhou de jiaoyou yu chuanjiao huodong" (Aleni's Connections and Missionary Activities in Quanzhou), unpublished manuscript, 1994.

secution in the Jesuit Archives of Rome might lead to more definite conclusions. However, the Chinese documents certainly are the most reliable extant source on the attitude of the Chinese authorities. They seemed to distinguish the two "branches" of Christians (Jesuits' vs. Friars'), even though their condemnation of Catholicism was universal, and the only scapegoats named in the edicts were two Jesuits. If the outcome of the persecution was much less dramatic for the Jesuits, this was due to their network of friends, and their prudent policy regarding the rites. In fact, the Jesuit mission soon recovered from the persecution.

The Aftermath of the Anti-Christian Campaign

The campaign came naturally to an end when the Friars left the region. Once the edicts of expulsion were published, the Jesuits chose to retire outside the main cities, and to wait for better times. They were able, only one year later, to go back to their residences. Most of the buildings and churches had been lost, apart from that in Fuzhou. However, the sympathetic attitude of many officials in Fujian seems to have played a positive role in the re-establishment of the mission. The change of the Governor of Fujian in 1639 might also have been an important factor in the changing attitude of the government.

Both during and immediately after the persecution, local Christians and officials tried to defend Christianity from governmental attack. For example, in 1638, as an Assistant Supervisor of Instruction, Jiang Dejing¹¹³ travelled to Fujian on official duties and received a report sent by 36 lower officials, headed by Li Weiyuan. In the report, they asked him to advise the imperial court to expel the missionaries. However Jiang took a conciliatory approach to the problem. He advised that people coming from remote countries should be tolerated, but the teachings of their religion might be refuted. This policy was accepted by the local authority in Quanzhou, the Intendant of Xing-Quan Circuit, Zeng Ying.¹¹⁴

One apologetic document, written by a Chinese convert, has been preserved. In 1639, Huang Mingqiao¹¹⁵ wrote the *Tianxue chuan'gai* (The

¹¹³ After qualifying for the *jinshi* degree in 1622, Jiang was appointed a member of the Hanlin Academy, and became a Grand Secretary in 1642. Lin Jinshui, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

¹¹⁴ See *PXJ*, *juan* 3, p. 2a; Lin, *op. cit.*, p. 20; *DMB*, p. 5.

¹¹⁵ Huang Mingqiao, *zi* Qirong, *hao* Youhuan, obtained his *jinshi* degree in 1604. He occupied the posts of magistrate of Fanyu district, judge of Yanqing prefecture, second class assistant secretary of the Ministry of Revenue in Nanjing, prefect of Yuan-

Spreading of Heavenly Teachings).¹¹⁶ Interestingly enough, the main points of this pamphlet were to show how different Catholicism was from the *Wuwei* sect, and to distinguish between the legitimate teachings of the Jesuits, respectful of the ancestral cult, and those of the Friars "from Luzon," who had brought such havoc to the mission, and who were harshly criticized:

In the last few years, there were some people who came from Luzon via sea to the region of Funing. They subsequently went into hiding, but the authorities sent them back to their country. They are not from the same country as Ricci and Aleni, and the place where they enter [China] is a different one. Their teachings and [religious] rules are clearly different!¹¹⁷

In 1639 the famous anti-Christian collection *Poxieji* was also circulated in Fujian, we do not know if in manuscript or printed form. Commoners from Zhangzhou launched a campaign to criticize the Jesuits in China, which evoked a nationwide response. The campaign was headed by Huang Zhen.¹¹⁸ He asked some notable official scholars, such as Jiang Dejing, Zhou Zhikui and Yan Maoyou to write prefaces for the *Poxieji*.¹¹⁹ Follow-

zhou and Intendant of Circuit in Henan. See *FJTZ*, *ce* 34, *juan* 28, p. 15b; Lin Jinshui, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

¹¹⁶ A manuscript copy has been preserved in the National Library in Paris, catalogue Courant 6875. I thank Dr. A. Dudink for supplying me with a photocopy of this rare manuscript, which still deserves a better treatment. Not to be confused with another *Tianxue chuan'gai* written in 1664 by one of Schall's disciples in the astronomical bureau. See D.E. Mungello, "Die Schrift *T'ien-hsieh ch'uan-kai* als eine Zwischenformulierung der jesuitische[n] Anpassungsmethode im 17. Jahrhundert," in: *CMSB* 4 (1982), pp. 1-25.

¹¹⁷ *Tianxue chuan'gai*, f. 5a.

¹¹⁸ He was a native of Zhangzhou, and had been trying to stop the preaching of Christianity in Fujian since 1633. In June 1635 he wrote a pamphlet entitled *Bu ren bu yan* (I cannot be silent) urging the Buddhist clergy to defend Buddhism and refute Christianity. See A. Dudink, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

¹¹⁹ This Fujianese version of the *Poxieji* has not survived. It was later edited and published with new essays in 1640 by Xu Changzhi, and this edition has survived in a Japanese reprint of 1855. An analysis of the Buddhist opposition to the Jesuits in Fujian lays beyond the scope of this paper. However, it seems that Buddhist opposition was strong in southern Fujian, but had not an important role in the Fu'an persecution. As already observed, only in 1634, a group of Buddhists presented a complaint to the local magistrate of Fu'an, following an attack by Christians on Buddhist images. The Christian convert responsible for the attack was arrested and a mob damaged the chapel built by the Dominicans. However, other serious disturbances which occurred later were not connected in the sources to Buddhists. See González,

ing Huang Zhen, some people and monks from Zhangzhou, such as Su Jiyu, Wang Zhong, and Xingyuan also levelled criticisms against Aleni and the Jesuits.¹²⁰

In spite of this fierce opposition, the situation went back to normality in a relatively brief time. Fr. Aleni sent a letter to the "Colao Ciàn," who can be identified with Zhang Ruitu, asking his intercession with the Prefect of Fuzhou.¹²¹ He then petitioned the Daoli, who acknowledged that it had been a mistake to put in the same lot the Jesuits and "the other religious coming from Formosa." In the meantime, Fr. Sambiasi managed to get a letter of recommendation to the Fujianese authorities from the "Viceroy" of Nanjing. Aleni decided to move to Fuzhou again. He stayed outside of the town, in an inn, for two weeks, receiving a stream of visitors. The authorities seemed to tolerate this. Aleni then decided to move into the city, where he redeemed the church which had been alienated, and celebrated mass publicly on July 14, 1639.¹²²

op. cit. (see n. 18), pp. 90-93. On the Buddhist reaction to Christianity, see Iso Kern, "Matteo Riccis Verhältnis zum Buddhismus," in: *Monumenta Serica* 36 (1983-1985), pp. 65-126; *Idem*, *Buddhistische Kritik am Christentum im China des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Schweizer Asiatische Studien: Monographien Bd. 11 (Bern 1992) [not seen]; D. Lancashire, "Anti-Christian Polemics in Seventeenth Century China," in: *Church History* 38 (1969), pp. 218-241.

¹²⁰ Lin Jinshui, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

¹²¹ According to Lin Jinshui, *op. cit.*, p. 7, this was Zhang [= Ciàn] Kentang. Zhang Kentang, *zi* Zaining, *hao* Kunyuan, *jinshi* of 1625, occupied the position of district magistrate of Jun district, and was promoted Regional Inspector of Fujian in 1635. A. Dudink and L. De Lange have suggested to me that this Zhang was instead Zhang Ruitu, a native of Jinjiang (Fujian), a member of the Grand Secretariat between 1626 and 1628, and a partisan of Wei Zhongxian. Zhang was included on the list of the supporters of Wei, and reduced to the state of commoner as a consequence, spending his last years in the native region of Quanzhou. In spite of his political disgrace, he might have retained some influence. Zhang met Aleni at least as early as 1626, when the missionary visited his house in Quanzhou, and showed him and his circle of friends copies of the *Xixue fan* and *Wanwu zhenyuan*, as reported in a preface to the *Tianxue chuhan* by Lü Tu'nán (1626). See A. Dudink, "The Rediscovery of a Seventeenth-Century Collection of Chinese Christian Texts: the Manuscript *Tianxue jijie*," in: *SWCRJ* 15 (1993), p. 6, note 12; [see also *idem*, "Giulio Aleni and Li Jiubiao," in this volume, note 23 - The Eds.]. On Zhang Ruitu, see *DMB*, pp. 94-95.

¹²² Bartoli, *Libro IV*, pp. 510-511. *Litt. Ann.* of 1639 (ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 116, ff. 29-207, f. 203 (italian version), signed on October 8, 1640 by Ignatio Montero describes the recovery of the mission.

Christianity reacquired prestige in a relatively brief time. We have a document particularly favorable to Christianity still in existence, coming from northern Fujian just a couple of years after the persecution, in 1641. The district magistrate of Jianning district, Zuo Guangxian,¹²³ gave his open protection to Catholicism. Owing to his patronage and the influence of the local Christian Li Sixuan, Christianity was regarded, in the words of a modern Chinese historian, "as if it were an official religion in [Jianning] district."¹²⁴ Zuo suggested establishing a church entitled *zun qin* (Respect the relatives) near the Northern Gate of Jianning. He also issued and posted an official notice (*te shi*, special notice) praising Aleni and Christianity, and ordering his people to study Chinese publications on Catholicism by Aleni and other Jesuits. This valuable document constitutes the only local official permission to spread Christianity in Fujian.¹²⁵

The present emperor gave [the missionaries] a plot of land and a house, with an inscription testifying to his favor.¹²⁶ In the capital, the princes, the high ministers and the members of the Ministries, and in the provinces the governors, the high official, the prefects and the sub-prefects, all show respect for them, and consider them as a model. The compositions in prose and verse written in their praise and printed in the collection *Chongzheng ji* are rather numerous.

Mr. Aleni occupies the first rank among the Western sages. His writings are impressive, capture the mind, open the eyes and confute errors. The Grand Secretary Ye asked him to come to Fujian, to spread his teachings, and to build holy halls for the divine cult in the whole province. Now, he has come here to teach, and I, the District Magistrate have interrogated him, and have verified the goodness of his doctrine.

If the emperor praises and respects them, if the sages and the literati have them in high esteem, then their doctrine must be true, their self-cultivation methods must be strict and their charity must be universal. I cannot bear that this district be inferior to the other ones. Therefore, I urge commoners and gentry to build religious buildings, where good will

¹²³ In 1641, Aleni made his first journey to Jianning where he met Zuo Guangxian. Zuo Guangxian, *zi* Sanshan, holder of a *juren* degree, was magistrate of Jianning, and later in his career governor of Zhejiang with the title of Censor (*yushi*). See Lin Jinshui, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

¹²⁴ Lin Jinshui, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

¹²⁵ Lin Jinshui, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28. The document has been reproduced by Couvreur, pp. 30-35.

¹²⁶ In 1630 the Emperor granted to Johann Adam Schall's church in Beijing a tablet with the sentence *qin bao tianxue* (Imperially Approved Celestial Studies).

be practiced and transgressions will be forgiven. ... As your Magistrate, I have the duty to regulate customs and education. The Western doctrine is a supplement to the civilizing influences [of our government]. Therefore, I give the following advice to the gentry and commoners: the wise and the learned should empty their hearts and overcome their self, and try to comprehend the books printed by the Western Sages The ignorant commoners who have false ideas [on Christianity], should read some books like "The Owl and the Phoenix," ... or the *Daiyi pian*.¹²⁷

There were not many other officials as enthusiastic as Zuo in his praise of Catholicism. However, the last years of the Catholic mission in Fujian before the Manchu conquest, when the entire Christianity of Fujian was practically obliterated, were years of expansion and quiet life. This is true on the pastoral side; in Manila and Rome the tension on the Rites was mounting, and would eventually lead to a series of Papal Legations to the Kangxi Emperor between the year 1700 and 1720.

Conclusion

The mission of Aleni in Fujian was overall a successful one. However, we have chosen to highlight here a moment of difficulty and setback. Once more, the anti-Christian episodes of 1637-1638 reveal clearly the weakness of the missionary enterprise in Ming China, so often subject to the whim of local officials. At the same time, almost paradoxically, we can also see here the strength of the Jesuit mission: reliance upon friendly officials could avoid major destructions.

Fujian was no doubt a particular case: here foreigners were accepted more easily than in other provinces, and the missionaries could count on the religious hyper-sensitivity of the Fujianese to spread their teachings.

Dominicans and Franciscans took also advantage of other two factors after their arrival in Fujian: they found their way paved by the Jesuits, and they put into use the background in Fujianese culture already acquired in Manila. Cocchi, in the first few years of apostolate, wore the literati's garb, "as the Jesuits use to do," and his teachings looked to his converts identical to those of the Jesuits.

With time, and especially after the arrival of Morales and Caballero, two major differences emerged between Jesuits and Friars. One can be called an "exterior" one: the Friars, after 1633-1634 began to be perceived both by the Christians and the officials as different from the Jesuits. This

¹²⁷ Couvreur, pp. 33-35. "The Owl and the Phoenix" and the *Daiyi pian* are two apologetic works by Yang Tingyun.

difference was determined by their provenance (Luzon), and by their association with the Spanish, who apparently did not enjoy the favour of the Chinese, especially in Fujian.

There was also a difference internal to the Church: the Friars opposed the ancestral rites permitted by the Jesuits, and had a number of objections to their methods. This divergence not only provoked a split in the Christian community between the two groups of Christians, but reverberated also outside the Christian community. The Friars were still associated with the name of Ricci ("the Luzon clique of Matteo Ricci"), and this shows that non-Christians were not too familiar with the religious nuances internal to the Church, but still the latter group was perceived as distinct.

However, the Jesuit Aleni and Dias were singled out as the ringleaders of the heterodox sect. But while the Friars were arrested right away, and brought in chains to Ningde, the authorities in Fuzhou allowed Dias to leave the city by himself. Aleni had to keep off the provincial capital, and to display a low public profile, but was never arrested or forced to leave the country, and could immediately start his apologetic campaign.

It would be too much to detect in this differentiated behaviour of the authorities a conscious distinction between the religious tenets of the Jesuits and the Friars. However, though vaguely, the distinction was felt, and was made in practice, if not in words. No Jesuit was arrested or expelled, even if the connections of Aleni and his confrères certainly remained the major factor in shielding them.

The higher authorities of Fuzhou, the Provincial Surveillance Commissioner, and the Prefect, also associated the Christians with the *Wuwei* groups, and this probably indicates that a general anti-heterodoxy campaign was then implemented. This particular side should be clarified before drawing any conclusion. In particular, it would be useful in the future to reconstruct in more detail the local setting of Fu'an and the north of Fujian at this time.¹²⁸

In any case, given what we know of Aleni's missionary style in Fujian, especially in the realm of ancestral rites, it seems quite unlikely that one of his converts could pronounce the words of Huang Shang'ai from Fu'an, one of the Friars' converts:

It is better that when parents die, one does not grieve, and when they are buried, one does not offer libations, and then you will be called a disci-

¹²⁸ In this respect, the analysis of heterodox groups in B.J. Ter Haar's recent work (see n. 100) offers an excellent guideline for further research.

ple of Confucius. So we deeply dislike the Chinese [belief regarding] the burial of parents and we censor the error of conducting sacrifices.¹²⁹

The mission recovered so soon also because the Jesuits and their Christians tried to heighten the differentiation between themselves and the Friars on one hand, and between themselves and the *Wuwei* group on the other, as the convert Huang Mingqiao did. However, as I tried to show, this differentiation existed already in Chinese eyes, and was engendered soon after the arrival of the Friars in Fujian.

¹²⁹ Quoted in "Proclamation of the Coastal Patrol Circuit. Intendant of Fujian," in *PXJ*, *juan 2*, p. 33b.