

ORIENTIS AURA

MACAU PERSPECTIVES IN RELIGIOUS STUDIES

NO. 3 | 2018



聖若瑟大學^聖
UNIVERSITY OF
SAINT JOSEPH

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Publication Date: December 2019

Publisher: University of Saint Joseph, Macau SAR (China)

ISSN 2519-5417

USJ Journals Website: <http://journals.usj.edu.mo>

Email: library@usj.edu.mo

Sponsoring Institutions: Fundação Macau

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WRITING ON CHINESE HISTORY: ANTÓNIO DE GOUVEIA AND THE *MONARCHIA DA CHINA* (1654)

Cristina Costa Gomes*

ABSTRACT

This article focuses on the analysis of the Portuguese Jesuit António de Gouveia (c.1592-1677) and his monumental work *Monarchia da China dividida por seis edades* (Monarchy of China, Divided in Six Ages). Completed in January 1654, in Fuzhou 福州,¹ this is undoubtedly the least known of Gouveia's works, although it is often mentioned. Despite being one of the earliest histories of China written by a European in a Western language, and based on Chinese sources, the *Monarchia da China* remains unpublished and calls for a systematic study.

To the best of our knowledge, there are two manuscripts of this work. The most well-known is a copy dating from the eighteenth century kept at the National Library of Spain, in Madrid.² However, we came across a second manuscript, in the *Archivo de España de la Compañía de Jesús* (henceforth AESI-A), in Alcalá de Henares, which we conclude to be the original autograph one. Therefore, it is from this latter manuscript, with its ca. 500 folios, that we are preparing the first critical edition of the work. This edition will include a biographical study of António de Gouveia, as well as other still unpublished significant textual production, namely his active and passive epistolography.

Keywords: António de Gouveia, *Monarchia da China*, Jesuits in China

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¹This article is part of the research project *Res Sinicae. A database of Latin and Portuguese sources on China (16th-18th centuries). Survey, Edition, Translation and Studies* (PTDC/LLT-OUT /31941/2017), of the Centro de Estudos Clássicos, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa. The project is funded by the Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia.

²This copy is available in digital format on the site of the National Library of Spain: <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000045789&page=1> (Accessed in October 2, 2019).

NOTES ON ANTÓNIO DE GOUVEIA'S LIFE AND WORK

The horizons of António de Gouveia's life are still fraught with multiple questions, despite the work of merit carried by Horácio Araújo, both in the edition of *Asia Extrema* (Extreme Asia);¹ and *Cartas Ânuas da China* (1998) (Annual Letters from China).² To these, we should add some of Araújo's articles on the life and work of Gouveia, namely the one entitled "António de Gouveia, Cronista da Missão da China" (António de Gouveia, Chronicler of the China Mission).³

Despite the effort made by this scholar to draw a reliable biography of António de Gouveia, the careful analysis of his work shows, sometimes, a lack of documentary support for some of the data presented. There are even contradictions in some cases, namely those related with his date and place of birth, and with his activity during the years Gouveia spent in Portugal. Therefore, further research on his life continues to be fully justified.

It is possible to establish two stages in Gouveia's long life, of around 85 years: the Portuguese phase, covering from his birth until the departure for Asia, with a total of around thirty-one years; and the Asian period (Goa, Macau and mainland China), comprising fifty-four years, that is, the most extensive part of his life. Of these two periods, it is the first one that continues to raise more questions, given the lack of sources that allows us to reconstitute Gouveia's itinerary. The second is better documented, both through several testimonies by the Jesuit himself in his writings, and also through other contemporary sources of different origins.

Regarding the Portuguese phase, it should be noted that there is no consentaneous position, among the various scholars who worked on Gouveia, as to the year and place of his birth.⁴ We can assert that this divergence lies in the very information

¹ António de Gouveia, *Asia Extrema*. Edition, Introduction and notes by Horácio P. Araújo, 4 vols. (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 1995-2018). The fourth volume has a presentation by Filipe Araújo.

² António de Gouveia, *Cartas Ânuas da China*. Edition, Introduction and notes by Horácio P. Araújo (Macau: Instituto Português do Oriente-Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, 1998).

³ Horácio Peixoto de Araújo, "António de Gouveia, Cronista da Missão da China," in *O Reino, as Ilhas e o Mar Oceano*, ed. Avelino de Freitas de Meneses and João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, vol. 2 (Lisbon: Universidade dos Açores; CHAM, 2007), 867-86.

⁴ Several authors have argued that António de Gouveia was born in 1592, at Casal, in Viseu. For example, Joseph Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800* (Rome: Institutum Historicum S.I.; Paris: Letouze & Ané, 1973), 115; Louis Pfister, *Notices Biographiques et Bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'Ancienne Mission de Chine 1552-1773* (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, 1976), 220; and J. Sebes, "Gouveia," in *Diccionario Histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, ed. Charles E. O'Neill, S.I. and Joaquín M.^a Domínguez, S.I., vol. 2 (Rome: Institutum Historicum, SI; Madrid: Universidad Pontificia Comillas, 2001), 1792. The same year and place had already been pointed out by António Franco, *A Imagem da Virtude em o Noviciado da Companhia de Jesus no Real Collegio de Jesus de Coimbra*, t. 2 (Coimbra: Real Collegio das Artes da Companhia de Jesus, 1719), 612; and Augustin de Backer et al., *Bibliothèque des Écrivains de la Compagnie de Jesus ou Notices Bibliographiques* (Liège: Imprimerie de L. Grandmont-Donders, Librairie, 1853), 343. Horácio de Araújo gave Gouveia's year of birth as 1592; and stressed the discrepancy of the birthplace between the different scholars, as well as

provided by the Catalogues,⁵ that first set his birth in 1592, then gives an alternative date: 1594. As for the place, three distinct locations are identified: Casal, in the Bishopric of Viseu; Gouveia (in part for coinciding with his last name), and Travancinha, both in the Bishopric of Coimbra.

To clarify these questions definitively, we have researched in the parish registers of baptisms of Viseu, Gouveia, and Seia (which included the parish of Travancinha), in the District Archives of Viseu⁶ and Guarda.⁷ This research was based on António de Gouveia's affiliation, as the son of Manuel de Almeida and Maria d'Eiró,⁸ a piece of information provided by Diogo Barbosa Machado. Unfortunately, Machado did not mention his source of information.⁹ Even though baptismal records with the name António were found, it did not correspond to the affiliation data identified by Barbosa Machado. For example, the parish of Torredeita, which included the place of Casal, records the birth of one António in 1592, on March 21st, but it is not possible to identify him with the Jesuit because he was "the son of Antonio Dominguez and his wife Isabel Antonia residents in the location of Villa Chã (...)." ¹⁰ The same happened in

in the *Catalogi Patrum ac Fratrum* comprehended in the *Codices Japonica-Sinica* (henceforth *Jap. Sin.*) 25 and 134, and *Lusitania* (henceforth *Lus.*) 44 II of the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu. These catalogues mention three distinct places of birth: Casal, Gouveia and Travancinha (António de Gouveia, *Cartas Ánuas da China*, 19). Araújo excludes the hypothesis of Casal, based on information provided by António de Gouveia (that he did not identify). As for Gouveia and Travancinha he argues that they are not mutually exclusive, due to their geographical proximity, further claiming that the family name "Gouveia" may be related to the Jesuit's place of birth; see "António de Gouveia, Cronista da Missão da China," 867. In this article, Horácio de Araújo stated that, without any documentary evidence, António de Gouveia was born in the village of Travancinha, near Seia. The year 1592, however, was not accepted by all authors. Francisco Rodrigues set the birth of António de Gouveia in 1590 in "A Companhia de Jesus em Portugal e nas Missões," *Revista de História* 10, 1921. Diogo Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, t. 1 (Lisboa Occidental: Officina de Antonio Isidoro da Fonseca, 1741), 296, on the other hand, defended that the Jesuit had been born in 1593. This year was also indicated by Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *A Historiografia Portuguesa. Doutrina e Crítica*, vol. 2 (Lisbon: Editorial Verbo, 1973), 309: "Father Antonio de Gouveia. Born in the Province of Beira – Gouveia and the place of Casal, in the bishopric of Viseu, both claim this origin –, saw the light of day in 1593." Dehergne also referred to the fact that the Catalogue *Lus.* 44 II, 313 indicates that António de Gouveia was born in 1594, in Gouveia, diocese of Coimbra. Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine*, 116.

⁵ Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), Rome, *Jap. Sin.* 25, fol. 184 (as being born in Travancinha); 106, fol. 50v; 134, fols. 312v, 316, 320, 325v, 332v, 338v, 348, 356; and *Lus.* 44 II., fols. 313, 356v, 397v.

⁶ The records of the following parishes were consulted: Mundão (1572-1623); S. Pedro de France (1594-1629); and Torredeita (1587-1619).

⁷ Records were consulted from the parishes of Gouveia and Seia: Figueira da Serra (1592-); Freixo da Serra (1579-); Mangualde da Serra (1590-); Moimenta da Serra (1558-); Nabainhos (1530-); Nabais (1593); Paços da Serra (1535-); São Paio – Gouveia (1593-); São Pedro – Gouveia (1592-); Vila Nova de Tazem – Gouveia (1589-); and Vinhó (1556-).

⁸ Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, 296.

⁹ It was certainly based on the record of admission of António de Gouveia to the Society (no longer extant), in which the name of his parents was listed.

¹⁰ Arquivo Distrital de Viseu, Torredeita, Baptismos, mc. 28, no. 1, fol. 13.

other records found with the name António that could correspond to our Jesuit, either by the temporal scope or by the places considered most likely to be his birthplace.

The date of his admission to the Society of Jesus also does not generate a consensus among scholars, who are divided between 1608 (on the 2nd or 11th of May) and 1609 (apart from a possible interruption and readmission in 1611, due to health or family issues). Likewise, in this regard, the Catalogues differ in the information provided:¹¹ whereas one indicates 1608, other points to 1609.¹²

Little is known about Gouveia's life before his departure for Asia. The catalogues of the Province of Portugal for the years 1614 to 1619, place his admission at the age of fifteen at the *Colégio de Jesus* (Jesus College) in Coimbra. In this city, Gouveia completed the two-year novitiate and embarked on his academic career. Moreover, it was during his stay in Coimbra that he probably felt his vocation for the missions in East Asia.¹³ However, no *indipeta* letter (letter of petition for the Indies) signed by Gouveia was found, which could enable us to have some insight into his motivations to leave for the Asian missions. Nonetheless, this lack of a letter of petition is unsurprising since they are somewhat scarce for the Portuguese missionaries.¹⁴

In any event, on March 24, 1623, Gouveia embarked in Lisbon, aboard the fleet of the *Carreira da Índia*, as part of a group of twenty-three Jesuits, who left for Goa that year. Among this group were D. Afonso Mendes (1579-1656), Patriarch of Ethiopia, and two of his bishop coadjutors, D. Diogo Seco (1575-1623), Bishop of Nicaea, and D. João da Rocha (1587-1639), under the title of Hierapolis.¹⁵ The journey,

¹¹ ARSI, *Lus.* 44, II, fol. 313.

¹² ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 25, fol. 184.

¹³ J. Sebes places the admission in the Society on May 2, 1608, with readmission in 1611, a situation that suggest that Gouveia's leave must have been caused by ill health or family issues, and not to disciplinary matters (Sebes, "Gouveia," 1792). Diogo Barbosa Machado (*Bibliotheca Lusitana*, 296) indicates the date of May 11, 1608. Joseph Dehergne mentions simultaneously the Catalogue *Lus.* 44 II, fol. 313 which points to May 2, 1608 as the date of admission, and the Catalogue *Jap. Sin.* 25, fol. 184, which refers the year 1609. This author underlines the hypothesis of admission in the year 1611: "dimissus iterum admissus." Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine*, 115-116. The admission in 1611 is also referred to by António Franco (*A Imagem da Virtude*, 612), and Augustin de Backer *et al.* (*Bibliothèque des Écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 343). Louis Pfister, situates the entrance in 1611 (*Notices Biographiques*, 220). In "António de Gouveia, Cronista da Missão da China" (p. 867), Horácio Araújo argues that Gouveia entered the *Colégio de Jesus* in Coimbra in 1611, where he attended the novitiate and part of his humanistic formation. Besides, he is the only author to refer to the possibility that Gouveia had, between 1619 and 1623, taken theological studies in the *Colégio de Santo Antão* in Lisbon.

¹⁴ Regarding the *indipetae* letters and their scarcity among Portuguese missionaries, see the explanation of Charlotte Castelnau L'Estoile, in her article "Élection et vocation. Le choix de la mission dans la province jésuite du Portugal à la fin du XVIe siècle," in *Missions religieuses modernes. «Notre lieu est le monde»*, ed. Pierre-Antoine Fabre and Bernard Vincent (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2007), 25-29.

¹⁵ In this group there were also the priests Simão de Leiva, Gaspar do Amaral, António Ferreira and Diogo Cardoso; as well as the brothers João Barroso, Luís Gonçalves, Marçal de Leiva, Manuel da Maia,

which would typically take six to seven months, would be significantly extended. The ship in which António de Gouveia was traveling was forced to hold out for the Winter in Mozambique, only reaching Goa on May 28, 1624, *i.e.*, fourteen months after departing from Lisbon. However, Gouveia only reached Goa later that year due to a detour through Muscat (Oman).

It is not known whether António de Gouveia left Lisbon already ordained as a priest, since in the Catalogue for 1622 he does not feature as such.¹⁶ Indeed, Gouveia may have completed his studies of Theology in Goa, and his readmission likely justifies the delay in his ecclesiastic career. In Goa, he taught humanities for four years. The sources are silent regarding this period, a situation that is very common for the generality of those Jesuits who became missionaries.

From 1630 until 1633, Gouveia was already in Macau. His stay in the College of St. Paul is documented by himself in *Asia Extrema*.¹⁷ In Macau, according to his own words, he was an “eye witness” of some events that occurred in the city, such as the sending of 300 gunners to Beijing to provide military support to the Ming against the Manchu armies.¹⁸

By 1634, Gouveia entered mainland China, as stated in the prologue of *Monarchia da China*. Adopting the Chinese name He Dahua 何大化, he served in China as a missionary for 43 years, across six different provinces. In his own words: “I have been living inside China for the last twenty years and I have crossed six provinces; and despite my late entrance, I have achieved by God's mercy and continuous study the skills to read the Chinese chronicles, as well as the Portuguese (...).”¹⁹

Gouveia's long period in China is the most well documented of his life. Upon entering the mainland, he stayed for about a year in Shanghai 上海, committed to the study of Chinese language and thought, as well as to the codes of Chinese social and cultural life. In 1637, he was in Hangzhou 杭州 (Zhejiang province 浙江), where he continued his studies. In November of that year, he concluded drafting the annual letter from the Vice-Province for 1636. Shortly after, he was summoned to Nanjing 南京 by the Vice-Provincial Francisco Furtado (1589-1653), from whom he received

Manuel Coelho and Francisco Marques, all of them Portuguese. See Joseph Wicki, *Liste Der Jesuiten – Indienfahrer 1541-1758* (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1967), 290-1.

¹⁶ January of 1623. ARSI, *Lus.* 39, fol. 133v.

¹⁷ António de Gouveia, *Asia Extrema*, vol. 2, 210-19; 327-8.

¹⁸ Regarding this military support of the Ming, see, for example, C.R. Boxer, “Expedições militares portuguesas em auxílio dos Ming contra os manchus, 1621-1647,” in *Estudos para a História de Macau*, vol. 1, t. 1. (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 1991), 119-33; and Tereza Sena, “Power Weapons in the Service of Trade and God. Macau and Jesuit support for the Ming cause (1620-1650),” *Daxiyangguo* 15 (2010): 177-240.

¹⁹ Archivo de España de la Compañía de Jesús (AESI-A), Alcalá de Henares, *Archivo Provincial de Toledo*, Compañía de Jesus, António de Gouveia, *Monarchia da China*, fol. i. Joseph Dehergne, Louis Pfister and Horácio Araújo point out, however, the year 1636 for the entrance of António de Gouveia into mainland China. Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine*, 116; Pfister, *Notices Biographiques*, 220; and Araújo, *Cartas Anuas*, 20.

orders to go to Huguang Province 湖廣, to establish a residence in the city of Wuchang 吳昌. He arrived there in January 1638 and remained until 1643, when the city was conquered and devastated by the Qing armies.²⁰

Afterwards, Gouveia was sent by the Vice-Provincial Giulio Aleni (1582-1649) as superior of the house of Fuzhou 福州 (Fujian 福建).²¹ It is interesting to note the proximity between Gouveia and Aleni, whose in-depth knowledge of Chinese has already been proven.²² It was in Fuzhou that Gouveia concluded in 1644, the writing of *Asia Extrema*, which he dedicated to the new Portuguese king, D. João IV (r. 1640-56). There, he also wrote the annual letters for 1643 to 1649. During this period, Gouveia took his last vows on July 14, 1646, precisely with the Vice-Provincial Aleni, of which the autograph document survived.²³

Gouveia wrote extensively on the topic of the dynastic transition and the Manchu ascent, like other missionaries who were in China in these extraordinarily troubled years. This is tellingly illustrated by the annual letters for 1643 to 1649.²⁴ Also, in February 1647, writing from Fuzhou to the Jesuit Provincial of the Philippines, Gouveia reported the subjection of Fujian to the Qing;²⁵ again, he took up the topic in the tenth and last section of *Monarchia da China*.

In the following decade, still in Fuzhou, Gouveia concluded in January 1654 the writing of *Monarchia da China* which, as we have already pointed out, would remain unpublished to this date.

²⁰ António de Gouveia, *Asia Extrema*, vol. 2, 366.

²¹ About Aleni, see Tiziana Lipiello and Roman Malek, eds., *Scholar from the West: Giulio Aleni S.J. (1582-1649) and the Dialogue between Christianity and China* (Brescia-Sankt Augustin: Fondazione Civiltà Bresciana-Monumenta Serica Institute, 1997); and Eugenio Menegon, *Un solo Cielo. Giulio Aleni S.J. (1582-1649): Geografia, arte, scienza, religione dall'Europa alla Cina* (Brescia: Grafo, 1994).

²² Brockey underlined the importance that living with Aleni in the Fuzhou residence, together with the access to this house's library and the contact with the community of learned Christians, had in the deepening of Gouveia's knowledge. Liam Brockey, "The First China Hands: The Forgotten Iberian Origins of Sinology," in *Western Visions of the Far East in a Transpacific Age, 1522-1657*, ed. Christina H. Lee (Surrey: Ashgate, 2012), 81.

²³ ARSI, *Lus.* 6, fols. 142-142v: "In Synari Regno, et Curia Fo Kim anno Domini 1646. Mense Julij die 14. in ecclesia Saluatoris Societatis JESV." (fol. 142) and "Escrito de minha mão na Corte de Fo Kin [i.e., Fuzhou] em 27 de Julho de 1646. / Antonio de Gouuea" (fol. 142v).

²⁴ About the European accounts regarding the dynastic transition, see Edwin J. Van Kley, "News from China. Seventeenth-Century European Notices of the Manchu Conquest," *The Journal of Modern History* 45, no. 4 (1973): 561-582. See also Anna Busquets Alemani, "Other voices for the conflict: Three Spanish texts about the Manchus and their conquest of China," *Ming Qing Yanjiu* 17 (2012): 35-64; and Rui Loureiro, "Iberian impressions of the Manchu conquest of China," in *Empires en Marche/Empires on the Move: Rencontres entre la Chine et l'Occident à l'âge moderne (XVI^e-XIX^e siècle)*, ed. Dejanirah Couto and François Lachaud (Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 2017), 49-64.

²⁵ António de Gouveia to the Provincial of the Philippines, Fuzhou, 17/2/1647, AESI-A, fol. 4: "(...) porque 300. de a caballo sin outra arma que arco y catana, sin ningun outro aparato bélico entraron esta metropoli vispera de S. Simon y Judas, (...) se hizierão señores della, y luego por aqui jugsue V. R. todas las demas prouinzias y si algunas ciudades resistieron fue para (...) ruyna y destruccion (...)."

In 1665, Gouveia, like the other European missionaries in China, was summoned to Beijing and subsequently exiled in Guangzhou 廣州 (Guangdong 廣東), due to the so-called “Calendar Case.”²⁶ He remained in Guangzhou between 1666 and 1671,²⁷ heading a group that included nineteen Jesuits, one Franciscan, and three Dominicans. Among the Mendicants, was the Spanish Fr. Domingo de Navarrete (c. 1610-1689), one of Gouveia’s primary opponents in the context of the Rites Controversy, a topic that shall not be discussed here.²⁸

Still in Guangzhou, already as Vice-Provincial (1669-1672), Gouveia was involved in the edition, in Latin and Chinese, of *Innocentia Victrix sive Sententia Comitiarum Imperii Sinici pro Innocentia Christianae Religionis Lata Juridice per Annum 1669*.²⁹ In this work, the missionaries gathered a set of documents related to their exile. This small work, prepared on Gouveia’s order, was printed in China.³⁰ Also

²⁶ On this case, occurred between 1665 and 1671, see, for example, Zhang Dawei, “The ‘Calendar Case’ in the early Qing Dynasty re-examined,” in *Western Learning and Christianity in China: The contribution and impact of Johann Adam Schall von Bell, S.J.*, ed. Roman Malek, vol. 1 (Sankt Augustin: China Zentrum-Monumenta Serica, 1998), 475-495; and Eugenio Menegon, “Yang Guangxian’s Opposition to Johann Adam Schall: Christianity and Western Science in his work *Budeyi*,” *ibid.*, 311-337.

²⁷ It was during this period that Gouveia left the Vice-Province of China for the Province of Japan for three years (1666-1668), during which time he was the Superior of the Jesuit house in Guangzhou, as stated by Fr. Luís da Gama (cf. ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 25, fol. 183; *Jap. Sin.* 26, fols. 59, 190, 191, 192v). In 1669 he returned to the Vice-Province of China (ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 26, fol. 59), to become its Vice-Provincial.

²⁸ They exchanged correspondence. On October 3, 1669, in the quality of Vice-Provincial (a position he held between 1669 and 1672), Gouveia answered in Guangzhou to the letters from Navarrete, dated from September 29th and October 1st of that year, on the Chinese Rites Controversy. *Responsum Reverendi Patris Antonii de Govea Societatis Iesu Vice-Provincialis Sinensis ad superiora scripta duo Reverendi Patris Navarrete Praepositi Superioris Dominicanorum*. Guangzhou, 3/10/1669. ARSI, *Fondo Gesuitico*, 724, fol. 2.

²⁹ For a recent edition, see *Innocentia Victrix. Vitória da Inocência*, ed. Horácio P. Araújo (Introduction) and Aires A. Nascimento (Reading, text fixation and Latin translation) (Lisbon: Instituto Português do Oriente, 1999).

³⁰ Gouveia is often credited with this work, which nevertheless appears to have been composed by François de Rougemont, a consultant in Guangzhou, during the period of detention of the missionaries. See Nicolas Standaert, *Handbook of Christianity in China*, vol. 1, 635-1800 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 185. Noël Golvers, to whom we are obliged, drew our attention to this issue and provided us with a set of information to that effect. In the “Catalogus librorum Sinicorum” or list of Chinese books offered by Couplet to Innocent XI, the work is imputed to Rougemont. See the edition of the catalogue in Secondino Gatta, *Il natural lume by Cinesi. Theory and prassi dell’evangelizzazione nella Breve relazione di Philippe Couplet S.J. (1623-1693)* (Sankt Augustin: Steyler Verl., 1998), 127. As Golvers conveyed to us, this catalogue is a very credible source, moreover because Couplet was in frequent contact with Rougemont and took his papers to Europe. Corroborating information is also found in Aegidius (Gilles) Estrix, a friend of Rougemont and Couplet, in his manuscript “Elogium Francisci Rougemont” (ARSI, *Flandro-Belgica*, 70, II, p. 1044). Moreover, additional proof is given by Rougemont himself, who sent the work to Antwerp, addressed to the printer Balthasar Moretus, as a sort of “typographical curiosum,” as being a Latin-Chinese bilingual text. Although it would eventually be lost, the letters that accompanied the book survived, and have already been published by Golvers. “The XVIIth-Century Jesuit Mission in China and Its ‘Antwerp Connections’. I. The Moretus Family (1660-1700),” in *Ex Officina Plantiniana Moretorum. Studies over Het drukkersgeslacht Moretus*. Special issue of *De Gulden Passer*, no.

printed in China, some years earlier, was the short catechism *Tianzhu shengjiao mengyin yaolan* 天主聖教蒙引要覽, composed by Gouveia in Fuzhou and published there. This catechism included a preface, dated from 1655, from the Manchu governor of Fujian, Tong Guoqi 佟國器 (g. 1653-1660), patron of the missionaries.³¹ Probably by 1671, at the end of the missionaries' exile, António de Gouveia returned to Fuzhou. It was precisely in this city that he would pass away, in February 1677, already as an octogenarian.³²

THE MONARCHIA DA CHINA: AFFILIATIONS AND SINGULARITIES

Soon after António de Gouveia's death, in his cubicle were found several opened letters, which he had not been able to answer, as well as scattered papers he had written.³³ This is the last image of the life of a man that we can safely classify as an author. This was perhaps his central facet, to which we can add others, interlinked between themselves, such that of sinologist (or proto-sinologist, according to the expression of Mungello),³⁴ historian and, obviously, missionary.

As already mentioned, Gouveia devoted much of his life to writing. He wrote exhaustively and employing different languages – Portuguese, Spanish, Latin and Chinese – according to the audiences, the reception circles, or the agenda of his superiors, which will have dictated the nature of the works that were assigned to him. One of his texts was published in China, the one written in Chinese; others, those of

74, ed. Marcus de Schepper and Francine de Nave (Antwerpen: Vereeniging der Antwerpsche Bibliophilien, 1996).

³¹ Two copies remain of this work in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Borgia Cinese*, no. 370 and *Raccolta Generale Oriente*, no. 219 (this reference includes the work *Innocentia Victrix*). There is another copy in Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), Paris, *Chinois* 3032. Nicolas Standaert, *Handbook of Christianity in China*, vol. 1, 445; 611. Tong was baptized in Nanjing in 1674.

³² The death of António de Gouveia will have taken place between the 14th and the 22nd of February. As Father Simão Rodrigues testifies in a letter dated from December 20, 1677 addressed to Xavier Riquelme, Provincial in the Philippines: "Aquí supe, de cierto, entonces el día en que el Padre Antonio de Gouveia dejó este mundo, que fue a los 22 de Febrero en el día mismo en que yo parti de Xanhay en donde estaua quando el Vice Prouincial me embio acá para acompanhar al buen viejo." Letter from Father Simão Rodrigues to Xavier Riquelme, Provincial of the Philippines, 20/12/1677, Real Academia de la Historia: *Leg.* 21, no. 30, fol. 1. Philippe Couplet would allude to his death in the year 1677, age 85, and to the fact that António de Gouveia was buried "(...) extra Metropolim Fo Cheu." Philippe Couplet, *Catalogus patrum Soc. Jesu. Qui post obitum S. Francisci Xavierii ab anno 1581 usque ad 1681 in imperio Sinarum Jesu Christi fidem propagarunt* (Paris: Ex Typographia R. J. B. de la Caille, 1686), 27. There was an eye witness to Gouveia's death, that of D. Fr. Gregorio Lopez, who assisted him in his last two months of life, from Christmas Day of 1676 to February 1677, probably February 22, as can be seen in Lopez' letter to Fr. Couplet, Fuzhou 9/04/1677, in ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 124, fols. 105-105v.

³³ Simão Rodrigues testifies that António de Gouveia had left papers and opened letters to be answered and that he had knowledge that "(...) Padre Gouveia antes de morir se le entrego fielmente los 200 pesos, el Vino de Missas, la cera, las Cosas de deuocion, papeles, y Santos Olios (...)." Letter from Father Simão Rodrigues to Xavier Riquelme, Provincial of the Philippine Islands, 20/12/ 1677, RAH, *Leg.* 21, no. 30, fol. 1v.

³⁴ David E. Mungello, *Curious Land: Jesuit Accommodation and the Origins of Sinology* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989), 14.

greater breadth in terms of size, were composed in Portuguese and did not have an edition in his lifetime.

António de Gouveia's ability to analyse and write, his skills in Chinese, allied to his mastery of Western classical culture, as well as his desire to spread the thought and history of China must have weighed towards him having been commissioned to write eight annual letters from China and to compose *Asia Extrema*. In the prologue of this work, Gouveia stated that, by express order of his superiors, he had placed "(...) the quill where he had neither the eyes nor the heart: with which he already [felt] if not victorious, at least free of critics and censors."³⁵

It is interesting to note the author's confessed intent to write this work in Portuguese. He sustains this choice: "(...) very much on purpose, and carefully I write to show that the Portuguese language does not undeserved it, and there aren't others much more sublime and grandiose as falsely stated by those either coveted of more significant advantages or cold in their love for their motherland (...)." ³⁶ The same choice of writing in the mother tongue would be assumed, ten years later, in the work *Monarchia da China*.

This aspect points to a line of continuity between these two texts by António de Gouveia and some of those written by other Jesuits from the China Mission. To be sure, we can speak of thematic and structural affiliations of these works and find direct correspondences, in the case of *Asia Extrema*, for instance with the book edited by Nicolas Trigault (1577-1628), based on the manuscript of Matteo Ricci (1552-1610), *De Expeditione Christiana apud Cina*, first published in 1615 (Augsburg). Affiliations are also to be found with the work of Álvaro Semedo (1585-1658), *Imperio de la China i cultura Evangelica en el*, which first came to light in 1642, in Madrid.³⁷

In his work, Semedo depicted late Ming China in a systematic fashion, as well as the Jesuit mission, similarly to what Gouveia would do in *Asia Extrema*, completed only two years later. The years of instability provoked by the transition between the Ming and the Qing dynasties were also approached by these two authors, namely in their letters and reports.

The abovementioned works by Trigault, Semedo, and Gouveia are part of a set of encyclopaedic texts that aimed to transmit to Europe, in the first half of the seven-

³⁵ António de Gouveia, *Asia Extrema*, vol. 1, 185.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Regarding these thematic affiliations see the following works: Cristina Costa Gomes and Isabel Murta Pina, "Dos Mares da China ao Porto de Lisboa. Narrativas Portuguesas da China de D. Jerónimo Osório a Tomás Pereira," in *Memórias 2015*, vol. 45 (Lisbon: Academia de Marinha, 2016), 347-64; Isabel Murta Pina, "The European Circulation of Álvaro Semedo's Work," in *China-Macau and Globalizations: Past and Present*, ed. L.F. Barreto e Wu Zhiliang (Lisboa: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau; Macau: Fundação Macau, 2016), 90-103; and Isabel Murta Pina, "Escrever sobre a China no Século XVII: Álvaro Semedo e a obra *Imperio de la China*," in *Diálogos Interculturais Portugal-China 1*, ed. Carlos Morais et al. (Aveiro: Universidade de Aveiro, 2018), 99-119.

teenth century, a favourable representation of China and the Chinese. They repeated topics such as China's geography, greatness, government, history, language, education, technology and sciences, arts, poetry, music, religion, among many other subjects. These topics are also to be found in *Monarchia da China*, in which Gouveia does not hesitate to ask: "Who has seen a kingdom in the world, that has less need of the others, than China?"³⁸

The purpose of these Jesuit writers was, so they claimed, to present the truth, based on their experiences in China. It is in this same direction that Gouveia points, at the beginning of his *Monarchia da China*, when he asserts: "Being in Portugal in my early years, I have sometimes heard that if someone wants to lie, they should lie about China." Here is synthesized one of the main objectives of this work from Gouveia, who continues to explain its meaning: "Since the distance in miles was so great to ascertain the truth, it passed two years and more, and in the meantime, the lie was spread, dressed and painted under the colours of truth."³⁹

It will be interesting to problematize if the option to write *Asia Extrema* in Portuguese was solely the initiative of Gouveia himself, given that the works of Trigault and Semedo had already been produced with the same structure and intent, one in Latin and the other in Castilian, both with several translations in other European languages during the seventeenth century, but never in Portuguese. The fact that this work was completed in 1644, after the end of the Iberian Union, and was dedicated to King João IV will have weighed for it to be written in Portuguese. It should be noted that Gouveia was well acquainted with the works of Trigault and Semedo, which leads us to accept that both works were part of a joint project of the Vice-Province involving several authors. In the prologue to *Monarchia da China*, Gouveia noted that: "Among the books on China which had been published, those from Fathers Nicolas Trigault and Álvaro Semedo are of most worthy applause."⁴⁰

Likewise, Gouveia's *Monarchia da China* must be inserted into a sequence of texts written by Jesuits of the China mission, which had a common purpose of drawing up a history of China, based in Chinese sources, to be presented to a European audience. For sure, common thematic plans can be identified. First and foremost, *Monarchia da China* follows one of the last works prepared in China by Trigault, that of a history of China. To the best of our knowledge, this work has not survived. Fortunately, in 1627, one year before his death, Trigault described it as an extensive work that Europe would welcome with great satisfaction.⁴¹ It is known that Trigault completed the first of its planned four volumes, which began with the origins of the human race, and that he even started a second volume, which covered the history of China up to the second century AD. The Flemish Jesuit's goal was to send the

³⁸ AESI-A, António de Gouveia, *Monarchia da China*, fol. 2.

³⁹ Ibid., fol. i.

⁴⁰ Ibid., fol. ii.

⁴¹ Letter to Florenz de Montmorency, Hangzhou, 13/09/1627, in C. Deshaines, *Vie du Père Nicolas Trigault* (Tournai: H. Casterman, 1864), 280-4.

complete four volumes set to Europe as soon as a new procurator was elected to travel.⁴² However, Álvaro Semedo, the next procurator, only left China in 1637. Up to that moment, we have no clue whether these annals were ever sent to Europe.

Although no extant copy of Trigault's history is known today, it is possible to point out some similarities with the *Monarchia da China* based on his own accounts: on the one side, the starting point of the two narratives, since both began with the origins of the Human race; and on the other hand, for being works with a big scope. Regarding Gouveia's *Monarchia*, it will suffice to say that it consists of ten parts, to which is added an appendix of the Qing Dynasty, totalizing about 500 folios.

Moreover, if it is possible to identify affinities between these two projects, the same is true when we confront *Monarchia da China* with the work *Sinicae historiae decas prima*, first published in Munich in 1658, four years after the conclusion of Gouveia's history. This new work was written by the Italian Jesuit Martino Martini (1614-1661), the procurator of the Vice-province of China sent to Europe in 1650.⁴³ Both works shared a point in common, that of comparing the traditional Western Biblical chronology with that of China, by trying to harmonise both despite the difference between the two.⁴⁴

If these two histories of China were the great works of Gouveia and Martini, its time frame differ profoundly. In fact, if both began, like the work by Trigault, with the origins of the human race, which corresponded to the reign of Emperor Fuxi 伏羲 (2952 BC), however, the *Monarchia da China* encompasses in its narrative a much broader temporal scope than the *Sinicae historiae decas prima*. Indeed, Martini's book ends with Emperor Ai 哀 (r. 7 BC-1 BC, corresponding to the birth of Christ), of the Western Han Dynasty 西漢 (206 BC-220 AD), whereas the *Monarquia da China* extends its narrative until the beginning of the Qing dynasty (1644-1912). In other words, to the very moment in which Gouveia was writing.

Therefore, it is difficult to accept the disseminated assertion that claims *Sinicae historiae decas prima* as the first history of China authored by a European.⁴⁵ This was undoubtedly the first to be published. However, as we have seen, it was not the first to be written, since this precedence, apparently, belongs to Trigault's history. Besides, it seems there is a certain temporal coincidence in the writing of the two works. We do not know when Gouveia and Martini started writing. Probably both still did in the late 1640s (Gouveia after the completion of his *Asia Extrema* in 1644).

⁴² BnF, Ms. Chinois 9269. See Emanuele Raini, "Nicolas Trigault: a giant between success and failure," in *The Generation of Giants 2: Other champions of the cultural dialogue between Europe and China*, ed. Luisa Paternicò (Trent: Centro di Studi Martino Martini, 2015), 31.

⁴³ This work was recently edited by Federico Masini and Luisa Paternicò. *Martino Martini. Opera Omnia*, vol. 4 (Trent: Università Degli Studi di Trento, 2010). About Martini, see Luisa Paternicò, Claudia von Collani and R. Scartezzini, *Martino Martini. Man of Dialogue* (Trent: Università di Trento, 2016).

⁴⁴ This chronological debate is not exclusive of China, because European authors had similar problems in other regions of Asia, namely India, where older chronologies questioned the supremacy and antiquity of the Biblical narrative; cf. Jos Gommans, *The Unseen World: The Netherlands and India since 1550* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum/Vantilt Publishers, 2018), 183, 189, 191, 193.

⁴⁵ Mungelo, *Curious Land*, 125.

Martini seems to have finished the work before his departure for Europe in 1650, whereas Gouveia concluded his broader account in early 1654.

It is worth noting that the affinities between the two texts allow us to regard them as the fruits of a collective enterprise, since, once again, we have texts with the same agenda written in two different languages: Portuguese and Latin.

We cannot neglect, however, the singularity of the work *Monarchia da China*, characterized by a much broader chronological range than *Sinicae historiae decas prima*. It is Gouveia himself who claims the antiquity and unique character of his work: "Be the benign reader grateful for this diligent work [prepared] to please him without boredom, and to account for what has passed for 4500 years, that besides the Sacred Scripture shall [the reader] not find any older history nor Chronicle."⁴⁶

António de Gouveia's character as a historian and a sinologist is proved in a very particular way in this work. There are countless Chinese sources that he used and which can only be fully explored after its critical edition, despite the first identification of some Chinese texts already carried out by Nicolas Standaert in 2012 and 2016⁴⁷ and Liam Brockey in 2012;⁴⁸ to which no further consideration shall be given in this article. This is one of the research avenues that will be open after the completion of this project. Other avenues may be the study of the reception this work, despite remaining as a manuscript to this day; as well as the collation of *Monarchia da China* with *Sinicae historiae decas prima*.

THE SURVIVING MANUSCRIPTS OF *MONARCHIA DA CHINA*

As already mentioned, two manuscripts of *Monarchia da China* are known: one is preserved in the National Library of Spain in Madrid,⁴⁹ constituted by 195 folios and 18 front pages; and another codex kept in the Archivo de España de la Compañía de Jesús in Alcalá de Henares, composed of 476 folios and an index of 11 folios. Of these two, the one in the National Library has been undoubtedly the most referenced, since only a few scholars, like Standaert and Asami Masakazu, have made references to the manuscript kept in Alcalá de Henares.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ AESI-A, António de Gouveia, *Monarchia da China*, fol. i.

⁴⁷ Nicolas Standaert, "Jesuit Accounts of Chinese History and Chronology and their Chinese Sources," *East Asian Science, Technology, and Medicine* 35 (2012): 11-87; and Nicolas Standaert, *The Intercultural Weaving of Historical Texts. Chinese and European Stories About Emperor Ku and His Concubines*, (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

⁴⁸ Liam Brockey, "The First China Hands: The Forgotten Iberian Origins of Sinology," in *Western Visions of the Far East in a Transpacific Age (1522-1671)*, ed. Christina Lee (Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate Publishing, 2012), 69-84.

⁴⁹ Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid, Ms. 2949.

⁵⁰ Thanks to a reference made by Nicolas Standaert we became aware that Asami Masakazu had referred to these two manuscripts in 1999. Nicolas Standaert, *The Intercultural Weaving of Historical Texts*, 102; Asami Masakazu 浅見雅一, "Antonio de Govea no Chūgokushi kenkyū ni tsuite" アントニオ

The research carried out around this work has led us to confront these two manuscripts and make a codicology analysis, which we will not be able to present here in detail due to its technical nature. Nonetheless, let us offer briefly the most important conclusions.

The manuscript of Madrid is an eighteenth century copy. This date was indicated in the Inventory of the Manuscripts of the National Library⁵¹ itself and confirmed by us through the analysis of the paper filigrees and the very typology of the letter used. The manuscript is written in Portuguese up to the folio 89v, and, from there on, in Spanish. This alternation of Portuguese and Spanish would already constitute an essential basis for removing the identification of this copy as the original manuscript of *Monarchia da China*.

The contact with the codex of Alcalá de Henares enabled us from the outset to recognize it as Gouveia's autograph manuscript. Take as evidence of this being the original work the fact that it is written in Gouveia's handwriting; besides we have his autograph signature in the prologue; the use of Chinese paper; and the annotation at the beginning stating that it was from this original that the work was translated into Spanish by Father Alcaraz, SJ (1648-1720). It is worth noting that this indication appears with the very handwriting of Philippe Couplet, who took this manuscript to Europe as we shall see next, a detail that further confirms this as the original manuscript of the work.

The identification of the autograph manuscript was crucial to advance its critical edition, which will necessarily include the comparison with the copy of Madrid. We are interested in clarifying questions related to the reception of *Monarquia da China* and to the fact that the Madrid copy is written, without a comprehensible division where the Portuguese ends and the Spanish begins in the text.

HOW THE MONARCHIA DA CHINA AUTOGRAPH MANUSCRIPT ARRIVED IN EUROPE

Thanks to the research carried out by Noël Golvers, we know who brought to Europe the autograph manuscript kept in Alcalá de Henares, and in which circumstances and for what purpose this work left China. *Asia Extrema* and *Monarchia da China* circulated among the missionaries during their exile in Guangzhou (1665-1671), where it was read at the Jesuit residence in public – during mealtimes – and privately. This situation was witnessed by several people, namely Philippe Couplet (1623-1693), the Spanish Dominican Fr. Domingo Navarrete, who copied parts of

デゴヴェアの中国史研究について [Concerning Antonio de Gouveia's Chinese History], *Shigaku* 史学 [Historical Studies] 68:3/4 (May 1999): 225-51.

⁵¹ António de Gouveia, *Asia Extrema*, vol. 1, 94n109.

Monarchia for the first volume of his *Tratados*, and by the Spanish Franciscan Fr. Antonio de Santa Maria Caballero (1602-1669), as shown in a set of documents assembled and presented by Noël Golvers.⁵²

Through Couplet, we also know that Gouveia will then have entrusted him with the editing of his work, charging him with any changes in the text that may be regarded as necessary. When, some years after Gouveia's death, Couplet was elected procurator and travelled across Europe (between 1684 and 1691), he brought the manuscript with him (along with others, such as the *Doze Excelencias da China* by Gabriel de Magalhães, dated from 1668).⁵³ He then took it from Portugal to Spain to be translated into Spanish, with the support of the Duchess of Aveiro, D. Maria Guadalupe de Lancastre.⁵⁴

In a letter from Couplet, written in Madrid at the end of May 1689, we can read:

"(...) In what concerns the works of Father António de Gouveia (which could be dedicated to the Duke of Aveiro), I am aware that they were submitted to an examination in China, and indeed the 'Monarchy of China' was read in the dining hall during our exile in Guangzhou, in the presence of Father Navarrete, who transcribed the passages that he included in his first tome. Moreover, Father Gouveia as told me several times that if I was elected procurator I was to take his works to heart, and that I was free to eliminate matters that should be changed or eliminated."⁵⁵

Editing this work thirty-five years after its completion had an apologetic aim, according to Golvers: to nullify the anti-Jesuit impact of Navarrete's work, *Tratados históricos, políticos, éticos y religiosos de la monarquía de China* (Madrid, 1676).⁵⁶ The procurator informed the Superior General Thirsus Gonzalez, on November 24 1689, of the intention of Father B. Alcaraz to translate simultaneously *Asia Extrema* and *Monarchia da China*. The editorial project consisted of publishing these two texts in a single work entitled *China Profana e Sagrada* [Profane and Sacred China].⁵⁷

⁵² Noël Golvers, *Portuguese Books and their readers in the Jesuit Mission of China* (17th-18th centuries) (Lisbon: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, 2011) and *Libraries of Western Learning for China: Circulation of Western books between Europe and China in the Jesuit Mission* (ca. 1650-ca. 1750) (Leuven: Ferdinand Verbiest Institute, 2013).

⁵³ On Couplet's tour as procurator in Europe, see Jerome Heyndrickx, *Philippe Couplet, S.J. (1623-1693): the man who brought China to Europe* (Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1990).

⁵⁴ Luís de Moura Sobral, "De la librería, contemplando al Cielo. Imagens e cultura visual em livros de ciências e técnicas da Biblioteca de D. Maria Guadalupe de Lancastre (1630-1715), Duquesa de Aveiro," *Ágora. Estudos Clássicos em Debate* 14, no. 1 (2012): 169-201.

⁵⁵ Translated from the Latin by Arnaldo do Espírito Santo, to whom we are obliged. "[...] Quod specat ad opera Patris Antonii de Gouveia (quae dedicari possent Duci d'Aveiro) mihi constat fuisse examinata in China, et quidem Monarchia Sinica lecta fuit in refectorio exilii nostri Cantoniensis, presente Patre Navarrete, qui ex ea descripsit quae in 1º tomo suo inseruit. Ad haec Pater de Gouveia mihi saepius dixit ut, si aliquando procurator eligeretur, haberem cordi eius opera, et in iis materiem aut tollerem si quae forent mutanda aut tollenda." Philippe Couplet, Madrid, 26/05/1689, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 164, fol. 159.

⁵⁶ Noël Golvers, *Portuguese Books and their readers in the Jesuit Mission of China*, 82.

⁵⁷ Philippe Couplet to the Superior General, Madrid, 24/11/1689, ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 164, fol. 196.

This title associated the spiritual dimension attributed to *Asia Extrema* by Gouveia, with the temporal, or profane, identified with the *Monarchia da China*. This continuous interest in Gouveia's two manuscript works, and the intention to have them finally published in Europe more than forty years after the completion of *Asia Extrema*, and thirty of the *Monarchia*, can be explained by the fact that Gouveia covered a larger chronological scope in the latter book, than the one covered in Martini's *Sinicae Historiae Decas Prima*. Unfortunately for Gouveia, Martini had captured the European audience with his work, whose publication in 1658 turned the *Sinicae Historiae Decas Prima* into the staple book for Chinese History used throughout Europe. Besides, we may hypothesise that Gouveia lacked a wealthy patron to finance the edition of his works in Portugal or in Spain, especially since the one expected to back its publication, the Duchess of Aveiro, ran into serious financial problems.

However, the translation was postponed for a year due to the many occupations of Father Alcaraz. The confirmation, included in the autograph manuscript, seems to indicate that the translation has at least advanced, although there cannot be any certainty that it has ever been completed. The fact that part of the copy in Madrid is written in Spanish also seems to suggest that *Monarchia* has been translated into that language, at least in part. The edition of the work, however, never came to fruition as it is well-known (unlike that of Magalhães, that was first published in Paris in 1688, after significant editorial arrangements).

There remains the autograph manuscript of *Monarchia da China* and the enormous challenge of editing it for the first time, as well as the different texts by António de Gouveia, which remain unpublished and will be published in the foreseeable future.