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MANUEL DIAS SÉNIOR // LI MANUO 李瑪諾

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Abstract

Biography of Manuel Dias Sénior, Portuguese jesuit who worked for several years in Macao and in mainland China. He was twice Rector of the Madre de Deus College (1597-1601 e 1611-1615); at the Chinese mission he was Superior of the southern residences (1603-1609); at the end of his life he was Visitor of Japan and China (1635-1639)

Resumo

Biografia de Manuel Dias Sénior, jesuíta português que trabalhou vários anos em Macau e na China continental. Foi por duas vezes reitor do colégio da Madre de Deus (1597-1601 e 1611-1615); na missão da China foi superior das residências do Sul (1603-1609); no termo da sua vida foi visitador do Japão e da China (1635-1639).

要約

本稿はマカオと中国大陸において長年宣教活動に従事したポルトガル人イエズス会士老マヌエル・ディアスの伝記である。彼は二度マドレ・デ・デウスのコレジオ（マカオの聖パウロ学院）の院長を務め（1597～1601、1611～1615）、中国布教区においては南のレジデンシアの上長であった（1603～1609）。晩年には日本・シナ管区の巡察使であった（1635～1639）。

Keywords:

Manuel Dias Sénior, Portuguese Jesuit, Jesuit Mission in China, Macao, College of Macao, Alessandro Valignano, Valentim de Carvalho, Francesco Pasio.

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Manuel Dias Sênior, Jesuíta português, Missão jesuíta da China, Macau, Colégio de Macau, Alessandro Valignano, Valentim de Carvalho, Francesco Pasio.

年長者マヌエル・ディアス、ポルトガルイエズス会、イエズス会中国布教区、マカオのコレジオ、アレッサンドロ・ヴァリニャーノ、ヴァレンティン・カルヴァーリョ、フランチェスコ・パシオ

Born in Alpalhão (Portalegre, Portugal) in 1560,² Manuel Dias,³ later named Manuel Dias Sênior to distinguish him from another Jesuit of the same name who was his contemporary,⁴ joined the Society of Jesus on 30th December 1575, in Évora,⁵ where he later concluded his studies in Philosophy.⁶ He left for India in April, 1585, on board the ship Santiago, as companion to the future bishop of Japan, Pedro Martins (1541-1598). Having survived the shipwreck off the coast of Mozambique, he reached Goa in 1586.⁷ Between then and the end of 1587, he was ordained a priest. In November he was sent to the probation house as partner of the rector and novice master Alberto Laerzio (1557-1630). Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606) was then weighing up the possibility of Dias replacing Laerzio in the latter office,⁸ which did not materialise, as in the 1588 catalogue he is referred to as the superior of Taná and Banderá.⁹ In the same document he declared that he had already con-

2 Catalogue of the Indian Province [Goa], 31/12/1588, *DI*, XV, p. 190; letter from Manuel Dias Sênior to the Portuguese Assistant, Nanchang, 17/10/1607, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 14 II, fl. 282; letter from Manuel Dias Sênior to the Portuguese Assistant, Macao, 5/11/1615, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 16 II, fl. 231.

3 Louis Pfister, *Notices Biographiques et Bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'Ancienne Mission de Chine*, Xangai, 1932-1934, p. 74; Joseph Wicki, "General Introduction", *DI* XIV, 12; Joseph Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de China de 1552 à 1800*, Roma-Paris, IHSI-Letouzey & Ané, 1973, p. 77; "Manuel DIAS senior" in *CACM*, p. 43; Joseph Sebes, "DIAS (O VELHO), Manuel" in *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesus*, dir. Charles E. O'Neill, SI & Joaquín M^a Domínguez SI, Roma-Madrid, 2001, pp. 1112-1113.

4 Manuel Dias Júnior, born in Castelo Branco (1574 - 1659).

5 Cf. ARSI, Lus. 43 II, fl. 303.; cat. Tertius Sinensis, 25/1/1604, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 25, fl. 82; First catalogue of 1626, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 134, fl. 303; First catalogue of 1628, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 134, fl. 307.

6 "Acabó los estudios, bachiller en artes por Évora". Catalogue of the Indian Province [Goa], 31/12/1588, *DI* XV, p. 190.

7 Letter from Pedro Martins to the Father General, Goa, 9/12/1586, *DI* XIV, p. 366; letter from Alessandro Valignano to the Father General, Cochín, 20/12/1586, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 10 II, fl. 209; Amador Rebelo to the Father General, *DI* XIV, Goa, 14/10/1587, *DI* XIV, p. 638.

8 Letter from Alessandro Valignano to the Father General, Goa, 20/11/1587, *DI* XIV, p. 708; "Cathalogus Patrum ac Fratrum Societatis Iesu Provinciae Indiae Orientalis", December 1587, *DI* XIV, pp. 792, 793.

9 Catalogue of the Indian Province [Goa], 31/12/1588, *DI* XV, p. 190.

cluded his studies.¹⁰ Then he became superior of the Chaúl residence, from the end of 1589 to November of 1592.¹¹ At around that time, the provincial of India, Francisco Cabral (g. 1592-1597), ordered him to return to Goa.¹² There he taught Cases for a short period,¹³ but as he had been designated by Valignano to the vice-province of Japan,¹⁴ he left for Macao at the beginning of 1593; by early May he was already in Cochin; by the end of June in Malacca;¹⁵ he reached Macao a few months later, maybe in August. However, his stay was short-lived, and he returned to India in 1594 as Valignano's companion.¹⁶ On 9th June of the following year, he made his profession of the four vows.¹⁷ In December, 1596, whilst still in Goa, he was planning to leave for China the following April,¹⁸ which in fact he did, given that he disembarked in Macao, on July 20th 1597, with Valignano, Diego de Pantoja (1571-1618) and Niccolò Longobardo (1565-1654).¹⁹

August 4th he was named rector of the college.²⁰ His predecessor, Duarte de Sande, referred to him as "a very apt person for the office"²¹ or "such an

10 Catalogue of the Indian Province [Goa], 31/12/1588, *DI* XV, p. 190. Louis Pfister says that he completed studies in Theology in Goa (*Notices*, p. 74). Alessandro Valignano refers to him as having completed the four years of Theology, without mentioning where (letter from Alessandro Valignano to the Father General, Goa, 6/12/1595, *DI* XVII, p. 423). The same happens in the 1604 catalogue. Valentim Carvalho, "Catalogo das informações comuns dos Pes e Irmãos do Collegio de Macao feito a 25 de Janrº de 1604", *MHJ*, p. 490.

11 Letter from Manuel Dias Sênior to the Father General, Malacca, 27/6/1593, *DI* XVI, p. 152.

12 Letter from Manuel Dias Sênior to the Father General, Cochin, 3/5/1593, *DI* XVI, p. 144.

13 Letter from Francisco Cabral to the Father General, Cochin, 15/12/1593, *DI* XVI, p. 519.

14 Letter from Alessandro Valignano to the Father General, Goa, 23/11/1595, *DI* XVII, pp. 278-279; letter from Manuel da Veiga to the Father General, Goa, 23/11/1593, *DI* XVI, p. 417.

15 Letter from Manuel Dias Sênior to the Father General, Malacca, 27/6/1593, *DI* XVI, pp. 151-155.

16 Cf. Letter from Alessandro Valignano to the Father General, Goa, 23/11/1595, *DI* XVII, p. 279; letter from Manuel Dias Sênior to the Portuguese Assistant, Goa, 7/12/1596, *DI* XVII, p. 603; "Do Collegio e casa de Macao", Macao, 16/1/1596, *CACM*, p. 77.

17 ARSI, Lus. 2, fl. 100. Priests Francisco Vieira, Francisco Fernandes and Alberto Laerzio made their profession of the four vows together. Francisco Cabral, Annual Letter of 1595, Goa, 29/11/1595, *DI* XVII, p. 367; letter from Alessandro Valignano to the Father General, Goa, 6/12/1595, *DI* XVII, p. 423.

18 Letter from Manuel Dias Sênior to the Portuguese Assistant, Goa, 7/12/1596, *DI* XVII, p. 603.

19 Letter from Duarte de Sande to the Portuguese Assistant, Macao, 25/10/1597, ARSI, Jap. Sin. 13 I, fl. 74.

20 Letter from Alessandro Valignano to the Father General, Macao, 10/11/1597, ARSI, Jap. Sin. 13 I, fl. 86v.

21 "Pessoa mui apta para o cargo." Letter from Duarte de Sande to the Portuguese Assistant, Macao, 25/10/1597, ARSI, Jap. Sin. 13 I, fl. 74.

apt and fitting person".²² Dias held this post until 1601, when he was replaced by Valentim Carvalho (1559-1630), a priest with whom he disagreed deeply and irredeemably. Before the end of that year, he was sent to visit the mission in China. He reached Beijing in mid 1602, in either July²³ or on the 9th of August,²⁴ "with so many things to do, that he cannot return to this residence [in Nanchang] in a short time" wrote Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) in September. However, he expected Dias to leave for Nanchang that month, with the Chinese brother Sebastião Fernandes/Zhong Mingren (c. 1562-1622), to join João Soeiro (1566-1607).²⁵ Whilst in mainland China, he learned that he had been elected procurator of the Japanese mission.²⁶

When Valignano returned to Macao, in February 1603, Manuel Dias headed for that port,²⁷ accompanied by Lazzaro Cattaneo (1560-1640), to deal with the Visitor about "many things for the good of that mission (in China) which is now flourishing".²⁸ He took the opportunity to raise funds from the "very rich friends I have in this City".²⁹

So the visitor named him as rector of the southern residences – Shaozhou, Nanchang and Nanjing –, "subordinate to the universal superior of the

22 "Persona tam apta y suficiente." Letter from Duarte de Sande to the Father General, Macao, 12/9/1597, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 13 I, fl. 98. However, in an earlier missive, his opinion was less favourable, considering that although he was "a person of much hope I would still very much like to see another hold that universal office" ["peçoa de muitas esperanças todavia folgara muito de ver la outrem que pudesse tomar aquelle cargo universal"]. He mentioned the need for another "priest of substance, raised in our Kingdom of Portugal" ["padre de substancia criado no nosso Reino de Portugal"], as the vice-province of Japan had "a great lack of Portuguese people for the universal government and of the colleges" ["muy falta de gente portugueza pera o governo universal e dos collegios"]. Letter from Duarte de Sande to the Portuguese Assistant, Macao, 1586 or 1597, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 13 I, fl. 117v.

23 Cf. *FR* II, N. 687, p. 258; *OS* I, p. 439.

24 He was accompanied by brother Sebastião Fernandes/Zhong Mingren and Jacobo Niva/Ni Yicheng, then still a student.

25 "Con tanti negotii da spedire, che non può così presto essere di ritorno a cotesta residenza [in Nanchang.]", Letter from Matteo Ricci to Niccolò Longobardo, Beijing, 2/9/1602, in *OS* II, p. 251. This letter, translated into Portuguese, was included in the Macao's Annual Letter of 1602. *CACM*, p. 111.

26 Cf. letter from Manuel Dias Sênior to the Portuguese Assistant, Macao, 5/11/1615, ARSI, Jap. Sin. 16 II, fl. 231v.

27 Dias, following orders from Ricci, was in Shaozhou awaiting news of Valignano's arrival in Macao, so that he could immediately head there. Cf. *FR* N. 697, pp. 269-270.

28 "Muitas cousas para o bem daquela missão [da China] que agora vay florecendo." Letter from Gaspar Ferreira to the Portuguese Assistant, Macao, 18/10/1603, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 14 I, fl. 133v. This interesting information about Dias' friends is reinforced by Matteo Ricci, in 1609, when he refers to the offerings "from the many friends he has over there [Macao]" ["di molti suoi amici che la tiene [in Macao]"]. Letter from Matteo Ricci to the Portuguese Assistant, Beijing, 17/2/1609, *OS* II, p. 390.

29 "Amigos que tem muitos e ricos nesta Cidade." Letter from Gaspar Ferreira to the Portuguese Assistant, Macao, 18/10/1603, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 14 I, fl. 133v.

mission as he [Matteo Ricci] was unable to leave Beijing”.³⁰ In January 1604, Dias returned to mainland China, taking three new fathers with him, Gaspar Ferreira (1571-1649), Bartolomeo Tedeschi (1572-1609) and Pedro Ribeiro (1572-1639).³¹ In October 1605, he once again met João Soeiro, in Nanchang,³² the city where he settled, because, as he explained, “it is in the middle of Xaucheo [Shaozhou], and Nanjing, and here I am closer to do business with them”. He also reported “so far, I have done nothing but study the language”.³³ Three years later, even though he considers “47 years is very old” for “such a difficult language, with so many, and so intricate letters”,³⁴ he could already understand it “reasonably and given that I speak less, I have faith in God that after two years they will also understand me”.³⁵

Meanwhile, in mid 1605, Ricci confirmed that Dias served him well in that office, “a great help”, because he was a “Father with very good advices, fervent and very much engaged with the matters concerning this nation”.³⁶ Almost a decade later, his good performance was also remembered by the new superior of the mission, Niccolò Longobardo (1565-1654) who, while

30 “Subordinado ao superior universal da missão por elle [Matteo Ricci] não poder sair de Paquim.” Alessandro Valignano, “Catalogo das casas e residencias que tem a Companhia na viceprovincia de Jappão e China em Outubro de 1603 com os nomes dos Padres e Irmãos, que estão nellas”, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 25, fl. 66; letter from Gaspar Ferreira to the Portuguese Assistant, Macao, 18/10/1603, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 14 I, fl. 133v; Valentim Carvalho, Macao’s Annual Letter of 1603, Macao, 27/1/1604, CACM, p. 117.

31 Cf. Letter from Alessandro Valignano to the Portuguese Assistant, Macao, 20/1/1605, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 14 II, fl. 186; Valentim Carvalho, “Catalogo das informações communs dos Pes e Irmãos do Collegio de Macao feito a 25 de Janrº de 1604”, *MHJ*, pp. 489-490; letter from Gaspar Ferreira to the Portuguese Assistant, Macao, 18/10/1603, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 14 I, fl. 133v.

32 Letter from Manuel Dias Sênior to the Portuguese Assistant, Nanchang, 22/11/1604, OS II, p. 478.

33 “Fica no meio da de Xaucheo [Shaozhou], e da de Namkim, e eu nella mais a mão para o comercio com ellas”; “ate agora não faço mais *que* estudar a lingoa.” Letter from Manuel Dias Sênior to the Portuguese Assistant, Nanchang, 29/11/1604, OS II, p. 483.

34 “Muita minha idade de 47 anos”; “lingua tão dificultosa, de tantas, e tão intrincadas letras.” Even in 1601, he described the Chinese language as “somewhat difficult to learn” [“algo dificultosa de aprender”], which was he thought that “individuals under the age of thirty particularly suit China” [“particularmente sirven para la China sujetos de hasta treinta años”]. Letter from Manuel Dias Sênior to the Father General, Macao, 17/1/1601, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 14 I, fl. 44v.

35 “Arezoadamente e posto que falo menos, espero em Deus a’cabo de dous anos falarei *que* tambem elles me entendão.” Letter from Manuel Dias Sênior to the Portuguese Assistant, Nanchang, 17/10/1607, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 14 I, fl. 282.

36 “Assai buon agiuto”; “padre di assai buono consiglio, fervoroso et assai applicato alle cose di questa natione.” Ricci reported that Dias was entrusted to inform the Father General “about everything that took place in these four houses, therefore I no longer need to report it myself, as I did before, when I was alone in China” [“di tutto quello che si fa in queste quattro case, e così non ho bisogno io scriverglielo, come prima faceva, quando stavo solo nella Cina”]. Letter from Matteo Ricci to the Father General, Peking, 26/7/1605, OS II, p. 287; letter from Matteo Ricci to the Father General, Beijing, 15/8/1606, OS II, pp. 300-302.

admitting that some were not “that much pleased with his way when he was rector under Father Matteo Ricci”, even so, at the mission “the majority was pleased”.³⁷

Dias continued as rector of the southern residences until the beginning of 1609, when he was summoned to Macao by the vice-provincial Francesco Pasio (g. 1609-1611), another figure with whom he entered into conflict.³⁸ In the “Catálogo dos Padres e Irmãos que residem no Collégio de Macao, feito aos 15 de Janeiro de 609” [“Catalogue of Fathers and Brothers residing in the Macao College, drawn up on 15th January 1609”], his going to the college was already mentioned; Sebastião Vieira (1574-1634) was then there, as “advisor in place of *Padre* Manoel Dias”.³⁹ About one month later, Ricci regretted he had to leave for Macao, as despite being “for the greater benefit of this mission”, he was convinced that the father “was much happier to stay here, and even we would wish it to be so”.⁴⁰ In September 1609, Dias left Shaozhou, and was referred to as being in Macao in November,⁴¹ where he was to stay for over a decade.

He was in Macao when, in October 1611, he received orders from the new Visitor Francesco Pasio (g. July 1611-1612) to again take “care of this college”.⁴² The former, in a letter written the following month, addressed to the Portuguese Assistant, gave quite a disparaging view of Dias, and merely praised his oratory skills.⁴³ On the other hand, he considered that “those in the house would be far less content, if he did not amend the manner he had when he was rector of the same College in Macao and even though he was Superior of the three residences in China, because he is extremely strict and rigid”, features which we will find constantly attributed to him. Pasio

37 “Tanto sodisfatti del suo modo, quando era Rettore subordinado al *Padre* Matteo Ricci”; “la maggior parti di *nostri* stavano molto contenti.” Letter from Niccolò Longobardo to the Father General, Nanxiong, 15/5/1613, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 15 II, fl. 272.

38 He was then succeeded by Niccolò Longobardo, who the following year, on the death of Matteo Ricci, was nominated superior of the mission. From then on the office of superior of the southern residences disappeared.

39 “Consultor em lugar do *Padre* Manoel Dias.” *MHJ*, doc. 38, p. 513.

40 “Per maggior agiuto di questa missione”; “più contento aveva di stare qua dentro, e noi qua anco lo volevamo.” Letter from Matteo Ricci to the Portuguese Assistant, Beijing, 17/2/1609, OS II, p. 390; letter from Niccolò Longobardo to the Father General, Shaozhou, 23/11/1610, OS II, p. 488.

41 Cf. letter from Manuel Dias Sênior to the Father General, Nanchang, 19/4/1609, ARSI, Jap. Sin. 14 II, fl. 330; letter from Manuel Dias Sênior to the Father General, Macao, 11/11/1609, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 14 II, fls. 331-331v.

42 “Cuidado desse collegio.” Letter from Manuel Dias Sênior to the Portuguese Assistant, Macao, 5/11/1615, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 16 II, fl. 231.

43 Francisco Pires also described him as a good preacher. Cf. letter from Francisco Pires to the Portuguese Assistant, Macao, 12/10/1617, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 17, fl. 100v.

warned that “for Japan he has a very great failing in being Rector of that College” as he had an “aversion to Japan and its things, opposing them whenever he could”.⁴⁴

Dias, who took over the office of rector for the second time, between December, 1611 and the first months of 1615, in a letter written to the Portuguese Assistant, in November 1615, put forward what he considered to be the real reasons underlying the hostility of the then deceased Pasio. He openly accused Pasio of having been involved in plots to detain him in Macao, thus keeping him away from the mission in Japan first, and then from the mission in China. In fact he indicated the “plot that he [Pasio] had with others, to hinder my going there [Japan], as well as to get me out of China”, which is why “he so maligned me”.⁴⁵ There were two factors in the origin of the real persecution of Dias by Pasio and other Italians: the fact that “some things did not please me, that he did and permitted in Japan, such as the great business in which the two procurators of the province who live here and in Nagazaqui were involved in”; and their plan to make “this province all theirs, and by doing so, to impede all the Portuguese fathers who might oppose them and to occupy the posts”. In this context, one can understand Pasio's responsibility for Dias' reputation of “not having much love for the Japanese” or “having little love for Japan”;⁴⁶ in addition to a whole set of intrigues against him. Amongst these, Dias referred, for example, to the deals with Valignano, “18 years have gone by since he left me here as Rector of this College for the first time, and when I finished in 1601 he made me procurator of Japan, which was a scandal for both those in and outside the house (given that both did not understand this plot)”.⁴⁷ The objectives in question explained the

44 “Aos de casa, contentara muito menos, se se nam emendar no modo que teve quando foy Reitor do mesmo Collegio de Macao e emmentes foi Superior das tres residencias da China, porque he sobejamente rigoroso e tezo”; “pera Japam tem outra falta muito grande pera o que ouver de ser Reitor daquelle Collegio”; “aversam a Japam, e a suas cousas contrariando-as quanto pode.” Letter from Francesco Pasio to the Portuguese Assistant, Nagasaki, 9/11/1611, ARSI, Jap. Sin. 15 I, fl. 90.

45 “Traça que tinha [Pasio] com outros de me estorvarem a ida para la [Japão], assi como para me tirar da China”; “me alevantou tantas brocas” Letter from Manuel Dias Sênior to the Portuguese Assistant, Macao, 5/11/1615, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 16 II, fl. 232.

46 “Que me não contentavão alguãs [coisas] que elle fazia e consentia em Japão, como era a grande mercancia em que se metiam os dous procuradores da provincia que residem aqui e em Nangazaqui”; “esta provincia toda sua e para isso encalhassem todos os padres Portuguezes que lhe podião ser antepostos e ocupar os lugares”; “não ter muito amor aos japoens”; “ter pouco amor a Japão.” *Ibid.*, fl. 231.

47 “Agora há 18 annos [para que] me deixasse aqui por Reitor deste Collegio a primeira vez que o fui, e quando acabei no de 601 me fizesse aqui procurador de Japão, como fez não sem escandalo dos de casa e dos de fora (posto que não entenderão esta traça).” They had, in fact, supported the college in Macao, precisely with a view to “entertaining in it the Portuguese fathers” [“enterterem nelle os padres Portuguezes”], keeping them away from Japan. Indeed, their intention was

satisfaction shown by Pasio when, in 1601, Dias had left for mainland China, as “by going there, he was less likely to go to Japan”. In a second phase, in 1609, with the intention of removing him from China as well, Pasio had summoned him to Macao, claiming that it was for his own sake, due to his supposed linguistic and physical weaknesses. According to Dias, Pasio had then told him that “at the age he [Dias] was when he went there, it would have been difficult for him to enter the Chinese language and he would have even more difficulty with the letters”, and, furthermore, Dias was still “naturally (...) susceptible to the cold and had little strength”, so that “it seemed to me that he would be better off in Macao and his talents would be put to better use there”. Dias claimed not to have realised what was going on at the time as, even though he noticed at the college that “the older fathers [were] very sad that they took me away from China, and hopeful that I would return there”, he thought that they “wished me to return to China because of the love they held for me, and because they knew I would be happy to be there, and for the good they wished for those houses, for I am not so cunning that I could have imagined, or even believed what some indicated to me, that my return was manipulated by other schemes”.⁴⁸

Dias’ second term of office as rector of Macao was extremely controversial. In February 1615, on the eve of him leaving the post, Francisco Pires (c.1563-1632) reported to the Portuguese Assistant the atmosphere of profound unease that was experienced in that establishment, as “everywhere (...) everyone was upset, both the subjects and even the superior himself”. Even though “nobody denies the good and great qualities” of Manuel Dias,

“with the pretext of ruling there, preaching, reading etc. as they were natural. Thus either they would not go to Japan, or if they went they would be too old to learn enough of the language and customs to govern the members of the residence and deal with the gentlemen outside it, and would take nothing of interest from the land, other than to go from village to village, confessing labourers, fishermen and such like” [“com achague de governar nelle, pregar, ler etc por serem naturaes. E assi ou não fossem a Japão, ou fossem já em idade *que* não podessem tomar da lingoa e costumes quanto lhe era necessario *para* governar os de casa e tratar os tonos e *senhores* de fora, e so alcançassem da terra o que não servia, senão *para* andar pellas aldeas confessando lavradores, pescadores e gente semelhante”]. *Ibid.*, fl.231v.

48 “Indo *para* la ficava mais longe de ir a Japão”; “a idade *que* tinha [Dias] quando la foi difficilmente entraria na lingoa sinica e *muito* mais difficuldade teria ainda nas letras”; “naturalmente (...) *muito* friorento e de poucas forças”; “me paresia estaria melhor em Macao e ali estarião seus talentos melhor empregados”; “os padres velhos delle *muito* sentidos de me tirarem da China, e desejosos tornase *para* la”; “desejavão tornase eu a China pello amor *que* me tinhão, pelo *que* sabião folgava eu de estar la, e pello bem *que* desejavão aquellas casas *porque* não sou tam politico que pudesse imaginar, nem ainda crer o que alguns me asenavão, de ser a minha vinda orrida por outras traças”. Further proof of these conspiracies against him was “an apology of the inconveniences of my stay in China and how much better I would be in that College” [“huã apologia de inconvenientes *que* tinha a minha estada na China e de quanto melhor estaria eu nesse Collegio”], that had been prepared in Japan and sent to Rome. *Ibid.*, fl.231v.

“according to what I have come to understand here, he has no talent for consoling his subjects by governing with gentleness”. In fact he had “such a strict nature” and held the “opinion that the superior must be manly and make himself respected until the very last hour when he leaves the office”. He claimed that it was commonly said at the college that “as he forms an opinion he has to go forward with it, come what may” and that “those who obey him with humility and trust have no cause for worry but if they spurn him or they show little love and difference of opinion etc., he will be quick to retaliate”. His terms of office, Pires continued, were invariably problematic: when he was rector of Chaul “he had not completed 3 years when he was removed and sent here, because they found him so strict”; when he was rector in Macao for the first time, in his third year “there were so many complaints that Father Alexandre [Valignano] immediatly named Father Valentim Carvalho as Rector in Japan”; having gone to mainland China next “they say that they cannot tolerate him there either, he was again Rector here, not even three years since the Provincial Father came (Valentim Carvalho, g. July, 1611-1617, returned to Macao in November, 1614) they were all dissatisfied, and even Father Manuel Dias was waiting for the end of the month and a half needed to complete three years, in order to leave the office (...) and because he was displeased at seeing everyone so dissatisfied.” Pires also mentioned the fear shared by many that the Father General might entrust the province to Dias.⁴⁹

Insisting on his strict, inflexible and stubborn nature, and consequently on his incapacity to be a superior, around two and a half years later, in October 1617, Francisco Pires once again drew attention to the fact that Dias was “disliked...in this college”⁵⁰ and that “they say that for a superior he is very strict, distrustful, ... and he is haughty as he pays little attention

49 “Universalmente (...) todos desgostosos assim os subditos como o mesmo superior”; “ninguém lhe tira suas boas partes e grandes”; “conforme ao que aqui tenho alcançado não tem talento de consolar aos subditos governando com brandura”; “condição tão tesa”; “opinião que o superior a-de ser macho e fazer-se em tudo respeitar ate a derradeira hora que deixar o officio”; “como toma huã opinião ha-d’ir com ella por diante quebre por onde quebrar”; “a quem se lhe sojeita com humildade e confiança vive quieto mas se se lhe escusão ou mostrão pouco amor com diferente parecer etc não aguarda talho a esperar ocasião”; “ainda não acabou os 3 anos e entrando nelles o tirarão, e mandarão pera ca, polo acharem tam teso”; “foram tantos os queixumes que o Padre Alexandre [Valignano] logo o nomeou ao Padre Valentim Carvalho en Japão por Reitor”; “dizem que tambem la o não poderão sofrer, tornou aqui a ser Reitor, ainda não erão acabados os tres annos quando veo o Padre Provincial estavam todos enfadados, e o mesmo Padre Manuel Dias esperava se acabasse o mês e meo que faltava pera os tres annos pera largar o officio (...) por estar enfadado de ver a todos tam enfadados.” Letter from Francisco Pires to the Portuguese Assistant, Macao, 6/2/1615, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 16 II, fl. 147.

50 “Malquisto ... neste collegio.” Letter from Francisco Pires to the Portuguese Assistant, Macao, 12/10/1617, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 17, fl. 100v.

to others, and they say he often uses threats as superior, and therefore consider he will not be well received as superior unless he changes his ways".⁵¹ In Dias' defence, João Rodrigues Tçuzu (1561-1633), in January 1616, while admitting that "previously there were some complaints about his administration", considered that "in fact I understood that those most to blame were the subjects there without religious order, whom he put in order".⁵²

With the arrival in Macao of the new Visitor Francisco Vieira (g. July 1616-1619), in mid 1619, Dias was chosen "as his chief advisor", and the Visitor gave "much credit to his opinion".⁵³ At the college, many were upset to see Dias "favoured by the father Visitor, and they were particularly fearful that" Vieira "wanted to leave Manuel Dias here as superior". Amongst the most apprehensive, naturally his declared opponents pontificated on this, namely the provincial Valentim Carvalho; the "critics of Father Manuel Dias Senior when he was Rector", especially the young fathers linked to Carvalho; and, finally, the Italians, "who do not like father Manuel Dias at all".⁵⁴

Nevertheless, the fears regarding his promotion proved to be unfounded, as in October 1616, the Visitor stated explicitly to the Portuguese Assistant that Dias lacked the suitable profile for superior of the province. This becomes clear as he conveys his disappointment on "seeing that in this Province the best of the Portuguese Fathers, those of most substance, most confidence and

51 "Dizem *que para superior he mui teso, desconfiado, ... e que he altivo donde lhe vem fazer pouco caso dos outros, e dizem usa muito de ameaças quando he superior, por onde entendo não sera bem recebido por superior se não mudar o modo.*" However, he noted that he was a "father of many qualities, a very regular person, a good preacher, given that he is usually incisive, friend of the Society and a zealous keeper of rules, a good conversationalist, a complete man" [*padre de muitas partes, en sua pessoa muito regular, bom pregador posto que morde de ordinario, amigo da Companhia e zeloso da guarda das regras, de boa conversação, homem inteiro*]. Letter from Francisco Pires to the Portuguese Assistant, Macao, 12/10/1617, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 17, fl. 100v.

52 "Antigamente la ouve alguns queixumes de seu governo"; "na verdade a mor culpa entendi ser dos subditos *que* la estavam sem ordem religiosa e elle os metia em ordem." Rodrigues mentions that he had been reprimanded by Valentim Carvalho, for having shown he favoured Dias, in a letter to the Father General. Letter from João Rodrigues Tçuzu to the Father General, Macao, 22/1/1616, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 16 I, fls. 288-288v.

53 "Por seu principal *consultor*"; "muito caso de seu parecer como he razão." Letter from Francisco Pires to the Portuguese Assistant, Macao, 12/10/1617, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 17, fl. 100v. He still held that office in June of 1618. "3º Catalogo (...) dos Padres e Irmaons que estão no Collégio de Macao e Missão da Cochinchina (...), feito em Junho de 618". Dias was described as "preacher, confessor and advisor of the Province" [*pregador, confessor e Consultor da Província*]. *MHJ*, doc. 56, p. 781.

54 "Favorecido do *padre Visitador*, e particularmente se temerão muito quando entenderão que (...) queria aqui deixar por superior ao dito *Manuel Dias*"; "queixosos do *Padre Manuel Dias* senior de quando foi Reitor"; "padres mancebos"; "*que nada gostão do padre Manuel Dias.*" Letter from Francisco Pires to the Portuguese Assistant, Macao, 12/10/1617, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 17, fl. 100v.

more capabilities for other things, because of their lack of kindness, gentleness, and humility, are not fit to be superiors of this Province and these are Father Valentim Carvalho and Father Manoel Dias senior, (...) and because of this particular reason they caused trouble, especially Father Manoel Dias". It was crucial, he observed, "in the succession of the future Provincial, to get hold of other more docile, gentle fathers, even if in other aspects they were inferior to those two".⁵⁵ In another letter, the Visitor guaranteed that he was doing his best to "restrain these two good fathers but it seems to me that they are already too old to change their attitude and, the conditions they are used to, on their own account".⁵⁶ Dias' way of "proceeding with severity and harshness in administration" led to his admonition by the Visitor in 1618, who, nonetheless, foresaw that "as he is very rigid in his opinion, it will be difficult for him to change this, or in his particular dictates".⁵⁷

Vieira also made efforts to resolve the conflict between the two fathers, Dias and Carvalho, which had worsened since the latter arrived in Macao, in November 1614. In May of the following year, Afonso de Lucena (1551-1623) witnessed "the nasty manner the Provincial Father [Carvalho] has with Father Manuel Dias". He said that Carvalho complained openly that Dias did not please "any person in this college and that they all asked him [Carvalho] when he was still in Nangasaqui to move him and give them another Rector", as he was "arrogant, haughty, full of himself and his own opinion and judgement and he pays no heed to others and he is the cock wherever he is and does not tolerate any equal". However, Lucena warned that "speaking truthfully and dispassionately, there may be some of these things in Father Manuel Dias, but not as many as the Father Provincial [Carvalho] contends".⁵⁸

55 "Nesta Provincia ver *que* os melhores dous *Padres* portugueses alias de mais substancia, de mais confiança, e de mais partes *para* todas as outras cousas, *por* falta desta docilidade, e brandura, e de huã pouca de humildade, não servir[em] *para* superiores maiores desta Provincia e estes são o *Padre* Valentim Carvalho e o *Padre* Manoel Dias senior, (...) e *por* esta particular falta derão trabalho, mais ainda o *Padre* Manoel Dias"; "na sucessão do Provincial futuro lançar mão doutros *Padres* mais dociles e brandos, ainda *que* noutras partes inferiores a estes dous." Letter from Francisco Vieira to the Portuguese Assistant, Macao, 14/10/1616, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 17, fl. 16v

56 "Moderar estes dous *bons Padres* mas parece-me *que* são já de muita idade *para* mudar o pelejo, e as condições em *que* estão tão habituados e pagos de sy mesmos." Letter from Francisco Vieira to the Portuguese Assistant, Macao, January, 1617, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 17, fl. 63v.

57 "Proceder no governo teso e áspero"; "como he muy ferrado *com* seu parecer, difficultosamente se mudara *nem* disto, *nem* de seus particulares dictames." Letter from Francisco Vieira to the Father General, Japan, 15/9/1618, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 17, fls. 147-147v.

58 "Roim modo que tem o *Padre* Provincial [Carvalho] *com* o *Padre* Manuel Dias"; "a nenhum deste collegio e que todos lhe pedião [a Carvalho] estando ainda *em* Nangasaqui que o mudasse e lhe desse outro *Reitor*"; "soberano, altivo, confia muito *em* si e de seu parecer e juizo e não faz caso dos outros e que he galo aonde elle está e não sofre outro igoal"; "falando verdade e *sem* paixão pode ser *que* aja alguãs cousas destas no *padre* Manuel Dias, mas não tanto como o *padre*

During Vieira's inquiry into the causes of the dispute, Dias sent him a justification in 1616, which is included in another of 1619. Generally speaking, Dias portrayed himself as a victim of Carvalho, of his ill will, his slander and his persistent antagonism.⁵⁹ He reported that, since Carvalho's arrival in Macao in 1601, it was known that "he does not get on with me". Later, when Dias had gone to mainland China, it was commonly said that "father [Carvalho] had me sent into exile because he does not like me".⁶⁰ Alessandro Valignano himself questioned whether the problems between the two priests went further back, having asked Dias "if we had in Portugal ... some meeting, which had caused him to be upset by me, and treated me as he did, to which I replied that we had none. And Father Alessandro knows full well that here I gave him no occasion to show me such ill will as he did at that time, which even his friends noticed".⁶¹ Dias presented a long list of accusations, which included Carvalho's persecution of his friends,⁶² the rumours

Provincial pinta." Letter from Afonso de Lucena to the Portuguese Assistant, Macao, 13/5/1615, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 16 I, fl. 190.

59 According to Dias, the "failings" ["faltas"] that Carvalho "has in his virtues" ["tem nas vertudes"], the "the false and ill sounding statements he gave to the Institute of the Society" ["proposições que disse falsas e mal soantes ao Instituto da Companhia"] and the "disorder he caused in the administration" ["desordens que fez no governo"], were aspects with which he "has clearly upset, offended and distressed the members of the residence; scandalised those outside it; damaged the Society in temporal and spiritual matters"; discredited its good name; and destroyed the province in everything (...) and with such a man, it is clear, nobody can agree except one just like him, nor should one, if he is a son of the Society" ["tem notavelmente desconsolado, desidificado, e perturbado os de casa; escandalizado os de fora; danificado a Companhia no temporal e espiritual; desacreditado no bom nome; e destruido a provincia em tudo (...) e com semelhante homem, bem se ve, ninguem pode concordar se não quem for tal como elle, nem deve se he filho da Companhia."] Letter from Manuel Dias Sênior, Macao, 16/12/1619, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 161 I, fl. 47v. In April, 1619, Dias wrote to the Portuguese Assistant, about the "removal of Father Valentim Carvalho which seems very necessary to me" ["mudança do padre Valentim Carvalho que aponto me parece mais necessaria"], alleging that amongst other things, "he can do little in the province other than preach here, a ministry in which he scandalises with his satires rather than instructing" ["pouco pode fazer na provincia mais que pregar aqui, ministerio com que escandaliza mais por suas satyras nele, do que edifica"] (Letter from Manuel Dias Sênior to the Portuguese Assistant, Macao, 6/4/1619, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 161 I, fl. 31).

60 "Não esta ele bem comigo"; "correntemente la fora"; "me mandava o padre desterrado por nam gostar de mim." Letter from Manuel Dias Sênior, Macao, 16/12/1619, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 161 I, fl. 47.

61 *Ibid.*, fl. 47v.

62 "Se tiveramos nos em Portugal ... algum encontro, per que elle estivesse sentido de mim, e me tratasse como tratara? a que respondi que nenhum, como não tivemos. E bem soube o Padre Alexandre lhe não dei eu aqui ocasião alguã para me ter tam ma vontade como mostrou naquelle tempo, de que ate seus amigos o notarão." When in November 1614, Carvalho had returned from Japan to Macao, "a nobleman here told me that he did not know why but that no man from amongst my friends met with the favour of the Father Provincial" ["me disse aqui hum fidalgo, nam sabia que era mas que nenhum homem dos meus amigos cahia em graça ao

that he spread,⁶³ the discredit and a whole set of injuries and attacks,⁶⁴ for which “we all know, friars have given their superiors beatings, knifings, and poisons for far less and smaller”⁶⁵. Public preaching was even used as a stage for much of this verbal abuse⁶⁶, as Dias considered “whoever in the pulpit of the Gospel says such things in public, one can see how many and what kind of things he will have spoken in private conversation, and that, according to those who deal with him, his is more muttering than conversation.” Alleging that he had patiently borne these grievances, he predicted that because Carvalho insisted “on saying these things, I fear that some day I shall lose

Padre Provincial”]. Some stopped speaking to Dias, “because the Father would react badly if he found out” [“porque o Padre se o soubesse o tomara mal”] (*Ibid.*, fls. 47-47v). Francisco Pires also recounts that he had heard “that Father Couros had lost the love of some for have treated Father Manuel Dias in such a familiar way, knowing how disliked the said Manuel Dias was in this college” [“que o padre Couros perdera aqui o amor dalgus por tratar tan familiar mente com o padre Manuel Dias, sabendo quam malquistado era o dito Manuel Dias neste collegio”] (Francisco Pires to the Portuguese Assistant, Macao, 12/10/1617, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 17, fl. 100v). João Rodrigues Tçuzu himself, as was mentioned in note 52, told how he had been reprimanded by Carvalho for having shown favour towards Dias. Cf. letter from João Rodrigues Tçuzu to the Father General, Macao, 22/1/1616, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 16 I, fls. 288-288v.

63 In 1615, Carvalho had spread the rumour that Dias would be sent away from Macao, namely to Cochinchina. Even though he failed to carry this out, Carvalho succeeded in “at least avenging himself by declaring this” [“polo menos se vingar com os declarar”]. *Ibid.*, fl. 47.

64 For example, even in 1614, Carvalho “asked if there would be a Congregation of students... I was then Rector of this College, I said that only if there were enough people, but with so few, no... He ordered it: and then said at a consultation in which I was present, that those Congregations already belonged to the Institute of the Society, and thus that whoever does not wish to see them, goes against him (...) preaching at his party he said the same and added whoever is displeased by this, should recognise his error” [“consultou se faria huã Congregaçam d’estudantes... Eu era então Reitor deste Collegio, disse que so, se ouvesse gente, mas com tam pouca que não... Elle ordenou-a: e disse depois nuã consulta em que eu estava, que estas Congregações pertencem já ao Instituto da Companhia, e assi que quem as nam quer, vai contra elle. (...) pregando na sua festa disse o mesmo, e acrecentou / por onde quem se não contenta della, conheça seu erro”]. *Ibid.*, fl. 48v.

65 “Todos sabemos, derão já frades a seus superiores pancadas, facadas, e peçonhas por muito menos e menores.” *Ibid.*, fl. 47v.

66 In a sermon in which Dias had appealed to the unity of the city of Macao, which was divided into two factions, Carvalho immediately contradicted him “why should we want everyone to be united, for the vessel would overturn if everyone stayed on the same side. And everyone understood that he was opposing what I had preached” [“para que queremos todos unidos, porque se viraria a nao se todos pendessem a hum bordo. E todos entenderão contrariava o que eu tinha pregado”]. When preaching at the Misericórdia, Carvalho made an ironic comment about the seat on which Dias sat to preach “because of a certain indisposition I have” [“por certa indisposição que tenho”]. In Lent, 1619, when Dias was analysing a passage from the Book of Revelation, a few days later, facing the same audience, Carvalho declared “disdainfully / that is not what it means: let the scripture be read as it should / and he explained it in his own way.” [“com desdem / não quer dizer isto: declarem a escritura como se há-de declarar / e explicou a seu modo”]. *Ibid.*, fls. 47v-48.

patience and (...) shall do or say something to him, which he has so often deserved".⁶⁷

Despite the efforts of the Visitor, the differences of opinion between Dias and Carvalho were never resolved. As Manuel Lopes attested, in 1624, a year before Carvalho left for Goa, the two priests, plus Gabriel de Matos (1572-1634) "none of them get on well with each other, as they are all too haughty: and none wants to give in to another".⁶⁸

Dias continued in Macao until 1622, when he was appointed to visit the mission in China. He arrived in September,⁶⁹ and in April of the following year was in Hangzhou.⁷⁰ In December 1624, the Visitor Jerónimo Rodrigues Sênior (g. November 1622-July 1626) mentioned having ordered Dias "to end the visit as it was already becoming lengthy"⁷¹. That same year he prepared a "Ratio Studiorum for our members who should study the letters and language of China".⁷² In March 1625, he was still in Hangzhou.⁷³ In 1629, he was in Shanghai, as companion to the father Pedro Ribeiro, when the Visitor André Palmeiro (g. July 1626-1635) arrived there. Seeing him "so deaf, and subject to that ill", he resolved to take him back to Macao with him.⁷⁴

In April, on the death of Palmeiro, Manuel Dias succeeded him in the office of Visitor, as determined by the Father General, in December, 1632 and

67 "Quem no pulpito do Evangelho dis estas cousas publicamente bem se ve quantas e quaes tera dito nas cadeiras da conversaçam em secreto, e mais quando a sua, segundo dizem os que o tratão, mais he murmuração que conversação"; "em dizer estas cousas, de temer he me falte algum dia a paciencia e (...) diga ou faça junto, o que elle mereceo tantas vezes." *Ibid.*, fl. 48v.

68 "Nenhum delles se corre hum com o outro, por serem todos demaziadamente altivos: e nenhum querer ceder hum ao outro." Letter from Manuel Lopes to the Portuguese Assistant, Macao, 16/11/1624, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 18 I, fl. 40v.

69 Cf. letter from Manuel Dias Júnior to the Father General, Beijing, 20/7/1622, ARSI, Jap. Sin. 161 II, fl. 63; letter from Alfonso Vagnone to the Father General, Macao, 1/11/1622, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 161 II, fl. 67. In June 1622, he said he was ready to enter China with Fathers Adam Schall and Rodrigo de Figueiredo, waiting only for the arrival of brother Pascoal Mendes. Cf. Manuel Dias Sênior, "Relação do porque não forão ate'gora os soldados que el Rey da China pedio a cidade de Amacao", Macao, 20/6/1622, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 161 I, fl. 62.

70 Letter from Manuel Dias Sênior to the Visitor Jerónimo Rodrigues Sênior, Hangzhou, 3/4/1623, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 161 II, fls. 81-82v.

71 "Que conclua com a visita pois vai sendo ja comprida." Letter from Jerónimo Rodrigues Sênior to the Father General, Macao, 10/12/1624, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 18 I, fl. 44.

72 "Ratio Studiorum para os nossos que ham-de Estudar as letras e lingua da China." BA 49-V-7, fls. 310v-315. On this "Ratio Studiorum" see Liam Brockey, *Journey to the East: the Jesuit Mission to China, 1579-1724*, Cambridge-London, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007, pp. 256-257.

73 Cf. Francisco Furtado, China's Annual Letter for 1624, Hangzhou, 17/4/1625, BA 49-V-6, fl. 176v.

74 "Tão surdo, e sogeito a esse mal." Letter from André Palmeiro to the Father General, Macao, 1629 (?), ARSI, Jap.Sin. 161 II, fl. 130v.

on specific orders from Palmeira himself, whilst on his deathbed, that if he were appointed, Dias should actually occupy the post. He argued that “being deaf, was not a sufficient impediment... in his judgement and understanding he was very whole: he was a very exemplary man, and regular, he had control of religion and the rules”. Thus when Dias requested leave, on the grounds of physical weakness, it was refused.⁷⁵ According to the rector of Macao, António Francisco Cardim (g. August, 1632-May, 1636), amongst the fathers consulted there were those who wished to accept Dias’ excuses, alleging that his previous rule had been “very harsh, and that the two occasions on which he had been rector of that College he had done so with little satisfaction, and that the things of Japan would end completely; and that it was a discredit to the Society that a man whose days were over should be Visitor”. Even so, Cardim affirmed that in the end “his election [would be] well accepted in the College and the City, because even though the priest was very old and deaf, everyone recognised his great wisdom, high virtue and vast experience. We can only, with reason, fear he may not last long, because of his great age”, the rector claimed, obviously exaggerating in relation to the general consensus as to Dias’ appointment, as subsequent events clearly reveal.⁷⁶

Indeed, his rule was suddenly interrupted half way through October 1639, in the midst of an unusual commotion at the college, when a rival faction declared his deposition.⁷⁷ This faction was led by the provincial Gaspar Luís (1586-?), Alexandre de Rhodes (1593-1660), Giovanni Antonio Rubino (1578-1643)⁷⁸ and the brother Manuel Figueiredo (1622-1655?). This group proceeded to the closure of his cubicle, the destruction of the office furniture where Dias kept his documents, and the inquiry into the contents, alleging

75 “O ser surdo, não era impedimento bastante... no juízo e entendimento estava muito inteiro: era homem muito exemplar, e regular, teria mão na religião e regras.” Letter from António Francisco Cardim to the Father General, Macao, s.d., ARSI, Jap.Sin. 161 II, fl. 159.

76 “Muito aspero, e em duas vezes que fora Reitor deste Collegio o fizera com pouca satisfação, e que as couzas de Japão totalmente acabarião; e que era descredito da Companhia ser Visitador hum homem que já caducava”; “no Collegio e Cidade muito aceita esta eleição, porque ainda que o Padre esta muito velho, e surdo reconhecem todos nelle muita prudencia, muita virtude, muita experiencia. So podemos com rezão temer nos dure pouco tempo, pella muita idade que tem.” *Ibid.*, fls. 159v-160.

77 According to the accusation of Bartolomeu de Roboredo (1607-1647), Dias’ nephew and compatriot (cf. letter from António Ferreira to the Father General, s.l., 28/1/1654, ARSI, Jap. Sin. 162, fl. 9v), that brother had planned the deposition of the Visitor well in advance, using his authority as a doctor to invoke Dias’ physical weakness and the need for him to be kept from the affairs of the Office, “because it would kill him, as he was could do nothing” [“porque era mata-llo, que não estava para nada”]. With the same pretext, he tried, in vain, to persuade Roboredo to advise him to withdraw from the office. Letter from Bartolomeu de Roboredo to the Father General, Macao, 8/11/1639, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 18 I, fls. 185-186.

78 Rubino succeeded Dias as Visitor.

that he had stolen letters.⁷⁹ Dias' death, a month and a half later, was most likely precipitated by this episode, which Álvaro Semedo, six years later, described as "such a serious, public and scandalous case" that was still "very fresh and very much regretted by both outsiders and those within the residence".⁸⁰

Acronyms and Abbreviations

ARSI – Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (Roma).

CACM – *Cartas Ânuas do Colégio de Macau (1594-1627)*, ed. João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, Macau, CTMCDP-Fundação Macau, 1999

DI – *Documenta Indica*, ed. Joseph Wicki, S.J., Roma, IHSI, 1948-1988.

FR – *Fonti Ricciane: Storia dell'Introduzione del Cristianesimo in Cina, scritta da Matteo Ricci*, ed. Pasquale D'Elia, S.J., 3 vols., Roma, 1942-1949.

MHJ – *Monumenta Historica Japoniae*, ed. Josef Franz Schutte, Roma, 1975.

OS – *Opere Storiche del P. Matteo Ricci*, ed. P. Pietro Tacchi Venturi, S.J., Macerata, 1911-1913.

79 Cf. letter from Bartolomeu de Roboredo to the Father General, Macao, 4/11/1639, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 18 I, fls. 183-184; letter from Bartolomeu de Roboredo to the Father General, Macao, 8/11/1639, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 18 I, fls. 185-186.

80 "Hum cazo tam grave, tam publico, e tam escandaloço"; "mui fresco e mui sentido assi dos de fora como dos de caça". He ended "I just hope to see what punishment is given" ["so espero ver *que* castigo se da"]. Letter from Álvaro Semedo, Macao, 20/11/1645, ARSI, Jap.Sin. 161 II, fl. 298v.