Magestosa, *Misteriosa*, *e Notável*: The Acclamation of Dom João IV in Macau in 1642

ABSTRACT: This article examines the acclamation of King João IV at Macau in 1642, with special attention to an account of the pageantry that followed the arrival of the news from Portugal. The discussion has three parts. One considers the colony's social and religious climate in the years leading up to the event. The next looks into the dramatic change of mood that followed in its wake. The third part investigates the well-known source describing the ceremonies. The contrast between a colony rent by division and one united by common purpose is so striking that it raises important questions about the historical source that describes the acclamation.

KEYWORDS: Macau, King João IV of Portugal, Jesuits, processions, political ritual

RESUMO: Este artigo analisa a aclamação de D. João IV em Macau em 1642, dando especial atenção ao relato das cerimónias que se seguiram à recepção da notícia vinda de Portugal. O texto divide-se em três partes: a primeira considera o clima social e religioso do território de Macau nos anos que antecederam o evento em estudo; a segunda analisa a dramática mudança de ambiente político que se seguiu; a terceira debruça-se sobre a análise de uma das fontes mais conhecidas que relatam as cerimónias. O contraste entre a perspectiva de uma colónia dilacerada por divisões internas e uma outra aparentemente unida por um propósito comum é tão impressionante que levanta questões importantes sobre a fonte histórica que descreve a aclamação.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Macau, D. João IV de Portugal, Jesuítas, Procissões, Ritual Político

The acclamation of King João IV of Portugal at Lisbon on December 1, 1640, was an event with global consequences. News of the creation of a new royal dynasty was swiftly sent out to the distant territories of the Portuguese empire, although the new sovereign's acceptance was not guaranteed. Sixty years of Castilian rule and the prospect of a long struggle for independence against a powerful foe

gave pause to many of the new king's potential vassals. Seen from Macau, on the southern coast of China at the farthest edge of the Portuguese empire, Lisbon was distant; Manila, Spain's Asian outpost, was close at hand. A political rupture was sure to disturb or even destroy long-standing and mutually advantageous patterns of trade. So it was not a foregone conclusion that the news would convince the Portuguese of Macau to pledge their allegiance to D. João IV. But pledge they did, and in dramatic fashion, dispelling any doubt about the colony's place within the globe-spanning Portuguese empire.[1]

This discussion will address events in Macau in the late spring of 1642, when the news from a year and a half prior reached the China coast. The essay consists of three parts. The first examines the perilous conjuncture that the colony faced in the late 1630s and early 1640s, one marked by grave external challenges and internal upheaval. After assessing the various conflicts that roiled Macau until the moment when the news arrived, the essay describes the lavish ceremonies that were staged over the summer months to demonstrate the colony's loyalty to King João IV. More than simply a display of political loyalty and social cohesion, the pageantry gave the fractious colonists an opportunity to set aside their disputes and reimagine their place within the renewed empire. The third part will consider whether the inhabitants of Macau really reconceived their world through public rituals and pageantry—or if the account of the acclamation ceremonies might have been part of an attempt to salvage the colony by whitewashing the numerous social fractures and challenges that Macau faced prior to 1642 and for many years afterward.

Act I: Typhoons Near and Far

The late 1630s and early 1640s were an anxious time for the Portuguese in Macau. No horizon promised peace or prosperity. Looking north into the Ming Empire, famine and social unrest roiled China while raids from Manchuria pushed ever closer to the imperial capital. Looking east toward Japan, the trade in silver and silk that had enriched the colony had vanished. Looking south toward the Philippines and the Maluku Islands, competition in the spice trade had greatly diminished former Portuguese monopolies. And looking west toward India, Macau's traders could not see past the formidable Dutch blockades in the Singapore and Sunda Straits. For a city that had thrived on maritime trade, any disturbance of the patterns of commerce and communication that had lasted for a century spelled danger.[2]

A series of calamities had befallen Macau and its East Asian trading network. The colony's principal trade route stretched to Nagasaki, where its merchants exchanged silk for silver. Despite the rigorous persecutions that had ravaged the Christian population over a span of two decades, this trade had continued. News of gruesome tortures of priests, brothers, and laymen and -women had created a cult of martyrs whose memory and heroism were celebrated in Macau.[3] But the final phase of the crackdown against undercover priests in Japan in the mid-1630s prompted further strictures on the Portuguese, who were suspected of trafficking in Christian contraband. By 1636, Macau's merchants were restricted to Dejima Island in Nagasaki Harbor. This turn of events caused discord in the colony as Crown officials and merchants squared off over how best to remedy the looming curtailment of trade. By 1637, the city was in open revolt against the officials, who had sailed for Goa to seek relief (Souza 1986, 41–42). While they were gone, the Portuguese were expelled from Japan in 1639 and told never to venture there again. Not wanting to believe that the trade was truly at an end, the city of Macau sent an embassy to appeal the harsh judgment. But the sentence was final. The four ambassadors and fifty-seven men in their train were beheaded at Nagasaki in August 1640.[4]

When the news reached Macau in late September, the embassy's violent end was seen as an act of Christian witness. The city's clergy staged elaborate displays to celebrate the new paladins of the faith: a *Te Deum* was sung at the cathedral while bells tolled in the city's parishes and artillery salvos were fired from the city's fortifications. According to an account written by the Jesuit António Francisco Cardim (ca. 1596–1659), "on the following twenty days *luminarias* were displayed every night on the houses of the principal citizens and those of the families and relatives of the Servants of God, in addition to many that were displayed on the same nights on the convents of the religious orders. And on three nights, by public announcement from the city, there were *luminarias* throughout the city which were very beautiful, as well as horse races and ring jousting [*manilha*]." On the feast of the Virgin of the Rosary, October 7, an *encamisada* (a nighttime horseback parade) was held in addition to "many good concerts in the streets of the city on various nights, during which the relatives and friends of the Servants of God celebrated." The only thing lacking was a procession for the martyrs. Plans for such a celebration had been made, but the governor of the bishopric, heeding Pope Urban VIII's 1625 prohibition of unauthorized public cults of holy men and women, quashed the idea.[5] Nevertheless, he drew up a

report of the martyrs for Rome in order to lay the ground for the martyrs' eventual beatification. Moreover, according to Cardim's account of the celebrations in his *Relação*, "The council, as the embodiment of the city, and the Reverend Father Governor went to visit the wives, sons, and daughters of the ambassadors at their homes to congratulate them for such good fortune and to offer to take care of their families, as they have done, because for the good of that Republic they were left without husbands and without parents" (Cardim 1643, n.p.).

Despite these pious displays of public mourning, tensions in the city ran high as it became more isolated. Cut off from Japan, Macau sought succor from India. But the route to Goa was blocked in January 1641 when the Dutch seized Malacca, and reports of that disaster did not take long in reaching the China coast. As if that were not enough, various rumors abounded, inflaming different factions. Among them were reports (confirmed by the final Japan voyages) that some priests had apostatized and even served the Tokugawa regime as interpreters.[6] This scandal brought shame upon the Jesuits, the most important religious order in the city. Matters were not helped by the Macau Jesuits' internal feuds in the late 1630s and early 1640s. Their leadership ranks were roiled by division. In an episode in 1639, one faction moved to depose the representative of the superior general of the Society of Jesus in East Asia, Visitor Manuel Dias (1559–1639), and replace him with one of their own number. In the words of a member of the losing group, "The Society lost a large part of its good name in this city with all of these affairs."[7]

The victory of one Jesuit faction did not herald peace for Macau's religious orders. Intrigues and disputes between the men of the Society of Jesus and their peers seemed a constant feature of city life in the early 1640s. The Franciscans took umbrage at a Jesuit preacher's public disdain for their order's famed schoolman Duns Scotus (1265–1308). They also issued a complaint to the local commissioner of the Inquisition about Jesuit missionary methods employed inside China—an early salvo in the Chinese Rites controversy.[8] And in January 1642, the gravest crisis among the city's religious orders exploded. A few years before, the Franciscan friar acting as governor of the bishopric had detained a Goan cleric named Paulo Teixeira. When Teixeira was ordered to embark for exile in India, the commissioner of the Inquisition, Jesuit Gaspar Luís (1586–ca. 1647), blocked his banishment, starting yet another public feud.[9] When the Goan priest escaped from his prison cell into the Jesuit college, the conflict began in earnest. Threats of excommunication were hurled by various participants. Interdicts were placed on local churches. The Inquisition's representative imprisoned his critics for

weeks and threatened them with exile. One Jesuit observer confessed to his superiors in Rome that "all the blame for this controversy began with our men," ending with another embarrassing schism.[10] The upheaval, which included groups of armed city folk supporting the rival religious orders, lasted until April 1642, even after all of the orders signed a truce in mid-March. On the last day of April, Antonio Rubino (1578–1643), one of the major protagonists in this unseemly story and a divisive figure in local politics, sailed away from Macau.[11] Despite his position as the senior member of his order in East Asia, this Italian Jesuit—disguised as a Chinese merchant—left for Manila to seek passage to Japan, the site of his martyrdom less than a year later.[12]

Act II: Light through the Clouds

Amid this political and religious strife in the colony, a royal emissary disembarked at the end of May 1642 with news from Portugal. This man was António Fialho Ferreira (ca. 1590–1646), a merchant from Sesimbra who had first come to Macau about 1616 and, over the span of two decades, made a considerable fortune in the Japan trade.[13] From the few documents that have survived about his family and business activities, it is possible to consider him as part of the middling ranks of the colony's commercial elite, with strong ties to local religious institutions (Penalva 2008, 191–95).[14] In 1637, Ferreira left Macau on a dramatic globe-spanning journey to seek relief for the colony during that year's upheaval.[15] He first headed to Goa, the capital of the Estado da Índia, to petition the viceroy. Unsuccessful there, in 1639 he ventured to address himself to King Philip IV of Spain (Philip III of Portugal) at Madrid. Although the Crown paid no mind to his concerns, Ferreira had a stroke of luck before leaving Europe empty-handed. At Lisbon, where he had gone seeking preferment from the Inquisition, he found himself in the right place at the right time.[16] That is, he was at the Portuguese capital on December 1, 1640, just in time to witness the palace coup in which the Duke of Bragança was acclaimed king. Within weeks, Ferreira had won a place as the new king's representative to his most far-flung colony, sailing back to Asia with good tidings and generous promises of reward for those who submitted themselves as vassals to the new monarch.[17] The king's emissary had of course secured his own valuable prizes in advance for his precious services to the Crown.[18]

António Fialho Ferreira arrived at the end of May 1642 from Batavia in a Dutch ship. That ship's unannounced appearance in the colony's harbor raised

not inconsiderable alarm (A. Ferreira 1643, 3–4). According to one account of Ferreira's return, however, a rumor that something had happened in Portugal had preceded him: "There had been letters from some of our people who wintered in the Kingdoms of Siam and Cambodia, giving word from the Dutch who said that we had a King in Portugal, namely the Duke of Bragança. But since the news came from such mouths, there was always room for doubt."[19] Ferreira disembarked on the far side of the colony under the walls of the Fortaleza do Monte, intending to visit the captain-general of the garrison before heading into the city's heart to address the Senado, the municipal council. Contemporary reports mention that he arrived in disguise and held "secret talks with trustworthy people to learn about the state of the land and the city" (Araújo 1644, 236v). Convinced to proceed with his announcement on May 30, he urged the captain-general and the heads of the ecclesiastical institutions to gather with the city council.[20] Before the assembled audience, he recounted his journey to Madrid, averring disillusionment at "that fantastic court and its enchanted government, where the King hears and does not speak, and his councilors neither speak nor want to hear." He then described his arrival in Lisbon just before the momentous events of December 1640 (239r/v). As he reached the climax of his speech describing the acclamation of King João IV, Ferreira declared: "This legitimate King, Restorer, and Monarch of ours sent me, illustrious Senate, to this city as the bearer of such happy news, to make known the affection that he bears for you, and to distribute here the fruits of its flourishing." And, to close, the rallying cry: "Viva El Rey D. João o IV! Viva El Rey nosso Restaurador do cativeiro Castelhano! Viva! Viva!" (240v).

This first speech to the civil and ecclesiastical authorities launched a series of public displays that lasted for the next three months. Descriptions of these events reveal a dramatic shift in Macau, as if the reverses of the preceding years had been immediately forgotten—at least for the summer of 1642. In the aggregate, the processions, sermons, *festas*, and parades communicated a restoration not simply of a Portuguese king but also of his global empire to its rightful sovereign. In the colonial mindset manifested by the celebrations in Macau, one sees the desire for a return to the past—unbridled prosperity returned; unchallenged naval prowess returned; alien rulers bending the knee to the Portuguese king as before.[21]

A report of the various celebrations composed by João Marques Moreira, "apostolic protonotary and royal chaplain" in the colony, was published at

Lisbon in 1644. Moreira wrote vividly about how these festivities communicated—at least to the city's inhabitants—the dream of an imperial restoration in the midst of crisis. His text, describing the various ceremonies that took place between June and August 1642, presents a great amount of detail about the political and religious rituals that took place in the streets of Macau.[22] Similar to accounts of public celebrations in other cities of the Portuguese empire (such as Rio de Janeiro, Goa, and Cochin), this report sought to demonstrate the public outpouring of support for the new king (Curto 2011, 259–69; Roe 2022). As should be expected, the events at Macau were shown as reflecting the society that staged them. Different groups took turns in affirming their presence in the city, from the highest social ranks to the lowest. But there was also a distinct intention to make these displays spectacular, or, in Moreira's words, *magestosa* and *notável*.[23] The third quality he attributed to them—that they were also *misteriosa*—is more obscure. Moreira may have intended to underscore the divine nature of the empire's restoration, employing a theological frame appropriate for a churchman. As he states in his introduction, the array of challenges facing Macau before 1642 was, "in the opinion of many, that the Heavens had joined the fight against its residents with commotion and fears of its total ruin." But it was at precisely that moment that "the wisest of the wise, God" chose to intervene, bringing the happy news "converting their paltry luck and monstrous lot into general applause" (Moreira 1644, 1). Such a volte-face was nothing short of mysterious, an inscrutable judgment from on high.

The ceremonies began the day after António Fialho Ferreira's speech to the city council with the formal signing of loyalty oaths to the king by the city's principal magistrates. To commemorate this act, "many braziers and bonfires" were planned throughout the city for the period beginning on Pentecost (June 8) and continuing until Trinity Sunday (June 15), the day indicated for a public ceremony of oath-swearing of colonial officials. A thanksgiving procession that would bring together all the secular and regular clergy was also planned, as well as the unveiling of the Holy Sacrament, "for which the Cathedral would be decorated with all pomp and majesty."[24] Specific squares and streets "of greater traffic" were chosen for "bull-fighting, horse racing, masquerades, and plays." João Aranha de Pedrosa, the sergeant-major, was sent with fifty soldiers to post notices of the coming events (Moreira 1644, 5).

The city council and other institutions moved swiftly to act on these plans. "At the beginning of June," Moreira wrote, "the city government ordered the

royal standard with the Quinas do Reyno to be raised in various places and public sites." The captain-general, Sebastião Lobo da Silveira, likewise ordered the flag to be raised above the Fortaleza do Monte, with artillery and musketry adding emphasis to the display. According to Moreira's report, "throughout the city the bells of the churches and towers pealed their responses to each salvo, and horns at city hall played refrains in such a way that hearts thumped with pleasure and joy." As during the celebration of the sixty-one martyrs in 1640, *luminarias* were placed throughout the city, some made with "epigraphs, emblems, and hieroglyphs" that projected onto the streets. In their zeal to restore their reputation after the scandals of the preceding months, the Jesuits unfurled on the façade of their college church an enormous portrait of the king, who was depicted "atop six steps, with twelve lions with tongues of fire at each end of the steps, and with a sword in his right hand and a standard with the royal arms in his left, and on the left and right sides there appeared the six provinces of Portugal with the cities of each indicated by labels" (6–7).[25] Only rainstorms managed to dampen the popular enthusiasm, pushing the oath ceremony back a week to June 20. A theater was constructed outside city hall for the occasion. The structure was richly decorated with a scepter, crown, and cross all made of silver. After the diverse civic and ecclesiastical officials swore their oaths to the king, a gaggle of students from the Jesuit college entered the theater to dance "with such grace and skill as could compete with the most skillful dancers in Portugal" (9).

The weeks that followed were punctuated with various displays of civic and national pride. Different groups of commoners formed impromptu militias to demonstrate their skills at musketry and other soldierly accomplishments, parading about in silks and feathers. Other festivities included *largadas de touros* and an *encamisada* where all the noble participants dressed in Moorish style, decorating their exotic attire with splendid jewels. The most remarkable display, according to Moreira, was a parade held on the night of July 7 by a group of 120 young noblemen born in Macau. This cavalcade, which began at the Convent of São Francisco and ended at the Jesuit college, was led by "a youth bearing the royal arms." The standard-bearer was followed by dancers who represented "townsmen and rustics," accompanied by music that Moreira described as "very happy sounding" (21).

The next section of this parade consisted of groups that represented the different nations of Asia, each offering homage to the new king of Portugal. Each was identified by national styles of dress, dance, and music. Here one sees a

"correct" order of Asia, at least in the minds of Macau's colonial inhabitants. The first "national" group was composed of "Chinese, with many greater and lesser mandarins, representing those who govern China, with labels written in Chinese characters," as well as *upos*, the mandarins' attendants, who beat drums and played horns to clear the way for their masters. The second group was made up of native Japanese, "exiled from that kingdom years ago for the faith," carrying parasols and great lanterns and wearing "kimonos with golden roses and embroidery." The third group consisted of two lines of "Persians, with lustrous gowns, turbans on their heads, and scimitars in their belts," and the fourth of "two lines of Dutchmen, richly dressed with the symbol and arms of Holland, short cloaks, with pants in their style, hats, swords, and stockings of their type, all of which were very striking and very gallant." The final group put on a show "with more flourish" than the other groups: two lines of archers proceeded alongside them, as well as "a living figure on horseback who represented Royal Majesty, with a scepter in the hand and a crown on the head, richly decorated with many jewels and sundry diamonds, rubies, emeralds, large and small pearls." So taken were the observers and participants in this parade with the music and dancing that the festivities lasted until "four in the morning of the following day" (21–24).

To be sure, the "parade of nations" did not come to an end on the morning of July 8. According to Moreira, the slaves of the Portuguese residents of the São Lourenço parish petitioned the city council to stage their own *pavonada*. Granted permission, they appeared in crimson robes, bearing the "arms, drums, muskets, and harquebuses of their masters." To recognize their desire to participate in the feasting "and to avoid their being disappointed"—the paternalistic tone of this source is unmistakable—the city council paid for powder for their gunpowder. The slaves ran through the streets to hold muster in front of the Senado, obeying the orders of their appointed commanders and following the directions of trumpet blasts. At the tail end of this militia appeared a slave from southeastern Africa, owned by the Jesuits, who was dressed as "one of the kings of the coast of Melinde or Mombasa" (25–26).[26] This figure wore an elaborate headdress with rooster feathers and brought along a bow and arrows that were carried by two boys in his train. Standing before city hall, this last "nation" shouted its *vivas* for the new king (25–26).

On July 16, in an attempt to ensure that all the city's Portuguese residents had sworn allegiance to the new king, Captain-General Sebastião Lobo da Silveira

organized a military parade to summon all of the stragglers. Accompanied by drums and flutes and "some officers and soldiers from the presidio," he announced that all who had yet to swear should proceed to the Casa da Câmara to do so. Moreira notes that among the holdouts was an "honorable citizen," one of the *casados* (married men, that is, the social elite) of the city, a man from Galicia "who had served the Crown of Castile for many years" (26).[27] Having sworn loyalty to his king at the time, this individual was afflicted by a case of scruples that prevented him from swearing a new oath to João IV. Unaware of his scruples, the citizens of Macau had seized him and dragged him to the fortress, "loaded down in irons," until he explained his doubts and, to the city's relief, swore to be loyal to the king of Portugal. Captivated by this display of vassalage, Moreira remarked on the miraculous force that had spurred all of the colony's inhabitants to express their loyalty: "Even children who still suckled at the breast, who could barely say father or mother, said from their nannies' laps, long live King Dom João the fourth!" (27).

The feasting continued toward the end of July with yet another parade of youths. This time, on July 20, "a company of fifty students, both younger and older ones" from the schools run by the Dominicans and Augustinians, sallied forth to display their martial skills. According to Moreira, these students, led by their most dexterous peers, mustered at the square in front of the Church of Santo Agostinho and "to the tolling of the bells came marching through the squares and public streets of the city, aiming and firing slowly and in time volleys and *vivas* to the King our Lord." When they arrived at the Jesuit college, the students marched up its iconic steps to the sound of more tolling bells and were received by Jesuits who celebrated their skills and finery. Moreira averred that the students were especially proud of their performance since they had so few opportunities to parade about like that, and their brio "was born of the fervor of their blood, incited by their masters who had trained them in this military discipline" (28).

Not to be outdone, the students of the Jesuit college held their own festivities on the night of August 7, the end of the octave of the feast of St. Ignatius Loyola (July 31). This celebration appears similar to the general type that Jesuit colleges in the early modern period were known for around the world. Rhetorical exercises, songs, and dances were all typical in such affairs, and in contemporary Europe there were often elaborate plays on edifying themes drawn from classical or biblical antiquity and, sometimes, current events (such as martyrdoms).[28] Moreira recorded that the Jesuit students' celebration included "various

well-composed songs, with particularly ingenious themes," and that groups of students danced French and Portuguese dances while striking tambourines, all to the tune of violins and rebecs. These dancers were "all dressed gallantly, some in Portuguese style, others in French style, others in Persian style, others in Dutch style, others in rustic style, and others in Chinese style." Moreira made sure to remark that although the college had prepared its students to put on their show in honor of Ignatius Loyola, they readily adapted it to celebrate the new king as well: the "lyrics were in part in praise of him with acclamations of *viva*s to his royal person" (31).

Apparently the desire for pageantry was not exhausted; on August 8, the soldiers garrisoned at the Fortaleza do Monte mustered for another military parade through the city streets. Marching from the Jesuit church across town to the Dominican convent to the sound of tolling bells, they held muster in front of the municipal council "dressed variously in excellent silks, head wraps and straps on their waists with flasks and powder horns hung by silk straps, with feathers and costly medals on their hats." Marching five abreast through the city, they visited the convents of Santo Agostinho and São Francisco as well as the cathedral before returning to the fortress (32).

Finally, on August 10, the slaves from the city center and the parish of Santo António put on the last display described in Moreira's treatise, with the soldiers "all well dressed in various colored silks, many with swords and katanas at their waists" and their officers with "feathers in their hats, hatbands of gold and jewels, and gold and silver chains according to the wealth of their owners." At the end of this procession came a slave from southeast Africa who belonged to the wealthy merchant Francisco Carvalho Aranha and was dressed in chintz cloth pants and a gold-flecked turban with rooster feathers, "playing the role of one of the Kings of East Africa [*Cafraria*]." This figure carried a bow and arrows and was accompanied by three attendants, "who carried their axes at the waist, were naked from there up, and all painted with white sandal paste." Moreira remarked that this final display ended only when night fell, "which made them return to the houses of their masters satisfied and happy with the outcome, something to be esteemed in people of such status, all of whom came from various nations of the Orient, Southeast Africans, Bengalis, Malabaris, Malagasy, and many other nations that are not mentioned" (34).

Act III: Remarkable, Not Mysterious

How should this description of the royal acclamation at Macau be understood? This question has been asked before, owing to the rich descriptions found in João Marques Moreira's text (Curto 2009, 214; Krass 2017, 142). The images of a colonial cityscape lit by *luminarias*, of military displays full of pomp and pageantry, of religious processions conducted with great solemnity, of student performers dancing while dressed in exotic garb, and of slaves masquerading as soldiers and kings are all striking and compelling. Taken literally, they suggest a dramatic contrast from the internecine feuds of the years and months prior to early June 1642. But since it is unlikely that all the conflicts of the preceding decade simply disappeared with the acclamation of a new king, one is left to wonder to what extent these spectacles represented continuities rather than breaks with the past. To be sure, the subsequent years would not be marked by restoration of the Japan trade that had made the city prosper over the preceding century or by the return of Christianity in that once-flourishing mission territory.[29] Events in China would continue to grow worse for the old Ming regime, causing disruptions that verged on cataclysmic and whose repercussions would further isolate Macau. The chill in the colony's relations with Manila after the rupture of Iberian unity would likewise create challenges for the colony's traders.[30] Already in 1642, the governor of Manila informed Philip IV that one of Macau's factions proposed a return to Spanish rule in exchange for military protection and residency in Manila, a sign that the Portuguese colony was not unified in its embrace of the new king.[31] And the fights among the city's clergy and religious orders would resume in the late summer months of 1642, having diminished during what appears to have been a brief truce.[32]

Moreira's report also raises the question of other continuities specific to the events he describes. For instance, how was it possible to mount large-scale demonstrations of public jubilation on such short notice? Recall that the news came as a bolt from the blue: even though rumors had reached the colony via the Dutch in the months preceding the arrival of António Fialho Ferreira, those were not sufficient to spur Macau's citizens to mount the lavish displays described by Moreira. Note that fewer than three weeks passed between the arrival of the news and the first major celebration on June 20, a date chosen on account of the heavy rains in the earlier part of the month (Moreira 1644, 7). In the week that followed, city officials had staged bullfights, races, and military displays. And by July 7, just over a month after the news reached Macau, the students from the Jesuit

college had prepared their elaborate parade of nations through the city streets. All these displays suggest a level of coordination and theatrical planning beyond the capacity of an isolated colonial outpost, however rich it was.

If Moreira's account is taken at face value, it appears that upon hearing the news of the acclamation, the former foes suddenly stopped quarrelling and immediately began to work at a breakneck pace to prepare for the celebrations. He notes that the municipal council ordered the construction of a *teatro* in the heart of the city, stretching from the Casa da Câmara all the way to the church of São Domingos. It is unclear where the former city hall was, but if it was at the location of the eighteenth-century edifice known as the Leal Senado, that distance would have been an ambitious 180 meters. Moreira describes an impressive construction, one that was "large and spacious, with an upper part topped with white candles arrayed all around and sides covered with fine silk interwoven with red and white strands, as well as gold and blue, which made the whole a forest and garden of varied tones" (7). This structure was clearly built for the occasion, and it is apparent that the massive painting of João IV that hung from the façade of the Jesuit college was also produced in June 1642.

But what of the other forms of pageantry that are described in Moreira's *Relação*? Putting aside the displays of military skill organized by different groups, which share many similar characteristics and suggest contemporary clichés of soldierly bravado, one should focus instead on the more elaborate demonstrations. The attentive reader will have noticed the curious coincidence of nations represented during the July 7 parade and the August 7 show and the fact that both events involved *nobres mançebos naturais desta cidade*, that is, noble youths born in the city. These same youths were most likely students at the Jesuit college and would have been trained in singing, playing musical instruments, dancing, and putting on theatrical displays. While there are few descriptions of life at the Colégio de Madre de Deus in the 1630s—the unrelenting news of tragedy and scandal in Japan monopolized Jesuit attention at the time—there are other telling descriptions of what such students might have put on in a typical year.

The most vivid of these came from the pen of Peter Mundy, an English merchant who visited Macau in the autumn of 1637. Mundy's travel journal records various aspects of life in the colony, both in text and image, and includes special reference to the types of entertainments he witnessed. He mentions horse races and ring jousting as well as open-air theater put on for the occasion of the arrival of the Japan fleet on November 5. Mundy describes an outdoor stage that was

built to accommodate "a play perfformed by China boies," where he heard "their singuing somwhatt like to thatt in India, all in unison, keeping stroke and tyme with tabours and Copper vessels." He further remarks that such plays were routinely performed "uppon causes off rejoycing, as weddings, birth off Children, Feasts, etts."[33] Mundy also records that on November 25, he and other passengers from the English ship were invited to see a play put on by the students of the Jesuits' college. He noted that more than a hundred students were scheduled to act and that the play was "part of the liffe of their Much renowned Saint Francisco Xavier." Among the memorable scenes that Mundy recorded were "a China Daunce by Children in China habitt; A Battaille beetweene the Portugalls and the Dutch in a daunce, where the Dutch were overcome, butt withoutt any reproachfull speeche or Disgracefull action to thatt Nation." In addition to other dances with children of various ages, he particularly remembered the finale, "wherein one of them . . . shewed such Dexterity on a Drumme, tossing it aloft, turning and whirling it aboutt with such exceeding quicknesse, withall keeping toutch and stroke with the Musicke, thatt it was admireable to the beeholders" (Boxer 1984, 61).

Further, Mundy makes it clear that the student production was the fruit of Jesuit guidance and the generosity of the parents of the children. He asserts that the players were "ritchely adorned both in apparell and pretious Jewells, It beeing the Parentts care to sett them Forth For their owne content and Creditt, as it was for the Jesuitts to enstructe them." During the play itself, he avers, "the whole action was perfformed punctually, Not soe much as one among soe Many (although Children and the play long) was much outt of his part. For indeed there was a Jesuitt on the stage thatt was their Director as occasion offered" (62). In sum, many of the aspects necessary for staging a "parade of nations"—the largest-scale nonpolitical act described in Moreira's text—existed years before the news of the acclamation arrived at the colony. Fancy dress, skilled musicians, and singers and dancers trained in different varieties of music were all on hand for public ceremonies. Indeed, as in the case of the student soirée at the Colégio de Madre de Deus, Moreira asserts that ceremonies that were already scheduled for specific feasts were readily modified to serve the new political purpose as well as the normal devotional one.[34] The same spirit of adaptation was likely the reason members of the city's clergy were able to mount the major processions that Moreira described: the celebrations were held in mid-June, when the city was already engaged in plans for its annual Corpus Christi (Corpo de Deus) procession.[35]

It seems that João Marques Moreira's account of the acclamation festivities in Macau was far less *misteriosa* than his title suggests: with a few exceptions, such as the oath ceremony and the slave parades, the celebrations held in the colony were similar to other events staged in the preceding years.[36] What this implies is that Moreira himself crafted a text to send a message, one that insisted on the colony's internal harmony in contrast to the external challenges it faced. He closes his text with an evocation of the Wheel of Fortune, ever turning from prosperity to ruin and back again. At the news of the accession of Dom João IV, "all celebrated, the Christian, the heathen, the fidalgo, the nobleman, the squire, the plebeian." They did so, he wrote, "as those who now felt safe and free from the harm and violence suffered in India and elsewhere by the Portuguese vassals who, lacking a king, became captives and prisoners, not only of the nations of Europe, but also of this entire Orient." To be sure, Moreira continued, the Portuguese had lost "the best and most lucrative sites," which produced "floods of riches sufficient to make Portugal the richest kingdom in Europe." But the tide had turned. The city of Macau was Moreira's illustrative case: it was filled with "so much treasure in diamonds, rubies, pearls large and small, gold, silk, and musk," yet it was desperately poor, since "the people of this Kingdom of China hold none of these things in esteem, precious as they are, except silver." Silver was the one thing Macau lacked, making it like King Midas of antiquity, "who died of hunger sitting at a table replete with delicacies made of gold" (Moreira 1644, 35).

Why would Moreira elide the civic turmoil of the preceding years? On August 20, 1642, when he sealed his letter, he surely knew that it was yet unfinished. To answer this question, it is useful to know who João Marques Moreira was. Scholars have incorrectly labelled him a Jesuit or used the terms that he himself uses: *Padre* or *Prothonotairo Apostolico da Sua Santidade & capellão de Sua Magestade*.[37] Moreira indeed held both of those vague titles, but he was known most specifically in Macau as a notary in the service of the commissioner of the Inquisition. Indeed, he became well known on account of his zealous service on behalf of the commissioner, Gaspar Luís—and, after February 1642, Gaspar do Amaral (1594–1646), another Jesuit. Accordingly, Moreira's name appears in many contemporary documents related to the turbulent discord between the religious orders in Macau. Unsatisfied by the truce agreement of the spring of 1642, the Franciscan governor of the bishopric began compiling testimony about the commissioner's misdeeds to forward to the Inquisition's supreme council in Lisbon.[38] That

testimony, including orders produced by Gaspar Luís and Gaspar do Amaral as well as depositions given by different witnesses and participants in the affair, reveals that Moreira was a crucial adjunct to the Jesuit commissioner. Not only did he prepare documents in his role as notary but he also served as an enforcement agent, delivering orders and proclamations as well as traversing the city to tear down notices posted by the governor of the bishopric.[39] While not a Jesuit, Moreira was a member of the Jesuits' faction. He was clearly in league with Gaspar Luís and Visitor Antonio Rubino.[40]

It is plain, then, that Moreira's *Relação* reflects the Jesuit position on the events of the summer months. His text gives no indication of conflicts among the various religious orders and clergy participating in the celebrations, as it mentions events at the different convents and the college and praises each group's efforts. Such an irenic view was far from what one would expect from the Jesuit protagonists in the conflict (or, to be sure, from their Mendicant antagonists). In this regard the text was mysterious, at least according to one early modern Portuguese dictionary: "Misterioso, tambem se diz das cousas prophanas, politicas, moraes, militares, &c. quando a conveniencia, ou outra razão obriga a que se occulte alguma circunstancia dellas" (Mysterious: this is also said of profane, political, moral, military, etc. affairs when out of convenience or for another reason it is necessary for some aspect of them to be hidden) (Bluteau 1712–28, 5:514).

Moreira's text was therefore *misterioso* in what it obscured from readers in Lisbon. That was not the work of the Almighty but rather a political calculation. An anonymous account of the fight among the religious orders, written in November 1642, hints at what happened. This text, clearly written by an ally of the Jesuits and the Inquisition, recounts how by August the climate was once again becoming explosive and that the city's secular authorities were concerned about how Macau would be seen when word of the colony's affairs reached India and beyond.[41] António Fialho Ferreira, the text asserts, wanted to return to Portugal with news of the city's sworn loyalty, "desiring to add the happy news of how the city was at peace, and the hearts of all were unified." With this goal in mind, he urged the captain-general, Sebastião Lobo da Silveira, to help bring about peace among the religious orders. Ferreira also went to plead unsuccessfully with Frei Bento de Cristo, the aggrieved governor of the bishopric, for some show of peacemaking with his adversaries in the Jesuit college.[42] It is not implausible that Ferreira had commissioned João Marques Moreira in August to produce the

report, which presented Macau as he wished to see it. To be sure, the author of the anonymous account also remarked that the Franciscan governor of the bishopric was in no rush for news of the disputes to reach higher authorities in Goa or beyond, being accused of waiting to be invested with powers that he might use against the Jesuits and their partisans.[43] In any case, António Fialho Ferreira was the one who carried Moreira's report back to Lisbon, where it was published in clear support of Ferreira's commercial and political aims.[44] He also carried reports of the scandalous conflict among the religious orders to the Inquisitor General—but those were clearly not fit to print.[45]

NOTES

1. The author thanks Prof. Dra. Elsa Penalva and Prof. Dr. Miguel Lourenço for their invaluable assistance in locating crucial archival materials for this study.

2. The political and economic panorama of the South China Sea region in the mid-seventeenth century has been the subject of many studies. For useful introductions to the specific context of Macau and its population in that period, see Souza 1986, esp. 1–45; Boxer 1959, 141–71; Valladares 2001, 37–64; and, more succinctly, Pinto 2014.

3. The cataclysm of the eradication of Christianity in Japan had social and religious consequences in Macau and across eastern maritime Asia. Those events and their effects are surveyed in Elison 1973, 142–211, and Brockey 2014, 195–213 and 326–410.

4. The fate of this embassy is discussed in Pires 1988, 36–79, and Boxer 1933.

5. In the early modern period, Macau had few bishops. The city's diocese was often ruled by ecclesiastical governors drawn from the local religious orders. Indeed, in the mid-seventeenth century, the absence of firm ecclesiastical authority in Macau was a central cause of the numerous crises among the city's clergy. In the early 1640s, the governor of the bishopric was the Franciscan Frei Bento de Cristo.

6. The climate of rumor and scandal at Macau is discussed in Brockey 2014, 403–10; Penalva 2008; and Boxer 1946, esp. 163–64.

7. A lengthy account of these intra-Jesuit disputes is found in Bartolomeu de Reboredo, SJ, "Relação do q*ue* este ann*o* socedeo neste Coll*egi*o de Amacao, 1639," Macau, December 27, 1639, Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu [=ARSI, Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus, Rome], *Japonica-Sinica* [=*Jap-Sin*] codex 18-I: fols. 195r–207v. His laments are found on fol. 207v.

8. The Franciscan complaints and Jesuit replies to them can be found in "Documents Concerning Disputes Between Jesuits and Franciscans at Macau and Within the China Missions," Macau, 1640–1642, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisbon, Reservados Mss. 83, no. 9, accessed January 17, 2023, https://purl.pt/34642.

9. This affair is discussed in detail in Lourenço 2016, 241–78.

10. Manuel de Figueiredo, SJ, to Superior General Muzio Vitelleschi, SJ, Macau, January 31, 1642, ARSI *Jap-Sin* 161-II: fols. 245r–261r, at fol. 245r. More on this dispute can be found in Penalva 2011, 103–10.

11. Baldassare Citadella, SJ, to Superior General Muzio Vitelleschi, SJ, Macau, May 1, 1642, ARSI *Jap-Sin* 19: fols. 15r–16v, at fol. 15r.

12. Rubino is best known for his martyr's death in Japan, but he had spent most of his career in southern India and only arrived in Macau in 1638. On his earlier work in India, see Rubiés 2001. A contemporary account of Rubino's martyrdom is in Marques 1652.

13. Further biographical details on Ferreira can be found in Souza 1986, 39–45; Boxer 1984, 87–93; and Vasconcellos 1929, 12–15.

14. Ferreira's links to local religious institutions are attested in three sources. The first is a letter on his behalf written by the governor of the bishopric of China and commissioner of the Inquisition, where it is recounted that Ferreira was shot through the leg while guarding prisoners detained by the Holy Office. The second, Ferreira's own letter to the local Franciscan superior, discusses his efforts to establish a convent of nuns in the colony. The third, the register of testaments made to the Santa Casa da Misericórdia of Macau, lists him as the *escrivão da mesa*, a member of that charitable brotherhood's governing council. See Frei António do Rosario, Declaration on behalf of António Fialho Ferreira, Macau, June 27, 1623, in Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, Lisbon [=AN/TT], Tribunal do Santo Ofício [=TSO], Conselho Geral, Habilitações, António, Maço 8, doc. 317, fol. 5r, accessed January 21, 2023, http://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=2320749; António Fialho Ferreira to Frei António da Conceição, OFM Rec., Macau, November 18, 1634, in Frei Jacinto de Deus 1690, 129–31, and transcribed in Lourenço 2012, 2:7; and Registo de Legados feitos à Misericórdia, Arquivo de Macau, Macau, MO/AH/SCM, livro 302, fols. 25r–26r, accessed January 31, 2023, https://www.archives.gov.mo/WebAS/ArchiveDetail2016.aspx?id=15705.

15. The precise reasons for his departure are unclear. See Boxer 1984, 87 and 90.

16. Ferreira's original task in Lisbon was to secure privileges for himself and his son Constâncio Fialho as familiars of the Inquisition in Macau. He submitted his paperwork to the Inquisition officials on November 13, 1640, and waited while that institution conducted its inquiries into the purity of his bloodline by interviewing individuals in his, his wife's, and his grandparents' hometowns. See "Diligência de Habilitação de António Fialho Ferreira e de seu filho Constâncio Fialho," Lisbon, 1640–1641, AN/TT TSO, Conselho Geral, Habilitações, António, Maço 8, doc. 317, fol. 3r, accessed January 21, 2023, http://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=2320749, and transcribed in Lourenço 2012, 2:6–42.

17. Well aware of the power of financial inducements, in the springtime of 1641 Philip IV had showered largesse upon the Portuguese at Madrid who chose loyalty to him over João IV. See Valladares1998, 46.

18. Ferreira found himself not only a familiar of the Inquisition but also promoted to knight of the Order of Christ. There was, nevertheless, debate in Macau over whose interests

were best served by the rewards that Ferreira brought back with him from court. See Frazão de Vasconcellos 1929, 13; J. Ferreira 2011, 34–38; and, on Ferreira's detractors, Curto 2011, 260.

19. Moreira 1644, 4. Selections of this text and other contemporary documents related to the aftermath of the acclamation are found in Frazão de Vasconcellos 1929, 28–35. C. R. Boxer translated Moreira's text in Boxer 1984, 145–74.

20. Moreira gives May 30 as the day the news arrived. See Moreira 1644, 5.

21. It is unsurprising that public ceremonies such as these had a political and social valence that aimed to reinforce notions of hierarchy and order. The relevant bibliography on this topic has been amply cited in the other articles of this special issue, obviating the need to copy them here.

22. C. R. Boxer dismisses Moreira's lavish details in the following manner: "Whatever merits Marques Moreira may have had as a priest, he certainly had none as a writer. Despite his protestations that he was merely compiling a simple narrative of events in a plain, straight-forward manner, his literary style is turgid, diffuse, and hyperbolic to the point of incoherence. . . . He also wastes whole passages on descriptions of such unimportant minutiae as the hats worn by some slaves in a pageant." See Boxer 1984, 146.

23. The pageantry is also discussed in detail in Krass 2017.

24. In such a ritual, the consecrated host was placed in a monstrance on the high altar of the church with great ceremony, and public reverence was invited.

25. About this display at the Jesuit college, the original states: "Puserão os religiosos delle o retrato delRey nosso Senhor, que ficava em pè na principal janella do choro sobre seis degraos com doze lioens nas extremidades delles lançando pella bocca lingoas de fogo, espada na mão direita cõ o estendarte na esquerda, e as armas, do Reyno, pellos dous lados esquerdo, e direito apparecião as seis provincias de Portugal com as cidades de cada Provincia com seus letreiros, que as declaravão." Cf. Curto 2011, 262; Curto 2009, 211; and Curto 2020, 161; see also Krass 2017, 150 and 154.

26. The presence of a significant population of African slaves in Macau is unsurprising, given the pervasive nature of slaveholding across the Portuguese Empire as well as the regular links between this colonial outpost, South Asia, and East Africa. Further on the topic, see Brockey 2022.

27. This individual was Diego Enriquez de Losada, a longtime resident of Macau who came to the colony from Manila in the wake of the Dutch attack in 1622. See Penalva 2011, 31, 156, and 164.

28. Further on this topic, see McCabe, 1983, esp. 1–68, and Lopes de Miranda, 2019, 150–73.

29. Another tragedy for Macau's hopes occurred with another failed embassy to Japan in the mid-1640s. See Boxer 1939.

30. Further on this period, see Souza 1986, 124–225, and Valladares 2001, 65–91.

31. The 1642 proposal, and a follow-up embassy in 1644 from Manila to Macau with similar intent, is discussed in Valladares 2001, 71–72. It is possible that this proposal was

mooted by the Jesuit Antonio Rubino before the news of the acclamation reached East Asia and was only relayed to Madrid in 1642. In December 1641, the Portuguese viceroy wrote to the Crown in Lisbon that rumors told of how, after the city's embassy to Japan was executed, Rubino had floated the idea that the Portuguese in Macau should "pass over to Castilian rule and make themselves vassals of Spain giving obedience to King Philip by way of his governor of Manila." See João de Silva Telo e Meneses, Conde de Aveiras, to King João IV, Goa, December 14, 1641, AN/TT, *Livro dos Monções* 48: fol. 84r, accessed March 14, 2023, http://digitarq.arquivos.pt/ViewerForm.aspx?id=4186210.

32. By mid-September, Jesuits, Franciscans, and Dominicans were once again airing their grievances in public. See Lourenço 2012, 2:64–133.

33. See Boxer 1984, 56–57 (for ring jousting) and 61 (for Chinese plays).

34. A similar grafting of acclamation ceremonies to the religious calendar occurred in Cochin and Rio de Janeiro. See Curto 2009, 216.

35. Corpus Christi fell on June 19 in 1642. Recall that the acclamation events were delayed by weather until June 20, and the major citywide procession was only held on June 22.

36. The two national groups not mentioned in Mundy were Japanese and Persians, but it is not hard to imagine that Japanese garb was readily available in Macau at the time, given the presence of a community of Japanese exiles. Persian dress seems at first glance to be a very specific form of South Asian attire, but Moreira's description suggests considerable flexibility with the definition of "Persian," as if limited to the use of *cabayas*, turbans, and scimitars. Exotic headwear, it seems, was the key to such representations, as it was in the case of the different African kings whom Moreira described.

37. Cf Krass 2017, 143. C. R. Boxer pleaded ignorance about Moreira: "Neither have I been able to ascertain anything concerning the author, other than the fact that he was an ecclesiastical dignitary resident in Macau at the time, as he states in the title. Even the well-informed Diogo Barbosa Machado has nothing to add about him in his monumental *Biblioteca Lusitana*." See Boxer 1984, 145.

38. The mass of testimony gathered by Frei Bento de Cristo, called "Relação da Controvérsia entre o governador do bispado da China e o comissário do Santo Ofício, concluida em Outubro de 1642," Macau, October 27, 1642, is transcribed in Lourenço 2012, 2:66–134.

39. Lourenço 2012, 2:71, 72, 77, 86, 88, 89, 92, 98, 101, 102, 103, 113, 114, 126, 133 (as notary), 73, 77, 83, 95, 116 (as factotum), 77 (tearing down posted orders).

40. One piece of evidence Frei Bento de Cristo included asserts that Padres João Marques and Manuel Pereira (another important secular priest) "e os mais de sua faccão excitados do Padre Comissario e Vizitador Antonio Robino e os mais padres da Companhia" attempted to elect a rival governor of the bishopric. Lourenço 2012, 2:111.

41. Anon., "Informação de uma controvérsia e desinquietação que se moveu em Macau, cidade dos portugueses no Reino da China", Macau, [after] November [11] 1642, in Lourenço 2012, 2:221–69.

42. Lourenço 2012, 2:266.

43. Lourenço 2012, 2:267.

44. One of Ferreira's goals was to create a direct route between Lisbon and Macau. Another was to secure further preferment for himself and his descendants, one such reward being the captaincy of Damão in western India. See Frazão de Vasconcellos 1929, 42–52; Boxer 1939, 45–47; and Souza 1986, 42.

45. Inquisitor General D. Francisco de Castro to the Inquisitors of Goa, Lisbon, April 9, 1644, in Lourenço 2012, 279.

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