



Ideas beyond Borders: Studies in Transnational Intellectual History

GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES IN MODERN ITALIAN CULTURE

**KNOWLEDGE AND REPRESENTATION
OF THE WORLD IN ITALY FROM THE SIXTEENTH
TO THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY**

Edited by Guido Abbattista



Global Perspectives in Modern Italian Culture

Global Perspectives in Modern Italian Culture presents a series of unexplored case studies from the sixteenth to the twentieth century, each demonstrating how travellers, scientists, Catholic missionaries, scholars and diplomats coming from the Italian peninsula contributed to understandings of various global issues during the age of early globalization. It also examines how these individuals represented different parts of the world to an Italian audience, and how deeply Italian culture drew inspiration from the increasing knowledge of world “Otherness.” The first part of the book focuses on the production of knowledge, drawing on texts written by philosophers, scientists, historians and numerous other first-hand eyewitnesses. The second part analyses the dissemination and popularization of knowledge by focusing on previously understudied published works and initiatives aimed at learned Italian readers and the general public. Written in a lively and engaging manner, this book will appeal to scholars and students of early modern and modern European history, as well as those interested in global history.

Guido Abbattista is Professor of Modern History at the University of Trieste.

Ideas beyond Borders: Studies in Transnational Intellectual History

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**Edited by
Guido Abbattista**

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5 Confronting nationalities

Italian Jesuits in China in the late seventeenth century

Irene Gaddo

5.1 Introduction

During the last decades of the seventeenth century, the Society of Jesus was still at the forefront of Europe's contacts with China, working for its mission at a crucial moment of its existence. Within the mission's hierarchy, a group of Italians held positions of influence and worked hard to secure the survival of the missionary aim. Their internal correspondence (the *ad intra*) highlights a whole range of issues and themes, opening a window onto some of the interconnections that bound the East and West at a time of frictions and reconfiguration of geopolitical and power relations. From scattered locations within the vast Chinese territory – from the northern imperial city of Beijing to the southern coastal provinces of Zhejiang, Fujian and Guangdong – they relentlessly expressed their concern about the fate of the enterprise. They strove to keep the mission afloat, showing a clear awareness of the dire effects that political trials and tribulations spreading across the European scene and its colonial projections could cause their apostolic activities overseas. As professed Jesuits and missionaries of long standing, they were aware of the precariousness of the whole undertaking, as their evangelical activities depended on carefully devised procedures and strategies severely questioned by enemies both within and outside of the Church and by antagonistic missionary orders, in particular, Spanish Franciscans and Dominicans entering China via the Philippines from 1633 onwards and generally opposing the Jesuits' practice of the *accommodatio* (adaptation). Furthermore, they grew more and more alert to the menaces coming from their fellow missionaries, especially French and Portuguese brothers, whose rivalries mirrored the Society's severe identity crisis in the late seventeenth century, when the affirmation of cultural national identities and political affiliation entailed new forms of religious claims.

This chapter does not aim to retrace the history of the Jesuits' presence in China and their ties with the global expansion of Catholicism in the early modern era. Instead, it focuses on the correspondence between Italian Jesuits over a limited span of two decades, from the arrival of the first Vicars Apostolic of the Congregation for the Propagation of Faith (Propaganda

Fide) (1684) to the landing of the papal nuncio Monsignor Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon (1705), and it aims to provide an insight into the concrete reality of the Jesuit Chinese mission, its group dynamics and interactions, specific problems and dominant concerns from its Italian members' viewpoint. In this respect, it intends to highlight some of the reactions of the missionary community to the nation-based process of distinction that was affecting the transnational dimension of the Society of Jesus as a whole, entangling its sense of identity through interactions and confrontations with different identities and national interests in the period preceding its suppression.

Amid the surviving documentation from China in those troubled decades, the selection of letters written by the Italian Jesuits can disclose new elements regarding the issue of "Italianness" and offer a different and more dense perspective than a traditional approach, beyond the "encrustations" of nationalistic colouring.¹

5.2 Sketches from China

On August 19, 1695, the Calabrian lawyer, Neapolitan by adoption, and indomitable traveller Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri (1651–1724) disembarked in Guangzhou. Apprehension and confusion mounted in the missionary community, as he was the first layman to set foot in the Celestial Empire. Aiming to visit inland China as far as the imperial city of Beijing, Gemelli Careri recorded in his journal how the local Augustinians hosted him and helped him achieve his hazardous goal. In particular, "for [their] being subordinates to the Fathers of the Society [of Jesus]," they asked the local superior Carlo Giovanni Turcotti "to know his Will." The Jesuit's assent was crucial for the pursuit of the adventurer's goal: as Gemelli Careri put it, it was Turcotti, who "being an honest *Lombard*, bid [them] to let me go, whereas had he been a *Portuguese*, he would have certainly obstructed my Journey."²

Therefore, on November 6, Gemelli Careri arrived in Beijing, causing no less awe and concern among the European missionaries there. Since no foreigner could move to Beijing without the emperor's authorisation, it was unthinkable for a layperson to even enter the capital. Anxiety grew amid the religious community, together with the suspicion that the newcomer was a secret informer for the Pope, sent to enquire about the conduct of the missionaries and report to Rome. Many distrusted him, although he reasserted what he had already assured the missionaries in Guangzhou, "that I was Neapolitan, and travell'd only for my own private curiosity; that his Holiness had not allow'd me a Farthing for my voyage."³

The suspicions were not easily dispelled because in front of the Chinese authorities he had to pretend to be a missionary himself, in order to be allowed to remain in the imperial city and protect the European residents from the charges of hosting a potential spy of foreign states. The religious

cover served its purpose. Father Claudio Filippo Grimaldi, at that time superior of the Jesuits of the Chinese Vice-Province and director of the imperial Astronomical Bureau, managed to introduce him into the presence of the emperor and enabled him to witness the presentation of the new calendar devised by missionaries-scientists working at court.⁴

Thanks to the help and cover of the Jesuits in Beijing, the tireless “Italian globe-trotter”⁵ was able to accomplish his visit and acquire direct knowledge of imperial China, an experience precluded and forbidden to the Westerners unless they were religious or members of official embassies. As part of the fourth volume of Gemelli Careri’s much-acclaimed travelogue of the globe, these short excerpts show to what extent the contacts with China were in the hands of the missionaries and, above all, the Jesuits (and Italian Jesuits in Gemelli Careri’s case), experts in the Chinese system of etiquette and *guanxi* (personal connections), and active agents within the world-spanning networks of the early modern age.⁶

5.3 In Europe

Gemelli Careri’s adventure took place at a crucial time for Christianity in China. The restoration of internal peace by the Qing dynasty and the liberal policy of Kangxi Emperor (1654–1722, r. 1662–1722) raised enthusiasm among Catholic missionaries, especially Jesuits who obtained prestige and favour as imperial advisors, scientists and scholars.

However, the much-publicised success of the enterprise and the increasing numbers of converts – notwithstanding the ambiguities and contradictions of the China mission, begun under the Portuguese patronage (*Padroado Real*) – reached a breaking point when other players entered the Asian competition. In the second half of the century, the Iberian weakness and the reconfiguration of geopolitics between the European States conditioned the Jesuits’ actions both within and outside Europe. In addition, an adverse climate surrounded the Society of Jesus as a whole. The situation reached its climax under the generalate of Tirso González de Santalla (1624–1705, in office 1687–1705), when the order experienced a series of conflicts and full-blown crises, lingering throughout most of his tenure. European crowns initially attacked González for being too “Spaniard” or for acting as a papal agent, then for being too tepid toward the Iberian or Roman interests. He was also criticised from the inside. Some confrères contested his style and practice of government, which they regarded as intransigent and despotic, while others disputed his rigorism and moral theology. Polemics and tensions spilled out of the margins of the Society, fomenting disputes and rivalries alongside what has been named the “Jesuit civil wars.”⁷ Even the relationship with Rome was uneasy. Although González’s election was the will of Pope Innocent XI, the contacts between the head of the Society and the Roman Curia remained tense and problematic, especially with regard to the papal claims on overseas evangelisation, which was in line with the

policy of Propaganda Fide aimed at reaffirming the papal supremacy and shattering the Iberian monopoly over missionary enterprises.⁸

Already present (but contained) at the time of Acquaviva's generalship (1581–1615), the tensions between the universalism of the Society, its ecumenical vocation and the national affiliation of its members reached higher levels of radicalisation under González, causing profound fractures among the different components of the Ignatian edifice. Another critical issue came from the resurgence of the 'Rites controversies,' a series of polemical contributions and real attacks against the long-established strategies and practices of the Jesuit evangelisation in Asia, whose final condemnation by Pope Benedict XIV in 1742 contributed, in the case of China, to the waning of Christianity as a whole.⁹

5.4 Keeping the mission afloat

During such hardships for the entire order, the Jesuit personnel had to keep missionary activities running and administer pastoral duties. During those years, a tiny group of Italian Jesuits ran the government of the China mission, holding posts as Provincials, Vice-Provincials, Visitors and Procurators almost one after the other. Among many other fellow *operarii*, the Italians – Giandomenico Gabiani (1623–1694), Prospero Intorcetta (1625–1696), Andrea Lubelli (1611–1685), Francesco Saverio Filippucci (1632–1692), Filippo Maria Fieschi (1636–1697), Claudio Filippo Grimaldi (1638–1712), Carlo Giovanni Turcotti (1643–1706), and Emanuele Laurifice (1646–1703) – were appointed as persons in charge of the local structure and of the administration and supervision of the Jesuit endeavour.¹⁰ They had to oversee the sophisticated logistics devised in order to cope with the enormous pastoral burdens and an ever-growing population of converts. In 1686, after four years of missionary ministry in Guangzhou, “the main gateway to China,” Carlo Turcotti informed the superior general that he had baptised “more than 2,000 souls,” humbly claiming that “if it were not for my great ineptitude in the face of such a great enterprise, the number would have been much higher, considering how the space of this great Empire is arranged, offering to enjoy now more than ever the good disposition and the esteem that the Emperor has towards our mathematician Fathers at court.”¹¹

Spirits were high, but the administration of far-flung and thriving Christian communities was a challenge of tremendous proportion, given the limited number of priests and the meagre and discontinuous revenues available through the channels of the *Padroado* system.¹² The contribution of auxiliaries and assistants (the so-called catechists) was fundamental for the missionary works. However, since they were not entitled to administer sacraments (apart from baptism), the overburdened personnel represented a serious limitation to the functioning of the whole enterprise.

In this regard, one of the disputed points concerned the training of indigenous clergymen. Despite the strong disagreements between the same

members of the Jesuit mission, Prospero Intorcetta and then Philippe Couplet, when serving as procurators in Europe, promoted the training of Chinese priests who could accomplish pastoral obligations. Despite dissenting voices, this policy was gradually implemented in the 1680s.¹³ However, a series of rumours and scandals involving Chinese students and novices soon strengthened antagonist views. While some opposition to the indigenous clergy echoed general stereotypes related to the fickle nature of the Chinese,¹⁴ other accounts referred to more pragmatic reasons and urgent concerns.

In 1682, the Provincial Francesco Saverio Filippucci communicated his concerns to Rome. While recognising a need for implementing mission workforces, his reasons regarded the nature of the China mission, which unlike the Society's other units, had no colleges of its own nor permanent novitiates. He opposed the proposal of founding a Chinese College or Seminar in Macau because it would have been an excessive economic burden for the Vice-Province and a source of discord with the local community.¹⁵ According to Filippucci, it would have been better and more adequate to the actual needs of the China mission for the new recruits in the Society's ranks to be taken from those of mestizo origins living in the cosmopolitan entrepôt of Macau.¹⁶ Regarding the Chinese students, he suggested giving them a sound religious education and creating good catechists and good lay coadjutors, recognising their contribution in attaining missionary goals.¹⁷ Even Giandomenico Gabiani followed this line. After his mandate as Vice-Provincial (1680–1683), he supervised ethnic pupils in the study of Chinese classics and moral doctrine in his residence in Nanjing, pursuing his idea to use Chinese instead of Latin as liturgical language.¹⁸

The superiors continued to be concerned about where and how the education of indigenous clergymen could be provided, since the pastoral overburdening and overstretched budget of the Jesuit Fathers made it quite impossible to spare time for educational activities. Goa vs Macau, Latin vs Chinese, discipline vs laxity were some of the issues still awaiting a solution at the turn of the century. In addition to all the above, Visitor Carlo Turcotti concentrated on a very sensitive matter: vocation. In Turcotti's opinion, a delicate issue concerned the standards for the selection of candidates for the "Lord's vineyard" under the aegis of the Society. There was a complete lack of all the processes of intimate examination, discernment of one's inner desires and true vocation that the European candidates underwent through both the spiritual and administrative mechanisms of petitioning the Indies by writing *Litterae indipetae* (letters of request to go to the Indies), where the applicant begged to be considered for an appointment to the overseas missions.¹⁹ Besides the financial constraints, the logistic difficulties and other inconveniences in maintaining Chinese novices, it was necessary to consider the severe effects resulting from the relaxation of the Society's criteria in education and recruitment. Therefore, Turcotti solicited rebukes from Rome "to warn Macau's superiors to employ a stricter selection for

admission to the Society.” Cognisant of the need for labourers, he nonetheless invoked greater adherence to discipline and high standards of selection, in order to avoid hasty admissions that could discredit the entire Society, since

in the end, some lack the vocation, others the perseverance and that few only pays back the hope we have conceived. Indeed, I do believe, it is not up to us to determine who can work in the most challenging missions, but we have to wait for those whom God will call and provide for this same purpose with the grace of vocation.²⁰

The superiors aimed instead for long-established organisational structures, rigorous administrative procedures and discipline, in order to obtain the most from the priests’ efforts, and to ensure cohesion and coherence in the whole mission. Although the hierarchical structure of the Society of Jesus, its system of grades and discipline, may seem particularly apt for the purpose, recent historiography has proved that it was far from being a monolithic, steady institution.²¹ During the same period, as already briefly mentioned, the Society in Europe was facing internal disputes over its governance and hierarchies of power, while severe criticisms against it were mounting in a climate of wide-ranging hostile propaganda from the outside.²² In their correspondence with Rome, it is clear that the members of the China mission were conscious of the pressures looming over their institution and its autonomy. The news from the neighbouring territories was alarming. The *affaire* of Giuseppe Candone (1636–1701) in Cochinchina and other Jesuits in Tonkin – suspended *a divinis* and summoned to Europe after a harsh confrontation with the French Propaganda emissaries – impressed and frightened the Fathers in their Chinese outposts.²³ In a burst of frustration, desolation and protest, Filippucci confessed he would “enjoy being dead than be in this mazy labyrinth and prickly bush stinging everywhere.”²⁴ The matter concerned the arrival of the members of the Missions Étrangères de Paris (MEP), acting as apostolic emissaries patronised by Propaganda Fide and intending to affirm their jurisdictional authority over the missions.

As highlighted by the cases of Tonkin and Cochinchina, the act of refusing to be subordinate to or to obey the Vicars and Pro-Vicars Apostolic risked sparking tragic effects. It could result in the suspension from duty (by excommunication) and the very serious and grievous charge against the whole Society of rebellion and disobedience to the Holy See. Concern for the perils of such allegations and the scandal against the “good name” of the entire order ran through the letters penned by the missionaries. The latter, in fact, nurtured no illusion that a variety of interests and animosities were targeting the Society and that a front of detractors was eager to find and use every argument against it. They knew that the situation required great caution and prudence in coping with the apostolic delegates, who had arrived not only to enhance Roman control over the mission, but also to set the pace

and modes of Christianisation. Again, Filippucci was worried about the impending arrival in China of such Vicars, who claimed to know the reality of the local Christianity, while ignoring the languages and long-established practices, manifestations of lay piety and means of community bonds. Filippucci feared men of such a breed – who considered “that pestiferous book titled *Secreta monita SJ*” as the actual constitution of the Society²⁵ – and the consequences of their actions in China, where the enhancement of the Christian faith required one to act differently. In fact,

[t]he Christians of Europe abound with a great variety of external aids for their souls, and it seems that everything they see and hear there inspires holiness, and especially regarding eternity, and so even for the rudest Christians the traditional prayers of the Church are generally sufficient. To these poor Neophytes, everything is the other way round. Everything here inspires superstitions and idolatries, above all infernal. For this cause, our Fathers, Founders of these missions, invented many means (*industriæ*) to provide what they lack compared to Christians of Europe. They composed various litanies and prayers, besides the common ones of the Church, which go together with the teaching of the principal dogmas of the divine law and the movement of the affections towards the Divine Mysteries. Moreover, in the way the Neophytes recite them daily, what is necessary to believe and do remains deeply impressed in their mind and heart.²⁶

However, the members of the China mission were not only concerned about the pastoral and liturgical uniformity or ‘Romanization’ that the Vicars Apostolic and their retinue were trying to exert; as bishops *in partibus infidelium* (in the countries of the infidels), they held jurisdictional powers and were independent from the *regio Padroado*. The Jesuits knew that they were in a delicate situation, standing in the crossfire of a much wider conflict between the papacy and the Portuguese crown. Pledging subjection to Roman agents would have risked retaliation from the Portuguese authorities, on whose funding their mission depended; on the other hand, resisting the emissaries of the Roman Curia would have exposed the whole Society to disciplinary measures, besides giving its enemies further weapons to use against the order. To further complicate the matter, in reaction to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Vicars Apostolic over territories once granted to Iberian spiritual patronage, Lisbon imposed an oath of allegiance to the crown, and the Jesuits were asked to swear it, on penalty of being considered “disobedient and violators of royal laws and as such de-naturalised of the Kingdom, which means to be deprived of the rights and privileges of the Portuguese Nation, which we enjoy, together with its revenues.”²⁷ Jesuit Fathers had to find a safe route through conflicting loyalties. The balance was not easy to find, for the tensions between the different players did not ease. Even though the obligation to swear the oath was soon removed, the

Jesuits had developed a sort of ‘multiple loyalty.’ An exemplary case in point is Carlo Giovanni Turcotti.

On his superiors’ instruction, Turcotti made a secret of his submission to the Vicars, while assuring his loyalty to the Portuguese monarchy.²⁸ Such a compromise was clearly more difficult for the Iberian members to accept, as Filippucci mentioned to Alessandro Ciceri (1639–1703), future bishop of Nanjing and at the time procurator for the Vice-Province in Europe. In a more extended report, Filippucci talked about his Aragonese fellow José Raimondo Arxò (1663–1711), who

does not dare to swear the oath [to the Vicars Apostolic] until he gets good news from there [*scil.* Europe], therefore he does not carry out any missionary office and I have to hide it from the Christians pretending he does not know the language (even if he knows it very well and writes Chinese beautifully).²⁹

The relationship between the Jesuits under Portuguese patronage and the apostolic personnel remained problematic. The vagueness of the directives from Europe increased uncertainties and confusion so much that the limits of China dioceses (and their jurisdiction) remained undetermined and disputed until the late 1690s, when Rome and Lisbon realigned in the context of the War of the League of Augsburg against Louis XIV’s France (1688–1697).

On the overseas scenario, frictions encompassed temporal matters as well. The Jesuits felt particularly worried about the way Propaganda missionaries behaved on Chinese soil. Some episodes in particular seemed to jeopardise the results of the whole undertaking. The Jesuits had to use their contacts and acquaintances with local mandarins and civil servants in order to avoid the severe effects and wide discredit that occurred when members of the apostolic personnel were charged with illegal commerce by Canton customs officers.³⁰ These kinds of incidents did not help to enhance mutual confidence; unpredictability, lurking distrust, diffidence and misunderstandings continued to mar their relations. They reached an open expression of hostility with the *Declaration* (1693) issued by Monsignor Charles Maigrot, member of the MEP and Vicar Apostolic of the Qing province of Fokien (Fujian). In particular, the *Declaration* condemned as superstitious the rites dedicated to ancestors and Confucius that the Jesuits allowed the local Christians to celebrate as purely civil ceremonies.

In this context, the Jesuits felt that the arrival of new missionaries from other orders risked upsetting the whole mission and its established connections within the Chinese imperial system, while threatening Jesuit prominence in Chinese Christianity. However, their recurrent appeals for caution and prudence upon entering China were not just (nor mostly) a means for clinging to the old monopoly over the mission. They expressed serious concerns, on the basis of a century-long experience and knowledge of the uncertainty of a delicate system reeling with the entry of new elements.

This shifting of power relations involved the same contingent of the Society. Amid all this, Italian members worked hard to devise an intermediate position between different groups, each holding their own interests determined by national lineage. Indeed, Filippucci expressed a general fear: “On all sides, the fire is still kept in a closed house, but some sparks begin to show up: God help us when the flame and the fire burst!”³¹

5.5 Blurring the picture

Not everyone agreed with Filippucci’s sombre picture that the new arrivals,

each going their own particular ways, ...would ruin the China Mission, which essentially requires working *tamquam aliud agens*, applying a lot of foresight and indulgence. In behaving with fury, which they call fervour and zeal, everything will be lost.³²

Vice-Provincial Prospero Intorcetta, and his successor Giandomenico Gabiani, held a more optimistic view of a group of French Jesuits coming to China. Disembarking in the port of Ningbo in Zhejiang Province on July 25, 1687, they were the renowned *mathématiciens du Roy*, missionary-scientists sent in the name of King Louis XIV and the Académie des Sciences, combining apostolic and scientific purposes with diplomatic and economic interests. From his residence in Hangzhou, Intorcetta rejoiced at their “very opportune rescue,” and he did everything he could to assist them until they were invited to court by Kangxi himself. Nevertheless, Intorcetta had to recognise that not all of his confrères were keen on the newcomers. He criticised the lack of benevolence and unity among his brothers, who with their suspicions

dampen the charity and break the union of souls that we children of St. Ignatius must have among us, only attending the greater glory of God and the salvation of our neighbours for any means or Nation that the Lord will offer to achieve this end.

From his part, he assured,

if death does not prevent me, I am ready to suffer and to do everything possible to prevent dissent and suspicions against the innocent Fathers who have just arrived in China.³³

Intorcetta lived long enough to see his hopes and the unity of the mission crumble. It was the Vice-Provincial himself who detected “worrying signs of a rising national spirit, disruptive for the Community and destructive of charity.”³⁴ Furthermore, he criticised the attempt carried out by the authorities of Macau to exert control over the aged and nearly

blind Visitor Simão Martins, in order to obtain the whole correspondence to and from the Chinese Vice-Province via Macau. In Intorcetta's words, such a bold and dangerous move required a prompt injunction from the Father General:

This Vice-Province consisted and consists of people from various nations. With this order [on the correspondence], it appears that the Macau Nation accuses all the subjects coming here as mutineers and suspects against Macau without any reason. All this seems to be a hefty burden for the Fathers of China, who will either stop writing at all or act against that order. But what I fear most is that this order, subscribed by the Visitor, will immediately be known by the King of Siam, the King of France and other Potentates of Europe, with whom the Fathers of China, since they are of various nations, trade letters in *bonum Missionis Sinicae*; and such Potentates, not being at war with the Most Serene King of Portugal, might come to consider this order *contra ius gentium*, and be seriously offended, knowing that all their letters sent to the Fathers of China and the letters of those to them, all have to be unsealed and read in Macau.³⁵

Intorcetta and the new Visitor Filippucci tried to defuse the situation and restore a more stable government. Lacking further and unequivocal directions from Rome, respect for the order's discipline and obedience to the superiors seemed to be the only way to prevent the mission from loss and destruction.³⁶ They sent the aged French Father Jean Valat to supervise and assist the French Jesuits in Beijing, advising the use of "suavity and charity."³⁷ Meanwhile, Intorcetta wrote confidentially to Tomás Pereira, Rector of the College in Beijing, who was adverse to the French Fathers and intimate with the Emperor; albeit in a friendly tone, Intorcetta invited Pereira quite peremptorily to restrain some of his "*affectosinho nacional*," to stay away from big business and "to accept advice from the elders."³⁸ They were trying to secure the chain of command and to restore the hierarchies between the members, reasserting discipline and obedience to the mission superiors.³⁹ Visitor Filippucci began to be less sympathetic, as the French Jesuits refused to obey his directions and abide by the jurisdiction of the Portuguese patronage. He openly condemned their insubordination, while criticising Vice-Provincial Gabiani for being too indulgent and naive toward the true intentions of the French, "very far from being genuine sons of the Society."⁴⁰ The lack of submission and deference to the *munus Visitatoris* was putting the whole mission at peril, justifying restless and "unordered desires" motivated by national divides. Parochialisms and group interests had to be contained and brought back into the unifying framework of the Society. After all, the Ignatian order itself was a multinational body where "one Nation among the others has to prevail, not because of the number but the authority of its members:" *in jure Societatis* everyone "has to adapt

himself to the customs of the prevailing Nation, if not happily, at least patiently and silently.”⁴¹

In this respect, waiting to sail from Goa to Europe as procurator, Claudio Filippo Grimaldi compiled a memorandum of twelve points to be discussed privately with the General and his secretary.⁴² The main arguments concerned the reactions of the Portuguese members upon the arrival of the French confrères, and the necessary caution in dealing with this hotbed of discord. Tensions increased on both sides. Just as the Portuguese superiors had to be warned to be “most respectful” and temper their “natural aversion to the foreign subjects,” the French had to be restrained in their “excessive freedom of movement within China and to Europe” as well as in their demands, because “they want more than what is appropriate to be granted.”⁴³ Grimaldi’s expedition took place at a time of high tensions between the Society of Jesus and the Sun King, who, pursuing his Gallican policy, summoned the French Jesuits from Rome and forbid communication in any form whatsoever between them and the Jesuit General Curia in Rome. At the beginning of the 1690s, the crisis was put to an end by an appeasement between General González and Louis XIV, and further arguments or conflicts with France were carefully avoided.⁴⁴ In order to quell the fractious parties, and prevent quarrels with France, the General announced the final resolution, which was considered a “scandal” (Ciceri),⁴⁵ a “terrible attempt” (Grimaldi),⁴⁶ a “ruin for the entire mission” and a “*monstrum*” (Gozani),⁴⁷ a “source of disunion and mutual war” (Barelli).⁴⁸ The French Jesuits were given an autonomous and separate mission status in China. Visitor Turcotti had to carry out González’s mandate, which inflamed the Portuguese Fathers’ resentment. According to Turcotti’s report submitted to the General, the Portuguese began to consider Turcotti responsible for the separation of the French Jesuit mission, and to mistreat him.⁴⁹ The affection and friendly disposition that he had enjoyed in the past gradually turned into distrust, and finally into open hostility. In such a situation, Turcotti feared for his future since he had heard that the Assistant for Portugal, Manuel Correa, had expressed his displeasure regarding Turcotti’s actions. In a letter to Gaspar Castner (1665–1709), who was in Europe on behalf of the Vice-Province, Turcotti voiced his complaints:

The utmost aversion, not to say hatred, that some Portuguese Fathers had for me because, when I was Visitor, I did not follow the dictates of their passions and national spirit, above all, in order to reach peace and union with our French Fathers, telling the truth and suggesting appropriate means to Our Father... Moreover, therefore, besides charging me as an enemy and a traitor to Portugal and denying me obedience in some cases, as Your Reverence knows, even more, when I accomplished my office they took such a revenge on me that I was denied the necessary sustenance and left here alone and sick with the charge of this whole Mission.⁵⁰

Given the Portuguese's open hostility, Turcotti decided to accept the appointment as Vicar Apostolic of Guizhou and bishop of Andravida (*Andrevillensis*), titles he had declined hitherto.⁵¹ Writing to Tirso González, he was more detailed about his delay in accepting the dignity, fearing that

not only His Serene King of Portugal and his royal ministers in Goa and Macau would get offended if I had accepted those titles [as Vicar Apostolic and titular Bishop] in such a haste and promptly, so would also our own Portuguese Fathers.⁵²

Since the relations with the Portuguese Fathers had in any case worsened, there were no reasons to postpone any longer. Many things had changed in those few years since he had received the apostolic appointment. The efforts to secure the fraternal unity of the mission had failed. The ability of the Society to close its ranks to external interferences and national interests demonstrated its weakness. Geopolitical constraints and altered power relations shrank the Jesuits' margins of action in Europe as well as in China, together with the demise of the Portuguese dominance over maritime Asia. Other subjects, independent of the Iberian patronage and from different orders and nationalities, arrived in China.

In the end, Turcotti took on his apostolic tenure, with the help of the French, despite the recrimination of the Portuguese.⁵³ It happened just when pontifical legate Monsignor Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon reached Guangzhou, the southern gateway to China. His arrival and mandate of procuring the end of toleration of the "Chinese rites" overturned the achievements of generations of Jesuits and affected the fate of Christianity as a whole in China.⁵⁴

5.6 Conclusion

At the turn of the eighteenth century, divisions troubled the Jesuit missionary world in China. Not even the gloomy expectations surrounding the expedition of papal nuncio Tournon managed to rally and overcome the fractures.⁵⁵ General anxiety and internal unrest did not stop, and mutual recriminations intensified. In the middle of all this, there were the Italian members. On the one hand, they were accused of being partial, favouring the Portuguese, intercepting mail and discrediting the French at court and before the Emperor.⁵⁶ On the other hand, they were accused of being enemies of the Portuguese interests, supporting French pretensions and pressing the Father General to grant them an independent mission of their own.⁵⁷ To probe the veracity of such accusations is beyond the scope of this chapter.

The main focus, instead, concerns where the Italian group stood and how they reacted during those troubled years. All in all, they were appointed to preside over fellow missionaries just because they did not belong to either side. They were supposed to be *super partes*.⁵⁸ Nonetheless, this does not

mean that they were a homogeneous group, having the same ideas or similar inclinations. Quite the contrary. Some were staunch opposers of the French's pretensions to autonomy, regarding it as an intolerable and dangerous split in the fabric of the missionary enterprise; others were better disposed to compromise for the mission's sake, as they saw their brothers getting into more and more polarised positions. In general, they all aimed to preserve their elders' accomplishment and ensure the advance of Christianity, as indeed that was the primary goal of those who had chosen to dedicate themselves to active apostolate and, in most of the cases, to spend their entire lives in remote mission outposts.

Admittedly, the Jesuit capacity for action in China was limited from the very outset because of the nature of the enterprise itself, intertwined with the Portuguese imperial design and its *Padroado* system. Moreover, divisions and conflicts along national lines had a long history within the early modern Society of Jesus, as scholars have shown.⁵⁹ However, once recomposed and adapted by the body of the Society, constraints and divides followed a different and more compelling force at the turn of the eighteenth century. The decline of Iberian powers, together with the activism of the French crown on the international scene, led to the creation of new geopolitical rifts and the rise of more elaborate demands and diplomatic initiatives within Sino-European interactions. As a result, the religion-politics relation was reconfigured, exerting its influence on the processes of confrontation with the outside world and with non-European cultures alongside global currents.⁶⁰ Beyond any clichés of national character, in such a complex context, being Italian acquired a more problematic stance, vis-à-vis stricter, more defined partisan sentiments and the affirmation of cultural national identities.

Notes

1. Giuseppe Marcocci, "L'Italia nella prima età globale (ca. 1300–1700)," *Storica*, 20, 60 (2014): 7–50, 11.
2. Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri, *A Voyage round the World* (London: A. & C. Churchill, 1704), 297 (orig. ed. Naples: Giuseppe Roselli, 1699–1700, 6 vols.). The English edition here consulted was published as volume 4 in the series *A Collection of Voyages and Travels, Some Now First Printed from Original Manuscripts*, edited by Awnsham and John Churchill (London: Printed by assignment from Messrs. Churchill for John Walthoe et al., 1704–1732), <https://catalog.hathitrust.org>.
3. Gemelli Careri, *A Voyage round the World*, 321.
4. *Ibid.*, 319–321.
5. Rui Manuel Loureiro, "The Chinese Adventures of an Italian Globe-Trotter: Gemelli Careri and his *Giro del Mondo* (1699–1700)," in *Visual and Textual Representations in Exchanges between Europe and East Asia, 16th–18th Centuries*, edited by Luís Saraiva and Catherine Jami (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing, 2019), 3–30.
6. On the relationships between Italian adventurer Gemelli Careri and the Jesuit missionaries in a global context, I am indebted to Eugenio Menegon, "La Cina, l'Italia e Milano: connessioni globali nella prima età moderna,"

- in *Studia Borromaica: saggi e documenti di storia religiosa e civile della prima età moderna*, 28, Milano, *l'Ambrosiana e la conoscenza dei nuovi mondi (secoli XVII–XVIII)*, edited by Michela Catto and Gianvittorio Signorotto (Milan-Rome: Biblioteca Ambrosiana-Bulzoni, 2015), 267–280; and “The Outsider: A China Jesuit at the Intersection of Empires,” *Journal of Jesuit Studies*, 6 (2014): 141–147.
7. Jean-Pascal Gay, *Jesuit Civil Wars: Theology, Politics and Government under Tirso González, 1687–1705* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2012).
 8. Giuseppe Marcocci, “Jesuit Missions between the Papacy and the Iberian Crowns,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Jesuits*, edited by Ines G. Županov (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 241–265.
 9. *The Rites Controversies in the Early Modern World*, edited by Ines G. Županov and Pierre Antoine Fabre (Leiden: Brill, 2018).
 10. For biographical references, see the individual entries in *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús* (hereafter *DHCJ*), edited by Charles E. O’Neill and Joaquín M. Domínguez, 4 vols. (Rome-Madrid: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu-Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2001). On the mission hierarchy, see Joseph Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800* (Rome-Paris: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu-Letouzey & Ané, 1973), 317–323.
 11. Carlo Giovanni Turcotti to Tirso González, Canton, November 8, 1686, in *In Barbaras Gentilium Terras: Epistolario del Gesuita Carlo Giovanni Turcotti (1643–1706)*, edited by Irene Gaddo (Vercelli: Gallo edizioni, 2018), 85–90, here 88–89.
 12. On the eve of Turcotti’s arrival in Guangzhou, the Vice-Province of China counted 35 Jesuits (among them, 10 Portuguese and 11 Italians), cited in Liam Matthew Brockey, “Root and Branch: The Place of the Portuguese Jesuits in the Early Modern China Mission,” in *In the Light and Shadow of an Emperor: Tomás Pereira, SJ, 1645–1708, the Kangxi Emperor and the Jesuit Mission in China*, edited by Artur K. Wardega, SJ, and António Vasconcelos de Saldanha (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars, 2012), 6–37, here 30–31. The total rose to 42 in 1697 and decreased to 34 in 1699, according to Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008), 169. On financial aspects of the missionary endeavours under royal patronage, see Dauril Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 321–570. An overview of economic issues is provided by Fred Vermote, “Finances of the Missions,” in *A Companion to Early Modern Catholic Global Missions*, edited by Ronnie Po-chia Hsia (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2018), 367–400.
 13. On the European tours of Prospero Intorcetta (1668–1674) and Philippe Couplet (1681–1693), see Noël Golvers, “Il ruolo dei periodici ‘procuratores missionum’ nella comunicazione tra Cina e Europe: Il caso di Prospero Intorcetta (1670–1672),” in *Prospero Intorcetta S.J. Un Siculus Platiensis nella Cina del XVII secolo*, edited by Antonino Lo Nardo, Vanessa Victoria Giunta and Giuseppe Portogallo (Piazza Armerina: Fondazione Prospero Intorcetta Cultura Aperta, 2018), 245–258; Theodore N. Foss, “The European Sojourn of Philippe Couplet and Michael Shen Fuzong, 1683–1692,” in *Philippe Couplet, S.J. (1623–1693): The Man Who Brought China to Europe*, edited by Jerome Heyndrickx (Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1990), 12–27.
 14. Brockey, *Journey to the East*, 142–151.
 15. Francesco Saverio Filippucci to the Father General, Macau, March 29, 1682, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (hereafter ARSI), *Jap. Sin.* 163, ff. 180r–182v, here 180v.

16. In this regard, he asked for a special dispensation from the ban on admitting them into the ranks of the Society, since in his words “it is not easy to find here subjects suitable for the Society without such a mixture of blood,” Filippucci to the Father General, Macau, March 31, 1682, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 163, ff. 183r–184v, here 184v. On the issue of local clergymen and mestizos within the ‘China branch’ of the Society and their important role in several missionary activities, see Isabel Murta Pina, *Jesuitas chinoses e mestiços da missão da China 1589–1689* (Lisbon: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, 2011).
17. Filippucci to the Father General, Canton, October 19, 1688, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 164, ff. 78r–87r, 79v–80v; Giandomenico Gabiani to the Father General, Xem hai, October 31, 1689, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 164, ff. 183r–184r. On the urging of *operarii* sent from Europe, specifically to the Vice-Province, Claudio Filippo Grimaldi to the Father General, Bologna, November 8, 1689, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 164, ff. 188r–189v.
18. Gabiani made his ideas known in his dissertation *De Latinae linguae usu Sinesibus alumnis non necessario inducendo*, dated 1680. Among other writings, he sent a copy to Rome through procurator Philippe Couplet, as Gabiani specified in his letter to the Father General, Macau, December 11, 1681, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 163, ff. 161r–164v. On the issue of the Chinese liturgy and the training of novices, see also Gabiani to the Father General, Macau, December 20, 1681, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 163, ff. 165r–168v, esp. 166r–v, and again Xem hai, October 31, 1689, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 164, ff. 183r–184r.
19. On the complex nature of the *indipetae* letters and their ‘spiritual rationale,’ see Guido Mongini, “‘Esser questa la volontà del Signore’: Vocazioni missionarie dei gesuiti nelle lettere *indipetae* piemontesi del Settecento (1700–1725),” in *Scrivere lettere: religiosi e pratiche epistolari tra XVI e XVIII secolo*, edited by Pierluigi Giovannucci (Padua: Padua University Press, 2018), 93–119, esp. 97–100.
20. Turcotti to Tirso González, Canton, January 1, 1700, in Gaddo, *In Barbaras Gentilium Terras*, 261–274, here 262–265.
21. Michela Catto, *La Compagnia divisa: Il dissenso nell’Ordine gesuitico tra ’500 e ’600* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2009); *Avventure dell’obbedienza nella Compagnia di Gesù: teorie e prassi fra XVI e XIX secolo*, edited by Fernanda Alfieri and Claudio Ferlan (Bologna: il Mulino, 2012).
22. Sabina Pavone, “Anti-Jesuitism in a Global Perspective,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Jesuits*, 833–854.
23. For references on this intricate matter, see Juan Ruiz-de-Medina, “Vietnam,” in *DHCJ*, IV, 3962–3968; Tara Alberts, “Mission in Vietnam,” in Hsia, *A Companion to Early Modern Catholic Global Missions*, 269–302.
24. Filippucci to the Father General, Macau, October 10, 1681, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 163, ff. 127r–136v, here 127r.
25. *Monita privata Societatis Jesu* or *Monita secreta* was a forgery dated 1614 that became the text of anti-Jesuitism *par excellence*. See Sabina Pavone, *The Wily Jesuits and the Monita Secreta: The Forged Secret Instructions of the Jesuits: Myth and Reality* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 2005) (orig. ed. Rome: Salerno Editrice, 2000).
26. Filippucci to the Father General, Macau, November 30, 1682, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 163, ff. 189r–201r, here 196r.
27. Filippucci to the Father General, Macau, November 30, 1682, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 163, f. 189v.
28. This is what Turcotti asserted in writing to the General Charles de Noyelle (1615–1686, in office 1682–1686). Turcotti to the Father General, Canton, February 17, 1684, in Gaddo, *In Barbaras Gentilium Terras*, 32–33. On the need for that compromising attitude, Turcotti to Visitor Filippucci, Canton, February 26, 1684, in Gaddo, *In Barbaras Gentilium Terras*, 35–54.

29. Filippucci [to Alessandro Ciceri], Canton, March 31, 1687, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 164, ff. 4r–5v, here 4v. On Ciceri and Arxó, see John W. Witek, “Ciceri, Alessandro,” and “Arxó, José Raimundo,” in *DHCH*, I, 793 and 255–256, respectively.
30. The episode involved members of the French contingent sent by the Foreign Mission Society in close connection with Propaganda Fide. Turcottti to Charles Maigrot, Foshan, June 14, 1690, in Gaddo, *In Barbaras Gentilium Terras*, 95–100. Other incidents with the French clergymen were reported by Filippucci to the Father General, Canton, December 18, 1687, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 164, ff. 24r–25v; Filippucci [to the Father General?], Canton, October 1688, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 164, ff. 78r–87r. Filippucci sent more detailed reports to Rome, since he, together with Father Turcottti, was accused by the French of misbehaviour and political machinations against them, but such documentation still awaits a closer analysis. Just to give some references: Filippucci to Propaganda Fide, Macau, October 8, 1689, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 164, ff. 181r–v; Filippucci to unknown recipient, Macau, January 30, and March 15, 1690, *Jap. Sin.* 164, ff. 203r–205v and 228r–230v.
31. Filippucci [to Alessandro Ciceri], Canton, March 31, 1687, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 164, ff. 4r–5v, here 4v.
32. Filippucci [to Alessandro Ciceri], Canton, March 31, 1687, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 164, ff. 4r–5v.
33. Intorcetta to the Father General, Ham-cheu, October 31, 1687, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 164, ff. 15r–16v.
34. Intorcetta to the Father General, Ham-cheu, February 22, 1688, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 164, ff. 41r–42v.
35. ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 164, f. 42v. The urgency of the situation was stressed in a little note by Intorcetta to the Father General, Ham-cheu, May 25, 1688, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 164, f. 56r, where Intorcetta refers to a longer letter of his to the Father Assistant for Portugal, Ham-cheu, May 25, 1688, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 164, ff. 58r–59v.
36. “*Iactura et dissipatio*,” as Father Ludovico Azzi (1635–1690), working as an architect in Guangzhou, wrote to Filippucci upon the arrival of the French Jesuits-mathematicians, cited in Mariagrazia Russo, “Tomás Pereira and the Italian Jesuits in China,” in *Tomás Pereira, S.J. (1646–1708): Life, Work and World*, edited by Luís F. Barreto (Lisbon: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, 2010), 299–315, 304.
37. Intorcetta to Filippucci, Ham-cheu, November 21, 1688, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 164, f. 116r.
38. Intorcetta to Tomás Pereira, Ham-cheu, November 20, 1688, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 164, 1688, f. 117v. On Pereira and his attitude regarding the French brothers, see Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, “Tomás Pereira, French Jesuits and the Kangxi Emperor,” in Barreto, *Tomás Pereira, S.J. (1646-1708). Life, Work and World*, 353–374.
39. This is what Giandomenico Gabiani stated, when assuming his second term as Vice-Provincial, to the Father General, Nanking, September 6 and 22, 1689, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 164, ff. 172r–174v and 180r; also, Gabiani to José Suarez, Sum Kiam (Sungchiang), November 14, 1689, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 164, f. 190r.
40. Filippucci to Gabiani, Macau, June 15, and July 14, 1690, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 164, ff. 251r–255v and 272r–276v, here 274r.
41. Filippucci to the Father General, Macau, September 4, 1691, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 164, ff. 289r–293v, here 291r.
42. Claudio Filippo Grimaldi, *Memoria di varii ponti che ho da scrivere al Nostro Mol. R.do P. Generale, da non comunicare ad altri che al P. Secretario in secreto*, dated Goa, 1690, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 164, ff. 376r–379v.

43. Grimaldi, *Memoria di varii ponti*, ff. 377r–v, 379v.
44. The conflicts with the Society of Jesus and its head were part of a larger crisis between the Pope and the Sun King over their respective jurisdictions, in the more general context of the war of the League of Augsburg; see Gay, *Jesuit Civil Wars*, 17–77.
45. Alessandro Ciceri to Jean-Baptiste Maldonado, Peking, June 11, 1695, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 166, f. 64r.
46. Grimaldi to Manuel Correa, Assistant for Portugal, Peking, October 15, 1700, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 167, ff. 244r–v.
47. Giampaolo Gozani to Agostino Barelli, Focheu, September 27, 1699, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 166, f. 372r.
48. Agostino Barelli to the Father General, Canton, February 25, 1699, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 166, f. 277r. Barelli (1656–1711) was Turcotti’s secretary at the time; see Turcotti to the Father General, Canton, February 18, 1699, in Gaddo, *In Barbaras Gentilium Terras*, 182–191.
49. Turcotti to the Father General, Canton, November 25, 1701, in Gaddo, *In Barbaras Gentilium Terras*, 359–366, here 362.
50. Turcotti to Gaspar Castner, Foshan, March 25, 1704, in Gaddo, *In Barbaras Gentilium Terras*, 437–442, here 439.
51. Turcotti to Innocent XII, Canton, December 8, 1698, Archive of Propaganda Fide (APF), *Scritture riferite nei Congressi*, n. 7, ff. 262r–263r; Turcotti to Innocent XII, Canton, November 30, 1699, and to Cardinal Carlo Barberini, Canton, November 30, 1699, in Gaddo, *In Barbaras Gentilium Terras*, 221–226 and 228–232, respectively.
52. Turcotti to the Father General, Canton, February 18, 1699, in Gaddo, *In Barbaras Gentilium Terras*, 181–191, here 184–185.
53. Turcotti received practical help from French Superior Jean-François Gerbillon (1654–1707), who offered two French Fathers as Turcotti’s auxiliaries. These were Etienne-Joseph Le Couteulx and Joseph Maillac; see Turcotti to the Father General, Foshan, January 6, 1705, in Gaddo, *In Barbaras Gentilium Terras*, 443–447.
54. On Tournon’s legation, the work of reference is the critical edition of its report by German Jesuit Kilian Stumpf (1655–1720), who at the time was working as director of the Imperial Glassworks. The first two volumes are currently available: Kilian Stumpf, *The Acta Pekinensia, or Historical Records of the Maillard de Tournon Legation*, I, *December 1705–August 1706*, Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, Nova Series IX, edited by Paul Rule and Claudia von Collani (Rome-Macau: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu-Ricci Institute, 2015), and II, *September 1706–December 1707* (Leiden: Brill, 2019).
55. Grimaldi to the Father General, Peking, January 28, 1704, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 168, f. 62r; Turcotti to Msgr. de Tournon, Foshan, September 5, 1705, in Gaddo, *In Barbaras Gentilium Terras*, 455–461; Grimaldi to the Father General, Peking, October 18, 1705, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 168, ff. 342r–344v.
56. This was the case with Grimaldi; see the anonymous “Memoire Touchant le Visiteur des Jesuites Français et Portugais de la Chine,” [1704], ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 167, ff. 417r–419v; Emanuele Laurifice to Tirso González, Canton, January 2, 1703, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 168, ff. 3r–v; Antonio Pusateri to the Father General, Peking, October 25, 1704, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 168, ff. 346r–v.
57. Turcotti to Tirso González, Canton, November 25, 1701, in Gaddo, *In Barbaras Gentilium Terras*, 359–366; Turcotti to Gaspar Castner, Foshan, March 25, 1703, in Gaddo, *In Barbaras Gentilium Terras*, 423–430; Turcotti to Gaspar Castner, Foshan, March 25, 1704, in Gaddo, *In Barbaras Gentilium Terras*, 437–442.

58. “Memoire Touchant le Visiteur des Jesuites,” ff. 417r–v. Such was the opinion of Oratorian priest and Vicar Apostolic Giovanni Donato Mezzafalce (1661–1720), who was in China at the time of the Maillard de Tournon legation: Giovanni Donato Mezzafalce to his brother Giovanni Antonio, Fochien, December 22, 1700, APF, *Scritture riferite nei Congressi*, n. 7, ff. 714r–721v, here 718v–719r.
59. Catto, *La Compagnia divisa*; Esther Jiménez Pablo, *La forja de una identidad: La Compañía de Jesús (1540–1640)* (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 2014). For factional fighting and national antagonisms, which also involved a clash of “oversized egos,” within the mission fields, see Liam Matthew Brockey, *The Visitor: André Palmeiro and the Jesuit in Asia* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2014), esp. 100–115.
60. Antonella Romano, *Impressions de Chine: l’Europe et l’englobement du monde (XVIe–XVIIe siècle)* (Paris: Fayard, 2016); Michael Keevak, *Embassies to China: Diplomacy and Cultural Encounters before the Opium Wars* (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).