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*The Introduction of Western Secular and Sacred Music to China and
Macao: A Historical Coda*

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As is well known to historians of the Society of Jesus, Saint Ignatius of Loyola, its founder, was initially opposed to the use of music by members of the order during the celebration of Mass or other church services. His resistance to liturgical music was contrary to what had become an ingrained practice of many religious orders. For the monastic orders in particular, be they male or female, a vocal tradition was an essential feature of their cloistered lives. St. Ignatius’ departure was, therefore, something novel and unusual at the time.

The main reason for his objection is clearly stated in the Constitutions, or rules of the Society of Jesus. Originally drafted by St. Ignatius himself, with the approval of his confreres, they came into effect in 1558 to become the standing rules by which members of the order regulate their lives. These regulations were and are difficult to change as they had and have the general consensus of its members. And Ignatius believed that the members of the newly established order simply had no time for music and singing. They would be too busy carrying out the duties for which the order had been founded, that is, charity, education, administering of the sacraments,

evangelization and missionary work. The point was spelled out in a few of the regulations of the Chapters of the Constitutions. Rules No. 586 and No. 587, well known to specialists, which appear under the heading, “The Occupations which Those in the Society Should Undertake and Those which they should avoid”, clearly stated, (originally in Latin, but below given in its 1996 English translation)

Because the occupations which are undertaken for the aid of souls are of great importance ... and because, on the other hand, our residence in one place or another is so uncertain, they [the members of the order] will not regularly hold choir for the canonical hours or sing Masses and offices.”

If it should be judged advisable in some houses or colleges, at the time when an afternoon sermon or lecture is to be given, Vespers alone could be recited ... This could be done regularly on Sunday and feast days, *without measured music or plain chant*, but on a devout, smooth, and simple tone.”¹ (italics mine)

With these regulations in place one wonders how, already as early as the middle of the 16th century, the Jesuits became so famous for the theatrical pieces presented by students in their colleges in Spain and elsewhere in Europe, and for the crowd-pulling processions through

¹ *The Constitutions of The Society of Jesus and their Complementary Norms : A Complete English Translation of the Official Latin Texts*, John W. Padberg, S.J., general ed., St, Louis, The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1996, p. 256.

the streets of cities or villages in Europe or in Asia, including Goa and Macao, where music and musical instruments were very much a part of these popular outdoor expressions of religious devotion. One may also be excused for asking, did not the 17th and 18th century Baroque churches of the Jesuits in both Western and Eastern Europe, as well as in Peru, Bolivia, Brazil and elsewhere in Latin America, accommodate pipe organs of various sizes, from small to gigantic, some of them fitted into ornate organ cases in a sumptuous Baroque style? These church organs were not only used for solo playing during the Mass but also accompanied singing by choirs or the faithful.

The fact is that by 1565, only seven years after the ruling of the Constitutions, as Fr. John O' Malley, SJ, the notable historian of the early Society of Jesus has pointed out, "sung vespers on Sundays and feast days had become the norm in Jesuit churches".² The practice of singing during the liturgy, sometimes with organs or with other instrumental accompaniment was a venerable one in Eastern and Western Christianity and it was difficult to forbid it in Jesuit colleges, although it should be noted that the singing was mainly done by students, not by the Jesuits themselves. There was also another factor. Other missionaries overseas, such as the Franciscans who introduced organs to Mexico, used music as a means of conversion and this caused the Jesuits to be more accommodating in their appreciation of music.

² John W. O' Malley, *The First Jesuits*, Harvard University Press, 1993 p. 160.

Matteo Ricci (1552-1610), Diego Pantoja, (1597-1618), Lazzaro Cattaneo (1560-1640)

This other factor became a powerful reason for a change. Jesuit reports arriving from the missions in Brazil, Philippines, Goa, China and elsewhere indicated that the inhabitants of those regions were attracted to European instruments and music. The potential of music for luring potential converts was evident. For this reason Jesuit missionaries began to make use of choirs and instrumental accompaniments during the liturgy.³

In China, the Jesuits were pioneer evangelizers and had the missionary field all to themselves. When they began their missionary endeavor they were comparatively free of competition from other religious orders and had the foresight to understand the positive effect that sacred and secular music from the West could have on the Chinese. They thus began introducing European music to both Macao and China during the late Ming, as well as the Qing dynasty up to the expulsion of members of the order in the 1760s.

In China the Society's original main agents in this endeavor were the Italians Matteo Ricci and Lazzaro Cattaneo—a musician from Sarzana—as well as the Spaniard Diego Pantoja. Ricci, in particular, was well aware that if the mission was to succeed it was important that he first study the cultural terrain. Regarding Chinese musical instruments Ricci noted in his diary, “*Dé instrumenti musici hanno e copia e varietà, ma non hanno organi nè gravicembali [sic] o*

³ These choirs began in Brazil as early as 1553. John W. O' Malley, *The First Jesuits*, p. 159, 160.

manicordi” (the Chinese have a great variety of musical instruments, but do not have organs or harpsichords or clavichords). He was more critical when it came to Chinese music, “... *la musica tutta è di canto piano, senza la varietà de voci, di basso, alto, tenore, e canto de’nostri*”.⁴ That is, the whole of Chinese music was monophonic, without the variety and range of voices employed in Italy, including bass, alto and tenor, very different from the Renaissance polyphonic tradition still used by Italian musicians. The latter included the early Baroque composer Claudio Monteverdi (1567-1643), who was in the process of revolutionizing music. There could conceivably be some degree of kinship between Lazzaro Cattaneo and Monteverdi’s wife, in which case the two Italian missionaries were indeed representative of the most avant-garde music from Italy, evidently present in Ricci’s recollections.⁵

As in the Jesuit missions in South America, the attraction of musical instruments would indeed prove very effective in East Asia. From then on the history of the early introduction of Western music and musical instruments to China is dominated by the success in the Ming and Qing courts of the three European keyboard instruments singled out by Ricci, that is, the organ, the harpsichord and the clavichord. Each of these instruments produces a particular sound and melody due to their diverse mechanisms. That of the organ is the result of air

⁴ *Fonti Ricciane, documenti originali concernenti Matteo Ricci*, Pasquale M. d’Elia ed. and commentator, vol. 1, Rome, Libreria dello Stato, 1942, NN43, p. 32.

⁵ Monteverdi was married to the court singer Claudia Cattaneo, who came from a family of musicians. Further research could reveal if there is a family connection to Lazzaro Cattaneo. Monteverdi’s famous Vespers was published in 1610, the year of Matteo Ricci’s death.

rushing through pipes, and the larger, finer specimens—considered the most complex musical instrument ever built by man—can be likened to an orchestra of flutes being played singly or simultaneously. More intimate is the harpsichord, which as its name implies, resembles a mechanical harp with strings plucked by a plectrum. This intimacy is also true of the clavichord, which is also akin to a percussion instrument because of the way the chords are struck. The reaction that these innovative sounds created among the Chinese of Ricci’s day may well be imagined.

The kind of portative or other organs that entered China with Jesuit missionaries during the late Ming Dynasty and later, including a portative or small positive organ apparently constructed by Matteo Ricci in Macao, is a subject that is being studied by specialists.⁶ Not being one myself I cannot go into the topic in any great detail, but would at least like to highlight two characteristic examples of Western musical instruments that were first introduced to China through the agency of the Jesuits. The first example concerns the gift of a harpsichord. The second is the report of two organs that were situated in the choir loft of *Madre de Deus* Church (Saint Paul’s), early in the 17th century.

The fascinating tale of how two Jesuit missionaries presented a small but precious harpsichord to a Chinese Ming emperor is the stuff of legends. The broad outlines of this curious but true tale is as follows:

⁶ I refer in particular to David Francis Urrows, *Pipe Organ Building and the Jesuits in China*, MRI Forum 10, January 25, 2005. http://www.riccimac.org/doc/forumpdf/MRIF10_Urrows.pdf

In October of 1599 Diego Pantoja and Lazzaro Cattaneo secretly entered Guangzhou during the annual trade fair, in which Portuguese merchants from Macao were allowed to participate. Disguised in Chinese costumes they boarded a junk and sailed north. Early in 1600 they were finally reunited in Nanjing with Matteo Ricci, who had preceded them. While in Nanjing, Ricci, himself not a musician and apparently not particularly fond of the craft, suggested that Cattaneo teach Pantoja how to play the harpsichord, which the latter learnt in the space of three months.⁷ After much hardship, on January 24, 1601 Ricci and Pantoja entered Beijing carrying gifts for the Wan Li emperor (1563-1620). Their presents for the Emperor consisted of a Bible, paintings of Christ and the Virgin, a cross adorned with pearls, two chiming clocks, a map of the world and the famous harpsichord.

Once in Beijing Matteo Ricci, with Diego Pantoja as companion, offered these gifts to the Emperor. But it was the small harpsichord that would astonish the emperor and the court eunuchs. Because the Italian words used by Ricci for harpsichords (*gravicembali*) and clavichords (*manicordi*) in the quote above given are ambiguous, doubts can arise regarding the exact type to which this instrument belonged.⁸ But from the *Fonti Ricciane*, where Ricci's diary was published during the last century, it is clear that it was sounded by means of a plectrum and was therefore a harpsichord. It was inscribed in Latin in gold letters that included lines from psalms 149 and 150 of

⁷ Zhang Kai, *Diego de Pantoja y China: Un estudio sobre la 'Política de Adaptación' de la Compañía de Jesús*. Editorial Biblioteca de Beijing, 1997, p. 43.

⁸ *Fonti Ricciane*, Pasquale M. d'Elia ed. and commentator, vol. 1, p. 32, note 5).

the Old Testament glorying God, which read, *Laudent nomen eius in choro; in tympano, et psalterio psallant ei, and Laudate [Deum] in cymbalis benesonatibus.*⁹ At the insistence of a curious Wan Li emperor the lines were translated into Chinese characters. Further puzzled, after a few days the Emperor, always hidden from the Jesuits, sent four court musician eunuchs to learn how to play this remarkable foreign instrument, after which Ricci and Pantoja were obliged to go each day to tune the harpsichord and teach the eunuchs how to play at least a set of simple tunes. However difficult that task may have proved, secretly the Jesuits must have been well pleased. The golden lines decorating the harpsichord were quoted out of context; they derived from psalms that actually exalted God's victory on earth. For the Jesuits the psalms undoubtedly meant the providential arrival of God's Word right at the heart of the Middle Kingdom. But Ricci's pioneering musical achievement in the China mission went even further. Not only did he introduced a European musical instrument that was fashionable at the time in the West, he went on to compose, to the music of Pantoja, the lyrics of eight short songs written in Chinese for the harpsichord now housed at court. These songs told exemplary tales of virtue and morality and thus preached a sermon in the innermost halls of the Forbidden City.¹⁰

The second example that I referred to, the two organs of Macao's Church of St. Paul, are described in a contemporary account of the

⁹ *Fonti Ricciane*, Pasquale M. d'Elia ed. and commentator, vol. 2, 1949, p. 132, ibidem notes 2 & 3.

¹⁰ *Fonti Ricciane*, Vol. 2, pp. 134, 135, and 134 note 6. Jonathan D. Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci*, Faber and Faber, London/Boston, 1985, pp. 197-200.

Church that was transcribed in the 18th century by José Montanha, SJ, from older manuscripts still surviving in the Portuguese city. They reported that the choir of the church was, “*muito capaz com trez janellas rasgadas, tem dous orgaos, hum grande, e outro piqueno (sic)*”.¹¹ That is, the choir loft was very spacious, was lit by three windows and had a large and a small organ. That this was indeed a large loft may be gathered by examining the three large windows of the surviving façade of today’s Ruins of St. Paul’s, spacious enough to house a large and a small organ and to accommodate a male choir. No longer extant, these two organs were a significant example of the role the Jesuits had played in introducing Western organs to Macao and China during the seventeenth century.

Tomás Pereira (1645-1708) and Teodorico Pedrini (1671-1746)

The person who was to be most influential in introducing a more sophisticated concept of pipe organs to China, of their construction and of their distinctive music was the Portuguese missionary Tomás Pereira (1645-1708). Apart from his duties as mathematician, interpreter and diplomat, the young missionary was also court musician to Emperor Kangxi (1662-1722). Excepting Lazzaro Cattaneo, Ricci and Pantoja were clever amateur musicians attempting to lure a late Ming emperor with the use of Western music. But Tomás Pereira and his successor, the Italian Vincentian

¹¹ *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (AHU)*, Lisbon, Codex No. 1659, fl. 84v.

Teodorico Pedrini, were more skilled as musicians and brought a higher concept of Western music to China from the late seventeenth to the first half of the eighteenth century. That China was now ruled by Manchus.

Tomás Pereira arrived at the imperial court in Beijing during the first week of January 1673, summoned from the Jesuit College of St. Paul in Macao by the Kangxi Emperor on the advice of the Flemish Jesuit polymath, Ferdinand Verbiest (1623-1688). Recent scholarship has argued that Kangxi's interest in the Portuguese missionary was not simply because of his skills as a musician or knowledge of Western music notation, a system unknown in China that would greatly impress emperor Kangxi. Verbiest had also advised the emperor on Pereira's scientific knowledge, politically useful to Kangxi for calendrical calculations crucial to the good governance of his empire. However, Pereira's role as astronomer and the actual significance of his work on the calendar while active at the Directorate of Astronomy has recently been called into question.¹² Less doubtful is the fact that soon after his arrival Pereira demonstrated his talent as a musician to the emperor, both through his knowledge of musical notation and by playing the historically famous harpsichord Matteo Ricci had offered

¹² Gerlinde Gild, "Mission by Music: The Challenge of Translating European Music into Chinese in the Lülü Zuanyao", *In the Light and Shadow of an Emperor, Tomás Pereira, SJ (1645-1708), the Kangxi Emperor and the Jesuit mission in China*, Artur K. Wardega, S.J., António Vasconcelos de Saldanha eds., Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne., 2012, pp. 532, 534. Shi Yumin, "Resolution of Some Questions about Tomas Pereira's Arrival in Beijing and Service at the Directorate of Astronomy", *In the Light and Shadow of an Emperor, Tomás Pereira, SJ*, pp.463-467.

the Wanli emperor in 1601. He also displayed his skills as musician by playing what was very likely a portative organ.

In my estimation, Pereira's skills at the keyboards of harpsichord and organ, as well as in musical notation, were a cultural inheritance. In Spain and Portugal the development of early music notation dated back to the Medieval Church, where it evolved in connection to choral music. There exists a distinguished body of 16th-18th century organ music composed by Portuguese musicians, with the Monastery and Church of Santa Cruz, Coimbra, as a leading centre.¹³ Having been born in the small village of São Martinho do Vale, in Portugal's northern district of Braga, Pereira could not have failed to absorb these diverse influences; even today Braga is a district where a taste for sacred music may be witnessed in a splendid chain of Baroque and Rococo organs of various sizes that decorate churches in Braga city, Guimarães, Barcelos and elsewhere. One should not forget that Pereira was also heir to an Iberian virtuoso playing tradition of lutes, vihuelas and guitars.

The little-known details of Pereira's early life, especially his apprenticeship as musician in his native Braga and possibly in Coimbra, as well as his role as organist and organ builder are still objects of research.¹⁴ If Tomás Pereira composed musical pieces of

¹³ João de Freitas Branco, *História da Música Portuguesa*, 3rd ed., Publicações Europa-America, 1995. "Music history of Portugal", Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Music_history_of_Portugal (accessed on 16/07/2015).

¹⁴ João Paulo Janeiro, "The Organist and Organ Builder Tomas Pereira: Some Newly Discovered Sources", *In the Light and Shadow of an Emperor, Tomás Pereira, SJ (1645-1708)*, pp. 546-551, 556-566. Sources in the *Japonica-Sinica* collections relating to Pereira in Joseph Dehergne, SJ, "Pereira (Pereyra), Sancho, puis Tomé", *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800*, Institutum Historicum S.I., Rome/ Letouzey & Ané, Paris, 1973, p. 200. L. Pfister, S. J., *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de la Chine: 1552-1773*, 2 vols., Shanghai, 1932, pp. 381-385. Further details of Pereira's life & contemporary

any significance while active as court musician at the Forbidden City is a matter of speculation. What is more certain is that he built a number of pipe organs in Beijing for the emperor and that his more complex organ constructions and architectural works were designed for the Church of the Lord of Heaven, at the time known as the Sitang (or Western Church, later renamed the Nantang).

The pipe organ for the Sitang consisted of an instrument of comparatively larger dimensions than those which had been introduced to China previously, as well as a clock tower housing a carillon. It was in fact claimed that this organ was the biggest in the East and its actual construction, that of the other organs and carillons built by Pereira—in which at least the assistance of Chinese craftsmen is to be supposed—was crucial for the introduction of Western music and musical instruments to China. We can form some idea of what Pereira's clock, carillons, pipe organs and mechanical musical contraptions were like from the highly influential book by the eccentric Jesuit scientist Athanasius Kircher (1602-1680), namely, his 1650 *Musurgia Universalis*.¹⁵

Pereira's pipe organ for the Sitang was under construction from the end of 1678 to 1680. The result was an attractive instrument—which unfortunately no longer exists—incorporating some of the latest organ technology of the period. It was composed of about 200 pipes, its tallest pipe reaching over two meters in length. It had four registers of

biblio. in Claudia von Collani, *Biography of Tomás Pereira SJ, China Missionary*, <http://encyclopedia.stochastikon.com> (accessed 10/05/2013)

¹⁵ Fundamental are Noël Golvers' notes and commentaries in, *The Astronomia Europaea of Ferdinand Verbiest, S.J., (Dillingen, 1687)*, Noël Golvers intro. and trans., *Monumenta Serica Monograph Series, XXVIII*, Steyler Verlag, Nettetal, 1993, p. 311.

which one kept its flue pipes open; another was fitted with pipes and stop knobs, and the other two registers created special effects producing human, animal and birdlike sounds.

Carillons were a great novelty in China. Their appeal for East Asian cultures that for millennia had skilfully crafted bells of all shapes and sizes, cast in metals which subtly magnified sound and which created greater resonance, may be easily understood. Equally fascinating was their mechanism. In a way that resembles pipe organs carillons are usually played by hand. But the clock with carillon that Pereira designed and constructed for one of the towers of the Nantang was automatic, with a device that consisted of a rotating metal drum inside the tower, with the bells that played Chinese tunes situated on top, in the open air. The mentioned publication by Kircher, as well as other writings on music available at the Jesuits' library in Beijing, most of which are today housed in the National Library of China, were manuscripts to which Pereira had access, but the cooperation of a few Jesuit scientists at court, his sharp intelligence and his youthful training in mathematics at the Jesuit College in Braga, must have served him well when designing his pioneering creations.

The highly intriguing figure of Paolo Filippo Teodorico Pedrini must be considered next, if only briefly. This Italian missionary arrived in Macao some 38 years after Tomás Pereira's sojourn in the Portuguese colony. Pereira had in fact already died in Beijing a couple of years previous to his arrival.

Teodorico Pedrini is arguably the most significant Western composer to have served at the Chinese imperial court up to that time. He was born in the picturesque town of Fermo, situated in the same region of the Marche in Central Italy, not far from where Matteo Ricci had been born. Although in his youth he had studied with the Jesuits in his native town, Pedrini was not a Jesuit, but a priest of the Congregation of the Mission of St. Vincent de Paul, a religious organization of French origin whose members are better known by their more popular appellations of Vincentians or Lazarists, and which Pedrini entered early in 1698.¹⁶ Unconventionally, Pedrini sailed to Macao in a journey that set out from France, not from Portugal, in a French, not a Portuguese ship. After many vicissitudes in an astonishing seven-year-long journey that took him practically round the world with stops in Peru, Panama and Mexico, he finally boarded a Spanish vessel of the famous *Nao de Acapulco* line between Acapulco and Manila (a line better known in English as the Manila Galleon). From the Philippines he reached Macao on January 1710 and from the Portuguese colony was called by the Kangxi emperor to fill the position of court musician vacated by Tomas Pereira's death.

Initially Pedrini had set forward from Rome at the behest of Pope Clement XI to join his Papal legation to China to present his negative opinion of the traditional Chinese rites to ancestors, a legation headed by Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon. The Italian Lazarist

¹⁶A quite full bio. of Pedrini in, http://www.teodoricopedrini.it/AttiSSM.htm#_ednref13 (accessed on 02/07/2015). I am also very grateful to Fr. Giuseppe Giuli, C.M., Macao, for his great enthusiasm for Pedrini as a musician and for sharing information regarding little known aspects of Pedrini's Xitang Church.

attempted to catch up with Tournon in the Canary Islands, Spain, but, sadly, missed the fleet headed for China. He would only meet the Papal legate when he set foot in Macao, but by then Tournon, already on his deathbed, had been expelled by Kangxi to the Portuguese enclave where he was under house arrest because of the Papal prohibitions. When called to Beijing (ironically, thanks to a recommendation by Tournon), Pedrini was therefore far from welcomed by the Jesuits. Indeed, he was to become their bitter rival.

While not forgetting the extraordinary cultural and religious achievements of the Society of Jesus, the missionary history of the Jesuits and other Roman Catholic missionaries in China is not always inspiring or edifying. Not only did the Jesuits bicker among themselves, often over mundane nationalistic questions, but they also resented what they saw as the incursion and intrusion of other missionaries into their spiritual domain. Their treatment of Teodorico Pedrini is a case in point. The main reason for their animosity towards the Italian Lazarist was because of his association with the two Papal legates involved in the Rites Controversy, a politico-religious event that was to prove fatal for the Society of Jesus. To make matters worse Pedrini had won favor with the emperor and this placed him in an influential position that threatened the Society of Jesus' hard won ascendancy at court. His audacity would cost him dearly, with torture and years of imprisonment.¹⁷ Apart from his support of the Pope's

¹⁷ Peter C. Allsop & Joyce Lindorff, "Teodorico Pedrini: The Music and Letters of an 18th Century Missionary in China", *Vincentian Heritage Journal*, Vol. 27, issue 2, Article 3, De Paul University, 2008, pp.53, 58-59.

prohibitions, the Jesuits' persecution of Pedrini may also be explained as an instinctive reaction for corporate survival. He would in fact be the first member of an order that by the end of the century was destined to take over the Jesuits' China mission; Pedrini unknowingly pioneered the process, serving under three Qing emperors: Kangxi, Yongzheng (1722-1735) and Qianlong (1735-1796).

Apart from teaching and performing music, he completed Pereira's unfinished treatise on Western music, the *LùlǚZhèngyì-Xùbiān* (律呂正義續編), for inclusion in the third volume of a large publication that mainly concerned Chinese musical theory commissioned by the emperor. The merit of Pedrini's contribution to Pereira's treatise is uncertain, but Gerlinde Gild has recently argued that it was the Portuguese missionary who actually wrote the most erudite part of the treatise and that Pedrini's was the less important of the two.¹⁸ Nevertheless, Pedrini also wrote a number of sensitive and refined Western sonatas, scores that are now kept in Beijing's National Library of China and in this regard, at least, his introduction of Western eighteenth-century music to China has no parallel. These unique scores have fortunately been rescued from possible oblivion by modern specialists more sympathetic to him.¹⁹ The Italian Lazarist's more professional understanding of Western musical instruments and musical scores is evidenced in these compositions,

¹⁸ Gerlinde Gild, "Mission by Music: The Challenge of Translating European Music into Chinese in the *Lùlǚ Zuanyao*", *In the Light and Shadow of an Emperor*, pp. 532-535, 540-545. Peter C. Allsop & Joyce Lindorff, "Teodorico Pedrini: The Music and Letters of an 18th Century Missionary in China", p. 54.

¹⁹ Peter C. Allsop & Joyce Lindorff, "Teodorico Pedrini: The Music and Letters of an 18th Century Missionary in China", pp. 43-59.

which are a reflection of the contemporary popularity of the sonata form in Europe at the time with composers such as Domenico Scarlatti (1685-1757). To a smaller extent than Tomás Pereira, Pedrini was equally an architect, having designed in the 1720s for the Congregation of the Mission the first church in Beijing not built by the Society of Jesus, namely, the Xitang, or West Church.

Returning to Macao, music was already one of the subjects that the Jesuits were teaching at their College of Saint Paul by the end of the 16th century. As regards St. Joseph's, it seem very likely that sometime during the first half of the 18th century religious music was performed at the residence, college or its chapel. Unhappily, the introduction of Western religious and non-religious music by the order came to a screeching halt in 1762, with the expulsion of all Jesuits from the city at the orders of the Marquis of Pombal.

The actual music that was heard in the Portuguese colony or its quality is an understudied area where future research could reveal much. But the impression remains that the more historically significant developments of Western secular and sacred music, limited as they were, occurred at the imperial court and in the main Jesuit churches in Beijing, rather than Macao. In this respect the sociohistorical evolution of absolute monarchies gives us an insight of some value. One of the primary reasons for the spectacular development of music in eighteenth-century Europe was the patronage of princes. In China there was already a strong indigenous

musical tradition and Western music could only germinate modestly. Moreover, rather than aesthetic reasons, Qing monarchs had political motives that impelled them to patronize it at court. Some of these Chinese rulers were as ruthless and cruel as certain of Europe's enlightened despots. Nonetheless, as in Europe, musicians like Ricci and Pedrini who enjoyed monarchical support were able to develop their talents to a greater or lesser degree, an instance of the flowering of true art under unfavourable or even hostile historical circumstances. The introduction of Western instruments and music by Jesuit missionaries may have had a hidden agenda, namely, the conversion of the imperial family, but it was the rarity of the instruments and the beauty of the music which in the end succeeded in captivating late Ming and Qing emperors and their families, as well as a number of scholars and mandarins.

Macao was a Catholic city and there was not the same urgency to convert, certainly not the Portuguese governor or the merchant upper classes. With the possible exception of liturgical music or the refined tastes of individual governors, rather than artistic pursuits it must have been the utility of Western music that mainly interested a community whose primary concern was trade. For this community the chief purpose of music, Western or Chinese, was as background for various social and ceremonial events, a very different attitude from that found in the more enlightened cultural circles in Europe, including those of the Spanish and Portuguese courts.

[Researchers interested in the topic are advised to read the article by Associate Prof. Maria Alexandra Inigo-Chua, of the University of Santo Tomas, Conservatory of Music, Manila, Philippines, “Music of the Galleons: Intercultural Exchange in Early Christian Philippines”. Access to it may be obtained through the following link:

[http://www.riccimac.org/doc/music%20seminar/Manila Music%20of the Galleons Edited for publication.pdf](http://www.riccimac.org/doc/music%20seminar/Manila_Music%20of_the_Galleons_Edited_for_publication.pdf)]