

June 2010 Volume 20

bulletin of
Portuguese/Japanese
Studies

ISSN 0874-8438

CHAM

bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies

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Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies

Volume 20

Published by



Centro de História de Além-Mar
Universidade Nova de Lisboa
Universidade dos Açores

Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies

Volume 20 | June 2010

Centro de História de Além-Mar
Universidade Nova de Lisboa – Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas
Universidade dos Açores

ISSN 0874-8438

Dep. Legal 189778/02

No. of copies 500

Printed in Portugal by
PUBLITO – Estúdio de Artes Gráficas, Lda.
Parque Industrial de Pitancinhos
BRAGA - Portugal

Sponsored by

FCT Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia
MINISTÉRIO DA EDUCAÇÃO E CIÊNCIA

FOREWORD

More than ten years have passed since the publication of the first volume of the *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies* (BPJS) in December 2000. Throughout this first twelve years of activity and after publishing nineteen volumes, scholars and students interested in the numerous disciplinary and interdisciplinary aspects peculiar to Portuguese-Japanese relations referred to the BPJS as a container of new ideas, approaches, and reliable historical research. At the same time, the BPJS has been considered an important venue for publications in the fields of political, social and religious history, but also the fields of anthropology, sociology, the visual arts and the conservation of objects. There is, however, always space for improvement and advancement.

When João Paulo Oliveira e Costa invited me to take the reins of the BPJS as new editor of the Journal I was honoured to be given the chance to undertake this important and delicate task. Yet, the challenges faced by the BPJS are numerous. As it is expected, the adaptation to new academic contexts and (inter)disciplinary frameworks, to new and ever-improving criteria of scientific production, as well as the urge to meet new profiles of academic research will determine a new outline for the BPJS. In this process, I have been counting with, and relying on, the help of two new members of the editorial team. Giovanni Raneri, Ph.D. candidate in Art History and Visual Studies at the School of Arts, Histories, and Cultures at the University of Manchester, whose background, experience and working skills have been absolutely fundamental in the attempt to renew this project, will be the new Associate Editor. Also Catarina Simões, Ph.D candidate from the Universidade Nova de Lisboa and a researcher from CHAM, is a new member of the Editorial Board, and has been and will still be a key-person in the editing of each number. Useless to say how important is the contribution of all the members of the Editorial Board and of the Advisory Board which for reason of space I will not mention here, but whose names can be found listed in the opening page of this number.

Our first aim is a most pragmatic one: to update the publication of the BPJS. The two volumes of 2010 will appear almost simultaneously. The volumes of 2011 and 2012 will be double numbers. In fact, this is going to

be the new periodicity of the BPJS: a number per year. This solution will also allow us to publish several thematic issues. Some of them will correspond, at least in part, to the publication of Conference Proceedings and others will be the result of call for texts. Each paper is and will be peer reviewed as it is expected from any academic journal. With this new format we hope to explore new approaches and subjects even more deeply and widely, and to meet the needs and the interest of even a larger number of scholars and students all over the world.

The achievement of these goals is our main concern at this moment. We are sure that the spirit that advised the very appearance of the BPJS will be preserved, although adjusting itself to the present.

Lisbon, 5th December 2012

ALEXANDRA CURVELO

«EL OFFICIO DE PROCURADOR AL QUAL AUNQUE TENGO PARTICULAR REPUGNANCIA.» THE OFFICE OF PROCURATOR THROUGH THE LETTERS OF CARLO SPINOLA S.J.

Daniele Frison

Doctoral scholarship-holder from the Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia

Abstract

The present paper tries to define the commitments and duties of the Procurator (*i.e.* bookkeeper) of the Society of Jesus in Japan during the first years of the Tokugawa shogunate. It approaches this subject especially through the Procurator's regulations written by Alessandro Valignano S.J. and through the letters of the Italian Jesuit, Carlo Spinola, who served as Procurator first in Macao between 1601 and 1602 and subsequently in Japan from 1612 to 1618.

In order to understand Carlo Spinola and his background, a brief sketch of his life is given at the beginning, and then, his two procuratorships are analysed. In addition to looking at Spinola's and Valignano's documents, we will also assess João Rodrigues Tçuzu's writings, as this Portuguese Jesuit is the most studied Procurator of the Japanese and Chinese missions. Examining the office involved in the Macao-Nagasaki silk trade also requires analysing the financial situation of the Jesuits in Japan. This paper is another contribution to the research line on the economy of the Society of Jesus within the *Bulletin*, and follows two articles already published on the figure of the Procurator in Japan (Oka 2006 and Faria 2007).

Resumo

O presente artigo procura definir os compromissos e obrigações do Procurador da Companhia de Jesus no Japão durante os primeiros anos do xogunato Tokugawa. O tema é abordado principalmente através dos regulamentos do Procurador escritos por Alessandro Valignano S.J. e através das cartas do jesuíta italiano Carlo Spinola, que exerceu o cargo de Procurador primeiro em Macau, entre 1601 e 1602, e subsequentemente no Japão, desde 1612 até 1618.

De forma a compreender Carlo Spínola e o seu passado, inicialmente será apresentado um breve esboço da sua vida, e de seguida, serão analisadas as suas duas procuradorias. Para além dos documentos de Spinola e de Valignano, também analisaremos os escritos de João Rodrigues Tçuzu, uma vez que este jesuíta português é o procurador mais estudado das missões do Japão e da China. Examinar o cargo envolvido no comércio da seda entre Macau e Nagasaki exige, também, uma análise da situação financeira

dos jesuítas no Japão. Este artigo é mais uma contribuição para a linha de investigação sobre a economia da Companhia de Jesus desenvolvida no Bulletin, e segue-se a dois artigos publicados sobre a figura do Procurador no Japão (Oka 2006 e Faria 2007).

要旨（アブストラクト）

本稿では、徳川幕府時代初期の日本における、イエズス会の財務会計担当者の責務と職務の定義づけを試みる。殊に、イエズス会のアレッサンドロ ヴァリニャーノが作成した財務会計担当者規則、および、イタリア人イエズス会士、カルロ スピノラの書状から この主題の検証に取り組む。カルロ スピノラは、まず1601年から1602年にかけてマカオで財務会計担当者を務め、その後1612年から1618年まで日本で同任務を果たした人物。

上述人物カルロ スピノラと彼の生い立ちを理解するために、序題に彼の略歴を、その後、二度にわたる財務会計担当任務の分析を展開する。スピノラとヴァリニャーノの書面検証に加え、我々は通事ジョアン

ロドリゲスの著書の評価も行う。ジョアン ロドリゲスはポルトガル人イエズス会士で、日本と中国宣教使節の財務会計責任者として最も研究されている人物である。マカオ・長崎間の生糸貿易に関与する商業事務所の検査にも携わり、日本におけるイエズス会の財政状況分析の任務も課されていた。本稿は、会報にあるイエズス会経済についての研究ラインにも貢献するもので、既に発表されている日本における財務会計責任者の人物像に関する二つの論説に続くものである。

Keywords:

Tokugawa Japan, Society of Jesus, Procurator, Carlo Spinola

Japão Tokugawa, Companhia de Jesus, Procurador, Carlo Spinola

徳川日本、イエズス会、財政会計担当者、カルロ スピノラ

On 21 March 1613, the Procurator of the Japanese Province, Carlo Spinola S.J., in a letter addressed to the fifth Superior General of the Society of Jesus, Claudio Acquaviva, renewed the request made one year earlier to be dismissed:

‘from this role [of Procurator] because of my aversion to it and the unbelievable distraction that goes with it – as I have already experi-

enced in Macao, where I held the [same] office for a year and a half – and also because I would rather dedicate my remaining years to the cultivation of this Christianity [in Japan]. This is the purpose for which I came to Japan and endured many sufferings and dangers of my journey here, for which reason I am once more begging you to dismiss me [from this office].¹

Appointed Procurator of the Japanese Province in the autumn of 1611 by the Father Visitor to the Jesuit missions in the East Indies, Francisco Pasio S.J.,² Spinola's insistence to be relieved from the 'unbelievable distraction' deriving from his office must have been somewhat unexpected in Rome. Certainly, his words prompt a series of inevitable questions. What led Spinola to write these words? What were the 'distractions' he mentions in this letter? What made the appointment of Procurator of Japan so repugnant to him?

We shall answer these questions firstly by outlining a brief sketch of Spinola's biography, a way to introduce his intellectual and spiritual background, and then by dealing with his handling of the office of Procurator, a post that he had to fill twice and in both cities where a Procurator was needed. The Society of Jesus, in fact, required a Procurator both in Macao, to buy in particular the Chinese silk, and in Nagasaki, to sell the silk for Japanese silver (and gold). Spinola was appointed for the first time in Macao, but it was only for a year and a half, and then in Japan. Our focus shall linger particularly on his second appointment, because it was in Japan that Spinola better accomplished his task. Furthermore, his procuratorship in Nagasaki is more interesting not only because it spread over more years, but also because it took place in the context of anti-Christian persecutions (*kirishitan kinsei*, リシタン禁制). This fact must be stressed, because the few works about the Procurator that have been published so far do not deal with this office during such a peculiar time. The latest publications about this topic, in fact, are an introduction to the Procurator both in general and in Japan throughout the second half of the 16th century through an interesting assumption, namely that Luís de Almeida S.J. should be considered a Procurator although he never received the appointment,³ and a thorough analysis of a text – which we are going to use in our work – that was written in

1 Appendix D, ff. 159-160.

2 On Francesco Pasio (1554-1612), see López-Gay 2001. For the Society of Jesus, Japan was considered a mission of the Indian Province from 1549 to 1581, Vice-Province from 1581 to 1611, and then Province.

3 Faria 2007.

1629 by a Jesuit who occupied the office of Procurator both in Japan and in Macao, João Rodrigues *Tçuzu*.⁴ The principal aim of our work is to enhance the knowledge about the Procurator of the Japanese mission by analysing this office during the first years of the 17th century.

1. Spinola's life before reaching the Asian missions (1565-1600)

We do not know much about the first twenty years of Spinola's life, which is to say, until the day he decided to enter the Society of Jesus. The precise date of Spinola's birth has never been ascertained. He was probably born in the first months of 1565 or by the end of 1564,⁵ and although Jesuit sources are often discordant,⁶ this fact seems to be confirmed by the Jesuit historian Daniello Bartoli, according to whom when Spinola entered the Society of Jesus, on 23 December 1584, he was 'not yet twenty years old'.⁷ Spinola's birthplace too has never been ascertained with complete confidence; some propose Genoa, others Prague, and, recently, historian Juan Ruiz de Medina suggested Madrid.⁸ According to the Spanish historian, it was in Madrid that Spinola received his first education.⁹

It is known, however, that he entered the novitiate in the southern Italian city of Nola, east of Naples, where he stayed only during the year of 1585. After that, he was forced to move to Lecce, Puglia, because 'the scar-

4 Oka 2006.

5 Spinola 1628, 1: 'Nacque Carlo l'anno 1564 in Genoua per discendenza da quei Signori, che sono Conti di Tassarolo.'

6 By way of example see how various catalogues of the Ignatians disagree about this point. In the *Lista dos Padres e Irmãos que forão pera a Índia e Japão ano de 1596* we read 'P. Carlos Espinola, genovês, de 30 anos e da Companhia 12', that is to say that he was born in 1566. See *Documenta Indica* (henceforth *DI*) XVIII (1595-1597), doc. 67, p. 530. Nevertheless, in the *Catalogo 1.º das Informaçoes comu[n]as dos P[adr]es e Ir[mão]s de Jappão feito em Junho de 1617*, we read that 'O P. Carlos Spinola Italiano de Genova anno de idade 52 da Comp[anh]ia 32'. Biblioteca da Ajuda, Jesuítas na Ásia (henceforth *BA/JA*), Cod. 49-IV-66, f. 166v.

7 See Bartoli 1660, IV, 133: '[...] giovane in età di venti anni, non ancora compiuti.' Since it is not our purpose to establish Spinola's date of birth, suffice it to say that the first biographer of the Italian Jesuit, the Portuguese Bento Fernandes (1579-1633), was also not able to state when his fellow was born. Namely, he wrote that Spinola 'entro na Companhia de dezanove pera 20 annos de idade'. See Fernandes, "Da vida e virtudes do P[adr]e Carlo Spinola", in *Relaçam das vidas, e mortes gloriosas...*, in *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu* (henceforth *ARSI*), Japonica Sinica (henceforth *Jap. Sin.*) 60, ff. 224-233. Since Fabio Ambrogio Spinola also wrote something similar – 'essendo di età di 19 in 20 anni' –, we may infer that Carlo was either born in the last days of 1564 or in the first of 1565.

8 Cf. Ruiz de Medina 1992, 38. Our latest researches made clear that this is still an open debate.

9 *Ibidem*, 38.

city of subjects did not allow the novices to dwell for two entire years in the Probationary Houses'.¹⁰ But after only one year he returned to Naples to continue his studies in philosophy and metaphysics. After that, between 1586 and 1587, he was in Rome, where he studied mathematics under Christopher Clavius.¹¹ In 1587, probably by the end of summer,¹² Spinola left Rome and headed to Milan. There, at the Collegium of Brera, he completed the studies of philosophy, natural sciences and theology,¹³ and was appointed *Magister* of mathematics between 1591 and 1594.¹⁴ While in Milan, his teaching activities were not confined to mathematics, but also included grammar.¹⁵

In 1594, after ten years as a member of the Society, he became a Priest¹⁶ and could forward again his intention to serve the Society in the Japanese mission.¹⁷ This was a necessary step in order to apply for the Asian mission, because of the strict order sent by Valignano back in 1587.¹⁸ In 1595, however, Spinola was finally granted permission to leave for the Land of the Rising Sun.¹⁹

10 See Spinola 1628, 10: '[...] la penuria de' soggetti non permetteva in quei tempi che dimorassero i Novitij l'intero spatio di due anni nelle Case di Probatione.' The Probationary Houses – *Domus probationis* – or novitiate, were those places where the novices used to spend the two years before they made the Religious vows.

11 On Christopher Clavius (1538-1612), see volume edited by Baldini, 1995. See also Baldini 2000.

12 Spinola is not registered in the *Catalogus Collegii Romani anni 1587 in octobr.* Cf. ARSI, Rom. 53, ff. 76-84v.

13 ARSI, *Ibidem*, f. 69v: 'P. Carolus Spinola auditor Theol[ogi]a, co[n]fess[i]one[s] co[n]greg[at]ionis'.

14 See Fischer 1983, 82 and Baldini and Napolitani 1992, vol. III, t. 2, 8.

15 Cf. *Catalogus Triennalis Provin[ci]a Mediolanensis anni 1590*. ARSI, Med. 47, f. 24: '[...] hoc a[n]no cœpit docere gramm[at]ica'. In the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus we read that those who attended Jesuit colleges or schools were meant to study 'las letras de Humanidad de diversas lenguas, y la Lógica y Filosofía natural y moral, Metafísica y Teología escolástica y positive, y la Escritura Sacra.' Grammar was part of the Humanities lessons. Cf. *Constitutiones Societatis Iesu*, Cap. V – *De lo que los Escolares de la Compañía han de estudiar*.

16 Spinola 1628, 23: 'Correua l'anno 1594, decimo dell'ingresso di Carlo nella Religione, & vltimo de' suoi studij, quando conforme à ciò che si costuma nella Co[m]pagnia, riceuette li sacri ordini, e fù fatto Sacerdote.'

17 ARSI, Jap. Sin. 36, f. 151v: 'Eu todo o tempo q[ue] estivi em Italia tive grandes desejos de vir à Japão e fiz muito pera alcançalo.'

18 See *Regimento para el Procurador de la India que reside en Portugal*, DI XIV, doc. 109, 753: '[...] procure quanto fuere possible que los que vienen para esta Provincia y fueren para esso, se ordenen sacerdotes en Portugal antes que se partan.'

19 ARSI, Hist. Soc. 61 *LIBER PATENTIIUM 1573-1601*, f. 50: 'P. Aegidio de la Mata Proc. Japonia; P. Jacopo de Vicarjs; P. Carolo Spinola; P. Alexandro Ferraro; P. Nicolao Lo[n]gobardo; Hieronimo de Angelis; Hieronimo Marrucello; in Japonia[e] 18. 7mbr. 1595.' A similar list can also be found in ARSI, Lus. 73, ff. 114-115v.

On 5 January 1596, Spinola eventually set out from the port of Genoa in a galley of the Viceroy of Naples,²⁰ for what was destined to be – using Daniello Bartoli's words – 'the most difficult and disastrous journey of all'.²¹ In fact, Spinola's first attempt to reach Japan was an unfortunate one (10 October 1596-18 January 1598), and the account of that journey was included in the *História Trágimo-Marítima*, the chronicle of the various shipwrecks paying the toll of Portuguese overseas expansion.²² Consequently, he had to set sail again from Lisbon in March 1599 but this delay offered him the chance to make his final profession of vows²³ and, eventually, on his second attempt, he arrived in Goa in 1599 and in Macao the following year.

The time he spent in the Chinese port-city – 15 months – was longer than he expected, since he was forced by the events to wait in Macao one more year before the first *Nao* could set sail to Japan.²⁴ It was not, however, an idle wait. While in Macao Spinola dealt for the first time with the various economic aspects of the Jesuit missions in far eastern Asia.²⁵ In addition to that, thanks to his preparation in mathematics, Spinola was probably consulted for drawing the architectural plan for the reconstruction of the *Nossa Senhora da Assunção*, because the previous church was destroyed by a fire in November 1600.²⁶

20 See Sforza 1891, 710: '[...] alli 5 di Gennaro di 596 nelle galere del Vicerè di Napoli il conte di Miranda.' Under Philip II, there were nine viceroalties in the Spanish monarchy: four in the Iberian peninsula (Aragona, Catalonia, Valencia and Navarre), three in Italy (Naples, Sicily and Sardinia), and two in the Indies (Nueva España and Peru). The Netherlands were ruled by a Governor, whose job was comparable to the one assigned to the Viceroy. The Viceroy in Naples at that time was Juan de Zúñiga y Avellaneda (r. 1586-1595).

21 Bartoli 1660, 141: 'Hor della vita sua in Giappone, e delle opere, in che vi spese venti anni, non ne so dir nè piu breve, nè meglio, e tutto insieme, che questo; ella essere stata degna dell'entrarvi che fece, correndo per lo spatio di sei anni la piu difficile, e la piu disastrosa via, che mai fino allora niun altro.'

22 Spinola left a detailed description of their pilgrimage in his longest letter, written in Lisbon on 23 or 24 March 1598, ARSI, Jap. Sin. 36, ff. 137-140. See also Miyazaki 1982 and 1983, and Peres 1936, V, 81-171.

23 He made his profession on 28 October 1598. See ARSI, Jap. Sin. 37, f. 13.

24 Between 1582 and 1603 the annual ship connecting Macao to Japan, usually setting sail during the summer, did not leave the Chinese harbour on ten occasions, as was the case in 1601. On that year, out of three carracks which left Goa bound for Macao, one was wrecked by a typhoon on the Guangdong coast, and two weathered the storm and reached Macao but were so badly damaged that they were in no condition to continue their journey to Japan. See Boxer 1989, 56-57.

25 The participation of the Society of Jesus in the Macao-Nagasaki trade, in fact, obliged the missionaries to establish a *procuratoria* in Macao and another in Nagasaki. Therefore, for the Japan mission there were two Procurators. Furthermore, the Society had two other Procurators in Macao, one who dealt with matters pertaining to the college and another, dealing with the economic aspect of the Chinese mission.

26 Spinola 1628, 79: 'Haveva in oltre cura per essere buon Matematico, di far il disegno della nuova Chiesa dedicata all'Assuntione di Maria Vergine, la quale necessariamente si haveva a

In the summer of 1602, after spending two years in the Portuguese trading post of Macao, Carlo Spinola headed to Japan, where he arrived in July of the same year. Once in the archipelago, he immediately began studying Japanese at the Jesuit College in Arima.²⁷ With time, his linguistic skills helped him on his way to the imperial capital Kyōto, where he combined his missionary activities with the teaching of mathematics and astronomy. He used this knowledge to win the curiosity and the conversion of many Japanese, and particularly among the elites:

‘After I had been studying the Japanese language for a year, for another year I harvested more than ~~six~~ 8 thousand souls in Arima territory, and then the Superiors sent me to Miaco [Kyōto] – the capital city of these islands – to be fellow and advisor of the new Rector of that House.²⁸ I stayed there for seven years,²⁹ as an ordinary person for the thousands of Christians who reside there, whom I have profitably fostered in spirit with both public and private exhortations, inventions and other ways. Owing to the fact that the city is the core of idolatry, I strove to win to our holy faith many heathens and I did baptize more than two thousand with my very hands, not few of them were nobles. I gained the trust of those people – as well as that of others who, moved by curiosity, often came to see and to listen to our things – by using Astrology and by showing them some instruments; I cannot easily describe

fabbricare, per haver il fuoco poco prima a caso attaccatosi alla Chiesa antica, & al Collegio fatto tal danno, che della Chiesa le sole mura erano avanzate; e queste talmente aperte dalla forza delle fiamme, che più non potevano servire.’ See also Ruiz-de-Medina 1994. We are preparing a lecture about Spinola’s authorship of the project of Macao’s church, that will be presented in the May 2013 in the *International Conference on Macau Narratives*.

27 Girolamo de Angelis S.J. to General Claudio Acquaviva, Nagasaki, 20 November 1602, ARSI, Jap. Sin. 34, f. 16: ‘Cheguei a Japão no mes de Julho 1602. E na mesma Nao veio o P[adr]e Carlos Spinola, e sa que fomos sempre compan[her]os nos trabalhos; [...] agora estamos neste coll[egi]o de Arima aprendendo a lingua japoa, praça a D[eos] q[ue] a aprendamos bem p[ar]a m[uit]o servico de sua Divina Magestade.’

28 In Spinola’s letters we find several positive references to the Spanish Morejon (c.1562-1639). For instance, in 1612, he wrote that Morejon ‘con su mucha humildad, caridad, y llaneza la mayor, que he visto en Japon, no parece superior, mas antes compañero, o inferior de todos’. See Appendix B, f. 154. On the other hand, Morejon recognized both Spinola’s qualities and shortcomings, as seen in this catalogue compiled by the Spaniard: ‘P. Carlos Spinola [...], buen predicador, buena lengua de Japon, y zelo dela conversion, y buen trato. Es colerico y no sta accepto, de algunos por esto. Si tuviere mas madureça y spiritu blando podra sazer qualquier officio de superior, entiende bien las cosas de Japon no parece por agora para sup[er]ior mayor a un q[ue] si tuviere lo q[ue] digo lo podia ser bien q[ue] tiene buenos partes.’ See ARSI, Jap. Sin. 25, ff. 107a-107d.

29 From 1604 to 1611.

how big is their curiosity in this and how much profit they receive when they realize that everything we claim about our holy faith is true, since what we state about skies and meteorological things is in accordance with reason, the exact opposite of what those monk-priests teach them. Now they are persuaded to the point of claiming openly that what the monks teach about afterlife is not but lies, since what they say of skies and elements is so distant from reason. And now that they realize they have been fooled, they feel embarrassed to have considered such false things as true.³⁰

But Spinola's time in Kyōto did not last long. In October 1611 he was told to move back to Nagasaki and await his return to Macao at the request of the new Visitor, Francesco Pasio, who, owing to the weak health of Procurator João Coelho,³¹ chose Spinola to be the new Procurator of the Japanese Province in Macao. As we shall discuss later, Spinola managed to remain in Japan, although he was eventually appointed Procurator there. He held the office from the end of 1611 until the night between 13 and 14 December 1618, when he was caught by the guards of the Nagasaki *bugyō*, Hasegawa Gonroku.³² He was taken to Suzuta prison, where he spent four years, and was then burnt at the stake on 10 September 1622, in what has been called the great martyrdom of the *Genna* era.³³

2. Spinola's first experience as Procurator (1601-1602)

It has been said that Spinola started dealing with the financial problems of the Society in the Portuguese trading post of Macao. In fact, in Spring 1601, one year after his arrival in China, he was appointed Procurator of the Society of Jesus in Japan by the Rector of the Society's college in Macao, Valentim Carvalho S.J.. Spinola took the place of the Portuguese Miguel Soares S.J. who had died in 1600.³⁴ According to Spinola's own writings,

30 Appendix C, ff. 156-156v.

31 *Ibidem*. João Coelho (c. 1575-1612) had also occupied the office of Procurator in Japan between 1607 and 1608 in substitution of João Rodrigues. He died on 1 January 1612 after a long-term illness while he was still in charge.

32 See ARSI, Lus. 58, f. 259: 'vennero li soldati del Governatore [...], e mi ligarono con una fune nel collo, braccia, e mani a dietro strettamente con il compagno [Ambrósio Fernandes] e portughese padrone della casa [Domingos Jorge] et ci menarono al palazzo del Governatore, dove puoco di poi giunsero due frati di S. Domenico pure ligati dei quali uno è di Lucca di Toscana detto fra Angelo Ursucci.'

33 *Genna Daijunkyō* 元和大殉教. The *Genna* era extends from 1615 to 1624.

34 Miguel Soares (1551-1600) held the office of Procurator in Macao from 1588 until his death.

Carvalho's choice was mostly dictated by the ability of the Italian Jesuit to create a climate of confidence and trust around his person.³⁵

Of the several letters which Spinola most probably wrote throughout the year and a half he spent in Macao as Procurator, only three of them are available today: one dating from 12 November 1601, and two copies of a second letter dating 25 and 27 January 1602 respectively, sent via two ways. Back then, correspondence was usually dispatched in several copies, which were marked as "routed" by different ways (*viæ*). These ways were distributed among different ships to counter the risk of the mail being lost.³⁶ The copy dated 27 January is more interesting for the purpose of this article, as in this letter the Italian Jesuit discussed for the first time his office of Procurator and examined the role of the principal agents involved in the Macao-Nagasaki trade.

In this letter, Spinola mentions his predecessor as Procurator of Japan in Macao, Miguel Soares S.J., the *Padre Visitador* Alessandro Valignano (who in 1578 was responsible for stipulating an agreement between the Jesuit Fathers and the Portuguese merchants in Macao, the *armação*, to grant the Jesuits a quote in the annual silk trade),³⁷ and the *Capitão-mor* (Captain-major), a *fidalgo* (nobleman) appointed by the Crown or by the Viceroy at Goa, who also acted as Governor *ad interim* of the city.³⁸ In addition to the role played by these important figures, Spinola introduced the main problems characterizing the Jesuit mission in Japan: faulty expenses, debts, and lack of economic help from the Iberian crowns (at the time both under the rule of the Hapsburgs) or the Vatican See:

‘I write to the Father General about the lack of money to launch the Japanese mission, which is the reason we are getting into debt and, if a good sum of money does not come, we will be forced to cut the capital, which is already meagre. The cause of this lies in this

35 Appendix A, f. 149.

36 See Schütte 1980, 101.

37 On Alessandro Valignano (1549-1606) an extended bibliography has been produced, the last publication of which is Tamburello, Üçerler and Di Russo 2008. On the *armação* see Manoel Dias S. J., *Informação da armação ou contrato da Companhia em que os moradores de Amacao mandão a sau çeda a Japão*, in ARSI, Jap. Sin. 14 (II), ff. 341-342. See also Cooper 1972.

38 The *Capitão-mor* was governor *ad interim* of Macao from the foundation of the Portuguese trading post in 1555 to 1623. Spinola does not mention them in his 27 January 1601 letter, but other important figures in the Macao-Nagasaki trade were the *Piloto-mor*, who was responsible for the navigation of the Great Ship, and the Factor of the City of Macao, who became increasingly important after the institution of the *pancada*, or system of wholesale bargaining, by which the silks from Macao were sold at Nagasaki. The Factor was the principal commercial representative on the Portuguese side and all silk sales by individual merchants had to be made through him. See Boxer 1988, 11.

College's great expenses, which make us lose twice as much, since we lose our money and the consequent profits. This year there was no voyage to Japan, therefore the capital remained unemployed and we will lose more than seven thousands *cruzados* in revenue; from Portugal they aided us with 3300 *cruzados*,³⁹ but from Japan they sent only 6000, because they thought that with the alms from the Pope our savings had gone up above ten thousand *cruzados*. As a result, this year we need to borrow everything and may God help us if a ship fails to leave. In conclusion, if we do not supply this College with revenue and if the alms are not paid entirely, I think that it is impossible for the Japanese mission to go ahead.⁴⁰

Furthermore, the survival and continuation of the Jesuit missions in Japan depended heavily on the annual Macao-Nagasaki trade. As Father Visitor Valignano wrote in 1598:

'The entire capital for Japan does not go as far as twenty two thousand *taéis*⁴¹ of which twelve thousand is always invested in the ship, in other words in what our facilities need in Japan and the purchase of silk and gold. Therefore, if we lose a ship, we lose those twelve thousand [*taéis*] and Japan needs at least eight thousand [*taéis*] for its expenditure. Hence, without the voyage Japan shall end up with no capital. To manage a province with such a big risk is something that causes concern and fear, particularly because this money does not face risks only during the voyage between China and Japan, but also in the voyage from Portugal to India and from India to here.'⁴²

Concerning financial support from the Iberian crowns or the Vatican See, the 1580s and the 1590s had been extremely positive for the finances

39 Here Spinola was probably summing up the royal endowment of 2000 *cruzados* to the revenue of the four communities in Baçaim (see below), which were acquired by the Jesuits between 1571 and 1584. The *cruzado* was a Portuguese golden coin, used specially in Asia as currency exchange, whose value was fixed at 400 *réis* in 1517. Cf. Martini 2003, 279 and Boxer 1989, 313-314.

40 Appendix A, f. 149.

41 Regarding the *tael* (Malay *tahil* or *tail*, Chinese *liang*), Valignano tells us that 'Hu[m] tael val aqui p[er]lo menos p[er]la moeda de Goa onze ta[n]gas, q[ue] são seis ce[n]tos e cese[n]ta reis de P[or]tugal. De man[ei]ra q[ue] mil taeis são seis ce[n]tos mil e seis ce[n]tos reis e assi vem hu[m] tael a ser mais de hu[m] cruzado e m[ai]or.' Cf. Valignano to Acquaviva, Macao, 2 July 1598. Biblioteca Pública de Évora, Cód. CXV/2-7, n.º 4, f. 50. According to João Rodrigues Tçuzu, the *tael* was equivalent to the *cruzado*. Cf. Boxer 1989, 316.

42 Quoted in Costa 1988, 123.

of the Province of India and the Vice-Province of Japan. In 1584, with the Brief *Mirabilia Dei*, Pope Gregory XIII offered the Japanese mission alms for 4000 *cruzados* for the following twenty years; after that, in 1585, with the Brief *Divina Bonitas*, Pope Sixtus V raised the amount to 6000 *cruzados*, although he revoked this raise the following year. In addition to that, the Japanese mission was also granted alms from the Crown. Starting in 1574, Dom Sebastião granted the Society in Japan a perpetual donation of 1000 *cruzados* to be paid out of the Malacca customs, to which, in 1580, was added an equal payment through the Crown revenues in Salsete.⁴³ In 1585, five years after the union of the Portuguese and Spanish crowns, Philip II of Spain and then I of Portugal decreed that such a 'perpetual' payment of 2000 *cruzados* should be revised each five years,⁴⁴ a matter which fell within the duties of the mission's Procurator.⁴⁵ In addition to that, the Japanese mission benefited from the rents of three communities (*aldeias*) held in Goa's Salsete do Norte Province, whose revenues amounted to almost 1000 *cruzados*.⁴⁶

Following these two decades, the Jesuits in Japan were confronted, on the one hand, with the losses deriving from the intermittent Macao-Nagasaki trade, and, on the other hand, with a reduced amount of alms from Europe. At best, when the money destined for the Jesuits in Japan arrived in Nagasaki, the already meagre budget was further reduced by almost a third by taxes and exchange rates.⁴⁷

43 Cf. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma, Fondo Gesuitico, 1274, f. 12v. See also Costa 2000a, 238.

44 On the other hand, regarding the participation of the Ignatians in the trade, Philip III kept a fluctuating behaviour. On 2 August 1607 he raised the royal subvention to 4000 *cruzados*, in order to make the Jesuit involvement stop. In 1608 and in 1610 he officially forbade the missionaries to take part in the trade. Yet, on 1 July 1611 he issued an *alvará*, which revoked the additional 2000 *cruzados* and allowed the Fathers to keep on with the trade. Cf. *Alvara del Rey Sobre a meia viagem suspendida por então, com dous mil cruzados de renda, que se tinham concedidos, e se concede continuar com o emprego ordinario*, BA/JA, Cod. 49-V-5, ff. 126v-127v.

45 As a matter of fact, in 1594, the Procurator of the Japanese mission, Gil da Mata, wrote to the General that the King agreed to renew the payment for another five years. Cf. Costa 1988, 113.

46 See *Titulo dos bens de raiz de Jappão*, BA/JA, Cod. 49-IV-66, ff. 94v-95: 'A renda mais fixa q[ue] tem Jappão são trez Aldeas pequenas em Salcete do Norte, porq[ue] forão compradas co[m] licença del Rey, e estão desmembrada de sua fazenda e rendem agora mil e trezentos pardaos pataçoens de quatro laris ao pardao.' One *pardao de ouro* was worth 360 réis, whereas one *pardau de prata* corresponded to 300 réis.

47 Bishop Luís Cerqueira, Nagasaki, 10 March 1610. ARSI, Jap. Sin 21 [II], ff. 227-227v. Quoted in Cooper 1994, 247.

3. A note about two Procurators: Carlo Spinola and João Rodrigues Tçuzu

As discussed above, Carlo Spinola spent 15 months in Macao, eventually arriving in Japan in July 1602. After seven years in Kyōto, by the end of 1611 he was recalled to Nagasaki where he was to embark for Macao to substitute João Coelho, but Spinola's respected presence was needed in Macao also to help curtail the discontent towards the Ignatians created by the *Madre de Deus* incident in 1609.⁴⁸ The Italian Jesuit, however, was not willing to return to Macao, for he abhorred the idea of being once more appointed Procurator. Furthermore, he believed that Macao's damp climate was bad for his health.⁴⁹ According to the Portuguese Francisco Pires S.J., Spinola's complaints were sufficient to make Pasio change his mind, as the order of sending him to Macao was revoked.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, Spinola could not avoid the duties of Procurator much longer. In fact, although it has been erroneously stated that Spinola was chosen to substitute João Rodrigues Tçuzu owing to the expulsion of the Portuguese from Japan,⁵¹ we know that Pasio chose Spinola to replace Sebastião Vieira,⁵² who was 'detrimental to the harmony [of the Province], no one – either inside or outside the Society – really tolerates him and, furthermore, the post was physically consuming him'.⁵³

Francesco Pasio considered the office of Procurator as the second most important, owing to the fact that each missionary depended on the provisions issued by the *Procuradoria*. That is why – he stated – it was deemed necessary to choose the candidate amidst Fathers blessed with the best qualities (*partes*). Eventually, the final decision was taken by the Provincial Valen-

48 On the *Madre de Deus* incident see Boxer 1989, 62-68. See also Boxer 1993, 269-285 and Cooper 1994, 268-275.

49 ARSI, Jap. Sin- 21 [II], ff. 227-227v.

50 Francisco Pires S.J. to the Assistant of Portugal António Mascarenhas S.J., Nagasaki, 10 March 1612. ARSI, Jap. Sin. 15 [II], f. 213: 'E por ser neçesario hum Procurador em Amacão por morte do Padre João Coelho, ja que sua R. [Claudio Acquaviva] o queria mandar de Japão Procurador a China, e tinham ido tantos Portugueses lhe apontarão no Padre Carlos [Spinola] Italiano. Logo o Padre Carlos se aqueixou, que o queirão deitar de Japão por ser adverso aos Portugueses que ainda que elle diz mal deles que não he por ser adversos, mas por confiança, (é verdade que onde elle pode picar nos Portugueses não lhes perdoa). Bastou dizer o Padre Carlos que não folgava de hir Amacao pera não falar mais nisso.'

51 Cf. Cooper 1994, 275. Rodrigues was actually substituted by João Coelho in 1607.

52 The Portuguese Jesuit Sebastião Vieira (1574-1634) was chosen to replace João Coelho as Procurator, when the latter was recalled to Macao. Vieira held the office from 1609 to 1611. Later, in 1633, he was appointed Vice-provincial but after only one year, he was imprisoned and executed, on 6 July 1634.

53 Visitor Francesco Pasio to General Claudio Acquaviva, Nagasaki, 15 March 1612. ARSI, Jap. Sin. 15 [I], f. 139: '[...] hera aqui prejudiçal para a união, tinha condição insofrível pera os de dentro e para os de fora, e alem disto o officio o consumia na saude corporal.' See also Appendix B, f. 154.

tim Carvalho,⁵⁴ who was the one who deemed Spinola worthy of the assignment. Besides – Pasio commented – the Italian could also ‘be a valid help for the Provincial during the consultations and other offices due to his experience gained up there in *Cami*’.⁵⁵

Although the Jesuits’ interference in the silk trade between Macao and Nagasaki is a topic which has received much attention since its very beginning,⁵⁶ the main Jesuit character of the trade has not been much studied and this simple fact is evident also within the Jesuit literature. It has been pointed out, in fact, that also in the Constitutions of the Ignatian Order few references to the Procurator are to be found.⁵⁷ For this reason, it is not easy to find mention of other Procurators throughout the history of the Jesuits in Japan. An exception might be the already mentioned João Rodrigues *Tçuzu*. About him, a voluminous bibliography has been produced so far and one of the latest works deals exactly with his role as Procurator.⁵⁸

As happened to Spinola, Rodrigues, too, was appointed Procurator both in Macao (1623-1627) and in Japan (1598-1607) and, most likely, he was the one Jesuit who matured the most experience in this field, since he became the commercial representative of both Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Tokugawa Ieyasu. But the similarities between the Portuguese and the Italian end here.

Rodrigues, in fact, was an orphan, whereas Spinola was the offspring of one of the most important families of Genoa. Rodrigues was a self-made man, who arrived in Japan during his youth and was admitted to the Society there; he used the experience gained in the field to become a key figure in the Japanese mission; Spinola, on the contrary, represents the ideal erudite missionary.

The two Jesuits knew each other, since they were both in Kyōto in 1606. About Spinola, Rodrigues shared different opinions. Although, in fact, in 1629 he criticized Spinola’s management,⁵⁹ in 1624, in a letter dedicated

54 The Portuguese Jesuit Valentim Carvalho S.J. (1559-1631) was the first Provincial of the brand new Japanese Province. He received the title in 1611, which was when Pasio received the appointment as Visitor. He was dismissed in 1617, as a consequence of harsh criticism by almost the entire missionary party.

55 ARSI, *Ibidem*: ‘[...] serà de boa ajuda pera o Padre Provincial nas Consultas e mais negócios por ser pessoa recta e polla experiencia que tem das partes do Cami’. *Kami* 上 literally means “above”, “superior” but the 16th and 17th century Jesuits used this word as a metonymy to indicate the Kyōto, Ōsaka and Nagoya region, nowadays Kinki.

56 For instance, one of the duties assigned to Valignano by Mercurian was exactly to survey the economic financing of the Asian missions, which included the interference in the silk trade. The meddling of the Ignatians in that trade, moreover, was one of the basis on which the Friars Minor based their criticism of the Society.

57 See Faria 2007, 31.

58 See Oka 2006, 81-102.

59 Cf. Couzas *que podem servir para os Procuradores*, BA/JA, Cod. 49-V-8, ff. 637-637v. See also

to a thorough description of the importance and the commitments of the Procurator in Japan, he wrote that:

'Your Paternity has to understand how important it is for a Province like this one, that has incomes neither certain nor sufficient, to have as Procurator an intelligent and reliable person, who, not only has to help in the [spiritual] edification inside and outside the residence, but still has to supply the Province, the missions and the individuals with everything they need. Moreover, with his work he has to maintain and increase this meagre capital. Father Alexandre Valignano was of the same opinion. This is why the whole Province is always looking for the most suitable man for this office. [For instance] the saint martyr, the Professed Father Carlos Spinola, a man of great qualities, held the post for a while here [in Macao] and then there in Japan, and he was still in charge when he was imprisoned. Finally, although for other posts qualified persons are to be found, it is difficult to find someone apt to be Procurator.'⁶⁰

It is clear here that Rodrigues wrote under the influence of Spinola's martyrdom, a fact that granted great prestige to a religious Order. Nevertheless, it is also clear that he recognized Spinola's worth. On the other hand, the Italian, as far as we know, left only a comment about Rodrigues. Although Spinola did not name Rodrigues, as we are going to see, it is clear to whom he was referring. Spinola's remark shall also take us back to the office of Procurator and to a problematic issue within the Society in Japan.

In explaining the reasons why he was chosen to be Procurator, Spinola wrote that for the Province's sake it was advisable to have next to the Provincial 'someone who [...] could smooth nationalistic passions and, therefore,

Oka 2006, 86-87.

60 Procurator of Japan in Macao João Rodrigues to General Muzio Vitelleschi, Macao, 28 January 1624. BA/JA, Cod. 49-V-6, f. 156: 'Para q[ue] V. P. saiba quanto importa a esta Provincia, em quanto não tem fundação certa, e bastante, estar nesta Procuradoria hu[m]a pessoa de m[ui]ta intelligencia e menço, q[ue] não somente dê nella a edificação, q[ue] se requiere fora, e dentro de caza, e co[m] muita caridade ajuda as necessidades da Provincia, e a prover das Missões, e sogeitos dellas do necessario, mas também co[m] sua industria sustente, e augmente este pobre cabedal tão bem empregado e gastado. E assim o sentia o Padre Alexandre Valignano. E por isto p[or] toda a Provincia busca o mais apto para isto, e por tantos aqui por algum tempo e depois lá em Japão, e outros Superiores, o Santo Martyr o P[adr]e Carlos Spinola professo de quatro votos, e pessoa de tantas partes, e neste officio estava quando o prenderão pela fé, porq[ue] ainda q[ue] para outros officios cá se achão pessoas competentes, para este com diffcultade acha.' See also Penalva and Lourenço 2009, 355-361.

as Procurator, he could help everyone equally.⁶¹ During the 16th century, it was common within the Portuguese assistance to keep the outstanding Portuguese Fathers in India and to send Spaniards and Italians to the Chinese and Japanese missions. This practice rebounded on the organization of the offices, since the highest positions in East Asia were assigned only to Italians and Spaniards, leaving the few Portuguese aside. However, the situation started to change before the 17th century. In 1594, for example, out of the 124 missionaries in Japan, 35 were Portuguese, whereas only 13 were Spaniards and 11 Italians.⁶²

In 1612, Spinola wrote that the Portuguese Fathers 'do not want but their fellow countrymen to be appointed Superior and they also claim the highest positions for themselves only'.⁶³ In this respect, with regard to the office of Procurator, he wrote that, until then, that office was never bestowed on a Professed Father – as was common within the Society⁶⁴ – yet there had been an exception. As a matter of fact, we know that when Carlo Spinola was chosen to be Procurator in Macao, Valignano had to ask Acquaviva's permission first, since – as we have seen – Spinola made his profession back in 1598,⁶⁵ and it was with reluctance that the General gave his consent.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, in his letter Spinola was not referring to himself when he wrote about that exception, rather to a Father 'who made his profession [of four vows] only because he was prominent in the Japanese language and acted as interpreter for the Portuguese with the Emperor,⁶⁷ dealing also with all the duties concerning the ship [from Macao]'.⁶⁸ Spinola here was clearly referring to João Rodrigues, who made his solemn profession in Nagasaki on 4 June 1601.⁶⁹ From this quotation, we are not able to grasp Spinola's idea about Rodrigues, yet it does not look like the Italian felt great admiration for

61 Appendix C, f. 156.

62 Cf. Costa 1998, 78-79.

63 Appendix B, f. 154.

64 Regarding this point, we have an interesting questionnaire submitted to the Procurator of the Brazilian Province, Father Ludovico da Fonseca, who, when answering the question whether professed Fathers should be given the office of Procurator, categorically replied that '*nec collegioru[m], nec domo[ru]m probationis possu[n]t ullo modo esse procuratores, et si qui su[n]t, amoveantur.*' See *Responsiones ad proposita a Patre Ludovico da Fonseca, procuratore Brasilia anno 1594*, ARSI, Bras. 2, ff. 85-86.

65 Cf. Visitor Alessandro Valignano to General Claudio Acquaviva, Nagasaki, 15 October 1601. ARSI, Jap. Sin. 14 [I], f. 83v.

66 Cf. General Claudio Acquaviva to Visitor Alessandro Valignano, Rome, 12 December 1606. ARSI, Jap. Sin. 3, f. 48.

67 Tokugawa Ieyasu.

68 Appendix C, f. 156v.

69 Original text in ARSI, Lus. 3, f. 24.

the Portuguese. Rather, Spinola seems a little polemic about someone who received the highest degree in the Society's hierarchy only thanks to political and economic matters. The solemn profession, in fact, was bestowed only on the most deserving Fathers, in particular on those with intellectual gifts and high educational level, which, as we have just underlined, was not Rodrigues' case. The Portuguese Father, therefore, no doubt owed this honour to his fluency in Japanese, but also to something else.

Similarly to what was stated by Spinola, Cooper pointed out that within the Society of Jesus proficiency in foreign languages was considered a qualification for the final profession.⁷⁰ Furthermore, he noted that although Japan belonged to the Portuguese *Padroado*, in those years the main offices were still held by Spaniards or Italians. Thus, he inferred that the lack of Portuguese influence in the management of the mission could be another reason for admitting Rodrigues to the final vow, because Professed Fathers were allowed to take part in the congregations.⁷¹ We can see how the disproportion in the nationality of the missionaries evolved in less than 20 years, but even though Spinola was criticizing the present situation, in 1613 he wrote that 'there is no doubt that *pro bono pacis*, it would be better if the Superior were Portuguese'.⁷²

He resented, however, the decisional influence the Portuguese Jesuits exerted over the Jesuit mission in Japan. 'Suspecting that I desired to become Rector' – Spinola later confessed to Rossignoli – [the Portuguese Fathers] relieved me from my duties in Kyōto and replaced me with one of their countrymen'.⁷³ Therefore, not surprisingly, Spinola's place in Kyōto was subsequently taken by a Portuguese, Sebastião Vieira, while he was sent to the more peripheral Kyūshū.

4. Spinola's procuratorship in Japan – part I (1612-1614)

In the Biblioteca da Ajuda it is possible to find an 18th century copy of the manuscript of the *Regimento do Proc[urad]or q[ue] està em Jappão*.⁷⁴ This

70 Cf. Cooper 1994, 202-203.

71 *Ibidem*.

72 Procurator Carlo Spinola to the Assistant of Portugal António Mascarenhas S.J., Nagasaki, 5 October 1613. ARSI, Jap. Sin. 36, ff. 161-161v: '[...] não ha duvida que pera estarmos todo em paz, e mais contentes, melhor he ser o superior portugues.' Procurator Carlo Spinola to the Assistant of Portugal António Mascarenhas S.J., Nagasaki, 5 October 1613.

73 Appendix C, f. 156v.

74 Appendix G, ff. 37-41.

text, written by Valignano in 1591,⁷⁵ includes 34 articles defining the tasks and duties of the Jesuit Procurator in the Japanese mission. Since it was part of the Visitor's duties upon taking office to revise the rules and decrees left by his predecessor, Francesco Pasio reviewed Valignano's work between 1611 and 1612 and so did Father Francisco Vieira in 1617. The *Regimento* was basically meant to define the work of the Procurator in all of its aspects, such as how many records he had to keep; whether or not he could be assisted in his duties, by whom, to what extent and how; what to do when the annual ship from Macao arrived in Japan, and so forth. Based on this text, one is able to filter and better understand the information contained in Spinola's letters and determine to what extent the *Regimento's* guidelines were actually followed and put into practice. Although there is a gap of more than 20 years between the *Regimento's* first drawing up and Spinola's appointment, the fact that Pasio added only three articles lets us think that the *Regimento* was still topical in the 1610s and gives us further confirmation about the foresightedness of Valignano.

The main tasks of the Procurator were essentially two: in the first place, he was responsible for collecting all the mail and goods (sacramental wine, clothes, crosses, books, glasses, etc.) shipped to Japan from Europe, Goa and Macao.⁷⁶ The Procurator was also responsible for buying what the mission and the missionaries lacked and needed, as well as selling 'what is to be sold at a certain time.'⁷⁷ By that Valignano probably meant something similar to what João Rodrigues once wrote – 'the first price in Nagasaki is ordinarily the better'⁷⁸ – that is the first goods to be sold in Japan assured the higher profits. Moreover, we have to underline that when Valignano wrote the *Regimento*, the system of bulk purchase, called *itowappu-seido* (糸割符制度) by the Japanese, had not been established yet. Therefore, the negotiations in the 1580s were more susceptible to the contingencies and the Procurator was supposed to be more attentive.⁷⁹ In the second place, the Procurator was responsible for supplying the Colleges, Houses and Seminars with all the things they needed, such as rosaries and *veronicas* but also

75 Oka decided to ignore the fact that the text clearly states that the *Regimento* was written in 1591 and instead wrote that it was probably written after 1594. Cf. Oka 2006, 83.

76 For a detailed list see BA/JA, Cod. 49-IV-66, ff. 19-19v.

77 Appendix G, f. 37.

78 BA/JA, Cod. 49-V-8, f. 638: 'O primeiro preço em Nangasaqui é ordinariamente melhor.' See also Oka 2006, 95.

79 The *itowappu seido* was established by Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1604, because in 1602, a large part of the silks remained unsold, since the Japanese merchants complained that the prices requested by the Portuguese were too high. See BOXER 1993, 273-274. According to Manoel Dias S.J., the Portuguese used the same system when purchasing the silk from the Chinese in the Canton fair. See ARSI, Jap. Sin. 14 [II], f. 342. See also Cooper 1972, 431.

more practical things, like sugar, vinegar and cheese.⁸⁰ Although the Procurator had to accomplish his duties without ever forgetting 'to pursue God's glory through helping others' souls',⁸¹ Spinola was never too naïve about the actual deviations from this ideal implied by his office. As he wrote with cold realism to Acquaviva on 18 March 1612:

'I believe I can write to you that, although it is a huge undertaking, I do not refuse to work in supplying all the houses of Japan, since I do my part in the result everyone is working for. The thing I am loath to do is to be a merchant and strive to improve the capital with several bargains and attention to get money. This is something I have never done in my life and I entered the Order just to flee from that. That is why I beg you once again to comfort me in this and to write to the Father Visitor to free me from this post.'⁸²

Spinola's resentment towards the office of Procurator was based on two premises: first, the difficult relationship with his relatives – a family rooted in the temporal world⁸³ – and, second, the relation between the clergy and economy, or between God and Mammon. Notwithstanding what is stated in the New Testament⁸⁴ or by the Popes,⁸⁵ in the 15th and 16th centuries both the Church and the Portuguese Crown allowed the clergy – in great economic troubles – to trade, provided that it was not for lucrative purposes.⁸⁶ Over the years, the Society of Jesus and the Roman Curia assumed a similar attitude regarding the silk trade. The third General, Francisco Borja, was the first one, in 1567, to express his discontent about the Jesuit participation in the

80 For a complete list of the merchandises sent from Macao to Japan in 1618 see BA/JA, Cod. 49-V-7, ff. 187v-142, transcribed in: Boxer 1989, 163-168.

81 Appendix G, f. 37.

82 Appendix B, ff. 154-154v.

83 The lack of bibliographical evidences does not allow us to investigate Carlo Spinola's relationship with his family more deeply. Nevertheless, from his epistolary output it appears it was rather stormy, at least on the side of the Counts of Tassarolo. The word he used in the quotation – *huyr* [flee] – is proof of this. In 1612, moreover, he wrote directly to Genoa and stated that 'desidero ancora che V. R. saluti in mio nome il S[igno]r Hettore, et S[igno]r Fabritio Spinola miei zii, et il S[igno]re Agostino Sp[ino]lla Conte di Tassarolo mio Cuggino, a i quali non scrivo, p[er]che l'ho fatto più volte gl'anni passati, senza mai ricevere risposta [...], imperò V. R. può dare loro raguaglio di me, et all'altri miei parenti'. See ARSI, Jap. Sin. 36, f. 157.

84 E.g. 2Tm, 2:3 'labora sicut bonus miles Christi Iesu 4 nemo militans implicat se negotiis saecularibus ut ei placeat cui se probavit.'; Mt, 6:24 'nemo potest duobus dominis servire aut enim unum odio habebit et alterum diligit aut unum sustinebit et alterum contemnet non potestis Deo servire et mammonae.'

85 For instance, Gregorius IX's (r. 1227-1241) statement: 'ne clerici vel monachi secularibus negociis se imisceant'. See Boetius 1588.

86 Costa 1998, 107-108.

silk trade. For his part, in 1582, Acquaviva allowed the trade after having consulted Pope Gregory XIII, because ‘necessity knows no law, especially because it seems that in this trade prevails the axiom “what is introduced in favour of charity, ought not to march against it”’.⁸⁷ The following year, however, having received complaints about the excessive participation of the Fathers in the trade, he wrote to Valignano that his permission was only a temporary (*ad tempus*), yet necessary one. Therefore, he enforced the prohibition, once more, and so did Pope Sixtus V, in 1585. Nevertheless, when Sixtus V reduced the alms in 1586, Valignano wrote again to Acquaviva to inform the General that without the trade and with the reduced alms, it was impossible to finance the Asian missions. Acquaviva eventually revoked the interdiction.⁸⁸

As Valignano stressed in the 29th article of the *Regimento* for the Procurator of Japan:

‘Trading – by its very nature – is forbidden to the clergymen and to us, members of the Society, in particular, because of our Constitutions. This traffic in Japan, which was authorized by His Holiness [Gregory XIII] and by Our Father [Claudio Acquaviva], is but for supplying the needs of the Society and the Christianity in these lands, where, right now, there is no other way. Concerning this trade, we must make sure not to get other licenses whatsoever except for those bestowed by His Holiness and Our Father, according to the needs [of our mission in Japan].’⁸⁹

Despite Spinola’s aversion to the office, during the 1610s the post of Procurator went through a topical modification, which made it – as Spinola said – ‘easier to carry out’,⁹⁰ and also a lot less compromising than during past times.

In a letter written probably to the Assistant António Mascarenhas during the spring of 1612, Spinola explained what happened when the Society was forced to handle silver owned by people outside the Society. Despite the fact that examples of this can be found also during Spinola’s procuratorship, it is evident that this was a problem that affected the mission more in the years

87 BA/JA, Cod. 49-IV-56, f. 198: ‘[...] la necessid[ad]e dispensa sobre toda Ley, especialm[en]te pareciendo sin duda q[ue] en tal neg[oci]o aya lugar aquel axioma, *quod pro charit[at]e introductum est, non debet contra charitate[m] militare.*’

88 *Ibidem*, ff. 198-198v. See also Costa 1998, 110 and Alden 1996, 533-536.

89 Appendix G, ff. 39-40.

90 Appendix D, f. 159.

before his appointment. As a matter of fact, Valignano faced this issue on several occasions. Firstly, in 1589, Valignano expressed his idea regarding this point, basically stating that it was very difficult for the Society to refuse to handle outsiders' silver, in particular when such requests came from influential nobles, because the Jesuits needed to gain and to keep their favour.⁹¹ Then, in the 16th article of the *Regimento*, he wrote that eventual handling of outsiders' silver should first be confirmed by the Superior.⁹² Finally, in 1592, he gave more detailed information:

'Daimyos want to have their silver sent to Macao through the Fathers [...] and to get it exchanged for raw silk or gold. In ordinary cases, they want only gold. The practice [...] was carried out at first on a small case by [a certain Christian daimyo] [...]. Later, as [...] [their] number increased, [...] [others] wanted to profit from this practice. When I visited Macao last year [1591], I was given permission by the municipality [...] to send up to 6'000 ducats of silver to Macao to exchange [...] for gold. But this [...] is not sufficient to meet even half the demand for gold by the daimyo [...] and I am afraid that it will increase day by day.'⁹³

This matter reached an even more delicate point during Rodrigues' procuratorship. The Portuguese acted as intermediary in the trade between the Portuguese and both Toyotomi Hideyoshi – that is, before he was appointed Procurator – and Tokugawa Ieyasu. Basically, he handled their capital in silver to buy the Chinese silk. Eventually, he got so involved in this occupation that in 1607 Bishop Luís Cerqueira wrote:

'[...] exchanges do not belong exactly to our profession and, for their nature, they happen to give rise to scandals, partly because the aforementioned Father [João Rodrigues], when he dedicates himself to them, must get heavily involved, with a consequent as well as unsuitable loss of religious care and prudence. Although his expertise and cleverness in this trade are undeniable, I can truly declare that every problem and complaint we have had in the last years and until this very day is to be attributed to this office.'⁹⁴

91 See Cooper 1994, 251, and ARSI, Jap. Sin. 11, f. 140.

92 Appendix G, f. 39.

93 Quoted in Alden 1996, 536.

94 ARSI, Jap. Sin. 21, ff. 135-137v : '[...] negocios em si considerados não serem tão proprios da nossa profissão e de sua natureza ocasionados a se murmurar, parte pollo modo que o dito

Cerqueira's point of view was an objective one, since he was not compelled to praise the Society's efforts, and eventually proved to be the right one. As a matter of fact, Rodrigues' familiarity with Tokugawa Ieyasu gave birth to a conspiracy against him, which resulted in his expulsion from Japan in 1610.⁹⁵ By 1629, Rodrigues radically changed his mind on this point. In fact, in his memorandum for future Procurators, he wrote firmly that a Jesuit should not take responsibility for the money of rulers in the course of trade.⁹⁶

By the time Rodrigues was expelled from Japan and Spinola had been appointed Procurator, the regulations issued by the Society regarding the handling of outsiders' capital began to change. As Spinola noted:

'The Father Visitor issued an order *in virtute obedientiae* that compels us neither to send outsiders' silver to Macao, nor to manage it. Nonetheless, since a lot of people begged us to take their silver to Macao, we took it in our name and I think it is a heavy burden to negotiate it and invest it all. Hence, when the investments do come back here, you have no idea of the quantity of work and complaints a procurator has to deal with, due to the impracticality of contenting everybody. The consequences are the Society's losses, for one is already overburdened with the management of our goods, without taking on others. Therefore, we shall follow Our Father and close this door to release ourselves from such troubles so distant from our profession. As this office will become lighter, the Japanese will understand that all they can receive from us is nothing but spiritual improvement.'⁹⁷

padre tem de os tratar, metendose mais nelles, e com menos resguardo e prudencia religiosa do que convem, posto que se não pode negar ser esperto e intelligente nestes negocios. Pode-se com verdade affirmar que quasi todos os trabalhos e enfadamentos que destes annos atraz tivemos em Japão e ainda agora não nos faltão, se occasionarão deste como-governo.'

95 Regarding Rodrigues' excessive involvement in the commercial negotiations, see Cooper 1994, 255-275.

96 See BA/JA, Cod. 49-V-8, f. 646v. See also Oka 2006, 87.

97 Procurator Carlo Spinola to the Assistant of Portugal António Mascarenhas [?], Nagasaki, Spring 1612. ARSI, Jap. Sin. 36, f. 158v: '[...] o P[adr]e Visitador fez hu[m]a ordem *in virtute obedientiae*, que não mandassemos prata de pessoas de fora a Macao, nem a feitorizassemos, mas porque o P[adr]e se hia, e muytos lhe pidirão, que levasse sua prata, foy muyta em nosso nome, e credo ha de ter trabalho em negocia, e empregãla toda, e depois de vindo ca o emprego, não pode cuidar V. R. o trabalho, que tem o procurador, e as queixas, porque não se pode contentar a todos, e sempre vem muyta perda à Comp[anhi]a, e basta home[m] correr com o nosso fato p[ar] a estar demasiadamente occupado, sem feitorizar o alhes; pello que se houvera de fechar esta porta com obediencia de N. P[adr]e, p[ar]a que nos escusassemos de tantos enfadamentos bem alheos de nossa profissão, e assi esta carga ficaria mais leve, e os jappões entenderião, que de nos não hão de esperar se não o seu proveito espiritual.'

We have to notice that Spinola did not choose his words without a reason. In particular, his use of the word “negotiate” (*negociala*), which is a word so strictly bound to matters regarding the Procurator, that it is not by coincidence that in the first item of his memorandum João Rodrigues states that ‘the Procurator of Japan, being a mere negotiator, is very different from the other provinces’ Procurators.’⁹⁸ Spinola, who had experienced the office both in Macao and in Nagasaki, distinguishes the duties of these *negociadores* in terms of the quantity of work to be handled. In 1613, he wrote that ‘negotiating the merchandise of the Society is a task carried out more by the Procurator who dwells in Macao than the one in Japan’⁹⁹ and it is around this year that in some ways the tasks were lightened.

The order *in virtute obedientiae* mentioned by Spinola, was issued by Francesco Pasio and was meant to modify to some extent the aforementioned 16th article of Valignano’s *Regimento*,¹⁰⁰ where it was suggested that eventual handling of outsiders’ capital should be allowed by the Superior of the mission. The fact that Pasio did not erase this point but reinforced the submission of the Procurator to his direct Superior makes us think that he was respecting Valignano’s suggestion, but a change in mentality inside the Society regarding this point was in progress, and Spinola played a part in it.

Between 1612 and 1613 an order from Claudio Acquaviva reached Japan forbidding the Fathers to handle silver or money belonging to the Japanese and/or to the Portuguese. We cannot know whether Valignano would have rejected this order or not, since the *status quo* was quite different from when he wrote that they could only handle the silver of the daimyos, but Carlo Spinola was extremely relieved as he was finally exempted from handling something ‘which – in his view – caused a lot of repulsion and complaints, being a huge undertaking unworthy of religious men, generating no profit but substantial loss to the Society’s capital, as well as a lot of complaints and the alienation of the souls of those men, whose silver we did manage’.¹⁰¹

From this quotation several inferences can be made such as the duplicity of the Society of Jesus, an organism that never stood still. Similarly to what happened with the drawing up of the *Constitutiones Societatis Iesu* – a process that lasted from 1541 to the last revision in 1594 – the *Regimento* of the Procurator of Japan underwent different revisions between 1591 and

98 BA/JA, Cod. 49-V-8, f. 635:‘[...] o officio de Procurador de Japão por ser hum puro negociador, he muito diferente do das outras Provincias.’

99 Appendix D, f. 159.

100 Appendix G, f. 39. Pasio’s emendation in *ibidem*, f. 41

101 Appendix D, f. 159.

1629 (although in this case it was not an emendation, but a brand new work). When Pasio emended Valignano's work, he added no more than four items. But neither Valignano nor Pasio had experience as Procurators and they could not imagine what was going to happen two years after Pasio's departure. The lack of factual experience might be one of the reasons that led Rodrigues to write a new memorandum for the Procurator, instead of emending the old one, even though he recognised its pertinence. In a few words, Valignano could not reckon with the temperamental behaviour of the Japanese rulers, whereas Rodrigues not only served as Procurator during several years, but personally knew both Hideyoshi and Ieyasu. Although *Tçuzu* was forced to leave Japan in 1610, two years after that, Ieyasu still wanted the Fathers to be his agents in the silk trade. Spinola, who evidently did not favour the idea, tells us that:

'Someone used to think that to preserve ourselves in Japan, and to please the shōgun, it was necessary to take on his silver and through our intercession buy in China the silk he desired [...]. Nevertheless, we got close to being expelled from Japan, because the King lost everything and he oftentimes calls us thieves, since he saw that we had given him goods more expensive than what he had received from others. This is why he stopped giving us silver to manage. It is a clear demonstration that Our Lord God did not like that method, on the contrary it was unworthy of our profession [...] merely a secular thing.'¹⁰²

After pointing out this issue, Spinola, who was grateful to Acquaviva, concluded: 'I infinitely thank you for having eliminated such a heavy burden from this office, which was already unbearable.'¹⁰³

We know that Spinola did not feel comfortable walking in the shoes of a merchant and therefore his happiness when the General reduced the interference of the Society in this trade is obvious. Spinola did not miss a chance to show his repugnance of the office and so if he could have less work to do it would only be better for him and for the Society. He was very different from João Rodrigues, who – as we have already shown – was not exactly shy when managing trading operations. Visitor Francisco Vieira, the successor of Pasio, accordingly wrote that:

'[João Rodrigues] was well acquainted with Hideyoshi, with this shōgun and with all of the powerful Japanese lords and thanks to

102 *Ibidem.*

103 *Ibidem.*

him the Fathers managed to remain in Japan. Yet, he got much too involved in secular matters and in the government of Nagasaki. He acted a little recklessly and he made many enemies, such as Toan¹⁰⁴ and Hasegawa.¹⁰⁵ They prosecuted him – I believe unfairly – and forced him to leave Japan.¹⁰⁶

Rodrigues left Japan in 1610, and Spinola knew well that he was forced to leave because of his excessive interference. The above mentioned letter by Spinola, which we have quoted, was written in 1613. The following year, the *bakufu* issued the expulsion order, yet he decided to remain in Japan along with 54 companions.¹⁰⁷ Paradoxically, the appointment as Procurator and the persecution turned out to be rather positive to Spinola:

‘When I refused this office, I did not know what I was doing, and now I realise that it was the intercession of God, because if I did not hold this position at this juncture, the Father Provincial would not have let me stay in Japan, since I lack the qualities to live amongst such dangers. If this had happened, it would have been a great suffering for me, because with this post I do a service to the Society and I strive to help the Christians, which is my consolation until God gives us peace and someone else will manage the office better than I.’¹⁰⁸

5. Spinola’s procuratorship in Japan – part II (1614-1618)

We have already mentioned how Valignano was unable to foresee everything that was going to happen, in particular the disaster created by

104 Murayama Tōan Antônio (?-1619) was the Nagasaki *daikan* [代官], the local representative of the city governor since 1603. He entered into open conflict with Rodrigues and Pasio owing to their interference in the trade. See Cooper 1994, 264-266. See also Pasio’s description of the facts in ARSI, Jap. Sin.14 [II], ff. 338-339v.

105 Hasegawa Sahyōei (?-1617), the Nagasaki *bugyō*.

106 See ARSI, Jap. Sin.29, f. 107c. Quoted in Cooper 1994, 267.

107 Procurator Carlo Spinola to the Assistant of Portugal Antônio Mascarenhas, Nagasaki, 18 March 1616, ARSI, Jap. Sin. 36, f. 158: ‘[...] o muyto que sintia salir de Jappão, que tantos annos de viajẽm, e perigos me tinha custado.’

108 ARSI, *Ibidem*, ff. 181-181v: ‘Eu quando recusei este officio, não soubi o que fazia, e agora vejo que foy particular merçe de Deus, porque se não o tivera nesta conju[n]çam, como me faltão as partes que se requerem pera quem ha de andar entre tantos perigos, não me ouvera o P[adr]e Prof[incia]l de deixar em Japam, o que fora p[er]a mim de grande afliçam, porem como faço nisto algum serviço a Comp[anhi]a, e procuro de ajudar os christãos, estou muy consolado, ate que Deus nos dee paz, e venha outro que o faça melhor.’

André Pessoa.¹⁰⁹ In 1611, in fact, owing to the incident there was no voyage from Macao to Nagasaki. But Tokugawa Ieyasu's expectations of increasing trade with the Spaniards and Dutch had failed to materialise and then the Japanese government was also very anxious for the resumption of the China trade,¹¹⁰ which started again in 1612. But even though the trade was restored, Nagasaki also harboured Spanish ships from Manila laden with Chinese silk. Thus – as Spinola observed – 'silk has become cheaper and then – after the interest has been paid – the left-over is so scarce that it will not cover a whole year of sustentation'.¹¹¹ It was not only the surplus of merchandise that caused meagre incomes for the Japanese Province. But from a letter written by Bishop Cerqueira to King Philip III we can add a precious detail to the abovementioned:

'The silk was sold cheaper than we wished, but we could not do anything about it, owing to the great quantity of silk that came from Manila with the last monsoon. Moreover, the Spanish merchants have a licence to sell their share outside the *pancada*.'¹¹²

That is to say that, differently from the Portuguese merchants, who were obliged to sell their silk according to the established *pancada* price, the Spaniards were not bound by such restrictions and therefore were the ones who could actually inflate or deflate the value of the merchandise.¹¹³

Nevertheless, the problems for the Japanese Province did not come only from the desired trade. The financial capital of the Province was depleted because of the debts due to the missing voyage. Despite the mission being helped by alms from two non-Christian lords and some Portuguese with 5 000 *cruzados*, Spinola confessed to Acquaviva that:

'[...] some of the lords who used to help us have died, some others have been exiled during this persecution. Therefore, we have lost all the aids which we used to receive from Arima's Christians and also

109 See note 49 above.

110 Cf. Boxer 1989, 69-70.

111 Appendix D, f. 159v.

112 Cf. Bishop Luís Cerqueira to Philip III, Nagasaki, Real Academia de Historia (Madrid), Jesuitas Cortes 9/2666, ff. 257-257v: '[...] a pa[n]cada da seda, q[ue] he a principal fazenda, foi mais baixa do q[ue] se desejava e esperava mas não foi possível mais polla m[ui]ta seda que ale[m] da da nao tem esta monção passada vindo da Manilha, em tanto q[ue] os mercadores Espanhões, com se lhes dar licença p[ar]a vendere[m] a sua fora de pancada a sua vontade, escaçam[en]te tirarão o proprio.'

113 Regarding this topic see Takase 1972, 11-18.

the revenues we had there, which were not scarce. Moreover, we have to maintain the people who gathered here in Nagasaki, where everything is one third more expensive than in Arima, because in this harbour are gathering many ships and men. If Europe does not help us with substantial economic aid, with which we can pay our debts, and if we do not earn some capital with the ship, we will be forced to close the seminar and get rid of useless *dōjuku*¹¹⁴ (and there are plenty), otherwise we will eventually get to a state of extreme and irreparable necessity.¹¹⁵

In 1613, the persecution had not yet begun. Nevertheless, already in 1612 there had been incidents related to Christianity that could be considered as symptoms of what eventually happened in 1614.¹¹⁶ In this case, Spinola is referring to the capital execution of Arima Harunobu – the Christian daimyo known as Dom Protásio – owing to the Okamoto Daihachi-incident in 1612, a court intrigue involving Dom Protásio and Okamoto Paulo Daihachi. Protásio, eager to obtain the restitution of some lands which had been lost in the chaos of the *sengoku jidai*, bribed Okamoto, who was supposed to forge some documents regarding those lands. The plot, however, was promptly revealed by Arima's son, Naozumi, who was apparently in league with Hasegawa Sahyōei against the head of the family. Ieyasu was furious when the matter came to his knowledge. Old Arima was promptly dispossessed of his fief in 1612, and executed the following year, whereas Okamoto was burned alive for forging Ieyasu's letters patent.¹¹⁷

The casualty caused numerous problems: loss of income, loss of protection, gathering of Christians in Nagasaki and consequent increase of expenses because of the price difference between Nagasaki and Arima. We can translate this situation in numbers. In October 1613, the debts of the Province in Japan amounted to 9 000 *escudos*,¹¹⁸ and since there was no voyage to Japan

114 *Dōjuku*, currently *dōshuku* [同宿], literally means 'lodge in the same place'. It is a word used in Buddhism to denote the youngsters who worked for the monks in the temples.

115 Appendix D, *ibidem*.

116 It is quite true that Ieyasu had been contemplating this move for some time. In this year of 1612, in fact, the English Will Adams had told a Spanish envoy whom he met at the Court that no Fathers would be left in Japan within three years. Cf. Boxer 1989, 72, note 162.

117 Cf. Boxer 1993, 314-315.

118 See ARSI, Jap. Sin. 36, f. 161. It is not clear what Spinola meant by *escudo*. We know that the *scudo d'oro* was a coin of the Papal State, whose value was approximately 3 *cruzados*. Cf. Martini 2003, 610. Nevertheless, since Spinola stated that in 1616 the Society was indebted for 18 900 *cruzados*, we assume he was not referring to the Roman *scudo*, but to a coin whose value was slightly higher than the *cruzado*.

there had been no income either.¹¹⁹ Although the arrival of the Great Ship – the *Nossa Senhora da Vida* – was only delayed until July 1614, we must stress that a missing voyage not only meant a period of economic hardship, but also an augmentation of debts, because – as Spinola pointed out – the Procurator based in Macao was still supposed to provide the Japanese colleges and residences with their needs and, since there was no income from selling the silk, he was forced to borrow.¹²⁰

Before the arrival of the Great Ship, precisely in March, Spinola wrote to Acquaviva with a hint of optimism that ‘we are all gathered in this College of Nagasaki, condemned to be exiled to Macao, although, since the ships will leave only in October, there might be some change’.¹²¹ Actually, in his 1614 letters we do not find many allusions to the persecution. He wrote that Christian buildings were destroyed, but he did not waste too many words on it. Basically, his subtle aim in touching on this topic was to demonstrate to Acquaviva the widespread waste that affected the mission and the need to be rid of useless Brothers and *dōjuku*. The last point in particular monopolised his letters. Generally speaking, the *irmãos* had been extremely useful elements for the evangelising process during the first period of the mission, when there was a strong conviction that the Japanese Christianity ought to be self-sufficient. But then the project of creating a native clergy stopped. Owing to this change in the programmes of the Society, with the Brothers no longer being considered apt for the priesthood, there was an overlapping of positions, namely *irmãos* and *dōjuku* shared the same tasks, even though the former considered themselves higher than the latter.¹²² Spinola provided a lot of examples of this problem through the years, and he links it to a situation that got worse during the persecution, namely the lack of Fathers in Japan. In 1614, he wrote that ‘to preserve the Europeans in Japan, there ought not to be many Priests of the Society or clergymen, but only a few of them here in Nagasaki to carry out pontifical duties’.¹²³ Nevertheless, he still would not have allowed the Japanese to become Fathers, because he did not want them to take part in the Province congregations, when important

119 Boxer 1989, 71-72.

120 See Appendix D, f. 159v.

121 Procurator Carlo Spinola to General Claudio Acquaviva, Nagasaki, 18 March 1614. ARSI, Jap. Sin. 36, f. 162: ‘[...] estamos todos ajuntados neste Collegio de Na[n]gasaqui, e condenados a desterro pera Macao, ainda que como se differe a hida até otubro, pode ser que haja algu[m]a mudança.’

122 Cf. Costa 1998, 503-505.

123 Appendix E, f. 165: ‘[...] ha mister po la conservação dos Europeos em Japam, que não haja muytos sacerdotes da Comp[anhi]a, nem clerigos se não poucos aqui em Na[n]gasaqui p[ar]a ajuda dos officios pontificaes.’

matters were discussed.¹²⁴ As the Procurator of the Province, he felt obliged to modify the situation in order to survive during such a perilous time, so he founded his theory on a historical basis, which at least shows that he did not esteem the Japanese people highly. First he wrote that:

'[...] as the Japanese Fathers multiply, they will start to demand ranks in the Society and then they will have to be admitted to the consultations and to the respective dignity, otherwise we will have to deal with thousands of complaints and rebellions. Since we are on their land they could possibly do whatever they want to us with the help of their fellows, because they are so close to one another; although they lack in the fundamentals of spirit as well as in humility, they already say that it will be fair to make Father Martinho Campo,¹²⁵ Rector of Nagasaki.'¹²⁶

And then, as Spinola tried to explain to Acquaviva why the teaching of Latin should be erased, he added that:

'[...] exactly as what used to happen in the Society, when everyone who had been studying theology for just a few years demanded to pray and to become professed, whereas only a few of them actually applied themselves to the confessions. To take this temptation away from them, it was decided to reduce the study. Hence, if Your Paternity were to take the ambition to become Brothers away from the *dōjuku*, they should take away the study of Latin in the first place, since these requests come along with it and the Society is poorly served in the necessary duties.'¹²⁷

124 While complaining about the behaviour of Japanese Brothers he used an interesting utterance to define them, *fidalgos*. See Appendix F, f. 168v.

125 Martinho Hara (c. 1568-1629) was one of the four Japanese boys who visited Europe during the 1580s. The others were: Mancio Itō, cast in the role of the ambassador of the King of Bungo; Miguel Chijiwa, assigned the part of envoy of the King of Arima and the Prince of Ōmura; and Julião Nakaura. See Elisonas 2007, 27–66.

126 Appendix E, f. 165.

127 Appendix E, ff. 165-165v. His ideas basically remained the same until the end of his life. Two years later, for example, he wrote that 'a experiencia de tantos annos tem mostrado que os Japões não sam ainda pera Religiosos, e muyto menos p[ar]a sacerdotes, e assi dar lhes estudo não serve de mais que de por lhes a tentaçam em casa de serem recebidos na Comp[anhi]a, ou de aspirarem a o sacerdocio fora, e sairem depois com schismas piores q[ue] a passada; os superiores passados pera provarem, receberão a muytos com os quaes foy necessario dispensar muytas regras, e p[ar]a os conservarem lhes dissimularão muytas faltas grandes, po las quaes creio que agora D[eo]s nos castiga, e por deradeiro ou apostataram, ou forão forçados a despedilos com grande escandalo dos Christãos'. ARSI, Jap. Sin. 36, f. 187.

Exactly one year later, in a letter dated 25 March 1615, once again addressed to Superior General Acquaviva, Spinola reinforced the point expressed in the 1614 letter by adding some data that are quite interesting for us, and in which the general tone is definitely more worried about the finances.¹²⁸ Spinola does not tell us the amount of debts, but he sums up the situation with few but eloquent words: ‘this Province of Japan [...] not only does not own any capital, but also has a lot of debts and no chance to pay them.’¹²⁹ Spinola also wrote down other information about his office, which takes us back to Valignano’s *Regimento* once again. In the 6th article Valignano suggests that the Procurator:

‘[...] shall have a book in which the first point will be the statute of his office and then he shall have the list of all the incomes Japan has been granted by the Supreme Pontiff in Spain, in India, Malacca, China and Japan as well. Along with that, he shall keep a record about what – in his experience – each Father, Brother, *dōjuku*, *tonobara*¹³⁰ and boy of the House might spend. Somewhere else in the same book, he shall keep the advice and reminders which might help others who would hold this office of Procurator.’¹³¹

We have stated that Spinola was aware of the surplus of Brothers and *dōjuku* and that he considered their removal as the first move to turn around the economy of the Province. However, he was also conscious of the fact that they could not send the dismissed men to Macao, because the Viceroy of Guangdong forbade the reception of Japanese on Chinese soil. Then, given the impossibility of getting rid of all the Province’s unnecessary members, he informed Acquaviva about the costs of each Father, and we can guess he wrote this part with an eye on the book Valignano mentioned:

‘The increase in *dōjuku* and domestic boys is unnecessary given the poor state they are in. Up till now, each Father had a *dōjuku* and a private boy, but besides them we also need other servants for the housework. The Brothers who are supposed to carry out some of the duties want to be served, instead, and the ones who dwell in

128 The information that the sixth General was the Italian Muzio Vitelleschi reached Japan only in June, 1617.

129 Appendix F, ff. 168-168v.

130 *Tonobara* [殿原] were Japanese hired to carry out duties in the residences of the Society.

131 Appendix G, f. 37v.

big residences usually lie idle. Thus, a Father may not spend more than 18 *ducados*¹³² per year, 25 *ducados* if we add food, clothes and other ordinary expenditure such as guests, furniture, house repairs and so on. Nevertheless, with a *dōjuku*, who needs 14 *ducados*, and a boy, who costs 9, the total sum adds up to 48 *ducados*.¹³³

In 1614, there were 150 Jesuits (Fathers and Brothers) in Japan, so if we calculate the annual expenses for each missionary at 48 *ducados* we have an annual expenditure of 7200 *ducados*. But when Spinola wrote this letter – March 1615 – a great number of Jesuits had already left for Macao and Manila, in October.¹³⁴ So, fortunately for the mission's coffers, only 18 Fathers and 9 Brothers remained hidden in Japan, which meant an annual cost of almost 1300 *cruzados*. Yet, the costs of the Province were not restricted to the Fathers. Things like 'house furniture and church decorations'¹³⁵ also had their weight on management of Jesuit finances in Japan. It might seem a strange quotation but we have to notice that saving money was not the first thing the Father used to think about. In 1615, Spinola was chosen to be the *Consultor* of Provincial Valentim Carvalho. We know that obedience to the direct superior is one of the pillars of the Society. In his *Regimento*, Valignano recalled that the Procurator 'according to our Rule, shall always be subject to the Superior of the residence where he does dwell, except for the duties belonging to his office'.¹³⁶ Spinola did abide by this order, but he did not hesitate to express his own opinion about Provincial Carvalho:

'[...] everything that the seculars bestow on us is meant to go to the Society and no Superior shall have a part of these. It is not a custom of ours that, once a tenure ends, one is supposed to illustrate his management of the finances to his successor. But if we

132 The *ducado* was a Castillian coin whose value corresponded to the Portuguese *cruzado*.

133 Appendix F, ff. 168-168v.

134 BA/JA, Cod. 49-IV-55, f. 50: 'Em 1614 estavam em Japão 150 Religiozos da Comp[anhia] a forão desterrados, para Manila vinte e tres, para Macao setenta e trez e ficarão cincoenta e quatro escondidos em Japão.' Here we see that, in 1614, 54 Jesuits remained in Japan. According to Spinola, in March 1615, this number had already decreased by half; we also have a source for 1616, which states that owing to the expulsion decrees 'se repartirão os P[adr]es da Comp[anhia] a desta maneira: em Japão ficarão 27 escondidos, disfarçados para animarem, e sustentarem na fê estes Christãos, inda q[ue] lhes custe morrerm com elles; para Manilla se embarcarão 23; p[ar]a Macao 65 [note the difference from the first source] [...], alem dos P[adr]es vierão tambem fogindo de Japão mais de 70 mossos Japoos nobres, q[ue] a Comp[anhia] criara em o Seminario'. See BA/JA, Cod. 49-V-5, f. 191.

135 See Appendix F, f. 168v.

136 Appendix G, f. 37.

were in the habit of doing this, the Fathers Provincial would be more careful. It is beyond any doubt that the main cause of the multiplication of expenses in Nagasaki is the Provincial and if the Procurator happens to see an excess in his expenditures, he should tell the Advisor and the counsellors.¹³⁷

What clearly emerges from this passage is that the Procurator, who was subordinate to the Father Provincial, was not in a position to interfere or to have a say in how the latter managed part of the funds reserved for the Japanese mission. From 1614 onwards, the Provincial of the Japanese mission resided in Macao, while the Procurator served as his substitute in Kyūshū, to all extents and purposes becoming the highest position in the south of Japan.¹³⁸

These changes gave Spinola the confidence to put forward a series of interesting requests concerning, in particular, the habit of offering (expensive) presents to local lords and other personalities in accordance with Japanese etiquette. In fact, Spinola felt quite uncomfortable with Japanese customs;¹³⁹ moreover, he belonged to that group of Jesuits who believed that the predicaments contained in Valignano's *Advertimentos acerca dos Costumes e Catangues do Japão*¹⁴⁰ – basically a code of conduct for the Fathers in Japan – were not to be applied. In his *Advertimentos*, Valignano illustrated what kind of compromises the evangelical perfection had to make in order to gain Japanese favour. We do not know what Spinola used to think about the *accomodatio* before the procuratorship, but times had changed and already in 1615 he wrote to Acquaviva that:

“Finally, the sixth point is that spending on presents [...] is useful only to make us look like rich men, whereas we are nothing but poor. It is clear that with all this prodigality we could not afford to stay in Japan and I think it is God's will to change our way and

137 Procurator Carlo Spinola to General Claudio Acquaviva, Nagasaki, 18 March 1616. ARSI, Jap. Sin. 36, f. 180: '[...] tutto quello che danno i secolari à i n[ost]ri s'intende dato alla Comp[agn]ia, et che non vi è superiore che gli vada alla mano, et finito il suo governo non vi è costume d'essere visitato dal socessore, et dare conta del dinaro administrato, il quale costume si s'introducesse, andariano li Pro[vincia]li più allerta, et non è dubbio che tenere il P[adr]e Pro[vincia]le quando sta in Na[n]gasachi borsa particolare, è causa di moltiplicarsi le spese, et quando il Procuratore vedesse che spe[n]de molto, avisaria l'admonitore, et i consultori.'

138 ARSI, Jap. Sin. 36, f. 174: '[...] il P[adr]e Pro[vincia]le mi lasciò per suo Vicario nel Scimo [下 shimo], che sono questi nove Regni di giù.'

139 We find a confirmation to this in a letter of Provincial Mateus de Couros in Pacheco 1964, 15-16.

140 See Valignano 1946.

take us back to be poor Religious, who do not have anything to give. Although according to Japanese etiquette one may not avoid offering presents, it is now time to act like the high and rich Japanese monks, who even to *Tonos* and to *Tencadono*¹⁴¹ do not offer but a ream of paper and a fan. Or like the Religious from the Philippines, who admit their poverty and offer just some candles of white wax. I do believe is a huge mistake to think that we can build and preserve Christianity only with presents. We should protect our [religious] poverty and institute instead and believe in God, as the Apostles did. Until the day when finally they will not consider us rich, we will improve little, because – as experience has showed – a lot of Japanese become Christians and invite us to their lands only so then we can help in their needs, through the lending of silver or the management of their silk and pieces of fine wool, when the ship comes. Father Provincial well understands this, but since it is regular in our habits, it is hard to correct and I see no other ways but for Your Paternity to establish that from now on the practice of giving presents should be abandoned and when it comes to offering something to *Tencadono* or to the highest *Tonos*, some pendant, European wine or sweet shall be offered. By acting this way everything will get easier and God Our Lord shall contribute along with our poverty.¹⁴²

Does reforming something that was already a reform make Spinola an innovator or a conservative? What is certain is that the Curia could not refuse Spinola's suggestions, because they all wished to take the Society back to its origins. In effect, his suggestion of limiting mission members to a number the finances could afford was welcomed and in 1618 the new rules issued by General Vitelleschi reached Japan,¹⁴³ but the reality was still very hard to contemplate. In 1616 the debts of the Japanese Province amounted to 18 900

141 *Tencadono* [天下殿 *tenka dono*] during the *Edo jidai* was a locution referring solely to the *shōgun* or who ruled the known world, but more generally, the expression *tenka* means "the sky that covers the whole earth".

142 Appendix F, ff. 168-168v.

143 Procurator Carlo Spinola to General Mutio Vitelleschi, Nagasaki, 8 October 1618. ARSI, Jap. Sin. 36, f. 191: 'A ordem de não se fazerem mais cazas, nem sustentar mais gente do que abrange o nosso cabedal, he de grande importancia, e se viera m[uy]tos annos ha, não estaria esta Prov[inci]a carregada de tantas dividas, e porque o nosso cabedal não bastava pera sustentar a maquina que avia, e cada P[adr]e queria ter a sua caza provida, se forão introduzindo m[uy]tos abusos contra a S[an]ta pobreza de cada hu[m] vender, e comprar, e faze peculio com tratos indecentes, que estão ja de todo tirados.'

ducats and when Visitador Francisco Vieira came to examine the Province's count in 1618, a few days before Spinola's imprisonment, he felt quite worried to discover that there were debts for 30 000 *taels*, almost 20 000 ducats.¹⁴⁴

Conclusions

On 8 October 1618 Spinola wrote these words to Superior General Muzio Vitelleschi:

'During the past years I often begged to be discharged from this office of Procurator, in particular because of the great distraction and work that went with it. Yet, when I was exempted from managing outsiders' silver and when I realised how detrimental the substitution of the Procurator might be for the temporal management of the Province, I volunteered to the Father Visitor to keep on with the post until someone else could carry it out better than I and I do wish to wipe out all the debts and leave a considerable capital behind.'¹⁴⁵

This is the last letter Spinola wrote as a freeman. As we saw before, in fact, he was imprisoned in December 1618 and eventually executed in September 1622.

We can use this last quotation to draw our conclusions. In addition to the fifteen months Spinola spent in Macao, he served the Society of Jesus as Procurator during years of great fluctuations in the political *status quo* of Tokugawa Japan. He was appointed at a time when the fortunes of the Japan Province had started to change, and not in a positive way. On the one hand, the *bakufu* grew tired of the presence of Christian missionaries and their involvement in political and economic matters. On the other hand, the very economic management of the evangelical mission was overwhelmed by debts and it had no practical means to erase them.

144 BA/JA, Cod. 49-V-6, f. 154. See also Cooper 1994, 248.

145 ARSI, Jap. Sin. 36, f. 192: 'Os annos passados pidi com m[uy]ta instancia ser descarregado deste officio de Proc[urado]r mais polla grande distração, que pollo trabalho que com sigo traze, porem vendo depois tirado o negoçar prata alhea, e que com a mudança dos procuradores o temporal da Prov[inci]a padeçe, me tenho offerecido ao P[adr]e Vis[itado]r a continualo até aver outro P[adr]e que o possa fazer bem, e desejo de acabar de pagar as dividas todas, e deixar hu[m] cabedal bastante.'

At the time Spinola took office as Procurator, Valignano's regulations for this office were still considered a reliable instrument, yet they needed changes and improvements to conform to new situations. The drawing up of the *Regimento* in 1591 might be considered the starting point of this process – although it may not be a mistake to start right from when the *armação* contract was stipulated – whereas Rodrigues' memorandum put an end to it. Spinola's procuratorship fell right in the middle, that is in a situation different from both Valignano's and Rodrigues' times. And here lies the importance of his procuratorship, in particular because his time saw the start of the political movement that converged in the *sakoku* policy. Therefore, we can state that his procuratorship is worth studying for two reasons: first, it occurs at a delicate moment in 17th century Japan, namely the first years of the Edo period, the first era of stability after almost two centuries of tumults; second, we can consider Spinola's procuratorship as the last one that actually took its start from Valignano's writings, for after his imprisonment Valignano's regulations were no longer applicable. Nevertheless, the analysis of the Procurator of the Japanese Province cannot claim to be complete without a wider and diachronic approach that comprehends this office in Japan during peaceful times, that is, before Spinola's arrival.

APPENDICES

This section presents a selection of letters written by Spinola, as well as Valignano's *Regimento*, including Pasio's emendations. The texts are presented in the original languages and contain minimal comments. The selection of Spinola's own documents followed a simple principle. On the one hand, we deemed it appropriate to choose those letters that better illustrate the topics surveyed in our work, starting with the Macao procuratorship, from 1602 to 1615, as well as Valignano's *Regimento*. On the other hand, since Rodrigues' memorandum was not influential for Spinola's procuratorship, we did not think it necessary to include it here.

[A]

Carlo Spinola to the Assistant of Portugal João Alvares

Macao, 27 January 1602

ARSI, Jap. Sin. 36, f. 149

[f. 149]Escrivì a V. R. por hu[m]a embarcação que de ca partio no cedo; agora escrevo pollas naos que vão no tarde. Eu estou feyto procurador de Jappão neste Collegio de mestre de novicios, feito pollo P[adr]e Valentin Carvalho novo Reitor logo q[ue] veyo em março, por que se havião de tratar hu[m]os negocios que trazia encomendados do P[adr]e Visitador com a cidade, e capitam mòr, et achou o P[adr]e Miguel Soarez morto, e vio que os home[n]s estavam be[m] com migo, e tinha cobrado com elles autoridade com as pregações; e isto por 4 mezes atè q[ue] partisse a nao, mas como não partio por falta de seda, eu fiquei atè este junho que vem, quando acabarei hu[m] a vez de chegar Deos querendo a Jappão que tanto me custa. Escrevo a o P[adr]e Geral sobre a falta que temos de dinheiro pera aviar Jappão, que por isso nos vamos endividando, e se não acodirem com hu[m]a boa pancada de dinheiro, forçadamente se ha de menguar o cabedal o coal està ja muy delgado; e a causa he porque neste Collegio se gasta muyto, a coal he perda dobrada, porque se perde o proprio, e os ganhos, e come este anno não houve viagem, o dinheiro ficou em mortorio, e se perderão mays de 7 mil cruzados de ganhos, e de Portugal nos acodirão este anno com 3300 cruzados, e de Jappão mandarão some[n]te 6000, porq[ue] cuidavão q[ue] aqui estivessem ja da esmola do Papa mays de dez mil, de modo que este anno tudo he tomar emprestado, e se hu[m]a nao nos faltar, encomendar a Deos; pello que co[n]cluo que se não se fondar este Collegio, e a esmola não se pagar por encheo, impossivel he Jappão ir por diante. Este Nove[m]bro a os 17 veo hu[m]a soma de Jappão p[ar]a saber a causa porque não fora a nao, mas foy dar tam longe com temporal, que não podemos aynda ter as chartas as mãos, que ma[n]dava o P[adr]e Visitador soube-mos que a Chrita[n]dade correra muyto risco de ter outra perseguição por mexiricos

de Terazaua, ou Xima[n]dono que governa Nangasaqui; mas o S[enh]or remediou tudo muy be[m], e ficamos mays livres que antes, e o Dayfu corre muyto be[m] com nosco. Tambe[m] se queimou toda a rua principal de Nangasaqui onde esta a nossa Igreja, e casas, as quaes milagrosam[en]te se salvarão, porque e[m] chega[n]do o fogo a nossas casas se mudou d'improviso o vento de Norte em Sul, atè q[ue] acabarão de se queimar as casas que estavam de frente das nossas, as quaes acabadas como no Norte ja não nos podia fazer mal, tornou a ventar como p[rimeir]o; estava e[n] tão toda a jente miuda na Igreja com seu attinho que tinham escapado pega[n]do forteme[n]te de Nossa S[enho]ra. Ta[m]be[m] disse o Capitão da Soma que hera falecido o frey Jeronimo de JESUS que tanto nos enfadou [em] Jappão, Deos lhos perdoe, e q[ue] erão vindos de novo dous capuchos; Aviso a V. R. que o P[adr]e Visitador da pedia este anno nos mandou muyta jente que começa agora a sua Theologia, e reteve os q[ue] vinhão ja feitos, se de Roma não ven repartidos, nu[n]ca se fará nada. Com isto peço hu[m]a benção a V. R. e que se lembre de mim em os seus S[an]tos Sacri-fícios, e orações. De Machao a os 27 de Janeiro 1602.

Façame charidade V. R. de dar minhas e[n]comendas a o P[adr]e Lodovico Masselli, e P[adr]e Bartolomeo Perez. Servo em X Carlo Spinola

[B]

Procurator Carlo Spinola to General Claudio Acquaviva
Nagasaki, 18 March 1612

ARSI, Jap. Sin. 36, ff. 154-154^v

[f. 154] Tres años ha que no escrivo a V. P. por estar enfermo en el tiempo que salian los navios, y otras urgentes ocupaciones; esta hago agora para proponerle el sentimiento, que muchos tuvimos el año passado acerca del alboroto, que huvo, quando el P[adr]e Visitador tardava en nonbrar al P[adr]e Provincial, del qual se que V. P. tiene larga informacion, y fue la cosa tan publica, y con tal estruendo, que hasta los Hermanos japones lo sapieron, y andavan por la casa hablando, y amenazando, que parecia muy clara sedicion con escandalo de muchos; con todo esso no se hizo demostracion ninguna, ni se dio penitencia, antes al principal movedor del alboroto, y que mas se señado en induzir a los otros, le hizieron professo despues de pocos meses, y es el P[adr]e Sebastian Vieira, del qual no hay satisfacion en la provincia, mas antes es tenido por hombre muy colerico, y altivo assi con los de casa, come de fuera, tratando a todos con palabras asperas, y no nada religiosas; y por tener notavel excesso en esso le tiraron el officio de procurador en Macau pidiendolo los mismos ciudadanos, con dezir que era insufriavel; y agora aca en Japon tambien se le quita-rona peticion de casi todos los P[adr]es aun sus partiales, que no se atreccian de tratar con el por su aspera condicion, ya mas desto como se tenia mostrado parcial del P[adr]e Provincial dava mostrass de querer el ser el gallo, y gobernando todo haziendo muchas consultas con sus apaniguados tan a la descubierta, que de todos eran notados hasta que al mismo P[adr]e Pro[vincia]l no pareciobien, y dudò que

sucedesse algun escandalo, tanto mas que no se hablava en otra cosa que en la trinca, o trempe, que por ser ellos tre P[adr]es assi los llaman. El P[adr]e Visitador bien entendia los pocos merecimie[n]tos, que el dicho P[adr]e tenia para tal grado, especialmente no reconociendo el sus culpas, y estava en no hazendo professo, empero cargo con el tan de veras el P[adr]e Pro[vincia]l, que le hizo con espanto de muchas; si los grados de la Comp[añi]a se dan desta manera, y se dissimulan culpas tan graves en estar partes remotas, no se como se ha de gobernar bien esta provincia; es verdad que alguna cosa se ha de passar por alto pro bono pacis, mas promover a grado quien es perturbador de la union, no sirve de mas, se no de darle fuerças para hazer mas mal que p[rim]er[o]; lo que bien entendio despues el P[adr]e Visitador, que viendo el peligro, que podia soceder en quedarel dicho P[adr]e en Na[n]gasaqui, determinò embiarlo al Miaco, y a mi entregò el officio de procurador; al qual aunque tengo particular repugnancia (por lo que experimete en Macau, quando alla lo fue, por las continuas distracciones, que hazen notable daño a mi alma, y por esso pidi muy encarecidam[en]te à V. P. que encomendasse a los superiores de aca, que me consolassen en esto, y nunca recebi repuesta) me offereci al cargo, solo por me dezir el P[adr]e Visitador que con esto dexava la provincia quieta; con todo esso quedandos dos otros bien cerca, el uno en Vomura P[adr]e Alonso de Lucena, y el otro R[eit]or de Arima P[adr]e Mattheus de Couros, los quales tienen tanta aversion a los de otras naciones, que no la pueden dissimular, y si el P[adr]e Pro[vincia]l se dexar gobernar dellos, no han de faltar desgustos, y desasosiegos, por que el dicho P[adr]e R[eit]or aunque antes de serlo se dava muy bien con todos, y dava muestras de ser amigo de paz, toda via despues parece que en materia de naciones pierde los estribos, y no dexa cosa por notar, hablando con grandes muestras de caridad por de fuera, y de otra parte tratando con los superiores de mortificarlos, y impedir sus grados; tanto que el mismo P[adr]e Visitador se engaño con el, y comunicandole sus secretos, ve que le contraria todo lo que puede; y acontecieron en esta materia cosas muy pesadas, por las quales me dixo per vezes que me recatasse del, que todo era fingimento, y aborrecia nuestra nacion. P[adr]e mio no sabemos que nos hazer, ni es possible escusar desasosiegos, porque ellos no quieren que se hagan superiores se no de los suyos, y quieren los mejores puestos, y mas honrosas misiones; y estando yo en el Miaco muy contente, ayudando aquellos christianos, y conversando con los gentiles para atraerlos a nuestra S[an]ta Fe, sirviendo de ministro 7 años enteros en aquella casa, dixeron que sufria a quello con las esperanças de soceder un dia al P[adr]e Reitor, y bien sabe el P[adr]e Visitador quam lexis estoy desso, y los desseos, que tengo de servir a Dios en humildad, y lo sabe V. P., pues sabe las causas, que me movieron a venir al Japon; que las que me movieron a no procurar de salirme del Miaco (aunque hize instancia que me quitassen el officio de ministro, para poder a las vezes salir en mission) fueron p[rim]er[a] la buena Compañia del P[adr]e Pedro Morejon R[eit]or, el qual con su mucha humildad, caridad, y llaneza la mayor, que he visto en Japon, no parece superior, mas antes compañero, o inferior de todos; y en la materia de naciones muy desenteressado, y no puede sufrir que se able en esso, teniendolo por cosa indigna de religioso. 2a. el no tener cuydado de [f. 154v] buscar plata para el gusto de la casa, con el qual se hallan los P[adr]es que estan en casas particulares, muy ahogados, que les quita el tiempo, que huvieran de ocupar con los

christianos, y buscar remedios poco convenientes, con hazer sus mercaderias, y ayutar dinero a las vezes a las escondidas del Superior, por lo que fue necessario quel P[adr]e Visitador, con parecer de los consultores, ordenasse en virtud de S[an]ta Obediencia, que ninguno compre para vender, ni haga otra cosa, que parexa mercaderia, de lo que tuve yo mucha parte, porque lo propuse con las causas, que para esso havia, y se seguieron muy buenos effectos. 3a. la comodidad, que tenia de aprender bien la lengua, pues la del Miaco es la mejor de todo el Japon, y exercitarla en pescar almas aun de los mas nobles, los quales movidos de curiosidad venian a preguntar dudas de los cielos, y elementos, y viendo que todo esta fundado en razon, aunque muy contrario a lo que los Bonzos enseñan, se mueven a oyr los sermones, o par lo menos quedan muy aficionados a nuestra S[an]ta ley. Allen desso por ser ya corriente en la lengua havia instituido algunas confrarias, o Hermandades de seglares, a los quales enseñava el camino de la salvacion, y aun a algunos mas capaces, y escogidos, de la perfeccion; con los quales exercicios me tenian cobrado tanto amor, que quando me embio a llamar el P[adr]e Visitador el Outubre passado para passar a Macau a ser procurador (escribo esto con la confianza que tengo en V. P.) lo sintieron tanto, que hizieron extremos, y pidiendo favor a Arimadono, que entonces estava alli cerca embiaron un christiano con cartas a Nangasaqui a todos los Superiores para que no se effectuase la hida, y lo mismo hizieron todos los christianos de las otras Residencias del Cami, y de los lugares onde fue en mission; y porque yo porfie de venir hasta Na[n]gasaqui para obedecer prontamente, vinieron a despedirse de mi con tantas lagrimas, y sentimiento, que fue cosa insolita, y como tal los otros P[adr]es la escribieron, y hizo fuerça al P[adr]e Visitador de mudar parecer, y responderles que me bolveria alla, de lo que hizieron mucha fiesta, y cada dia bienen cartas llenas de contentamiento; y qua[n]do me estava aprestando para bolver, socedio lo que corriba dixe de mudar el procurador, y encargarme el officio; de lo que recebi mucha pena por dexar tan buena gente, y verme con la cruz a cuestas, que tan pesada aprendia; em pero despues de proponer mis razones, y repugnancia con lagrimas a los superiores, por las causas susodichas me sacrifique para el bien comun, prometiendome el P[adr]e Visitador, que no seria para muchos años, la qual deteminacion quando supieren los del Miaco, imagine V. P. el sentimiento, que han de hazer. Yo no recuso el trabajo de prover toda las casas de Japon, aunque es muy grande, que huelgo mucho de poder scriverles, pues con esto participo del fruto, que todos hazen; solo lo que siento es haver de ser mercader, y procurar de acrecentar el cabedal con continuos tratos, y cuydados de buscar dinero, que es la cosa, que nunca en mi vida hize, y por huyr della entre en Religion; por lo que pido de nuevo a V. P. me quiera consolar en esto, escribiendo al P[adr]e Visitador de buena manera, para que me quite este officio, y me dexe continuar con mis ocupaciones, pues no desseo otra cosa especiosa; empero esto no quisiera que entendiessen proceder de mis queexas, se no de lo que el mismo P[adr]e Visitador escriviexe, y que yo tantos años antes (como es verdad) recelandome desso pidi a V. P.

La otra cosa, que es en Japon muy peligrosa, es la opinion, que tienen concebido los P[adr]es, y Her[man]os japoneses, que los P[adr]es portugueses por que ven que los españoles, y italianos son comunemente amados de los japoneses, mas que ellos, por la llaneça con que conversan (que es la que causa mayor amor entre los japoneses)

quieren tomar para si todo el gobierno, para sopearlos, y como ellos dizen, regirlos in virga ferrea, conforme a su naturaleza un poco rispida, y altiva; y estan a la mira como procederà el P[adr]e Provincial, para alborotarse se no se huviere con mucho tiento; y porque con la quema de la nao, la qual dezian los P[adr]es Portugueses que no se podria tomar, y los japones que sy, quedaron los portugueses mortificados, y los japones vitoriosos, estan encontrados, y se recelan que se quieran vengar; se no se temprar esto, y no se serviren de los que ellos aman, hanse de hazer en un cuerpo, y hechar de Japon los superiores que quisieren muy facilmente, por via de los que gobiernan la tierra; pues hasta los seglares haviendo oydo la condicion del P[adr]e Pro[vincia]l en Macau, y algunos experime[n]tado, de los que alla fueron; no acaban de llegarse a el, y lo miran como hombre que se ha de hazer mas temer, que amar. Acrecentase ta[n]bien que como imperfectos, viendo que los portugueses se unen entre sy contra las otras naciones, ellos otrosi se unen para no dexarse poner el freno por fuerça, pues aprenden que lo hazen por vengança, y altivez; per lo que ellos mismos dizen claramente que para tener en paz esta provincia es menester embiar P[adr]es de todas la naciones y que los co[n]sultores sean de todas, porque no siempre governe una, que se essa no agradar queden todos desconsolados. Esto es lo que agora me se offerece de escribir à V. P. a la qual pido perdonse con tan larga carta la enoje, que mi intencion fue para que se ponga con tiempo el remedio devido. En los S[an]tos Sacrifi[ci]os, oraciones, y S[an]ta benedicion de V. P. mucho me encomiendo. De Na[n]gasau 18. de Março 1612.

Servo en X^o

Carlo Esp[ino]la

[C]

Procurator Carlo Spinola to Father Bernardino Rossignoli¹⁴⁶

Nagasaki, 25 May 1612

ARSI, Jap. Sin. 36, ff. 156-156^v

[f. 156]Ho scritto alcune volte à V. R. gl'anni passati, et non sono stato degno di ricevere risposta, solo mi sono consolato molto con leggere il suo libro *de Disciplina Christianæ Perfectionis*,¹⁴⁷ aggiuntovi l'opuscolo *de Actionibus virtutis*,¹⁴⁸ il quale portò al Giappone uno P[adr]e spagnuolo, che tornandose dalle Filippine à Messico fece naufragio nelle parti orientali di questa Isola, et salvandose con la maggior parte de la gente ci lasciò questo libro impresso in Lione, da tutti con molta raggione stimato,

146 On Rossignoli, see Francesco Chiovaro, *P. Bernardino Rossignoli (1547-1613): uomo di governo e maestro di vita spirituale nella compagnia di Gesù al tempo del generale C. Acquaviva*, Materdomini, 1967.

147 Bernardino Rossignoli, *De disciplina Christianæ perfectionis, pro triplici hominum statu, incipientium, proficientium, & perfectorum, ex Sacris Scripturis, & Patribus*, Venezia, 1601.

148 Rossignoli, *De actionibus virtutis ex Sanctis Scripturis et patri bus*, Venezia, 1603.

ma per essere uno solo va per le mani di molti, et non lo posso godere a mia voglia; tanto più che quello, che mi mandò V. R. molti anni sono, lo ritenne il P[adr]e Alessandro Valignano di B. M. Visitatore in Macao per leggerlo, et servirsene nelle essortationi, et essendo egli morto, non ho potuto recuperarlo sin hora, anzi dubito che si sia perso in una fregata, che di la parti, et non sappiamo se fu piglata da i cinesi corsari, o pure ingiottita dall'onde, per il che sto aspettando, che V. R. mi consoli con uno di questi libri, et con quattro righe sue, le quali non può credere quanto io stimi. Lo stato temporale, e spirituale di questa Christianità di Giappone va diffusamente scritto nell'annua, perciò non mi metto a raccontarlo, solamente dirò quello che tocca alle mie occupationi, nelle quali ho procurato di servire al Sig[no]re conforme al mio puoco talento. Come ho scritto à V. R. altre volte, dopo di havere imparata la lingua Giapponica per uno anno, et p[er] un altro coltivato più di sei mila anime nel territorio di Arima, mi mandorno i superiori al Miaco, che he metropoli di tutta l'isola, per compagno, et admonitore del nuovo Rettore di quella casa, ove stetti sette anni intieri, correndo come paroco ordinario di molte miglaia di christiani, che vi sono, i quali con essortationi pubbliche, et private, et con varij modi, et inventioni fui promovendo nello spirito con non puoco frutto; et perche in quella città è il nido dell'Idolatria, mi sforzai di indurre molti gentili alla n[ost]ra S[ant]a fede, et ne baptizai più de duemila di mia mano, tra i quali vi furno non puochi dei nobili; et si con questi, come con gl'altri, che venivano molte volte mossi da curiosità a vedere, et udire le nostre cose, intrava con l'Astrologia, mostrandogli alcuni instrumenti a proposito, delle quali cose non si può facilmente dire quanto sino curiosi, et quanto profitto ricevano per intendere che tutto ciò, che dicemo della n[ost]ra S[ant]a Legge è vero, poiche del corso dei cieli, et cose metheorologiche, diciamo cose tutte conformi alla ragione, molto contrarie a i sogni, che loro insegnano i Bonzi suoi sacerdoti; si che già dicono a bocca piena che non possono essere si non buggie quelle cose, che insegnano intorno all'altra vita, le quali non si veggono, essendo tanto essorbitanti dalla ragione quelle che dicono de i cieli, et elementi; et adesso che veggono essere stati ingannati, si vergognano di havere tenuto per certe cose si false, et aliene dalla ragione. In questi essercitij mi occupava, quando pensando di continuarli per molti anni, l'Ottobre passato fui chiamato dal P[ad]re Visitatore qua à Na[n]gasasaki per passare à Macão ad essere procuratore, perche dopo d'essersi persa la nave, che combatterno i Giapponesi, si levantorno in quella città molti rumori contra la Comp[agn]ia, i quali dicevano che io poteva facilmente rimediare, per essere stato accetto, quando vi stetti quasi due anni predicando, et essercitando l'ufficio di procuratore; tutta volta proponendo io la grande repugnancia, che sentiva à cotal carico et che l'aria di Macão non mi confaceva, dove d'ordinario stava ammalato; et dall'altra parte facendo molta instantia i christiani del Miaco, perche me tornassero à mandare là, restai scusato d'andare à Macão, et determinarono i superiori, che tornasse à consolare quei christiani, i quali quando io mi parti, mostrorno tanto disgosto, che piangevano inconsolabilmente, si che io stesso mi stupi, non pensando che fussi tanto amato, et ogni giorno facevano fervente oratione per ottenere la mia ritornata, et importunavano i superiori con calde lettere. Standomi apprechchiando per la tornata, eccoti d'improvviso fù necessario mutarsi il P[adr]e Procuratore della provincia per urgenti caggioni, et non havendo al presente altri, che con satisfattione potesse fare questo

officio, il nuovo P[adr]e Pro[vincia]le, et i p[ad]ri più gravi della Provincia mi nominarono per procuratore, et il P[adr]e Visitatore, che stava per partirsi à Macão confermò l'elettione, perche restasse uno P[adr]e Italiano appresso il Pro[vincia]le suo consultore, et impedisse certi conventiculi, che potevano essere di danno à tutta la Provincia. Io resisti quanto potei, et proposi la grande repugnantia [f. 156^v]che sentiva à tal officio, per haverlo provato in Macão molto distrattivo, ma non fui udito, et resto molto desconsolato, per vedere nel miglor tempo interrotto il corso delle mie occupationi, che fù lo scopo, che pretendei del venire à Giappone, et mi fece parere tutti i travagli passati nel camino puochi, et pieni di consolatione; che se ciò havesse potuto sospettare, che nel Giappone haveva d'essere procuratore, mi pare che non procurava di venirci; tanto più che si questo officio fusse come gl'altri d'Europa, saria più soffribile, ma qui il procuratore è universale, et particolare, poiche tutte le case, et persone provvede, et riparte insino alle minutissime cose, che sono necessarie, si in casa, come ne i continuoi viaggi per mare; et oltre a questo comprare, et vendere, procurando di guadagnare, et acrescere il capitale, come si fosse qualche mercadante. Io scrivo à N. P[adr]e priegandolo si degni scaricarme, acciò possa questi puochi anni, che mi restano di vita, impiegarme nell'aggiuto dell'anime, conforme alla mia inclinatione, tanto più che per havere sudato nell'apprendere la lingua, et essere amato da i Giapponesi posso fare qualche frutto. V. R. conforme alla sua muyta charidade me aggiuti, et perche meglo la possa fare, gli dirò alcune cose con la stessa confidanza, che faceva quando stavamo in Milano. Fra l'altre caggioni, per le quali il P[adr]e Visitatore me pose nel Miaco, una fù acciò che facendome conosciuto di quei christiani, e de i nobili, che frequentavano quella casa, et pratico dei negotij della corte, puotesse dipoi soccede al P[adr]e Rettore; la quale intentione come fosse aliena dal mio desiderio, di servire al Sig[no]re, et alla Comp[agnia] in basso stato, per il che mi mossi à venire al Giappone, proposi più volte al detto P[adr]e, che mutasse il parere, determinando altri p[er] simile officio; con tutto ciò non sapendo i p[ad]ri portoghesi questa mia resolutione, anzi imaginando ch'io desiderasse d'essere Rettore, procurarono tirarme dal Miaco, per porvi de i suoi, che dipoi soccedessero nell'officio; et la caggione di questo è, che per l'ordinario gli italiani siano più amati da i Giapponesi, che i portoghesi, perche noi gli trattiamo con amore, et senza imperio, et eglino con severità, et imperio, facendo puoco caso di loro, et per ciò non ponno patire che altri governi, per che non si vegga più chiaramente la differenza; et i f[r]ate lli giapponesi, che ciò intendono, gli rincresce, et può venire la cosa à tale termine, che diano da fare alla provincia; et io per dire il vero non so che governo sia dopo d'imparare la lengua, et predicare, apre[n]dere i costumi, et il modo di trattare, si che tutti restassero contenti, de i quali operarij ha grande caristia, tirarme nel miglor tempo da quella città, dove saria necessario mandare i miglori, e più ferventi soggetti, per occuparmi in officio, che qualsivogla lo può fare, et lo stesso dicono i christiani di fuori lamentandosi de superiori, et i f[r]ate lli di casa, confirmandosi nella sua opinione, et sospetto, che gli voglino reggere in virga ferrea. So bene che il P[adr]e Visitatore hebbe la mira in ciò, di lasciare apresso del nuovo Pro[vincia]le alcuno, che tenesse esperientia de la Corte, et essendo italiano, nelle consulte temperasse gli humori di nazione, et come procuratore soccorresse à tutti egualmente; et i P[ad]ri portoghesi dicono chiaramente, et così lo screveranno al P[adr]e Generale, che

questo officio è il più importante della Provincia dopo quello del Pro[vincia]le, et è vero, perche tutte le cose passano per le sue mani, et entra in tutte le consulte; tutta volta io stimava più starmene in un canto facendo vita privata, et aggiutando queste anime adesso, che sto con forze, che mettermi in governo. Tutta volta non hanno dato questo officio sin'hora à P[adr]e Professo, eccetto uno che fù fatto professo solo p[er] essere insigne nella lingua Giapponica, et era interprete dei portughesi con l'Imperatore, trattando tutti i negotij della nave. Ma dicono che essendo questo officio di molta fatica, gl'italiani hanno d'aggiutare a portare la soma, al che ho risposto che io ho portato la mia parte in Macão, et che molti altri P[ad]ri italiani stanno in Giap-pone, che la ponno portare, et non è bene sempre caricare un solo, massime tiran-dolo p[er] questo dal corso della conversione. Questo desidero che sia solo p[er] V. R., perche à N[ost]ro P[ad]re scrivo il tutto alongo, solo desidero che stando V. R. in Roma ricordi à N. P[ad]re i desiderij di missioni che sempre mostrai, et quanto pro-curai di servire alla Comp[agni]a in basso stato.

Stando screvendo questa, venne nova dal Miaco che l'Imperatore incolericandose per il furto d'un suo gentil'huomo christiano, il quale ricevè grande copia d'argento d'Arimadono, promettendogli da parte sua trecentomila scudi d'entrata, et tutto era fittione, lo fece bruggiare vivo, et sapendo che altri suoi gentil'huomini erano chri-stiani, gli tirò lo stato, et buttò dal suo servitio, et aggiutando altri à soffiare nell'ac-ceso fuoco, disse che voleva disfare tutte le chiese, et perseguire i christiani, facendoli ritocedere; nondimeno udindo che erano molti più in numero di quello, che egli imaginava, si contentò con che le chiese restassero in piede, ma che da qui avanti nissuno de i nobili si faccia christiano, il che ha ordinato molte volte, ma poi si fanno quelli che voglono. Con questa alteratione havemo patito molto, et ci apparecchia-vamo à patire molto più, perche stavamo risoluti di non abandonare i christiani, i quali hanno mostrato con questa occasione grande fortezza d'animo, et si sono ani-mati à soffrire cose maggiori per la conservatione de la S[an]ta fede. Questo è quello che mi si offerisce di scrivere p[er] adesso à V. R., lasciando l'altre cose che vanno scritte diffusamente nell'annua. Resta solo raccomandarmi alli suoi S[an]ti Sacrificij, et orationi. Di Na[n]gasachi, alli 25. di Maggio di 1612.

Indegno servo, et figlio in Chr[ist]o

Carlo Esp[ino]la

[D]

Procurator Carlo Spinola to General Claudio Acquaviva
Nagasaki, 21 March 1613
ARSI, Jap. Sin. 36, ff. 159-160.

[f. 159] O anno passado escrivì à V. P. dandolhe conta de como me tinham os superiores entregadoo officio de procurador desta provincia, e lhe pidia encareçidam[en]te me quisesse livrar de tal cargo por lhe sentir grande aversão, polla increível distraição, que traz com sigo sobre minhas forças como experimentei em Macao, quando tivi

o mesmo officio por anno, e meyo, e polo desejo que tenho de empregar as forças, antes que os annos se acrecentem, em cultivar esta christandade, que foy o fim que me moveu de vir à Japam, e me fez padeçer tantos trabalhos, e perigos do caminho, poucos e breves, e o mesmo torno a pedir agora, ainda que com a obediencia, que V. P. mandou ficou esta carga mais facil de levar, pois nos tiramos de feitorizar prata alhea tanto de Japões, como de portugueses, cousa que trazia com sigo muytos enfiadamentos, e queixas, e hera trabalho immenso indigno de religiosos, sem men hu[m] proveito, antes com perda notavel do fato da Comp[anhia], nascendo disso muytas demandas com alienação de animo dos mesmos, cuja prata feitorizamos. Cuidavam algu[m]o que pera conservarmos em Japam, e agradarmos al Rey, hera necess[ari]o negociarmos sua prata, e mandando a nossa contaà China, comprar as peças, q[ue] elle pidia, e em tal modo isso se p[er]suadiram, que por intercessões dos seus privados e procuaram; e todavia pouco faltou que por isso não fossemos botados de Japam, cabindo em desgraça del Rey, e tendonos por ladrões, como dixe p[or] vexes, vendo que lhe davamos nas contas a fazenda mais cara, do que lhe vinha p[or] outra via, e p[or] essa causa não nos qui dar mais prata a feitorizar; mostrando claram[en]te D[eo]s N. S[en]hor que não lhe agradava a quelle meyo, antes hera indecente à nossa profissão; o qual p[er]jigo muytos dante mão previram, e me lembra que o escrivi à V. P. por vezes; e agora sem negoçar a dita prata ficamos em Japam, como ficamos antes, mas com nota que nos aproveitamosdella, a qual não cobravamos, se nos escusavamos com dizes, que não hera nossa profissam; e p[ro]meteu o S[en]hor que tudo o que ganhamos assi a sombra da prata del Rey, como de outros, se perdes, e não nos fica outro cabedal, que muytas dividas. Quantas vezes dessejei que V. P. vira esta casa do procurador qua[n]do veu a nao o anno passado, e nella o retorno da prata dos Japões, q[ue] foy por nossa via no junco, em que foy o P[adr]e Visitador à Macao, a qual passou de 18 mil cruzados, porque foy trabalho de muytas semanas o repartir a cada hum o seu, dandolhe diversas layas de peças; e foy tal o labirinto de contas, e occupação minha, e de muytos pessoas, q[ue] me pareçera exageração o que dixe hu[m] P[adr]e que o tinha provado, que os superiores não podiam obrigar, a feitorizar prata alhea, por ser cousa mera secular, depois experimentando a diffculdade, que nisso ha, entendi que o dixeram com grande fundamento, e casi toda a repugnancia, que algu[n]os tiveram de aceitar este officio, foy esta; porque negociar o fato da Comp[anhia] não tem tantos descontos e mais trabalha nelle o procurador; q[ue] reside em Macao, q[ue] o de Japam; pello q[ue] dou à V. P. mil graças p[or] ter tirado tam manha larga deste officio, q[ue] hera insofrivel.

A 2.^a cousa que se tirou foy, ter cada casa seu peculio, e mercadejar com elle por pessoas d[e] fora, de modo q[ue] nos feitorizavamos a prata dos seculares, e elles feitorizavão a nossa, e isto p[ar]a não depe[n]dere[m] os P[adr]es do procurados, e gastarema sua vontade como cousa alcançada p[or] sua lança, com o qual se havia caminho a muytos gastos sup[er]fluos, e proprias comodidades, e enchia os P[adr]es de mil cuidadosp[ar]a acrecentarem o seu cabedal, tirandolhes o tempo d[e] outras occupaões de mor importancia; e chegava a cousa a tanto, q[ue] p[ar]a isso vendiam o q[ue] se lhes dava p[ar]a provim[en]to das casas, e faziam outras baixeças ridiculas com pouca honra da Comp[anhia], e nota dos seculares, por cuja mão corriam; e tudo isto se deve à o P[adr]e Pro[vincia], a qual insistio nisso, e o faz executar com grande puntualidade.

[f. 159^v] Agora fica o cabedal desta prov[inci]a esgotado polas dividas, que fez o procurador de Macao, ¹⁴⁹p[ar]a mandarnos algum remedio no anno, q[ue] não veu a nao, e tomando os Chinas os navios peq[ue]nos, em que vinha o emprego, e provim[en]to com matare os P[adr]es, e Irmãos, ficamos sem a fazenda, e com obrigação de pagar o que tomamos emprestado; pera remediar esta falta, e por não termos outra prata, que ma[n]dar no junco, e[m] que foy o P[adr]e Visitador, tomamos muyto dinheiro a responder, e dous Tonos gentios, e outro portugues devoto nos emprestaram cinco mil cruzados; e ainda q[ue] o anno passado veu a nao, e se tornou a saldar este commercio, vieram tantas embarcações de Chinas, e de Lução carregadasde seda, e outra fazendas, que a seda da nao valeu muy barata, e assi depois de pagas as respondencias ficou pouco q[ue] não basta p[ar]a hu[m] anno inteiro de sustentação; pello q[ue] foy necess[ari]o este anno ta[m]bem tomar prata a responder, p[ar]a mandala a Macao a buscar provim[en]to, e comprar a seda ordinaria; porem temos hum grande sabroço, por quanto duas naos olandesas, q[ue] vieram o anno passado à Japam, se tornaram p[ri]meir[o] que a nao, e dizem que leva[m] o intento de acometere[m] no caminho, e p[ar]a isso embarcavam muytos Japões nas suas naos, o que se soceder (o q[ue] D[eo]s não queira) ou pello hemos de sustentar, tanto mais que os Tonos, que nos ajudavam, ou sam falecidos, ou ficaram desterrados nesta p[er]seguição, com a qual perdemos todos os socorros, q[ue] davam os christãos de Arima, e as rendas que ahi tinhamos, que não heram poucas, e havemos de sustentar a mesma gente recolhida aqui em Na[n]gasaqui, onde os mantenimentos valem hu[m] terço mais, que em Arima, por se ajuntarem muytos navios, e pessoas de toda parte neste porto. De modo que se não vier de Europa hu[m] bon golpe de dinheiro, como qual nos desendevideamos, e tenhamos algun cabedal, que vao ganhando na nao, saremos forçados a desfazer o seminario, e alijar dogicos inuteis (dos quaes ha muytos) p[ar]a q[ue] não cheguemos a estado de estrema necessidade, a qual não possamos depois remediar. O anno passado vimos todas serverdade, o que muytos P[adr]es dizião, e eu escrivi à V. P. que não he ainda te[m]po de fazer muytas favricas em Japam, e gastar muyta prata em concertalas bem, nem puelas de Alfayas de preço, pois não ha consistenzia em nenhu[m]a parte, e basteria atè não termos o Tencadono christão fazer as nossas casas, e Igrejas de pouca custa, e limpas, e não gastar o dinheiro da Comp[anhi]a emmagnificencias escusadas, pois em bem tristes aldeas cada P[adr]e quer ter hu[m] pequeno Collegio, e todos a porfia procuram de fabricar melhor, e gastar q[ue] não temos por não ficar aquem do outro, e os superiores por não os contristar, não lhes foram a mão, alegando elles que buscavão ajuda de fora p[ar]a as obras, mas a verdade he q[ue] se quiseram busca[m] p[ar]a o gasto ordinario, não p[ar]a as obras, a acharam; de modo que feita a conta em grosso do que p[er]demos nas casas somentes, que nos tiraram no estado de Arima sem as rendas, ortas, e chaos, emportavam mais de doze mil cruzados, e co[m] hu[m] terço disso poderam estar os P[adr]es comoda, e limpam[en]te, e o de mais se tiveramos em cabedal, não nos achavamos agora em tanto aperto; e se executava o Tono de Arima o que tinha determinado de tomarnos todas as alfayas, fora a p[er]da mayor; as quaes vindo todas à este Na[n]gasaqui,

ficamos pasmados de tantas cousas sup[er]fluas, sem as quaes podia[m] comodam[en]te estar os P[adr]es, pois não sirve[m] de mais, que de gastar prata; e os mesmos P[adr]es conta de tudo o que por calque via receberem, p[ar]a lho descontar do ordenado, e mostra muyto zelo da reforma da pobreza, mas como até agora houve muyta largueça, e os P[adr]es estão mal acostumados, de fazere[m] o que querem em suas casas, ha mister que V. P. escreva seriam[en]te dandolhe costas, porque não ha prata que baste se for por diante desta maneira; e alem do escrupolo da consciencia, por não gastarmos como pobres, se ha que dizer à os Japões, os quaes ve[n]do que estamos cheos de dividas, e não nos podemos çafardellas, e por outra parte nem diminuimos gente, nem moderamos os gastos, ficam pasmados, e nos notam de pouco avisados, e muytos tem p[ar]a si q[ue] temos poços de prata, e a tomamos emprestada p[ar]a e[n]cubрила. Eu tenho dito por vezes nas consultas, que não entendo o modo de proceder de Japam, pois nos Collegios de Europa, onde ha determinado renda, que não depende da nao, os superiores, e officiaes tem muyta conta p[ar]a que nada se desperdice, e não contando todo o gasto sup[er]fluo, ainda em cousas miudas, e fazem a cada passo consulta como se pode poupar algu[m]a coisa até reme[n]darem o vestido, e calçado como pobres; e em Japam onde não temos coisa fixa, e toda a prata ve[m]p[or] mar com muyto risco, e muytas vezes se perde, não ha poupar nada, mas antes todos parece, q[ue] fazem a porfia que[m] pode gastar mais, e os que por amor da pobreza vam contento no gasto, os tem por mesquinhos, e não ha que[m] se doya do fatto da Comp[anhi]a se não o P[adr]e Pro[vincia], e o procurador; mas como agora não podem os P[adr]es fazer suas viniagas, e todo o dinheiro lhes ha de hir por mão do procurador, se escuseram os gastos sup[er]fluos.

[f. 160]Ha hu[m] abuso em Japam contrario à perfeição da pobreza da Comp[anhi]a que comu[n]emente os que vam estas partes de baixo p[ar]a o Cami, e os que de la tornam p[ar]a ca, e os que vam p[ar]a Macao, buscão muytas cousas p[ar]a dar de presente à os nossos da Comp[anhi]a, e dojucos, e ainda seculares, e quando não as podem alcançar por outra via, as compram com o dinheiro, que lhes dam seus devotos de escuela, e quem não guarda este abuso he tido por escaço, procurando algu[n]os pera serem tidos por liberaes de não deixar pessoa em casa, a que não dem pouco, ou muyto, e as vezes ha nisso excesor notaveis, tanto que os mesmos superiores folgam quando lhes dam, e sam muy facieis em dar semelhantes licenças, e ainda que se tratou algu[m]as vezes de tirar este abuso, nunca se pos por obra, e me parece que se V. P. não mandar espressamente que si tire de todo entre os nossos, e que se modere pera com os de fora, nunca se ha de tirar; porque na ordem feita pollo P[adr]e Alexandre Valinhano de b. m.e confirmada pollo P[adr]e Visitador se prohibe, tirando as cousas que dam os Christãos, as quaes diz que se podem dar à os nossos, e com isto ficou hu[m]a porta aberta pera procurar dos Christãos p[ar]a dar, e compralas com o dinheiro, que algu[n]os Christãos costumão dar p[ar]a o caminho; e se dessem somente cousas de pouca valia, não importaria tanto, porem a volta das pequenas não as grandes, e disso se segue que os que recebem são obrigados de dar a que[m] dei, quando se parte da quelle lugar, e qua[n]do algum P[adr]e v[ai] pera longe, ou pera Macao, quea não lhe da algum presente he notado de pouca caridade; e assi as cousas, que concedem os superiores pera dar a os christãos, se gastão em presentes escusados; tanto mais que quando v[ai] algu[m] P[adr]e à missam importante, os supe-

riores, e o procurados lhe dão todo o necess[ari]o, ainda p[ar]a os presentinhos, que em Japam não se escusam de dar à os Japões, em cujas casas se agazalha, e de quem depende o bom sucesso do negocio.

Folgariam muytos que V. P. ordenasse como em Japão de ordinario estejam dous P[adr]es nas Residencias, e não huu[m] so, assi p[ar]a hir melhor ordenada a casa, e se guardar a disciplina religiosa, como pera bem dos mesmos P[adr]es espirital, e corporal, pois se confessarão mais vezes, e consolarão *ad invicem*, e os superiores serem informados do que passa em tempo que a cousa pode ter remedio, e o respeito do companheiro será grande fres p[ar]a se mortificar; e o trabalho será mais facil de levar repartido por dous, dos quaes hu[m] pode estar sempre na Residencia pera consolação dos christãos, dos quaes os mais, e mais honrados solem morar p[er]to da casa da Residencia, e ficão muytas vezes sem missa, ne[m] pregação, e o outro P[adr]e podera hir correndo as alheas, detendose mai tempo, e com isto os alheões serem melhor instruidos do que agora, e os P[adr]es velhos, e fracos terão algu[m]a occupação proporcionada à suas forças, estando a pee quedo na casa principal, onde nunca faltão comodidades, e não se recolherião logo como inuteis neste Collegio. Bem vee o P[adr]e Pro[vincia]l que assi conve[m] fazer, tanto mai que agora poderão ainda estar treis juntos, tantos somos, e tam pouco temos que fazer, porem como acha difficuldade de parte dos que não folgão destar debaixo de outros seus companheiros, e todos por isso se escusão, alegando outras escusas, não ousa a ap[er]tar, porem ordenando o V. P. que assi se execute, logo se vencerão todas as difficuldades, e ficaram os P[adr]es aliviados, e consolados. Este religiosos, que vieram das Filipinas parece que em isto per regra, pois sendo muyto menos e[m] numero de nos, não estão de assento em algum lugar, que não seja[n]o dous sacerdotes, e hum leigo. Isto he o que me se offereçe por ora de escrever à V. P. fica somente encomendarme humilmente nos S[an]tos Sacrif[ici]os, orações, e benção de V. P. De Japam 21. de Março de 1613

Indigno servo, e filho em X^o

Carlo Esp[ino]lla

[E]

Procurator Carlo Spinola to General Claudio Acquaviva
Nagasaki, 23 March 1614

ARSI, Jap. Sin. 36, ff. 165-165^v

[f. 165] Po la prexa dos navios que de repente se resolverão de partir p[ar]a Luçon não pudi escrever a V. P. tudo o que hera necess[ari]o, agora que polos ventos contrarios se detiverão, acrecentarei nesta duas, ou treis cousas.

A p[rim]a he que estando em Japam tam grande numero de Irmãos, os quaes nos dão bem em que entender, ainda que esta perseguição acabe, e possamos cultivar a christandade com a liberdade de primeiro, parece que não convem haver noviciado por muytos annos p[rim]o porque a esperiencia mostra que os dogicos cathequistas

servem melhor, e trabalhão mais com humildade, juntamente pregando, e servindo nos ministerios de casa, e se contentão com menos no comer, e vestir, e em tempo de aperto como este, que algu[n]os P[adr]es estão escondidos, e não podem ter muyta gente de serviço, fazem ate os officios de moços, especialmente os da Congregação, a qual se não se recebessem se não dojicos benemeritos, e se lhes concedesse algum privilegio mai que a os outros, estarião contentes de sua vocação, e não pretende-ricão de ser Irmãos; e esta foy a traça que eu di ao P[adr]e Alexandre Valinhano de b. m. quando vim a Japam, a qual lhe contentou muyto, e a minha importunação fundou a Congregação; mas depois o P[adr]e Fr[ances]co Pasio de b. m. po las importunações dos P[adr]es recebeo muytos, e por isso não hem tam estimada agora como primeiro, porem podese reformar facilmente. 2.o porq[ue] a esperiencia mostra que em se fazendo Irmãos lhes parece, que sobem a dignidade, e tem por baixeza fazer os officios de casa, tanto que nem ajudar hu[m]a Missa querem, e ha mister mil rodeos pera ordena les o que hão de fazer, e agore que estão aqui juntos não fazem mais que hir a comer, e estar todo o dia ociosos, e ha mister sustentar dojicos somente pera ajudar as missas, e servir a meza; no que bem differentes são dos Irmãos antigos, que corrião em todas as cousas como os coadjutores de Europa, de modo que multiplicandose os Irmãos não sirve de mais que de multiplicar os gastos, e carregarse a Comp[anhi]a de pessoas, q[ue] não pode deixar de sustentar, e dos dojicos se pode descartar todas as vezes que se vir em aperto como este; e certo que he cousa que espanta ver os dojicos mai zelosos das almas, e que nunca cansão de pregar, e trabalhar como bois de carga, e os Irmãos com hu[m]a pregação logo abafar, tanto que os mesmos dojicos murmurão delles dizendo que como Religiosos houverão de ser mais humildes, e terem mais esp[iritu], e trabalhar po la conservação da Comp[anhi]a, e toda via fazem menos delles que não são membros da Comp[anhi]a, e se não se der remedio a isto, havemos de criar muyta gente inutil que hum dia nos dee bem em que entender. 3.o porque com isto se corta o caminho a pretenderem de ser sacerdotes, dos quaes convem que haja muy poucos po las razões que aportarei no 2.º paragrafo. A 2.ª cousa he que ha mister po la conservação dos Europeos em Japam, que não haja muytos sacerdotes da Comp[anhi]a, nem clerigos se não poucos aqui em Na[n]gasaqui p[ar]a ajuda dos officios pontificaes; porque como escrivi ja a V. P. sem falta se hão de unir, e como forem muytos hão de querer serem superiores, e governar a seu modo, e com algu[m]a occasião como esta de perseguição, facilmente alcançarão elles de ficar em Japam, e que todos nos vamos, e entrão digo que estará a honra da Comp[anhi]a bem arriscada, que se não houver sacerdotes, como sem elles não se pode conservar a christandade, buscarão os christãos todos os meyo p[ar]a esconder os P[adr]es Europeos; o que claramente se vio agora, que comumente dessejavão antes ter em suas casas P[adr]es japões, que Europeos, dizendo que se esconderião melhor. Tambem multiplica[n]dose os P[adr]es japões, hão de pretender graos na Comp[anhi]a, e hão de ser admitidos as consultas, e dignidades, se não ha de haver mil queixas, e alevantamentos, e como estamos em sua terra hão de fazer de nos o que quizerem com ajuda dos seus naturais, tanto mais que entre si são muy unidos, e tem pouco fundame[n]to de esp[iritu], e humildade, e ja falarão em que saria bem fazero P[adr]e Martinho Campo Reitor de Na[n]gasaqui; e misto convem casi todos os P[adr]es graves que entendem os muytos inconvenientes que se podem seguir em ordenar os Ir[m]ãos japões.

A 3.^a cousa he que acerca do estudo que se deu ate agora a os dojicos do Seminario, por que gastam muyto tempo em aprender latim, e per isso lhes ensinão mil fabulas de poetas, e outras cousas que não lhes são de proveito a virtude, antes de empedim[en]to, havendo outros livros, que podrião servir de confirmalos mais na fee; acrecentase a isto que se não se lhes ensinasse o latim se farião mais de prexa obreiros, e se gastaria menos com elles, aprendendo somente o compendio,[f. 165^v] as suas seitas com o modo de confutalas, o cathequismo, e as pregações dos Evangelios de todo anno, ed diversas materias, que tem feito em Japam o P[adr]e Celso, come outros muytos livros, que estão impressos em lingoa japonica, e com este estudo são sufficientes pera pregar livremente, e serem interpretes dos P[adr]es, e a esperiencia tem mostrado que muytos sem latim ajudão mais a converção que com elle, e como não pretendem outra cousa, com sua humildade concorre D[eo]s N. S[en]ho[r], e polo contrario os que querem sahir bo[n]os latins, muytos adoeçem, e mourem thisicos por serem naturalmente fracos, e depois se não fazem o estudo da lingoa de Japam, p[ar]a nada prestão; e logo aspirão a serem clerigos, ou Irmãos p[ar]a alcançarem o sacerdocio, e andam sempre inquietos com a altivez, que do latim lhes nasce. He verdade que pera poderem ajudar nos officios ha mister que aprendão a ler, mas isto pouco latin requer, e com o uso se aprende mais que com o estudo; e quando a algu[n]os quisessem conceder mais estudo, bastaria hu[m] latim eclesiastico, e declararlhes o cathequismo Romano ad parrochos; toda via como ha tanta copia de P[adr]es Europeos, que sabe[m] muyto bem a lingoa, e pregão, não vejo que necessidade haja de ensinarlhes latim; tanto mais que os que sabem latim não se applicão tanto a servir a os P[adr]es, e quere[m] ser tratados como letrados, e assi he necess[ari]o multiplicar dojicos, hu[m]os são causa de tentação a os outros, os quaes vendo ser mais estimados os seus companheiros, todos procurão de aprender latim, ainda que não tenham partes pera isso, e gastão a saude, e tempo sem proveito, e se não lho concedem, vivem inquietos; pello que assi como na Comp[anhi]a quando a todos davão algu[n]os annos de Theologia, todos pretendião de pregar, e sere[m] professores, e havia poucos que se applicavão a confessar, e pera tirarlhes a materia da tentação, foy bem ordenado que se lhes cortasse[m] os estudos; assi a os dojicos se que V. P. tirarlhes o aspirare[m] a ser Irmãos, e sacerdotes, ha mister tirarlhes o latim, o qual mentre houver sempre andarão com pretensões, e a Comp[anhi]a sera pouco servida nos ministerios necessarios.

A 4.^a he acerca da pobreza, que parece não convem terem todos os P[adr]es que estão na mesma casa de baixo de superior dinheiro de esmolas em seu poder, polos muytos inconvenientes que ha, e houve de se gastar o dito dinheiro em outras cousas impertinentes, e darse as vezes a algu[m]as pessoas mais por outros respeitos humanos, que por titulo de esmola com murmurações, e escandalos, que não são pera carta, os quaes bem sabe o P[adr]e Pro[vincia]; e acontece muytas vezes alcançar hum pobre de muytos P[adr]es sem saber hu[m] do outro, muyta copia de prata, que fora melhor repartila a outros mais necessitados; pe lo que seria melhor que houvesse nas casas grandes hu[m] P[adr]e esmoler, a o qual todos acudissem, e mandassem seus chitos, e com isto os pobres ficarião remediados, a regra guardada, e os inconvenientes tirados.

A 5.^a he que em Japam damos como ricos, especialmente os superiores, que lhes parece tudo pouco o que dão, e tem pejo de dar hu[m] julio, sendo assi que com elle vive hum Japam honrado treis dias, e os naturnes quando dão esmola fiao muy delgado, e eu fico pasmado de ver dar a cada passo meyo, e hu[m] cruzado, e a algu[n]os cinco, dez, e vinto do da Comp[anhi]a, e o P[adr]e Pro[vincia]l he notado de muy largo, e parece q[ue] não entende, que o que lhe dão a elle como superior sem titulo de Missas, e pobres, todo he da Comp[anhi]a, e como tal o houvera de gastar, pois bem de necessidades temos, e dividas.

Tambem corre em Japam huã opinião que não me contenta, que o caso reservado de usurpar, ou gastar cantidade que seja peccado mortal em materia de furto, enterpretão, que não se ha de entender de calquer furto, se não de filho a pay, a qual contia poem algu[n]os doutores de muytos cruzados, e com esta opinião se alargão muytos as consciencias, e a pobreza, pe lo que seria bem que V. P. fizesse escrever a praxi que corre em Roma, pera que em cousa de tanto momento vamos todos conformes. Isto he o que me pareceu acrescentar por agora.

Quanto a perseguição veu nova certa que o Xo[n]gun mandou matar no Miaco a hu[m] seu capitam principal, que tinha la mandado com cappa de perseguir os christãos, e derrubar as Igrejas, por ser hu[m] dos conjurados contra elle, e com isto esta alvorotado todo Japam, estando alerta os outros conjurados, que como são Tono de Reynos, e entre elles hu[m] filho do mesmo Xo[n]gun, não pode deixar de arrebentar a cousa em armas, e entre tanto nos ficaremos mai descansados; tambem dizem que o Principe herdeiro morreu de hu[m]a queda de cavallo, mas não se sabe ainda de certo, quererà D[eo]s N. S[enho]r acudirnos com sua Divina Providencia, pois estamos desemparedados de todo humano socorro. Nos S[an]tos Sacrif[ici]os, orações, e benção de V. R. muyto me encomendo.

De Na[n]gasaqui a os 23. de Março de 1614

Indigno servo, e filho em X^o

Carlo Esp[ino]la

[F]

Procurator Carlo Spinola to General Claudio Acquaviva

Nagasaki, 25 March 1615

ARSI, Jap. Sin. 36, ff. 168-168^v

[f. 168] Nesta darei conta a V. P. de algu[m]as cousas que tocão a o meu officio de procurador, e creio que não lhe pezara de saber o meu parecer acerca dos gastos desta provincia po la esperiência que tenho, e diligencias que tenho feito sobre isto. O ter chegado esta provincia de Japam a estado que não somente não tem cabedal, mas antes muytas dividas sem modo pera pagalas não ha duvida que naces de não gizar os gastos conforme a parata que avia, e ainda que as perdas forão grandes, e hu[m]as sobre outras, toda via se logo os superiores forão encurtando os gastos, e não sustentarão mais gente da que boamente podião sustentar, tendo olho a odiante, e que

toda a nossa sustentação he incerta como aquella que vem por mar, não nos viramos em taes apertos, e se Deos N. S[enho]r não permitira a destruição de todas as cazas, e não nos fizera alijar gente por força, não tínhamos este anno com que sustentalas, e fomos forçados a recolhero P[adr]es, e diminuir em grande parte o numero dos dojucus, e moços de serviço com grande nota de pouca prudencia. He verdade que em duas occasiões de perda de nao se despedirão algu[n]os, e se reformarão algum tanto os gastos, porem em vindo a Nao com bom emprego, e cartas que em Macao chegou bom golpe de dinheiro, logo se içarão as velas outra vez, e se gastou mais do que os ganhos permitião, e assi entra[n]do cada anno polo cabedal, que não hera muy grande, se consumio todo, e alem disso foy necessario tomar prata emprestada; e por mais que o P[adr]e Sebastian Vieira meu antecessor, e eu bradamos que a Prov[inci]a corria risco de dar a repente tam manha queda no temporal que depois não tinesse remedio, e que bom era com tempo alijar gente, e ecurtar os gastos, nunca foomos ouvidos, e não faltava quem dizia que hera costume de procurador chorar sempre miseria, e como o P[adr]e Pro[vincia]l entrou de novo tinha difficuldade de apertar, por não ser tido por mesquinho, e quando queria botar hu[m] dojucu, ou moço logo entercedia por elle o P[adr]e aque[m] tinha servido, e o P[adr]e Pro[vincia]l pera não desgostalo o deixava ficarem caza, e quanto pedião os P[adr]es, Ir[mã]os, e dojucus, tudo lhes mandava dar sem negarlhes cousa algu[m]a pera ser tido por liberal, e de boa condição; peloque demos em seco, e estaremos assi até que V. P. mande ordem espressa que não tenhamos em caza mais gente da que conforme as contas julgarem os consultores da Prov[inci]a que se pode sustentar com os ganhos ficando o cabedal em pee, e que se procure de acrecentar, e de nenhu[m] modo diminuir, e se tenha sempre respeito de ficar tanta prata e[m] Japam que baste pera sustentarnos em caso que não venha nao.

A 2.^a cousa que ha mister remediar em Japam, he a facilidade que ouve até agora de gastar a prata que depositarão pessoas de confiança na mão do procurador, e de tomar prata emprestada em muyta copia, porque se gasta facilmente, e depois os procuradores que socedem se vem em grandes angustias, como me tenho visto eu estes dous annos, e quando souberão os que tinhão prata em nosso poder que nos botavão de Japam, cada hu[m] acudio a cobrar o seu, em tempo que estavam faltos de prata; e os procuradores passados a tinhão gastada; e se em Europa, onde os collegios tem renda fixa, e he muy facil cousa buscar esmolos, tem ordenado V. P. com grande prudencia que o Reitor não possa fazer divida mais que de pouca quantidade, e isto com consulta, e avendo modo p[ar]a depois pagala; quanto mais he necessaria essa ordem aqui em Japam onde nada temos certo, e se as dividas se fizessem pera não vender as fazendas baratas, e p[ar]a pagalas logo, não forão prejudiça[n]tes, porem tomar prata emprestada pera manter mais gente do que abrangem os ganhos do cabedal, he enganno muy grande, porque depois se ha de pagar, e pode ser em tempo de mòr ap[er]to, que quando se tomou. Agora tivemos boa occasião de descartarnos de muyta gente não necessaria, e sem nenhu[m] queixume de nos, toda via o P[adr]e Pro[vincia]l mandou muytos dojucus a Macao, e Manila que bem os podia despedir como fez a outros, e ficamos mais desalivados, pois claro esta que la hão de gastar mais do que a qui, e não fallo eu dos bo[n]os catequistas, mas de outros, de cujas partes acharemos se[m]pre quantos quiseremos se ouver arroz em casa, e se

fez isto contra o parecer de muytos P[adr]es graves, alem de que não pareceu bem mandar tanto Japões a Macao po la sospeita que tem delles os Chinas, e os portugueses o sentirão porque forão ameaçados do Visorey de Cantam, que se recolhessem Japões em Macao, os avia de botar dahi, e elles prometerão de não admitilos, antes o anno passado embarcarão os que la avia, e os mandarão pera Japam.

A 3.^a cousa he a multiplicação de dojucus, e moços de serviço sem necessidade po lo ruim foro, em que estão metidos, porque atè agora cada P[adr]e tene hu[m] dojucu, e hu[m] moço particular, e alem destes ha mister outros pera os officios de caza, e os Ir[mã]os que poderão servir em algu[n]os officios, querem antes ser servidos, e estão de ordinario ociosos os que residem em cazas grandes; e assi ainda que hum P[adr]e não gaste mais que 18 ducados cada anno em comer, e com o vestido, e outros gastos extraordinarios de hospedes, alfayas, concerto de casa etc. 25 ducados, toda via com o dojucu, a que cabem 14[f. 168^v] e hum moço que gasta 9 duc[ado]s monta cada anno 48 ducados; que se estivessem os dojucus, e moços em comu[n]dade, muyto menor numero delles seria necessario pera hu[m] caza, porque todos ajudarião nas officinas, e os dojucus acudirião a os ministerios, p[ar]a os quaes alem dos que serve[m] a os P[adr]es, são necessarios outros, e com isto não queiro dizer que não aja em caza mais dojucus, dos que respoudem a cada P[adr]e hum, pois forçadamente ha de aver algu[n]os catequistas de mais, porem não serão necessarios tantos, qua[n]tos forão atè agora assina[n]do a cada P[adr]e hu[m], que não faça mais que servir a o seu P[adr]e sem entender em outra cousa, e os Irmãos podem ser sãcristães, sotoministros, refeitoreiros, despenseiros etc. como o são nas outras partes da Comp[anhi]a e como se puser o costume, tudo se farà facilmente, e nos temos a culpa pois no principio em Japão os Ir[mã]os corrião com todos os officios de casa ate na cuzinha, e procedião com espiritu, e perseverarão bem, mas depois que os fizemos fidalgos, mingou o espiritu, e não podemos com elles; e vay tanto a diante a indulgencia dos superiores, que parece agora cousa intoleravel hu[m] Irmão, ou dojucu ajudar mais de hu[m]a Missa, e as vezes somente p[ar]a isso se multiplicão dojucus, que se fossem acostumados a ajudar algu[n]as cada dia, especialm[en]te os que não tem outra occupação, ningue[m] se queixaria, e veja V. P. quantos noviços ouvia mister nessa caza professa de Roma se não ajudass hum mais de hu[m]a Missa; e nisto os moços di P[adr]e Pro[vincia], e dos superiores hão de ser os primeiros a acudir a o serviço da comu[n]dade, de outra maneira he impossivel que os outros acodão. P[ar]a isto ajudará muyto o que se tocou na Congregação provincial dividirse o seminario em duas partes, e cada hu[m]a dellas estar anneixa a algum collegio principal, porque com isto se escusão cantores, tanjedores, ajudantes de Missas etc. q[ue] são necess[ari] os em huma caza, e elles mesmos se exercitão nos officios Divinos, pregar, servir, e se fazem home[n]s. Se forem criados não com muytos mimos como atè agora, mas com trabalho proporcionado a suas forças, que com isso terão mais saude, e saidos do seminario serão mais attos p[ar]a os nossos ministerios.

A 4.^a cousa he, e a principal as obras, alfayas de caza, e ornamentos das Igrejas, em que se gasta muyta prata, e a instabilidade de Japam nos ensina, que não he prudencia gastar tanto em cousas não permanentes, e que com dificuldade podemos mudar de hu[m]a parte pera outra; he verdade que toda a congregação pede a V. P. reforma nesta materia, e aporta muyto boas cousas, porem se não se fechara porta bem,

avreces que acaba[n]dose a perseguição, tornemos a fabricar mais magnificamente que p[rimeir]o e tenhamos mais apparato, do que conve[m] a pobres religiosos, e pera isto fora bom que o P[adr]e Pro[vincia]l nunca desse licença de nova fabrica, nem p[ar]a comprar cousas preciosas sem ouvir os consultores, e procurador, porque as vezes hu[m] P[adr]e que esta entre lauradores, quer ter tam bom aparelho pera convidar hospedes, que outro que esta entre gente limpa, e as vezes convida o Tono; e a causa de se multiplicare[m] estas alfayas he não serem visitadas as cazas, e Residencias cada anno, porque se o forão, e cada anno se virão os roes, sempre se acharia cousa que tirar, e os P[adr]es terião algum freo de não multiplicalas; em fim o propio fora tere[m] os P[adr]es aquillo que não se polle escusar, e que o possão mudar facilmente de hu[m]a parte pera outra com pouco custo, e os superiores serem menos faciesis em dar semelhantes licenças, tendo pera si que não consiste o sere[m] ama[n]dosem concedere[m] quanto lhes pedem, antes he necessario muytas vezes negarlo, pera evitar depois mōres inconvenientes.

A 5.^a he que nunca, ou rarissimas vezes se fazem consultas sobre os gastos, e a prata que temos, assi dos Reitores, como do P[adr]e Pro[vincia]l, e cada hu[m] gasta como quer, sem ter de ver se a provincia tem cabedal, ou dividas, e quando lhe falta não tem outro trabalho que pedilo, e tudo correga sobre o procurador, que o ha de buscar por todos os caminhos, e não val dizer que não tem prata, porque ainda que se haja de tomar emprestada, ou a onzena, hala de dar.

A 6.^a e ultima cousa he o que se gasta em presentes, assi os que faz o P[adr]e Pro[vincia]l, como os que dão os outros superiores, e P[adr]es particulares, os quaes nada luzem, e não servem se não de ternos por ricos, e nos somos bem pobres, e pois se vee que com darmos tanto atê agora não nos podemos conservar em Japam, creio que he vontade de Deos que mudemos modo, e procedamos como Religiosos pobres, e nesta occasião nos escusemos com dizer que não temos que dar; e pois que conforme a o costume de Japam não se pode deixar de dar algu[m]a cousa, agora he tempo de nos por em bom foro, e fazer o que fazem os mesmos Bonzos graves, e que tem boas rendas em Japam, os quaes a os Tonos, e a Tencadono não offerecem mais que hu[m]a resma de papel, e hu[m] abano, e os Religiosos de Filippinas hu[m] as candeas de cera branca, dizendo que são pobres; e me parece que he grande erro cuidamos que a Christandade se ha de fazer, e conservar com presentes, mas antes com guardarmos nossa pobreza, e insituto, e confiarmos em Deos, que os Apostolos assi fazião, e atê que em Japam não percamos o nome de ricos, pouco avemos de medrar, porque tenho visto por experiencia, que muytos se fazem christãos, e se chegão a nos, e nos chamão a suas terras, pera que os socorramos em suas necessidades, lhes emprestemos prata, e negociemos seda, e peças de laya nova quando vem a nao; isto bem entende o P[adr]e Pro[vincia]l, mas como esta posto em costume, he cousa dificultosa de se reformar, e não ha outro remedio que determinar V. P. que da qui por diante se tirem os presentes que ate agora se costumarão, e semente se dem os que se costumão, e quando muyto ao Tencad[on]o, e a os Tonos principaes se dee algum brinco, vinho, e doce feito chara Europa, porque em começando desta maneira, tudo serà facil, e Deos N. S[en]ho[r] concorrera com nossa pobreza. O mesmo digo dos banquetes, os quaes quando dão em suas cazas os Bonzos, ainda que a grandes S[en]ho[re]s, não lhes dão que er vinhas, e outras cousas desta laya que elles

profissão de comer, sem entrar carne, nem peixe, e nos saímos com muytas iguarias feitas a o nosso modo, e a o seu, com o que pouca reputação alcançamos, antes cuidão que aquillo he o nosso ordinario, como me lembra que em Napoles no meu tempo se espalhou fama que comiamos demasiadam[en]te bem, por causa dos que convidamos no refeitorio nas festas principaes; e não ha duvida que hu[m]a cousa moderada agrada a Deos, se não dizerem que levamos boa vida, e comemos de ordinario milhor que calquer Tono; como eu tenho ouvido por vezes.

Acrecento aqui o pouco modo que ha nas esmolas, porque como os Japões comu[n]te são pobres, se nos obrigamos a soccorrer a todos he cousa de grande gasto, e impresa que não podemos levar avante conforme a o pouco que temos, e nos vemos que os pobres que estão entre gentios, e onde não reside a Comp[anhi]a, se remedeão sem nossas esmolas; mas basta dar hu[m] tanto cada anno a os mais necessitados, e a os desterrados por causa da fee, e os outros remetelos à Misericordia, ou a quem for despenseiro, e depositario das esmolas, que dão os christãos pera Missas, conforme propõe a Congregação a V. P. E com isto acabo esta materia, na qual me alarguei mais do que cuidava, pera informar do que passa. V. P. agora cotejando o com as outras enformações, determinarrá o que milhor in Dño lhe parecer. Nos S[an]tos sacrific[i]os, orações, e benção de V. P. muyto me encomendo. De Na[n]gasaqui a os 25. de Março de Indigno filho, e servo em Chr[ist]o

Carlo Esp[ino]la

[G]

Regimento do Prof[urad]or q[ue] està em Jappão¹⁵⁰
(1591)

BA/JA, 49-IV-66, ff. 37-41

[f. 37] 1. Em todos os negocios q[ue] tratar de seo officio se lembre do institudo da Comp[anhi]a q[ue] he buscando a gloria de Deos, trabalhar p[ar]a ajudar as almas, e procure co[m] palavras, e exemplo de edeficar a todos aquelles co[m] quem tratar e de fazer, e conservar benevolos aquelles de quem te[m] necessid[ad]e.

2. O seo officio consiste principalmente em duas couzas a primeyra he co[m] toda fidelidade, e diligencia arecadar quando os Navios da China [*in the margin: chegarem*] todas as couzas q[ue] nellas vem da Comp[anhi]a assim pertententesa Prov[inci]a como a p[esso]as particulares della se fazer vender a seo tempo as couzas q[ue] hão de vender, e juntam[en]te comprar o q[ue] faltar assim para o provim[en]to da Prov[inci]a como p[ar]a as Igrejas, e presentes q[ue] se fazem. A 2^a couza he

150 In the Roman archive of the Society of Jesus (ARSI), it is possible to consult the original manuscript. Cf. ARSI, Jap. Sin. 2, ff. 114-118v. Since the original does not comprehend Pasio's emendations, we preferred to use the 18th-century copy. Nevertheless, when the two copies substantially differ we shal offer the original version in note.

prover de todas as couzas, Collegios e Rezidincias, e Seminarios da Comp[anhi]a q[ue] houver nessa Prov[inci]a conforme ao q[ue] pellos Superiores se ordenar.¹⁵¹

3. Sua Residencia será em Nangasaq[ue] onde terá a curas, e gudoe[m]s sufficientes co[m] suas chaves seguras, e bem guardadas p[ar]a agazelhar todo o fato q[ue] arecada da Nao por q[ue] pello ordinario o fato o tera sempre em Nangazaq[ue] por ser lugar seguro, e mais acomodado para acodir a todas as cazas, e procure q[ue] estas couzas temporaes q[ue] lhe sam emcome[n]dadas se não percão ou maltratem, antes ha de cuidar q[ue] são como bens proprios de N. S. co[m] os quaes ha de prover a seos servos, e quando a Nao não vier a Nangasaqui se não a outro porto hirã la e rezidirá ali tempo q[ue] for necessario.

4. O Procurador estará em tudo sogeito a ob[edienci]a do Superior de Caza onde rezide conforme a nossa regra tirando som[en]te nas couzas que pertence[m] ao seo officio, porq[ue] nestas não se metera o Superior da caza, mais q[ue] para o ajudar, e favocer sem o estrovar em nenhu[m]a couza, ne[m] em estas couzas da procuração sera sogeito ao Superior do Ximo se não immediato ao V. P[rovinci]al como são todos os Procurad[or]es das Prov[inci]as salvo q[uan]do em algu[m]a couza o V. P[rovincia]l l ordenar q[ue] lhe seja sogeito mas isto não tolhe que não estando aqui o Superior de Jappão e estando aqui o do Ximo, não trate, e comunique co[m] ele as duvidas q[ue] se offerecerem, e o mesmo co[m] o Superior da Caza.

5. P[ar]a q[ue] nas compras e vendas q[ue] faz não haja nenhuma ocazião de escandalo, as não fará por sy mesmo, mas terá algumas pessoas fieis a sufficientes q[ue] faze[m] digo devotas nossas pellas quaes faça as compras e vendas q[ue] se houvem de fazer, e juntamente tera os [f. 37^v] moços sufficientes q[ue] forem necessarios p[ar]a o ajudar assim no acarreto como para fazer, e desfazer os fardos, e mais couzas do seo officio, os quaes não serão pellos Superiores das cazas empedidos nas occupaçoens das cazas, de man[hey]ra q[ue] se de algum estorvo aos negocios do mesmo Procurador.

6. Terã hum l[ivr]o no qual estara primeyram[en]te o regim[en]to do seo officio, e depois terá o rol de todas as Rendas q[ue] Japão tem assim em Espanha do Summo Pontifice, coma na India, Malaca, e China, e em Jappão e juntam[en]te o que costuma arendar cada couza destas. *S[cilicet]* as aldeas da India tanto na alfandega do Rey, as boticas e cazas da China, & o mesmo dos Rioches¹⁵² q[ue] temos em Jappão tão bem no mesmo Livro estara hum rol das couzas do provimento, e mais couzas q[ue] cada anno costumão a vir da China, para q[ue] por ahi os Superiores e Procuradores de Jappão se possão governar acrescentando, diminuindo, ou mudando o q[ue] parecer m[uy]to necessar[ar]io. E juntam[en]te tera huma lembrança da q[ua]l por experiencia conhece que pode gastar cada anno de cangaria, e fato cada Padre, cada Ir[mã]o, cada Dojucu, cada Tonobara, cada mosso de casa, no mesmo livro terá outro rol das alfayas q[ue] são necessarias para hu[m]a residencia quando se faz de

151 ARSI, Jap. Sin. 2, f. 114: 'A 2.^a cousa he prover todas as casas, Collegios, e residencias e seminarios da Comp[anhi]a que ouver nesta prov[inci]a, conforme ao q[ue] p[e]llos Sup[er]ior[es] se ordenar.'

152 *Ryōchi* [領地], rice fields yielding a profit.

novo, juntam[en]te terá em outra parte do mesmo livro os avizos, e lembranças q[ue] podem ajudar a quem tiver este officio de procurador.

7. Tera outro livro co[m] seus titulos apartados, ou diversos livrinhos, manuaes em q[ue] apartadam[en]te se escrevão todos os gastos que cada anno se fazem em Jappão assim do ordinario q[ue] se da as cazas e Rezidencias como do q[ue] se faz pollo Superior Universal de Jappão, assim no ordinario de presentes fabricas et.a escrevendo-se tudo por meudo para q[ue] conste o q[ue] se gasta cada anno em cada caza, em as ditas couzas extrordinarias.

8. Alem deste l[ivr]o terá outro repartido co[m] seus titulos e nelle se escreverá assim o q[ue] lhe vem cada anno da China empregado como as esmolos q[ue] aqui em Jappão se dão a Companhia para os gastos das cazas assim em o dinheiro como em arros, escrevendo tão bem o nome das p[esso]as q[ue] dão as ditas esmolos e neste mesmo livro se escreverão as vendas q[ue] das fazendas se fazem, e o dinheiro q[ue] dellas se tirão de maneyra q[ue] claram[en]te appareção na receita deste livro todo o q[ue] a conta da Comp[anhia] lhe vem a mão. Em outro titulo estara sumariamente a despeza de tudo o q[ue] em aquelle anno se gastar, a qual despeza se tirará do outro l[ivr]o ja dito em q[ue] se escreve em particular o que se gasta por cada caza pello Superior e por outras extraordinarias. E porq[ue] a conta do gasto de Jappão começa desde Agosto q[ue] vem a Nao, acaba a tempo que [f. 38] vem a outra, correrá o anno co[m] as contas da receita e despeza de Agosto, no fim do qual ou no mez de Setembro ficarão arematadas suas contas p[ar]a as mostrar ao Superior de Jappão, ou a quem elle ordenar, e nestas contas depois de dada a descarga da receita appareça sempre cada anno a que fica a Jappão de cabedal assim em din[hei]ro como em peças.

9. Por quanto Jappão tem suas rendas espalhadas em diversas partes, e tão bem nellas se faze[m] diversos gastos a conta de Japão, para q[ue] o Superior saiba anno por anno como se arrecadão, e gastam estas rendas, e não haja confuzão, procurará o dito Superior q[ue] o proc[urad]or que estiver na China tratandos os genocios [sic, negocios] de Jappão mande suas contas de tal man[eyr]a distintas, q[ue] humas sejam som[en]te da carregação de tudo o q[ue] manda a Jappão empregado assim em seda como cangaria, e todas as mais peças e meudezas q[ue] p[ar]a Jappão mandar e estas som[en]te o Procurador de Jappão asentará em sua receita para dar dellas descargo, e tudo o mais q[ue] o dito proc[urado]r gastar na China, se mande em outras contas apertadas p[ar]a se saber ta[m]be[m]o q[ue] elle là gasta, e o mesmo procure q[ue] fação os mais Procuradores q[ue] tratão co[m] o dinheiro, e renda de Jappão, assim em Portugal como na India, e em Malaca mandando cada hum delles as contas do q[ue] gastou e recebeo e juntam[en]te o q[ue] mandão em dinheiro, e o q[ue] mandão empregado a China, e de todas estas receitas, e gastos, que se fizerem nas ditas partes tirará o procurador de Jappão a soma, e a escreverá em este livro em outro titulo apartado de maneyra q[ue] conste por elle o q[ue] se gastou, e arrecadou em Portugal, na India, e em Malaca, e o q[ue] de la se manda em din[hei]ro ou empregado, e tão bem o q[ue] recebe, e gasta na China.

10. E por quanto na mão do Procurador do Jappão alem do emprego q[ue] se faz a China has de vir tão bem as couzas q[ue] de Portugal, e India se mandão para Jappão a conta do dito dinheiro ha o dito Procurador neste mesmo livro de carregar e escrever na receita em outra folha apartada todo o q[ue] se mandar assim em livros, como em

vinhos e mais couzas de provimento e outras pessas para q[ue] conste tão be[m] o q[ue] recebio da quellas partes para dar dellas descarga nas despezas; e examinando pellas contas q[ue] de la mandão se se receberão em Jappão todas as couzas q[ue] escrevem e para se dar depois das ditas couzas boa descarga na despeza, se meterà tão be[m] na receita a valia das ditas couzas p[ar]a se por tão bem na despeza, e desta maneyra saber se em quanto soma tudo o q[ue] cadaanno se gasta a Jappão.
[f. 38^v] 11.

Em outro titulo deste mesmo l[ivr]o, ou em outro livro apartado se escreverà todo o q[ue] se recebe, e gasta do cabedal q[ue] chamamos das Igrejas e esmolas q[ue] o P. Vizitador ajuntou neste anno de 91 para q[ue] conforme a ordem q[ue] elle deo acerca deste cabedal se saiba toda a contia delle, e o q[ue] cada anno se manda a China e se tira do ganho co[m] os gastos q[ue] delle se faz, conforme a ordem dada pello mesmo Padre.

12. Tera outro livro de lembr[an]ças, no qual estarão escritas em hu[m]a parte as dividas q[ue] se devem em Jappão de emprestimos q[ue] se fizerão, e em outra os depositos q[ue] em caza ouver de diferentes p[esso]as. E em outra parte do mesmo livro estará o dinheiro q[ue] se recebe dos Tonos que mandão a China, e como vier a nao e se lhes entregar o d[inhei]ro se borrara escrevendo o q[ue] lhes veyo a conta de sua prata, geralm[en]te terà as mais lembranças q[ue] forem necessarias como de fato que esta posto pollas cazas particulares, ou cousa semelhante.

13. Para se guardar a devida subordenação, e o Procurador ter menos trabalhos em escrever e tratar co[m] tantos, correrá no provim[en]to assim das cazas, e Coll[egi] os como das Residencias a elles sobgeitas co[m] os Reitores ma[n]dando a elles assim o d[inhei]ro como o provim[en]to das couzas conforme a ordem q[ue] se tem dado p[ar]a os Reitores, e depois as mandare[m] aos Padres das suas Rezidencias; mas para q[ue] não haja confusão mandará apartado tudo o que vay para cada Rezidencia, e caza de modo que se não misture para da mesma maneira os Reitores a entregarem conforme a ditta ordem que esta data.

14. Para q[ue] as cazas sejam bem providas e a seu tempo, e não se ache o procurador empedido co[m] a auzencia do Superior de Jappão se guardará este modo em prover as cazas. *S[cilicet]* que por q[uan]to como acima esta dito deve aver couza determinada de cangaria q[ue] se hade dar a cada Padre, cada Ir[mão] cada Dojucu etc.¹⁵³o Procurador de Jappão terà licença de prover sem outra nova licença do Superior todas as cazas, e Residencias de Jappão de todas as ditas couzas ordin[ari]ase determinadas e tão bem o dinheiro q[ue] se vay este anno gastando em as ditas cazas, e Rezidencias,¹⁵⁴e os Superiores dellas não gastarão e[m] outra couza mas todas as mais couzas extraordinarias q[ue] não são determinadas ne[m] haja

o qual din[hei]ro sera som[en]te p[ar]a o gasto ordinario das ditas cazas

minada de cangaria q[ue] se hade dar a cada Padre, cada Ir[mão] cada Dojucu etc.¹⁵³o Procurador de Jappão terà licença de prover sem outra nova licença do Superior todas as cazas, e Residencias de Jappão de todas as ditas couzas

153 ARSI, Jap. Sin. 2, f.116: '[...] cada P[adr]e, cada Irmão, cada dogico etc. E tambem as mais cousas q[ue] vem da outra costa que se hão de repartir p[er] as casas como vinho das missas, azeite etc.'

154 *Ibidem*: '[...] e tambem o d[inhei]ro q[ue] se vai este ano gastando e[m] as ditas casas, o q[ua]l d[inhei]ro sera som[en]te pera o gasto ordinario das ditas casas e residencias.'

abundancia p[ar]a se repartir entre todos comolivos, pano de Portugal, peças p[ar]a ornam[en]tos, queijos, prezuntos, vinhode Portugal, ou de paça e outras couzas semelhantes não os darà ne[m]despensara o Procurador sem ordem, e licença do Superior deJappão ou a q[ue]m elle der esta autorid[ad]e em sua auzencia, e o mesmo fara acerca do din[hei]ro das esmolos do Cabedal dos pobres edas Igrejas, e de todo o mais d[inhei]ro q[ue] os Superiores, e P[adr]es pedire[m] p[ar]a[f. 39]couzas extraordinarias, porq[ue] a disposição destas couzas todas ficão reservadas ao Superior, e não se ham de dar pello Proc[urado]r sem sua licença.

15. Por isto como vier a Nao estando o Superior prez[en]te lhe mostrara hu[m]rol de todas estas couzas extraordinarias que vem, ou lho mandara ondeestà se estiver auzente, e não tiver deixada faculdade a elle ou a outro Superior p[ar]a repartir as ditas couzas para q[ue] desta maneyra sabe[n]do a contia de todas estas couzas extraordinarias q[ue] hum os possa ma[n]dar guardar, ou repartir como elle quizer.

16. Não se encarregarán[en]hu[m] d[inhey]ro de fora, hora seja de Jappãos, horaseja de Portuguezes para mandar a China sem ordem do Superior e da mesma man[hey]ra não se encarregara de fato de fora, o qual venha da China, p[ar]a elle o vender ca em Jappão ne[m] recolherão e[m]caza d[inhei]ro, ou fato depositado de p[esso]as de fora sem ordem particular, ou geral do Superior pello m[uyt]os inconvenientes q[ue] dahy se seguem.

17. Para escuzar muitas murmuraçoens que na China ha parecendolhes q[ue] os P[adr]es são contra elles por amor dos Japoens, se não meterà o Proc[urad]or em dar a pancada da seda, ou outra couza semelhante, sem ordem geral ou particular do Superior.

18. Cada anno antes de partir a Nao para Macao fara humrol de provim[en]to q[ue] ha de vir de Macao conforme ao rol q[ue] tem escrito em seo livro, e o mostrara ao Superior para q[ue] o assine acrecentando, ou tirando o q[ue] lhe parecer, e juntam[en]te lhe dira a prata q[ue] tem em Jappão para q[ue] elle ordene a cantidade da prataq[ue] poderà hir a China, e sendo cazo q[ue] haja Nao, e junco, pello juncoq[ue] parte primeiro mandará a 1.^a via do rol das couzas que forem necessarias co[m] parte do d[inhey]ro para q[ue] co[m] tempo o Procuradora China as posse melhor aviar.

19. Terà o Procurador em sua cura dous ou trez caixoens da Indiaem que estará a prata, cada hum dos quaes terà duas chaves dos quaeshu[m]a terà-a elle, e outra o Superior da Caza, e dentro estará humlivro em cada caixão em q[ue] se escreve a prata q[ue] se mete e a q[ue]se tira escrevendo o dia, e anno e porq[ue] serà m[uy]to trabalho cadavez que o Procurador tiverà necessidades de prata ajuntar as chaves avera outro caixão ou escritorio onde estará alguma somade prata para o gasto do qual o Proc[urad]or terà a chave.

20. Não emprestarà d[inhei]ro nem fato sem licença do Superiorestando elle presente, e em sua ausencia fara conforme a autoridade q[ue] a elle ou outro deixar.

21. Todas as encomendas q[ue] vierem na Nao pera os P[adr]es e Ir[mão]s da Companhia arrecadara, e mandará a os Reitores das cazas,[f. 39^v]ou rezidencias aondem estão os Padres para q[ue]m vem sem abrilas, eo mesmo farà das encomendas [sic, encomendas] que de Jappão se mandão p[ar]aoutra costa, e o q[ue] esta dito das encomendas se tenha o Proc[urad]or por encomendado acerca das cartas que

vem na Nao as quaes co[m] diligenciamandarà a os ditos Reitores, para as mandar a quem vão, e as quede cà vão p[ar]a outra costa se acerca de alguma das ditas couzas o Sup[er]ioroutra couza não ordenar.

22. Nenhuma demanda fora de novo contra os Jappoens ou contra Protuguezes [sic, Portuguezes] sem ordem do Superior.

23. Tera hum escritorio onde terà guardados todos os papeis do doações, vendas, e compras derioches, e todos os mais papeis e doaçoens q[ue] o Irmãosfizessem onde qualquer outro modo q[ue] pertence a Igreja de Jappão.

24. Ao Procurador pertence, sevir que se vão fazendo entre anom[uy]tos gastos para o pouco cabedal q[ue] tem a Igreja, avisar disso ao Sup[er]iorou ao admonitor para q[ue] lho diga para que elle ordene o q[ue] lhe bemparecer acerca disso.

25. Terà hum livrinho em q[ue] escreverà as couzas q[ue] o Superior lheordenar q[ue] faça e as mais que lhe ocorrem q[ue] se hão de fazer porse não esquecer dellas.

26. O seo cubiculo sempre estará fechado co[m] chave quando for forae sempre ficará vigiando pessoa segura.¹⁵⁵

27. Como os P[adr]es das Rezidencias m[uy]tas vezes não tem comodidadepara se prover das alfayas necessarias para suas cazas tera cuid[ad]oofferecendose algu[m]a comodidade de se prover do Camj e doutras partesde semelhantes couzas, como são goqis,¹⁵⁶mezas, papel torinoco,¹⁵⁷papel suibara,¹⁵⁸e couzas semelhantes q[ue] se não achão em cada partee os Padres entre anno pedem.

28. Por quanto a cangaria e mais couzas q[ue] vem da China se ham de dar a os Sup[er]ior]esdas cazas e Rezidencias pello mesmo preço q[ue] vem da China computados os fretes, e direitos q[ue] se pagão dellas, cada anno fara sua conta do que se monta dos fretes, e direitos das ditas couzas p[ar]a os repartir elles de maneyra q[ue] saiba quanto se ha de acrescentar por cada couza para q[ue] nisto não haja erro nem embarço depois nascontas, por q[ue] sem esto se poderião fazer grandes erros dando por menos, ou por mais preço, as couzas daquellas por q[ue] as tem carregado em suareceita, e assim haverà grandes enganos nas contas.

29. E por q[ue] o trato de sua natureza he prohibido a os homens Religiozose a nos outros da Comp[anhi]a por nossas Constituiçoens muito mais particularmente, e este q[ue] nos permite em Jappão por Sua Santidadee por N. P. não he p[ar]a mais se não p[ar]a suprir a necessid[ad]e da Comp[anhi]a[f. 40]e Christand[ad]e destas partes, q[ue] não tem por agora outro remedio, se hagranded[en]te de guardar que nisto não sietome mais licença de q[ue] SuaSantidade e N. P. nos dão e pede a necessid[ad]e de Jappão.

30. Por isso, e por tambem se evitar todo o escandalo e murmuraçãoq[ue] pudesse aver de nos outros entre os Portuguezes assim em Jappão como em Macao parecendo-lhes q[ue] nos metemos neste tratomais do q[ue] convem se guardarão as couzas seguintes.

155 ARSI, Jap. Sin. 2, f. 117v: '26. O seu cubiculo sempre estará fechado co[m] chave q[uan]do for fora se não ficar vigiando pessoa segura.'

156 Goki [御器], wooden bowl.

157 Torinoko-gami [鳥の子紙], a type of Japanese paper.

158 Suibara-gami [杉原紙], another type of Japanese paper.

31. Primeyram[en]te para suprir a os gastos sem se consumir o cabedal em mentre a Comp[anhia] não for melhor provida de venda se poderá mandar nesta carreyra pello ordinario ate trez mil taeis empregados alem do q[ue] se manda do cabedal para os pobres, e para as Igrejas e para q[ue] tam be[m] em este emprego não haja desordens, alem da cangaria, pessos, e mais couzas q[ue] se ham de comprar para o uso das cazas, e Igrejas, presentes etc.^ae alem dossincoenta picos de seda q[ue] conforme ao contrato ham de vir cadaanno a nossa conta, todo o mais din[hey]ro athe a d[it] a quantia, juntam[en]tecom o q[ue] se mandar do cabedal para os pobres e Igrejas, vira empregados em ouro por q[ue] não faz volume e se[m] aparecer se compra e vende sem estrondo e não se empregará em outras miudezas, salvo se de tal man[hey]ra se for diminuindo o cabedal q[ue] o Superior julgar co[m] seos consultores q[ue] co[n]vem acrescentar este trato, e mandalo vir empregado em outras couzas deixando isto emcarregadoa suas conciencias, ha de medir a necessid[ad]e co[m] a vont[ad]e e permissãode Sua Santidade e de N. P. neste trato.

32. Alem disto se guardara infalivelm[en]te o contrato q[ue] se fez coma Cidade de Macao aserca da nossa seda, do qual terá o Procuradorhum trezlado autentico aqui, e não se alterará ne[m] na China ne[m] aqui em nenhuma maneyra, e assim ficando seda q[ue] com a partidada Nao nos hajão de deixãr não se tome mais q[ue] athe a contia de quarenta picos, os quaes em nenhuma maneyra se faramachar neste porto quando vier a outra Nao. Mas assim nistocomo na venda da dita seda e em todas as mais condiçoens seguardará perfeitam[en]te o dito contrato, guarda-se o Procurador, quepor procurar algum ganho mais não escandelize os Portuguezes, e se de ocação de aver queixas, e murmuraçoens em Macao, e q[ue]se venhá co[m] nosso damno a innovar estes contrato.

33. Assim mesmo se guardará de mandar atravessar faze[n]das comprandoas aos Portuguezes aqui em Jappão para lhe ficar p[ar]avender depois da partida da Nao, salvo se se oferecesse algum[f. 40^v]lanço de tanto proveito q[ue] sem escandalo ao juizo do Superior parecesse q[ue] se poderia acrescentar hum bom pedaço de cabedal, e não se vâ busca[n]do ganhos furmigueiros q[ue] sejão e cauzão escandalo co[m] pouco proveito.

34. Tenha toda via sum[m]a diligencia de conservar, e acrescentareste cabedal de Jappão se fosse possivel ate contia de sincoentamil taeis, por q[ue] considerando o numero dos Collegios, e cazas comos grandes gastos riscos, e perigos q[ue] Jappão tem ainda isto he m[uy]topouco, pois hum Coll[egi]o em nossas terras tem mais, e porq[ue] perdendosse (o q[ue] D[eu]s não queira) hu[m]a Nao haja cabedal na China paravir empregado na outra e não fique Jappão consumido todosem poder ter depois remedio. Procurara o dito Procurador quando ouver tanta quantia de cabedal q[ue] se possa isso fazer de lembar [*sic*, lembrar] ao Superior de Jappão q[ue] tenha hu[m] depozito em Macao de atedez mil taeis deste d[inhey]ro de Jappão, mandando cada anno hum pouco p[ar]a ficar là, o qual não se gastará, ne[m] tomará para outra couza q[ue] em serviço do mesmo Jappão conforme a ordemq[ue] o P. Vizitador tem dado em Macao ao Procurador q[ue] la esta.¹⁵⁹

159 Cf. *Regimento para o Procurador de Jappão que Reside na China. Este deu aqui o P. Vizitador Franc[esc]o Passio quando veo de Jappão*. BA/JA, Cod. 49-V-66, ff. 10-13.

[f. 41] *O P. Vizitador Franc[esc]o Passio acrescentou os § seguintes de sua mão e algumas adições aos § acima*

35. Ao depois q[ue] com licença do Sup[er]ior se receberem na Procuradoria nada gastara sem licença do P. Prov[incia]l e se co[m] sua licença gastar delles, tornara a por nos olle, ou caixão do depozito a q[ue] delle tirou o mais cedo q[ue] puder.

36. Alem do dinheyro q[ue] derá ao Procurador para missas, e p[ar]a repartir emtre os pobres, podera dar de esmola athe a quantia de quinze taeis do q[ue] lhe derem de prezente, e não os tendo, os podera pedir aos de fora para este effeito.

37. Para os P[adr]es sejam providos de rozarios, e nominas sem terem necessidade de mandar para isto prata em Macao, o Proc[urad]or mandará vir boa quantidade de ambas estas couzas e as dará aos Padres pello preço q[ue] lhe custarem como demais provim[en]to.

No § 13 esta ordem está revogada, e todos os Padres da Rezidencias correm immediatam[en]te co[m] o Proc[urad]or.

No § 14 posto q[ue] se diz de cangaria q[ue] está determinada para cada pessoa, he para q[ue] os P[adr]es não pessão a conta do seo ordenado mais do necessario, e depois lhes falte a prata p[ar]a o gasto.

No § 16 lembrese q[ue] a primeyra parte deste § esta defeza sub preceito em virtude de Santa obediencia.

No § 19 por m[ui]tos inco[n]venientes q[ue] se achão em haver estas duas chaves se asento q[ue] abasta a do Procurador.

Mandei tresladar tudo do L[ivr]o velho mas pode ser que algu[m]a palavra faltasse por estar comida do bico [sic, bicho]; ou erro no tresladar q[ue] por não tem tempo de o rever o não revi mas todos os Regimentos se tresladaram. Somente o do P Vizitador Alexandre Valinago [sic, Valignano] por estar todo comido do bicho se não pode tresladar. Macao aos 15 de Mayo D 1744. João Alvares

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THE REVOLT OF SHIMABARA-AMAKUSA*

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Abstract

The Revolt of Shimabara-Amakusa (1637-1638) has been discussed by historiography mainly from the point of view of the causes behind it. The debate has focused on two perspectives that are not always confronted: economic and religious aspects. This article analyses both aspects, also centring the reflection on the impact caused by the rebellion in the context of pre-modern Japan. Based on existing documentation we verify the composite nature of this rebellion and the need to re-equate the manner in which this theme is enunciated.

Resumo

A Revolta de Shimabara-Amakusa (1637-1638) tem sido debatida pela historiografia sobretudo sob o ponto de vista das causas que a terão originado, desenvolvendo-se o debate em torno de duas perspectivas que nem sempre são colocadas em confronto: nas suas dimensões económica e religiosa. O presente artigo analisa ambos os aspectos, colocando também como objecto central de reflexão o impacto causado pela rebelião no contexto do Japão pré-moderno. Com base na documentação existente atesta-se o carácter compósito desta revolta e a necessidade de re-equacionar a forma de enunciar o próprio tema.

要旨 (アブストラクト)

島原天草一揆（1637-1638年）はこれまで、この事件の背景には何があったのかという観点から論じられてきた。それは二つの側面に絞られる。一つは経済問題、もう一つは宗教問題である。しかし、それは必ずしもいつも同じ比重で問題とされたのではない。本稿は、その両局面を分析するとともに、この一揆が近世日本の社会情勢にどのような影

* Translation to English by Martin Nogueira Ramos from the original Japanese text.

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響を与えたのかについて考察する。既存の史料をもとに、この一揆が混成集団であったという特徴と、この事件の表現方法を再検討する必要性を検証する。

Keywords:

Revolt, Shimabara, Edo period, Christianity

Revolta, Shimabara, período Edo, Cristianismo

一揆、島原、江戸時代、キリシタン

1. Economical struggle? Religious struggle?

The revolt of Shimabara-Amakusa (1637-1638) is the first large-scale conflict of the *Bakuhun* system. For a long time the debate concerning this revolt was focused on its causes: was it a struggle for economical or religious purposes? For the post-war Japanese historians, the Shimabara-Amakusa's revolt started because the feudal lords treated their peasants harshly. Even if it seemed that the rebelling forces gathered as Christians, commonly, historians considered this fact as a secondary matter. For them, the revolt of Shimabara-Amakusa was mainly an economical struggle.

Recent studies, however, have criticised the idea that Christianity was a secondary matter and have tended to consider the revolt as a religious struggle.

It is well known that the uprising was caused by Christians who had returned to the faith after having yielded to the harsh anti-Christian policy. Peasants and *rônin* who joined the revolt were not only Christians who had returned to the faith. People who were compelled to convert to Christianity and to join the revolt were numerous. During the expansion of the movement, revolted forces committed aggression on non-Christians and destroyed temples and shrines. Such acts were also committed in Christian lords' territories of the 16th century. It shows in a way that the rebels wanted to return to the era of Christian daimyô. From the second half of the 16th century to the first half of the 17th century, violent opposition between Christians and non-Christians spread in territories where Christianity had developed. Recent studies say that the prohibition of Christianity by the Bakufu had been planned in order to suppress religious rivalry between the people.²

2 Kanda Chisato, *Shimabara no ran* (Chûô kôron shinsha: 2005). Before this article, another study considered this revolt a religious struggle: Irimoto Masuo, *Shimabara no ran* (Kyôikusha:

This point of view has two meanings. First, it contradicts the fact that the revolt was a binomial opposition between the people and the authorities. This approach focuses on the variety and the contradictions that existed among the people. Secondly, this point of view considers the historical role of religion. In a territory like Shimabara-Amakusa, there was a decisive opposition about having to rely on Christianity or on the deities and Buddhas in order to avoid famine, disasters or war. The revolt of Shimabara-Amakusa is the result of this. The choice of a religion regulates the actions of men.

However, the impact of Shimabara-Amakusa's revolt on the early-modern state and society practically has not been studied. The revolt largely remained in early-modern Japanese memories. Indeed, when there was some trouble during the Edo period, this event was mentioned, and many stories based on the revolt appeared. So, thinking over the impact of the revolt on the early-modern state and society also leads to a global reflexion on the quintessence of the Edo period. In order to study this revolt, it is important to analyse the historical significance of Shimabara-Amakusa's revolt considering the whole Early-modern Period. It is also primordial to consider factors which first seem to be contradictory, and to describe them as a whole.

2. Analysis of letters exchanged between the Bakufu and the uprising forces

Documents related to this Revolt are mainly records from the authorities. Generally speaking, it is very rare that the voice of the defeated was transmitted in a well-organised form. So, it is not surprising that we have conserved very few documents written by the uprising side.

However, it does not mean that they do not exist. For example, we have letters sent by the revolted troops to the bakufu forces during the siege of Hara castle. But in the letters that have survived to our days, we can observe many contradictions in their contents. How should we analyse such contradictions? Studying the reasons of the uprising through these letters requires a strict analysis.

2.1. Contradictory letters

During the first month of *kan'ei* 15 (1638), a letter from Matsudaira Nobutsuna, responsible for the Bakufu troops, was sent to the rebels in Hara

1980). The study of Hattori Hideo, "Hara-jō Hakkutsu" in Arano Yasunori, *Nihon no jidai-shi 14 Edo Bakufu to higashi ajia* (Yoshikawa-kō bunkan: 2003), says that the revolt's forces tried to give rise to a civil war and were waiting for the military support of the Portuguese.

castle. In this letter, Nobutsuna asks them what the purpose of their revolt is, and whether they have any grudge against the Bakufu or their feudal lords.³

In a letter which seems to be the answer to the previous one, we observe various responses that are contradictory. First, they say that the uprising originates from the despotism of their feudal lords. In the letter signed "Amano Shirô" (Amakusa Shirô?) and sent to "Matsudaira Izu no Kami" (Matsudaira Nobutsuna), the rebels argue that since they were ordered to pay heavy taxes, their life had been really hard, and for this reason they only wanted to avenge themselves on their feudal lord, Matsukura Katsuie.⁴

In another letter that seems to be an answer from the uprising forces to the Bakufu troops, we can read that they only wished the authorities had removed the prohibition of Christianity. In a letter from the 13th day of the first month, written from the castle and addressed to the legates of the Shogunate, many times they stressed the annoyance created by the promulgation of such edict.⁵ In another letter, they also said that apart from the freedom to practise Christianity they did not wish for anything else.⁶

If we take into consideration the first, hatred toward the feudal lord is the main reason of the uprising. On the other hand, if we consider the later letters, it seems the prohibition of Christianity is the main cause of the revolt. Which letters transmit best the real purpose of the rebels?

Concerning these epistles, we also have records about them in letters written by persons related to the Shogun's army. For instance, in a letter written on the 16th day of the first month of Kan'ei 15 by a samurai from Kumamoto to a daimyô counsellor (*karô*) of his feudal domain (*han*), we can read that a letter sent by the peasant rebels indicated that they had joined Hara castle for the purpose of Christianity.⁷ We have many letters of this kind that mention the fact that the uprising originated from the prohibition of Christianity. Nevertheless, it was said no letter mentions the fact that the peasants rebelled because of the lords' harsh treatments. But we cannot deduce that letters mentioning hatred toward despotic lords did not exist. The only thing we can do is confirm the existence of missives written by the uprising side which stress the prohibition of Christianity as the main reason for their revolt.

3 Tsuruta Kurazô (dir.), *Genshiryô de tsuzuru Amakusa Shimabara no ran* (Hondoshi: 1994), 707.

4 *Ibidem*, 715.

5 *Ibidem*, 714.

6 *Ibidem*, 715 and 755.

7 *Ibidem*, 740.

2.2. The shift of responsibility onto Matsukura and Terazawa

In fact, during the uprising, the Bakuhan authorities considered the rebels as Christians.⁸ They were especially cautious about preventing the movement from spreading in their own domains until the rebellious army had been vanquished.

However, in sources written after the revolt, we observe a tendency to unify the causes of the uprising. These documents judge that the lords' despotism was the main reason of this event. For example, at the end of a document called "shimabara ikki matsukura ki" about the uprising, which centres on the Matsukura daimyô, the author included two above-mentioned letters: the one sent by Matsudaira Nobutsuna to the rebels and the answer signed by "Amano Shirô", which stresses the hate they had toward the daimyô.⁹ Also, in a book whose title is "shimabara-jô" intended for elementary schools (*terakoya*), even if there are some small differences, we can observe that the two above-mentioned letters were also included.¹⁰ Moreover, in documents written at the beginning of the 19th century, the *Haizetsu-roku*,¹¹ which lists chronologically daimyô who received punishment, and the *Tokuwaga Jikki*,¹² an official history of the Bakufu, also emphasise the lords' despotism.

So, we can say that the understanding of the revolt by the authorities evolved between the military operations and the post-uprising period. It seems that the official reason for the revolt shifted from dissatisfaction with Bakufu's Christian policy to dissatisfaction with the daimyô's treatments.

2.3. Was the uprising really caused by religious dissatisfaction?

If we consider that we did not conserve any letter written by Bakufu's soldiers that mentions the lords' despotism as a major reason for the uprising, it is possible to doubt the authenticity of the epistle sent to Matsudaira Nobutsuna by "Amano Shirô" which stresses this kind of argument. Was not this epistle written in order to deliberately shift the responsibility to lords Matsukura and Terazawa? If so, the revolt appears to be a religious one.

However, in another place we have an epistle which emphasises the dissatisfaction the peasants had towards the lords. This document is kept

8 *Ibidem*, 36.

9 *Zokuzoku gunsho ruijû*, 4 (1907), 422.

10 *Ôrai-mono taikêi*, 46 (Ozorasha: 1993).

11 *On'ei-roku haizetsu-roku* (Kondô-shuppansha: 1970), 256-257.

12 Tsuruta Kurazô, *op. cit.*, 1060-1061.

in the archives of Tsuboi's family from the island Shôdoshima of Sanuki.¹³ More than the letter sent by "Amano Shirô" to Matsudaira Nobutsuna, this source denounces the policy of Matsukura Masashige and Katsuie. The date, the sender, and the address are missing; the text mingles *kanji* and *kana*, so it is hard to read. For this reason, this document transmits well the tensions of the battlefield.

In this epistle, we can read that rebels converted because they had heard they would receive alms for it. But if the Shôgun had asked them to apostatise, they would have done it. However, this letter also states that they would not forgive Matsukura Masashige and Katsuie. They also added that if they were shown the head of Katsuie, they would not mind being executed.

Why was such a source considered, so far, to be from Shimabara, in shôdoshima? In this island, which was a shogun territory, many peasants were employed as sailors in order to transfer Bakufu's soldiers. I think that this epistle was brought back by one of these men when the revolt was vanquished.

The question is: is this epistle a forged one or not? Because this document was found by chance in Tsuboi's archives of an official of Shôdoshima (a Toshiyori from the village of Sakate), it is hard to believe it is a forged document. However, if we consider this source was forged after the uprising, what was the aim of this action? If the document had been found in Bakufu or Han's archives, we could have explained this act by the intention to shift the entire responsibility to the Matsukura family, but the document was found in local archives. So it is hard to explain this epistle was forged on purpose. Furthermore, the contents do not contradict the events. It is a reliable document.

Consequently, even if we cannot prove the letter sent by "Amano Shirô" was authentic, we can affirm that some people had joined the uprising because they felt dissatisfaction towards the daimyô.

The conclusion is that the rebels' requests were not limited to Christian matters. The existence of contradictory sources shows that various kinds of people coexisted inside the uprising force. Between dissatisfaction caused by religious matters and lords' despotism, it is impossible to assert which cause is primary or secondary.

13 Kawano Masao, *Setouchi Shôdoshima* (Meicho: 1987), 56-59.

3. The understanding of the Shimabara-Amakusa uprising and benevolent policy (*Jinsei*)

We cannot restrict the requests of the uprising to one thing only, as the people who joined this movement had different reasons. Some people joined the revolt because they wished to die as martyrs, others wished to survive. People joined the rebellious army thinking they were fighting for the truth, others because they were forced to join. The revolt was composite. The bond that unified this complex group was God's authority. Under God's authority, the uprising forces became an organisation charged to keep orthodoxy and to resist the Bakuhan authorities.

3.1. Shimabara-Amakusa revolt did not end as a Christian uprising

The bakufu army that laid siege to the castle of Hara tried to cut off the rebels' food supplies. During the siege, Matsudaira Nobutsuna tried to advise non-Christians to surrender; he also planned to exchange Amakusa Shirô's family for non-Christians. For sure, we can consider that the fact of advising non-Christians to surrender by jolting the unity of a compound movement was a means to hasten the fall of Hara castle. However, we can also understand Nobutsuna's deep intention differently.

Could we not say that Nobutsuna wanted the revolt to end as a Christian one? If it ended like this, Christianity would be accused as the main reason for this "seditious" revolt. For the Bakufu's authorities, the uprising was considered as a Christian revolt from beginning to end. But Nobutsuna knew well that during the development of the revolt many people had been forced to join and that the uprising forces were not only composed of devout Christians. So if the Bakufu launched an all-out attack on Hara Castle, innocent people would be killed by Bakufu's hands, which would be contrary to the principles of the Tokugawa's regime.¹⁴ Officially, the position of the Bakufu was to mercifully protect the peasants. Therefore, if the Bakufu squashed such a heterogeneous revolt it would seem that they had given up their principles. For Nobutsuna it was more convenient that the revolt was only Christian.

However, the revolt's leaders always denied the fact that the group was heterogeneous, and up until the defeat they determined their fate as Christians. On the 27.28th day of the second month of *Kan'ei* 15 (1638), Bakufu's

14 Tsuruta Kurazô, op. cit., 823.

troops launched an all-out attack. As a result, the uprising heterogeneous groups were all slaughtered as Christians. The worry of Nobutsuna became reality.

3.2. From a Christian revolt to a peasant revolt

How could the Bakufu explain the repression of a revolt made of mixed groups? For the Shogunate, it was a problem.

The punishment of the Shimabara and Amakusa lords was not decided directly after the end of the revolt. After the revolt, the two lords were confided to other daimyô families and, after a while, their punishment was decided. In some sources, we can read that one month after the fall of the Hara castle (the fourth month of *Kan'ei* 15), daimyô who had helped the Bakufu armies were reunited in Kokura, and following the views of Tokugawa Iemitsu, Matsukura Katsuie was condemned to lose his domain.

The despotism of the lords as the major official reason for the revolt appeared in the 7th month of *Kan'ei* 15. The despotism of the Shimabara's lord Matsukura Katsuie and of Amakusa, Terazawa Katataka, was considered the major cause of the revolt. The Shogunate ordered Katsuie to be sentenced to death, and Katataka had his domain confiscated. From that moment, as time passed, this opinion was getting more and more established. In almost all records and stories (*monogatari*) about the Shimabara-Amakusa's revolt, the lords' despotism was emphasised. These texts were widely known by people throughout the Edo period.

However, during the early-modern period, we cannot say that Shimabara-Amakusa's revolt was not understood as an uprising linked in some aspect with Christianity. Indeed, when the revolt was told, special emphasis was laid on the lords' despotism and the "heretical" views of the Christians. Naturally, the fact that the lords' despotism was the background to the uprising, and that Christianity was the pillar of it, suits the truth. The emphasis shifted from Christianity to lords' despotism. It only means that following this period, one cause was more stressed than the other one.

3.3. The idea of benevolent government (*jinkei ron*)

The stories (*monogatari*) based on the revolt of Shimabara-Amakusa, always say that after the rebellion was defeated, Japan entered a stable age, and the Bakufu's reign was praised. Almost every story about this revolt ends following this pattern.¹⁵ The truth of the matter is that the authors of these

15 For example, a *kanazôshi* (kana book) called *shimabara-ki* (Archives of Waseda University) or *Shirô-ran monogatari* (Amakusa kirishitan-kan: 1973), 395-396.

stories wanted to stress the cruelty of Shimabara and Amakusa's lords. In other words, they considered Matsukura and Terazawa as negative examples, and asked all the other lords to be wise (*meikun*).

For the Japanese of the Edo period, when they thought about *ikki*, peasant rebellion against a lord, Shimabara's image always emerged. In sources that observe or describe other *ikki* (between the second half of the 17th century until the end of the 18th century) this word is never used.¹⁶ When peasants rebelled against their lord in order to request something, both sides, lords and peasants, avoided using the word *ikki*.

For a lord to recognise that it was an *ikki*, meant he was like Matsukura and Terazawa, who were the main reason for peasant's rebellion. In other words, he would not be a benevolent and wise lord (*Jinkun/meikun*). For peasants, if they considered their movement as an *ikki*, it would signify they no longer had the legitimacy¹⁷ to ask for the restoration of *Jinsei*, because as *o-hyakushō*, they are part of it. Lords and peasants needed to say that what was occurring in front of them was not an event like Shimabara-Amakusa's *ikki*.

In any case, the importance of Matsukura Katsuie and Terazawa Katakata's punishment, held during the whole early modern period, strained relations between peasants and lords. The opinion claiming that Shimabara-Amakusa's revolt was a religious war and that economical questions were only the trigger is contrary to the idea that this revolt had a great influence on *jinsei* (benevolent government) ideology formation.

4. The Society's context and the understanding of the revolt

Both the economic and religious questions caused the revolt of Shimabara-Amakusa. The problem is not to understand which reason is primary or secondary. In previous studies, the tendency was to determine if Shimabara's revolt was an economical or a religious war. But the debate evolved under the influence of the society context.

During the event, many people, influenced by the Christian threat, thought that the revolt had risen because of dissatisfaction towards Bakufu's religious policy. After the revolt, when the *jinsei* ideology was established, people thought the revolt had been caused by lords' despotism, as it was said before. About the influence of the society that surrounds us on our under-

16 Hosaka Satoru, *Hyakushō-ikki to gimin no kenkyū* (Yoshikawa-kō bunkan: 2006).

17 Fukaya Katsumi, *Hyakushō naritachi* (Hanawa shobō: 1993).

standing of the revolt, it can also be applied to the post-war Japanese history of the sixties.

Post-war historians intended to overcome the *Kôkokushi-kan*¹⁸ which had been the root of the fifteen years' war. They attached greater importance to the social and economic history and tried as much as possible not to analyse the impact of religious matters. Concerning the reasons of Shimabara-Amakusa's revolt, they also considered Christianity as secondary, and stressed the harsh economic treatments of the lords as primary. This point of view was influenced by the background of post-war Japanese society.

Since the nineties, with the decline of Marxist ideology, historians started to show an interest in religious matters. This is why, influenced by the background that surrounds us, much attention was finally given to religious aspects as an explanation for the revolt.

To sum up, trying to understand if the revolt was a struggle for economic or religious reasons is a problematic approach; it would lead us to a simplified binomial opposition. In order not to fall in a binary debate, not only for the case of Shimabara-Amakusa's revolt, it is important to be sceptical about this way of thinking.

18 The *kôkokushi-kan* is an ideology which centered Japanese history on the emperor who was the descendant of an unbroken line.

CHINESE COMMODITIES ON THE INDIA ROUTE IN THE LATE 16TH – EARLY 17TH CENTURIES

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Abstract

This text briefly covers some of the issues related to the movement of Chinese goods on the India route – the *Carreira da Índia* – in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. Essentially it raises issues concerning more practical aspects of the trade in goods originating in China, from their shipment in Malacca until they reached the European ports, having travelled a very long distance by sea, a journey that could take as long as two years, with shorter or longer stopovers in Macao and Goa. Many of the records referring to this maritime trade disappeared without a trace. Most were engulfed by the infamous Lisbon earthquake of 1755 which destroyed the India House – or *Casa da Índia* – and its priceless archives. Alternative sources have then to be sought, a process that is attempted in this survey.

Resumo

Este texto cobre brevemente algumas das questões relacionadas com a circulação de bens chineses na Carreira da Índia no final do século XVI e no início do século XVII. Essencialmente, levanta questões respeitantes a aspectos mais práticos do comércio de bens originários da China, desde o seu embarque em Macau até chegarem aos portos europeus, depois de percorrerem uma longuíssima distância por mar, uma viagem que podia demorar até dois anos, com paragens mais ou menos demoradas em Malaca e em Goa. Muitos dos registos referentes a este comércio marítimo desapareceram sem deixar rasto. A maioria desapareceu no terramoto de 1755 que destruiu a Casa da Índia e os seus valiosos arquivos. Fontes alternativas têm, então, de ser procuradas, num processo que é ensaiado neste estudo.

要旨 (アブストラクト)

本稿は16世紀後半から17世紀初期における、インドルート（インド航路）による中国物品の流通に関する何点かの主題を簡略に網羅する。本質的には、中国産物品貿易の実際の局面に関する問題を取り扱う。

それは、マカオでの船積みからヨーロッパの港に到着するまでの貿易であり、航路では並ならぬ長旅を要した。期間に長短はあるが途中、マカオとゴアでしばらく停泊し、二年の歳月を費やす航程であった。この航路貿易を言及する記録の大部分は、形跡を残すことなく消滅した。1755年のあの忌まわしいリスボン大震災は、当時、貴重な書庫を所蔵していたインドハウス – カーザ ダ インディアーを破壊し、関連記録の多くを飲み込んだ。そのため、代替りの資料を捜し出す必要があり、その過程をこの調査に試みる。

Keywords:

China, Goa, Macao, *Carreira da Índia*, trade

China, Goa, Macau, Carreira da Índia, comércio

中国、ゴア、マカオ、インド航路、商業

The oldest Portuguese reference to goods from China appears to be the one figuring on the famous Cantino Planisphere. This beautiful world map – today in Italy but recently on display in Lisbon at the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga during the exhibition *Encompassing the Globe* – was drawn in 1502 by an anonymous Portuguese cartographer.¹ It summarised the information then available in Lisbon about the oriental regions with which the Portuguese had been in contact for about five years, since Vasco da Gama's inaugural voyage.² It should be noted that in 1502 the Portuguese armadas had not yet sailed east of India but had managed to obtain a considerable amount of information in the Indian ports about the more distant Asian regions. A caption on the Cantino map next to the Malay Peninsula does in fact contain the following list:

“Malacca, in this city are all the goods that come to Calicut, such as cloves and benzoin and agarwood and sandalwood; styrax and rhubarb and ivory and very valuable precious stones; and pearls

1 On the Cantino Planisphere see João Garcia, “World map, known as the ‘Cantino Planisphere’, in *Encompassing the Globe: Portugal and the World in the 16th and 17th Centuries – Reference Catalogue*, ed. Jay A. Levenson (Washington, D.C.: The Arthur M. Sackler Gallery – Smithsonian Institution, 2007), 14-15.

2 On the first phase of Portuguese expansion in Asia see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500-1700* (London: Longman, 1993), *passim*; and also Luís Filipe Barreto, *Lavar o Mar: Os Portugueses e a Ásia, c.1480-c.1630* (Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 2000), *passim*.

and musk and fine porcelains; and many other goods. All or most of them come from abroad, from the land of the Chinese.”³

It is possible retrospectively to identify some of the most important Chinese products at once. From a European point of view, China – the *Land of the Chins*, as it was then styled – was the place of origin of rare and valuable goods. It was this image of trade abundance that helped attract the Portuguese navigators to the Chinese ports, right after Afonso de Albuquerque had conquered Malacca in 1511. Two years later Jorge Álvares was travelling on a Malay junk to the islands off the coast of the Chinese province of Guangdong. He engaged in very profitable business, exchanging natural products from tropical regions (such as pepper, cloves, benzoin, sandalwood) for Chinese goods (such as silk, porcelain, seed pearls, sulphur and saltpetre). The expression “*negócio da China*” still used in Portuguese today is synonymous with very lucrative trade and probably originated in those first Portuguese and Asian voyages to the coast of the southern provinces of the Celestial Empire.⁴

The apothecary Tomé Pires, who was in Malacca in 1512-1513, later wrote a lengthy treatise on Asian geography, the *Suma Oriental*, summarising the trade movement that crossed the South China Sea, in which the Portuguese took part either officially through voyages organised by the *Estado da Índia* (State of India) from Goa, or unofficially, by setting up partnerships with Asian entrepreneurs. As they had done in other oriental parts, the Portuguese immediately plied the existing trade routes and practices in the seas extending east of the strait of Singapore, acquiring local nautical and cartographical know-how. As regards China, Tomé Pires submitted a very detailed picture of the exchanges made at the anchorages off Canton. Foreign ships arrived laden with goods such as pepper, camphor, Indian fabrics, rosewood, Brazil wood, sandalwood, cloves and nutmeg. On their return to Malacca they mainly transported “raw white silk in great quantities and assorted cuts of many coloured silks, in quantity”. But there were other goods involved in these shipments: seed pearls, musk “in powder or sacks”, medicinal camphor, alum, saltpetre, sulphur, copper, iron, rhubarb and also large quantities of coffers and *abanos léquios* (Ryukyu fans, which the Portuguese would style

3 *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*, ed. Armando Corteão & Avelino Teixeira da Mota, 6 vols. (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1987), vol. 1, est. 5 (I have translated and modernised the quotation).

4 On this first period of Portugal's relations with China see Rui Manuel Loureiro, *Fidalgos, Missionários e Mandarins: Portugal e a China no Século XVI* (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 2000), 191-336.

'leques'). As for porcelains, according to the *Suma Oriental* "no mention is made of quantities" for it was a very abundant commodity.⁵

After the mid-16th century and following the first Portuguese contacts with Japan, Macao became a strategic Portuguese base in the South China Sea with the consent of the Chinese authorities.⁶ From then on the maritime routes used by the Portuguese stabilised, with a few variations here and there at the whim of certain events. Two moments of rupture can be identified: one, around 1580, at the time of the Iberian Union, through which the crowns of Portugal and Spain were united under Philip II. From then on and until 1640, Manila – occupied by the Spanish in the 1570s – became a centre of collaboration but also of rivalry with Macao. Another moment of rupture, to a certain extent linked to the first, appeared in the 1590s when the English and the Dutch began openly to oppose Portuguese navigation, first in the Atlantic and soon after in the eastern seas, where they sought to impose themselves as active partners, both in the inter-Asian trade circuits and in the intercontinental routes.⁷

Taking the port of Macao as the centre we can identify several trade routes that gained consistency throughout the 16th century:

- In the first place, the *Macao – Canton* route through which the Chinese goods that interest us here were moved and then introduced into the international circuits. The Portuguese sent silver, pepper, incense, sandalwood and ambergris upriver; in exchange they loaded raw and woven silk, porcelains and many other products such as seed pearls, camphor, musk, China ink, furniture and copper. As far as the 16th and 17th centuries are concerned this route is still little known and would merit more in-depth research.⁸
- In the second place, the *Macao – Japan* route which, after several attempts, settled in Nagasaki from 1570 onwards. Until 1639 it was

5 Tomé Pires & Francisco Rodrigues, *A Suma Oriental de Tomé Pires e o Livro de Francisco Rodrigues*, ed. Armando Cortesão (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1978), 366-367 (I have translated and modernised the quotations). On Tomé Pires see Rui Manuel Loureiro, "O Sudeste Asiático na *Suma Oriental* de Tomé Pires", *Revista de Cultura/Review of Culture* (Macao), no. 4 (2002), 107-123.

6 On the Portuguese settling in Macao see Rui Manuel Loureiro, *Em busca das origens de Macau* (Macao: Museu Marítimo de Macau, 1997), *passim*.

7 On these issues see Rafael Valladares, *Castilla y Portugal en Asia (1580-1680)* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2001).

8 See Jorge Manuel Flores, "Macau e o Comércio da Baía de Cantão (séculos XVI e XVII)", in *As Relações entre a Índia Portuguesa, a Ásia do Sueste e o Extremo Oriente – Actas do VI Seminário Internacional de História Indo-Portuguesa*, ed. Artur Teodoro de Matos & Luís Filipe F. Reis Thomaz (Macao: n.e., 1993), 21-48.

used for Chinese silks and Japanese silver as well as many other goods which mainly included porcelain, gold and guns.⁹ The *Namban* screens portray the golden age of this route travelled by the large Portuguese ships. Later these ships were replaced by smaller galleons in response to the competitive pressure of the Dutch.¹⁰

- In the third place, the *Macao – Manila* route, mainly developed in the period of Iberian Union. This route has been quite well studied but indirectly led Chinese goods to Europe on the annual voyage of the Manila galleon, via Mexico, from which came endless shipments of American silver.¹¹
- Finally, the *Macao – Malacca* route to Southeast Asia and from there to India, carrying a collection of Chinese products that were in great demand for decades and even centuries. It is perhaps one of the least known routes. From about 1550 a substantial part of the trade movement was centralised on the so-called Japan voyage which annually connected Goa to Nagasaki via a large Portuguese ship. Innumerable vessels travelled this maritime route taking goods to Malacca that were eventually shipped to Indian ports. In any case the port of Malacca – which stayed in Portuguese hands until 1641 when it was conquered by the Dutch – is the essential hub on the long itinerary travelled by the Chinese goods reaching Lisbon. Whilst the trade life in Malacca has been quite well studied,¹² there is still room to investigate the mechanics of the trade which linked Macao to Goa, the capital of the Portuguese *Estado da Índia*, through this Portuguese-Malay port.

The *Carreira da Índia*, which began to take shape with Vasco da Gama's first voyage, was the name given to the long maritime route linking Lisbon to the ports on the west coast of India, in particular Cochin and Goa. We are reasonably familiar with the type of ships that travelled this route (cara-

9 On the Macao-Japan trade see Charles R. Boxer, *The Great Ship from Amacan: Annals of the Old Japan Trade, 1555-1640* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1963).

10 See Rui Manuel Loureiro, "The Macau – Nagasaki Route (1570-1640): Portuguese Ships and their Cargoes", in *Shipping and Economic Growth 1350-1850*, ed. Richard W. Unger (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 189-206.

11 See, respectively, Benjamin Videira Pires, *A Viagem Macau – Manila nos Séculos XVI a XIX* (Macao: Centro de Estudos Marítimos de Macau, 1987), and William L. Schultz, *El galeón de Manila*, ed. Leoncio Cabrera & Pedro Ortiz Armengol (Madrid: Ediciones de Cultura Hispánica, 1992).

12 See Luís Filipe F. Reis Thomaz, *Early Portuguese Malacca* (Macao: Comissão Territorial de Macau para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses & Instituto Politécnico de Macau, 2000).

vels, carracks – or *naus* –, galleons), the schedules of the voyages, arrival and departure statistics, the range of goods transported, the volume of many of the deals closed, the rate of the shipwrecks.¹³ However, we know little about the loading and unloading systems at the ports of call, on the detailed contents of the shipments or how the various goods on board were stowed. The protagonists of the *Carreira da Índia* were the great Portuguese ships which in the 16th century gradually increased in tonnage until they achieved truly gigantic proportions. In 1498 Vasco da Gama's ships displaced between 100 and 120 tonnes, a century later the average tonnage of the ships travelling between Lisbon and Goa was in the region of 1000 or 1200 tonnes.¹⁴ Representations of these ships appear in contemporary iconography, in particular in *Memória das Armadas*, an anonymous album of drawings dating from the 1560s;¹⁵ however, the details of the respective architecture are still the subject of intense speculation today.¹⁶ Let us consider some of the episodes and some of the sources we can use when trying to find the *Chinese* component of the shipments carried on the *Carreira da Índia*.

The Dutchman Jan Huygen van Linschoten lived for some years in Goa, between 1583 and 1588, as secretary to archbishop D. Vicente da Fonseca. In the capital of the *Estado da Índia*, he was able to collect considerable items of news on the oriental world, from geography, botany, ethnography, and even politics, trade and shipping. In 1596, following his return to the Low Countries, he published in Amsterdam his lengthy *Itinerario, Voyage ofte Schipvaert* (the *Itinerary, Voyage or Navigation to the East or Portuguese Indies*), containing an organised compilation of all overseas novelties. Not only did Linschoten provide important data on the ships and the goods travelling the various oriental routes, he also gave interesting news about loading methods used in many of the ships leaving India for Europe. He explained, for instance, that after the ballast, filling the bottom of each ship, pepper was

13 See Rui Landeiro Godinho, *A Carreira da Índia: Aspectos e Problemas da Torna-Viagem (1550-1649)* (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 2005).

14 See Maria do Rosário S. Themudo Barata A. Cruz, *O Sistema de Distribuição das Cargas nas Armadas da Índia* (Lisbon: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, 1988), and Geneviève Bouchon, *Navires et Cargaisons: Retour de l'Inde en 1518* (Paris: Société de l'Histoire d'Orient, 1977). On a later period see Niels Steensgaard, "The Return Cargoes of the *Carreira da Índia* in the 16th and Early 17th Century", in *Indo-Portuguese History: Old Issues, New Questions*, ed. Teotónio R. de Souza (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1985), 13-31.

15 See *Memória das Armadas*, ed. Luís de Albuquerque (Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau, Museu Marítimo de Macau & Comissão Territorial de Macau para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1995). On the analysis of the different types of vessels see Francisco Contente Domingues, *Os Navios do Mar Oceano: Teoria e empiria na arquitectura naval portuguesa dos séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisbon: Centro de História da Universidade de Lisboa, 2004).

16 See Filipe Vieira de Castro, *The Pepper Wreck: A Portuguese Indiaman at the Mouth of the Tagus River* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2005).

the first to be loaded into the two lower decks, poured into holds that were then hermetically sealed. The only other goods stored on these two decks were food supplies to be consumed during the voyage.

The next deck contained not only compartments for “gunpowder, biscuits, sails, cloths and other ship’s things”, but also the cabins of the ships’ officers where they could take the respective *quintaladas*, specific private goods carried free of duties and freight charges. Alternatively, these spaces could be rented to private merchants.¹⁷ Some slightly later diagrams prepared by Manuel Fernandes for his *Livro de Traças de Carpintaria* (1616) and by Luís de Figueiredo Falcão for his *Livro em que se contém toda a fazenda* (1617), are a good illustration of the Dutch traveller’s descriptions, showing the divisions within the various decks of a Portuguese ship.¹⁸ Still in accordance with the *Itinerario*, all remaining decks and free spaces on the ship were “loaded by the traders with all types of goods” packed in “boxes, barrels, bales and packages”. Linschoten adds that practically the entire ship including the forecastle and the quarterdeck was filled with “large jars, barrels, boxes and chicken coops”. The *Itinerario* also gives details of the stowage on board the Portuguese ships, underlining that although great care was taken with the cargo inventory those in charge of this process were frequently bribed by traders who wished to guarantee a secure place on board for their goods.¹⁹ The global image transmitted by this Dutch source is that the Portuguese ships left Goa for Europe with fully-laden holds and with an enormous quantity of containers of the most varied goods stored in all the available spaces. This circumstance, in fact, was behind many of the disasters at sea that occurred at that time.

Once the Iberian Union was in place, the Portuguese ships returning from India began increasingly to be harried in the Atlantic by English vessels. England had decided to include the Portuguese ships in the list of economic targets in the open war it was waging with Spain.²⁰ On August 1592, the gigantic ship *Madre de Deus* was captured in the Azores by an English armada under Sir John Burgh (or Burrowes), who awaited the arrival of the ships

17 Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *Itinerário, Viagem ou Navegação de Jan Huygen van Linschoten para as Índias Orientais ou Portuguesas*, ed. Arie Pos & Rui Manuel Loureiro (Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1997), 310-312 (I translate all quotations from the Portuguese version).

18 See Manuel Fernandes, *Livro de Traças de Carpintaria*, ed. Rogério de Oliveira (Lisbon: Academia de Marinha, 1989); and Luís de Figueiredo Falcão, *Livro em que se contém toda a fazenda e real patrimonio dos Reinos de Portugal, Índia e Ilhas Adjacentes, e outras particularidades* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1859).

19 Linschoten, *Itinerário, Viagem ou Navegação*, 311.

20 See Jan Glete, *Warfare at Sea, 1500-1650: Maritime Conflicts and the Transformation of Europe* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2000), 145-185.

from the east.²¹ According to English information published by Richard Hakluyt a few years later, the Portuguese vessel had seven decks and a 1600 tonne capacity, 900 corresponding to the cargo and the rest occupied by 32 pieces of artillery, between 600 and 700 passengers, foodstuffs and other tackle that was customary on board ships. The truly gigantic dimensions of this ship were greatly admired in England, to where it was taken and the respective shipment valued at about 150 thousand pounds sterling. Hakluyt published a summary of the goods found on board:

"The principal wares after the jewels [...] consisted of spices, drugs, silks, calicos, quilts, carpets and colours, &c. The spices were pepper, cloves, maces, nutmegs, cinnamon, green ginger. The drugs were benzoin, frankincense, galingale, myrobalans, aloes from Socotra, camphor. The silks, damasks, taffetas, sarcenets, *altobassos*, that is, counterfeit cloth of gold, unwrought China silk, sleeved silk, white twisted silk, curled cypress. The calicos were book-calicos, [...] broad white calicos, fine starched calicos, coarse white calicos, brown broad calicos, brown coarse calicos. There were also [...] carpets like those of Turkey; whereunto are to be added the pearls, musk, civet, and ambergris. The rest of the wares were many in number, but less in value; as elephants' teeth, porcelain vessels of China, coconuts, hides, ebon-wood as black as jet, bedsteads of the same, [...]"²²

It could be said in passing that the value of the goods on the *Madre de Deus* contributed overwhelmingly to encourage the first English voyages to the East that took place a few years later. The share in the spoils of this seizure caused great confusion in England but what is really interesting is that the ship carried huge quantities of Chinese goods in particular silks of different species, gold thread and porcelain wares. However, whilst it has been possible to identify various types of silk, nothing specific was concluded about the porcelains, quantities or respective typologies.²³

21 See details in C. Lethbridge Kingsford (ed.), "The Taking of the *Madre de Dios* Anno 1592", in *The Naval Miscellany*, ed. Sir John Knox Laughton, vol. II (London: Navy Records Society, 1912), 85-121; and in Edward Edwards, *The Life of Sir Walter Raleigh*, vol. II – *Letters* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1868), 59-75; for a contextualisation of the period see Fernand Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen à l'Époque de Philippe II*, 2 vols. (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1976), vol. I, 276-280.

22 Richard Hakluyt, "The Taking of the *Madre de Dios*", in *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, 12 vols. (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1903-1905), vol. 7 (1904), 105-118.

23 On the origins of English expansion see the old but still useful work by William Foster, *England's Quest of Eastern Trade* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1966); and also K. N. Chau-

In addition to the English, the Dutch also began to harass Portuguese navigation from the first years of the 17th century in an attempt to occupy strategic positions in the oriental trade.²⁴ It might be worth recalling two famous episodes of Portuguese-Dutch confrontations. The first occurred on the island of Saint Helena in March 1602, and is retold by Melchior Estácio do Amaral, in a report published in Lisbon two years later, the *Tratado das batalhas e sucessos do galeão Santiago*. This ship was returning from India heavily laden with goods and it was captured by three Dutch vessels which took her to the island of Fernão de Noronha where the cargo was transhipped. Estácio do Amaral, who was responsible for investigating the incident, says that the *Santiago* was carrying “in the hold alone four thousand hundredweights of pepper”; but “in the body of the ship, and under the bridge, and on top of it, on the first deck, the forepeak, the skiff, in the place of the capstan and on the deck, there were so many crates of fabric and bales”, that “there was room for not a single person”. There were even bales on the outside, along the “gunwales and the backstay stools and cabins formed in the manner of all these ships that it is impossible to store the sails there”.²⁵

There is no specific mention of Chinese goods in this list; however, the *Tratado das batalhas* mentions that a Florentine travelling on board brought with him many pieces of porcelain decorated with the arms of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, which he had acquired during a stay in Macao some time earlier. This man was Francesco Carletti and in the report he prepared on his voyage of circumnavigation (1594-1606), which was not published at the time, he provided a detailed description of his visits to Macao and Canton where he had the opportunity to acquire miscellaneous Chinese goods, whose prices he mentions. So, in addition to silk fabrics and gold thread in large quantities he also bought considerable quantities of porcelain, including a complete blue and white service with 700 pieces and five large jars which he was bringing to Europe filled with preserved ginger, rhubarb and musk. As his goods were also seized by the Dutch, the Florentine travelled with them to the Low Countries to try and get them back.²⁶

The second episode between the Portuguese and the Dutch occurred with the ship *Santa Catarina*, which was intercepted by the Dutch off Patane

dhuri, *The English East India Company: The Study of an Early Joint-Stock Company, 1600-1640* (London: Franc Cass & Company, 1965).

24 See André Murteira, “O Corso Neerlandês contra a Carreira da Índia no Primeiro Quartel do Século XVII”, *Anais de História de Além-Mar*, vol. IX (2008), 227-264.

25 Melchior Estácio do Amaral, “Tratado das batalhas e sucessos do galeão Santiago”, in Giulia Lanciani, *Sucessos e Naufrágios das Naus Portuguesas* (Lisbon: Caminho, 1997), 480-481.

26 See Francesco Carletti, *Voyage autour du monde de Francesco Carletti (1594-1606)*, ed. Paolo Carile & Frédérique Verrier (Paris: Chandeigne, 1999), *passim*.

on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, when she was sailing from Macao to Goa. This is, of course, outside the context of the India route but a significant part of the cargo carried on board this ship was destined for the European markets where it did in fact arrive intact. When the *Santa Catarina* was captured by Admiral Jakob van Heemskeerk in February 1603, she was carrying 900 people on board in addition to a shipment that was later taken to the Low Countries and sold for approximately 3.5 million guildens, a truly astronomical figure, corresponding at the time to half the capital of the recently founded VOC, the Dutch East India Company.²⁷

Contemporary Dutch sources described in some detail the cargo that had been seized and was later sold at auction in Amsterdam. It included: "1,200 bales of raw Chinese silk; chests filled with coloured damask [...], taffetas and silk; large amounts of gold thread; cloth woven with gold thread; [...] thirty last (approximately sixty tonnes) of porcelain comprising dishes 'of every sort and kind'; substantial quantities of sugar, spices, [...] musk; wooden beds and boxes, some of them beautifully ornate with gold; and a 'thousand other things, that are produced in China'."²⁸ Although this shipment caused great amazement in the Low Countries, the goods carried by the other big Iberian ships that travelled through the South China Sea did not differ much. However, it is quite likely that many of these goods were destined for the Indian markets, in particular the Chinese silks, of which only a tiny part came to Europe, and also the 10 thousand pieces of porcelain carried on board. As it is well known, the Portuguese were deeply ingrained in inter-Asian traffics.

Portuguese sources are not very explicit regarding these issues of shipments, for we only know details for a few of the voyages of the India route, one in 1518, when relations with China were still not regular, and another in 1587. The manifest for one of these ships mentions the transport of 140 boxes of Chinese silk and says nothing further about Chinese goods.²⁹ All other known documentation is either later or indirect, but provides very important information. Included among the goods of unequivocal Chinese origin which travelled from Goa to Lisbon between 1580 and 1640 in terms of quantity there were two large groups: on the one hand, a great variety of silk textiles

27 See Peter Borschberg, "The Seizure of the Sta. Catarina Revisited: The Portuguese Empire in Asia, VOC Politics and the Origins of the Dutch-Johor Alliance (1602-c.1616)", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* (Singapore), vol. 33, no. 1 (2002), 31-62. For a more general overview of Portuguese-Dutch conflicts see Ernst van Veen, *Decay or Defeat? An inquiry into the Portuguese decline in Asia, 1580-1645* (Leiden: Research School of Asian, African and Amerindian Studies, 2000).

28 Borschberg, "The Seizure of the Sta. Catarina Revisited", 38.

29 Steensgaard, "The Return Cargoes of the *Carreira da Índia*", 18-19.

which were packaged in bales or in boxes, corresponding to about 6% of the total cargo volume; on the other, an extensive number of minor goods which overall did not exceed 2% of the total cargo. This second group included the following: items of porcelain which were carried in wooden barrels or crates or in large Martaban jars (an annual average of 20 hundredweight valued at 10 thousand *cruzados*); musk, which was measured in ounces (about 15 thousand ounces per year, valued at 200 thousand *cruzados*); cabinets, writing desks and boxes (several hundred per year), whose compartments were often filled with small pearls, gold jewellery or precious fabrics; and small amounts of Chinese drugs such as rhubarb, medicinal camphor and China root (*Smilax China*), which could be carried in jars of various sizes.³⁰ Although somewhat disappointing, these facts enable us to place Chinese merchandise in a more global commercial context. The fact is that only a minute fraction of the products that the Portuguese exported from Macao reached the Cape route, whilst most were in fact destined for the inter-Asian trade circuits.

Although no Portuguese iconography exists showing the goods being loaded onto the ships of the *Carreira da Índia* a parallel can be established with the many graphic representations alluding to the Portuguese ships depicted in the *Nanban* screens, which gave extremely realistic and obviously true details about the goods unloaded at Nagasaki.³¹ It is very interesting to attempt to establish the possible correspondences between the goods listed on the existing documents and the innumerable bales, rolls, boxes, packages and recipients that are regularly depicted on these Japanese screens. This is, naturally, no more than an exercise of the imagination, for little or nothing can be gleaned from the available sources on the different forms of packaging and baling used in Macao for export. We might even speculate as to whether the goods unloaded from the *nau do trato* were as elaborately packaged as suggested by the screens or whether this was merely a subjective artistic representation influenced by the traditional Japanese art of packaging and wrapping.³²

The first containers seen in the *Nanban* screens are the enormous Martaban jars used throughout all maritime Asia. These celebrated items of

30 See Steensgaard, "The Return Cargoes of the *Carreira da Índia*", 13-31; and also James Boyajian, *The Portuguese Trade in Asia under the Habsburgs, 1580-1640* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), *passim*.

31 See Yoshitomo Okamoto, *The Nanban Art of Japan* (New York & Tokyo: Weatherhill & Heibonsha, 1972); and Maria Helena Mendes Pinto, *Biombos Nanban* (Lisbon: Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, 1993).

32 See an attempt at dealing with this issue in Rui Manuel Loureiro, "Navios, Mercadorias e Embalagens na Rota Macau – Nagasáqui", *Revista de Cultura/Review of Culture* (Macao), no. 24 (2007), 33-51, containing some bibliographical references.

ceramic, manufactured in many regions of the interior of South-East Asia, were mainly exported from the Burmese port of Martaban, from which they took their name. The Portuguese soon adopted their use on board ship and also in the daily life of the many oriental entrepôts where they settled.³³ Because they were made of watertight stoneware, Martaban jars were used for all types of foodstuffs, such as drinking water, olive oil, olives, wine, arak (*urraca* or palm-tree brandy), peppercorns, cloves, dried fruit, etc. The mouth could be sealed with lacquer, greased paper and/or clay, so that the products were preserved for longer periods. The larger jars were even used to transport porcelain in its interior with the addition of straw. Meanwhile, to enable them to be handled easily, the Martaban jars were placed in coir or sisal netting which not only cushioned any falls but made it easier to transport them using bamboo canes. Various *Nanban* screens show these large jars either on board small boats or else carried on the shoulders of the servants of the Portuguese, specifically with bamboo canes.

Depicted on board the ships in some of the screens and also in the hands of crew members coming ashore were rolls of patterned cloth, probably silks of the very best quality. It is not likely that these rolls of extremely valuable merchandise should have travelled loose as suggested in the screens. Rather they were probably packed into larger containers, which were off-loaded at the port of destination. Evidently, boxes of all shapes and sizes can be seen in the Japanese screens, many of which no doubt contained raw or manufactured Chinese textiles. In addition to coloured and decorated silks, the known inventories mention many other textiles from the Chinese market, such as satin, damask, taffeta, denim and sometimes raw silk. The *Nanban* screens show some images of bales which can clearly be identified with a variety of "woven and twisted silk which the Portuguese call *retrós*", mentioned in Linschoten's *Itinerario*.³⁴

Some of the packages shown probably contained porcelain as the services comprised a large number of different pieces such as teacups, teapots, plates, dishes, tureens and bowls of varying shapes and sizes. Given their relative fragility, these pieces would have to be properly packed inside containers of different shapes with the help of insulating or shock-absorbing material such as straw, for instance. In addition to the Martaban jars already mentioned, also used to transport porcelain, porcelain could also be exported from Macao in wooden or vegetable fibre boxes. More valuable pieces, such as teapots, vases or incensories, for example, requiring a more individualised

33 See Rainer Daehnhardt, *Potes de Especiarias nas Naus das Carreiras das Índias do Século XV ao Século XVIII* (Lisbon: Grupo de Amigos do Museu de Marinha, 1997).

34 Linschoten, *Itinerário, Viagem ou Navegação*, 133.

treatment, could be stored in smaller boxes which often acquired the shape of the piece for which they had been made. The screens also show individual items of porcelain, which stood out for their material value or aesthetic qualities.³⁵

A detail in one of the Namban screens shows a sailor exiting a cabin on the quarterdeck of the *nau do trato* carefully holding a red package in his hands. Could it be a box with a book printed in Macao? The fact that this scene is supervised by a Jesuit missionary inclines us to think so. This representation immediately calls to mind the episode of the Portuguese ship *Madre de Deus* which, as already mentioned, was captured by English ships in the Azores in 1592. Richard Hakluyt does in fact mention that on board this Portuguese ship was a very special Chinese production, a volume printed in Latin, which was discovered "inclosed in a case of sweete cedar wood and lapped up almost an hundred-fold in fine Calicut cloth, as though it had been some incomparable jewell."³⁶ This was a copy of the work *De missione legatorum japonensium* by Duarte de Sande, published in Macao only two years previously at the instigation of Father Alessandro Valignano, by the Jesuit press in that city. The English compiler later published a translation of the chapter dedicated to China in the second edition of his work, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, under the title, "An excellent treatise of the kingdome of China, and of the estate and government thereof."³⁷ This is a brief testimony on a certain type of Chinese merchandise that was also highly prized in Europe.

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Normally we speak of the trade and movement of Chinese goods in a somewhat abstract manner. We say, for instance, that the Portuguese participated in the trade in spices, silks, porcelain and other products between China and Europe. We add quantities and prices; we study shipping routes and schedules; we characterise the type of ships used; we also identify some of the protagonists of this movement. The surviving textiles and porcelain are subjected to detailed investigation. However, we know almost nothing about

35 Loureiro, "Navios, Mercadorias e Embalagens", 33-51.

36 Richard Hakluyt, "An Excellent Treatise of the Kingdome of China", in *Asia on the Eve of Europe's Expansion*, ed. Donald F. Lach & Carol Flaumenhaft (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965), 100-115 (102).

37 Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries*, vol. 6, 1904, 348-377. See Rui Manuel Loureiro, *Um Tratado sobre o Reino da China dos Padres Duarte Sande e Alessandro Valignano (Macao, 1590)* (Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1992).

the logistics of this important traffic linking East and West since the early 16th century. How did the products traded reach Canton? How were they acquired and later carried on board the light vessels sailing to Macao? How were they packaged and stowed? What types of containers were used for the different goods? How were the goods transhipped at the successive ports? Where and how were they stored at the ports of call? How was the shipment of these goods organised and distributed in the larger ships? And how were they unloaded at the ports of destination?

The fact is that much still remains to be investigated concerning the movement of Chinese goods, by resorting to a great variety of textual and iconographic sources. In the meantime, this brief survey enables us to extract a firm conclusion. Of the goods carried on board Portuguese ships plying the *Carreira da Índia* in the later 16th and early 17th centuries, Chinese goods were in an obvious minority both in terms of volume and in terms of value, although they enjoyed high visibility. Of all the textiles imported from the East, Chinese silks represented a mere 5-6%. Similarly, porcelain was a sporadic shipment on the great ships that left Goa for Lisbon, largely exceeded by smaller items such as musk, for instance, in terms of value of the goods. How to explain this somewhat surprising fact when confronted with the extraordinarily positive image of China and Chinese products in the European culture of the period? Apparently, the China business that made the fortunes of the Macao traders was mainly made in the East itself, within the scope of minor inter-Asian trade movements. These facts must now be compared with the movement of Chinese goods travelling to Europe via Manila after 1571, on Spanish ships, or with the Dutch from 1595 onwards through the Cape route.

CHINESE AND JAPANESE INFLUENCE ON COLONIAL MEXICAN FURNITURE: THE *ACHINADO* FOLDING SCREENS

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Abstract

The movement of people, objects and ideas that led to the Iberian expansion has been identified as the beginning of a process of cultural exchanges with profound impact on culture and art of the Spanish empire. The present paper aims to link the development of a global economy with one of its most representative art forms, the *biombos* or folding screens. Therefore, we will relate the specific circumstances of the Viceroyalty of New Spain in the seventeenth century with the development of a local folding screens industry with its own characteristics related to the tastes of the emerging Creole identity. Finally, the emergence of a language *achinado* or *a la moda China* in the Mexican folding screens allows us to question the passive role assigned to the Spanish empire in the development of a *chinoiserie* itself.

Resumo

A circulação de pessoas, objectos e ideias que conduziu à expansão ibérica tem sido identificada como o início de um processo de trocas culturais com um profundo impacto na cultura e na arte do Império Espanhol. O presente artigo pretende associar o desenvolvimento de uma economia global com uma das suas formas de arte mais representativas, os *biombos*. Deste modo, relacionaremos as circunstâncias específicas do Vice-Reinado da Nova Espanha no século XVII com o desenvolvimento de uma indústria local de *biombos*, com as suas próprias características, ligadas ao gosto de uma identidade Crioula emergente. Finalmente, o surgimento de uma linguagem *achinada* ou *a la moda China* nos *biombos* mexicanos permite-nos questionar o papel passivo atribuído ao Império Espanhol no desenvolvimento da própria *chinoiserie*.

要旨 (アブストラクト)

イベリア拡大につながる人そして物質、思想の移動は、文化交流進行の発端と認識される。この文化交流がスペイン帝国の文化芸術に及ぼした

影響は非常に大きい。この論文は、グローバル経済発展と、屏風または折り畳み式衝立との関連付けを試みる。屏風または折り畳み式衝立は、グローバル経済の発展を代表する芸術形式の最たる一例である。

それ故、我々は、17世紀のヌエバ・エスパーニャ副王領が置かれた状況を、その地で開化した固有の折り畳み衝立（屏風）産業に関連付ける。これらの折り畳み衝立（屏風）の特徴は、盛り込まれた新興クリオール独自のにある。この試みの結果、シノワズリ自体の発展という点に関して、メキシコ折り畳み式衝立（屏風）に見られる中国を思わせる風情や中国風趣味の出現に鑑み、スペイン帝国が果たした受動的役割に疑問を提起し得るに至る。

Keywords:

Globalization, folding screens, *chinoiserie*, Mexico

Globalização, biombos, chinoiserie, México

グローバリゼーション、屏風、シノワズリ、メキシコ

Introduction

The geographical expansion of the Iberian kingdoms and the establishment of commercial routes connecting the five continents led to an increasing exchange and movement of objects, people, and ideas on a global scale.¹ As this essay will show, the worldwide trade in folding screens or *biombos*, and the emergence of an industry based on this type of furniture, was a telling chapter in that process, which some scholars consider the first example of globalization in history.

During the early modern period, a strong aesthetic affinity towards Oriental iconography and the lacquer technique developed in both Europe and the Americas. The resulting demand for these products was the driving force behind the importation of Asian merchandise, on the one hand, and behind the rise of a local production that imitated the Asiatic style, on the other. In colonial Mexico, or the viceroyalty of New Spain as it was known at the time, the profound influence that the wide array of objects reaching

1 On the early modern globalization see Serge Gruzinski, *Las cuatro partes del mundo, historia de una mundialización* (Mexico: FCE, 2010); and A. J. R. Russell Wood, *The Portuguese Empire: a World on the Move* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).

Acapulco had on the viceroyalty's art should not simply be attributed to a mere attraction towards the 'exotic'. Since the process of assimilation and reinterpretation of Oriental iconography led by the folding screens was by no means a unique phenomenon, it should be studied in relation to other New Spanish industries such as porcelain, furniture, painting, or *enconchados*.

Hence, in order to deepen our understanding of both the rise of Asiatic furniture production and a language of Asiatic origin within the New Spanish viceroyalty (with its own unique characteristics), it is of paramount importance to find out more about how these objects were brought to America and why they achieved such great success among the New Spaniards. Once we answer these questions, it will be much easier to explore important topics such as the birth of a uniquely New Spanish art, or the real meaning of a material culture which was global in nature. Furthermore, the rise of an *achinado* (Chinese-like) style and a *moda de China* (Chinese fashion), as reflected by the New Spanish *biombos*, casts doubt on the passive role attributed to the Spanish Empire in the development of its own *chinoiserie*.

Finally, Mexican *biombos* should be understood in the complex context of the emerging Creole population's search for its own identity, which was rooted in Western tradition but sought to express Creoles' unique colonial reality. Moreover, the analysis of the folding screens is especially interesting because Asian artisans did not adapt their styles or techniques to typically Western pieces of furniture such as chairs, desks and so on. Rather, the furniture of Asiatic origin used in America and in Europe introduced an eclectic language that was a clear expression of a new, global material culture.

1. How did folding screens arrive in New Spain?

The consolidation of a maritime route between the Philippines and New Spain after 1565 permitted the arrival on the American continent of enormous quantities of merchandise from India, China and Japan. Unlike what occurred with the route that unified Lisbon and Asia, the relationship between Seville and the sought-after Asian products was indirect. Castilian commerce had to be conducted through intermediaries such as New Spanish merchants, who controlled trade between Manila and Acapulco. Complaints from the consulate of Seville concerning the outflow of precious metals destined for the Philippines and over occasional damage to their exports owed to competition for Oriental fabrics did not produce the desired effect in the courts, where geopolitical and religious interests were of greatest importance. The decision made by Philip II in 1582 to restrict commerce with the Philippines exclusively to New Spain, prohibiting such interaction with

the rest of the American territories, reinforced its central role as the commercial link with Asia.² These verses by Bernardo de Balbuena demonstrate the seventeenth century New Spaniards' awareness of the advantageous situation that they enjoyed within worldwide commerce:

"In you, China and Spain are united
Italy with Japan, and finally
an entire world in trade and discipline"³

Far from being merely a place that merchandise passed through on its way to Europe, the viceroyalty became the principal market for goods dispatched from the port of Cavite. This privileged position in international commerce, and the ease with which Chinese and Japanese manufactures were disseminated throughout the population of the viceroyalty, had a profound impact on the formation of the New Spanish culture and taste.

The merchandise stored in Manila warehouses and destined for the galleons that sailed for Acapulco consisted principally of fabrics, followed by spices and porcelain, but there was also space for luxury objects, especially furniture made using the lacquer technique. Of the different types of furniture transported to the Oriental markets, some were found that responded to local models – as in the case of the *biombos* – while others, made specifically for export, were based on European prototypes.⁴ Rodrigo de Vivero y Velasco's reference to folding screens that had already arrived in New Spain before his return to the viceroyalty at the onset of the 17th century demonstrates the early introduction of these objects and the interest in establishing stable imports of them:

"diverse dealings bring good effects and service to God and to the King our Lord and could open up trade from Japan to New Spain, because paintings, *biombos*, desks, and other goods brought back, are not ordinary merchandise, and this same reason gives me more strength to trade because if New Spain exchanged useless and superfluous goods such as cloths, indigo, grains, leathers, felts,

2 Francisco R. Calderón, *Historia económica de la Nueva España en tiempo de los Austrias* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2003).

3 "En ti se juntan España y China/ Italia con Japón, y finalmente/ un mundo entero en trato y disciplina", Bernardo de Balbuena, *La grandeza mexicana y compendio apologético en alabanza de la poesía* (Mexico: Porrúa S. A., 1975).

4 Pedro de Moura Carvalho, "As lacas chinesas de exportação e o papel pioneiro de Portugal na sua difusão", in *O mundo da laca, 2000 anos de história* (Lisbon: Ed. Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, 2001), 41-66.

hats, wine... and therefore received silver and gold, that is so abundant and so needed here, the contrary reasoning founded in Japanese products being unnecessary in New Spain is weakened."⁵

Biombos were a small scale yet habitual commodity among the shipments sent to New Spain year after year. Unfortunately, the galleons' freight list books customarily only registered the number of boxes and bales that were transported on each ship from China, together with the names of their owners in Manila and the names of their receivers in Acapulco, without opening and investigating the merchandise that each box contained. Even though available sources do not allow one to establish series with which to analyse the actual volume and the changes produced in the trade of Chinese and Japanese folding screens, it is in fact possible to illustrate the success of this merchandise in the transoceanic trade and its constant presence throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. Gaspar Álvarez, secretario de gobernación y guerra (Secretary of Governance and War) of the Philippines, sent various boxes of folding screens to Acapulco in 1611 and 1617.⁶ In 1680, captain Don Luis Morales recorded "two large biombos divided into six small boxes, of up to four tablets each"⁷ in the galleon *Santana Santelmo*, whereas in 1684 captain Francisco Antonio de Velasco or Tomas Enriquez included various boxes of folding screens among the goods they dispatched to the viceroyalty.⁸ In the 18th century the same dynamic continued: the Sergeant Major, Don Domingo Antonio de Otero Bermudes, wrote in the galleon *Santo Cristo de Burgos*' freight list book that in 1716 the ship made the voyage to New Spain with two boxes of *biombos* "set in four pieces".⁹ Also, in 1771, the Consulate of Manila issued a report of the merchandise accrued that was shipped in galleons to New Spain between 1736 and 1740. Various *Biombos* and *rodaestrados*¹⁰ in twelve tablets were recorded in the

5 "Hase trato diversamente qué efectos buenos al servicio de Dios y del rey nuestro señor podía surtir abrirse trato desde Japón a la Nueva España, porque pinturas, biombos, escritorios, y lo que otra vez se trajo, no es mercadería para ordinario, pero esta misma razón me hace mayor fuerza para tener por buena la contratación, porque si la Nueva España cambia lo inútil y lo superfluo, como son paños, añil, granos, cueros, fieltros, sombreros, vino... y por eso se le retorne plata, oro, que tanto abunda y tanto es menester acá, no hace fuerza la razón contraria que se funda en que los géneros del Japón no sean necesarios en la Nueva España", Rodrigo de Vivero, *Relación del Japón* (Madrid: Editorial del Cardo, 2003), 27.

6 Archivo General de Indias (AGI), Contratación 368, N7, R1, ff. 64v and 65v.

7 "dos biobos grandes divididos en seis cajoncillos, de a cuatro tablas cada uno", AGI, Escribanía 411A, f. 286v.

8 AGI, Escribanía 411A, ff. 393r and 398r.

9 "regulados por cuatro piezas", Archivo General de la Nación de México (AGN), Marina, vol. 1, exp. 11, f. 114r.

10 folding screens (T.N.)

presented lists, with their price trends.¹¹ In the same document *rodaestrados* of twenty-four lacquered sheets and a “red maqué biombo with golden flowers on both sides of 24 sheets”¹² were registered for the year 1770.

In addition to this series of data, the Crown's intention to regulate the folding screen trade constitutes the greatest proof of the success of such merchandise. In the Royal Decree of 1726 addressed to the Marquis of Torre-campo, governor of the Philippines, in which he was informed of the islands' new trade regulation with New Spain, a reference was made to the fact that taxes were to be levied on the trade in folding screens.¹³ It can be deduced that, among the various exports, this particular object played a role that was significant enough to be noticed. Besides, the official data should include all of the *biombos* that arrived by way of contraband, and there are some examples of these in contemporary sources. Among the merchandise that arrived to Acapulco in 1612, “two pairs of biombos” were requisitioned that were brought over in this way.¹⁴

The presence of these furniture items in the holds of the galleons that crossed the Pacific is confirmed by their appearance in the inventories of the most affluent people in the viceroyalty. This indicates that many of these objects were sold in markets and stores in New Spain and did not make it on to the fleets leaving Veracruz destined for Seville.¹⁵ Thus, the officials and merchants involved in trade with the Philippines, because of their privileged position, flaunted valuable Oriental furnishings in their homes in New Spain. Captain Andres de Acosta, who in 1622 maintained commercial relationships with the Philippines and imported boxes of merchandise from China, counted two folding screens, valued at 450 pesos each, among his personal

11 AGI, Filipinas, leg. 967, ff. 47r, 47v, 55v, 66r, 72v, 81r.

12 “beobo de maque colorado con flores doradas de dos caras de 24 hojas”, AGI, Filipinas, leg. 967, f. 121v.

13 Among the norms of commerce between the Philippines and New Spain: “VIII. That if in Manila they embark some large boxes, such as desks or *biombos*, exact regulation of the pieces on the vessel is made that occupy each box, in order to hereby avoid exceeding the number of five hundred average boxes that they ask for. (...) For the boxes of desks and biombos, ten or eight pesos will be paid for each one of the pieces, that any of them occupy”. “VIII. Que si se embarcaren en Manila algunos caxones grandes, como escritorios, ò biombos, se haga regulacion exacta de las piezas de buque que ocupare cada caxon, para evitar el que por este medio no se exceda del numero de los quinientos medios caxones, que se piden. (...) Por los caxones de escritorios, y biombos, se pagará a diez u ocho pesos por cada una de las piezas, que qualquiera de ellos ocupare”, AGI, Filipinas, 342, L.9, ff. 223r-228r.

14 “dos pares de biovos”, AGI, Contaduria, 902.

15 Gustavo Curiel has published a list of *biombos* that appear in notarial documents in Mexico City: Gustavo Curiel, “Los biombos novohispanos: escenografías de poder y transculturación en el ámbito doméstico”, in Gustavo Curiel, Benito Navarrete and Iván Leroy, *Viento detenido, mitologías e historias en el arte del biombo* (Mexico: Editorial Museo de Soumaya, 1999), 9-32.

belongings.¹⁶ In 1626 it was recorded that the merchant Pedro de Burgos, owner of a clothing and fabrics store, had a “painted and gilded Japanese biombo”; while in the eighteenth century the merchants Nicolás de Arteaga and Miguel de Ibarburo, owners of a box in the central plaza, were the proud owners of various “Chinese rodaestrados”.¹⁷ The *biombos* included in these inventories of goods prove the ease and enthusiasm with which a merchant settled in New Spain accessed all types of Asian products, responsible first for introducing them and then for spreading this new taste throughout society.

The merchandise was distributed in the city of Acapulco after its arrival on galleons from Manila, until in the eighteenth century this trade moved to the capital of the viceroyalty. In the central plaza of Mexico City there was a market called “el Parián” because it was the place where products originating in the Philippines were sold. Among the various types of merchandise, luxury furniture was sold that was in very high demand among rich creoles who wished to decorate their mansions. Juan de Viera describes “el Parián”, saying that “in that market there are beds, biombos, and daises... within an hour one could furnish a house worthy of receiving potentates”.¹⁸ In various seventeenth and eighteenth century paintings that depicted ‘el Parián’, it is evident that folding screens were present among the varied merchandise, as shown in the 1766 painting of the Central Plaza that is currently at the Museo Nacional de Historia in Mexico City, or in the anonymous painting entitled *Qualities of the People Living in Mexico City*.¹⁹

Today, many examples of *biombos* exported from China are still conserved in Mexico. In the Museo Soumaya there is one that represents the *Universal Flood*²⁰ that was made by Christianised Chinese artists in Manila or Macao; while in Puebla there are examples of pieces called folding screens from Coromandel.²¹ Representations of typical palatial and hunting scenes are depicted on lacquered sheets of wood of these elaborate *biombos* for the Western market, as can be verified by its similarity to examples conserved

16 AGN, Civil, vol. 1998, exp. 3, f. 4r.

17 “biombo del Japón pintado y dorado”, “rodaestrados de China”, AGN, Civil, vol. 1835, exp. 6; AGN, Bienes Nacionales, vol. 404, exp. 5; Civil, vol. 323, exp. 1. Also, Captain Felipe de Navarrijo, or the daughter of Captain Christopher Gomes de la Madriz, enjoyed Asiatic Folding screens in their houses in Mexico City (AGN, Civil, vol. 1802, exp. 1 y AGN, Civil, vol. 1863, exp. 19).

18 “en ese mercado hay camas, biombos y estrados... en fin se puede poner una casa dentro de una hora para recibir potentados”, Juan de Viera, *Compendiosa narración de la ciudad de México* (Mexico: Guaranía, 1952), 41.

19 *Calidades de las personas que habitan en la ciudad de México* (T.N.).

20 *Diluvio Universal* (T.N.).

21 Iván Leroy, “El Diluvio”, in Gustavo Curiel, Benito Navarrete and Iván Leroy, *Viento detenido, mitologías e historias en el arte del biombo* (Mexico: Ed. Museo de Soumaya, 1999), 119-134.

at the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon, Portugal, or in the Royal Palace in Madrid.²²

2. Why did folding screens arrive in the viceroyalty?

Referring next to the reasons that caused these furnishings to be so highly regarded by New Spaniards, a number of motives must be discussed:

- First, certain characteristics of the viceroyalty must be taken into account. When Chinese and Japanese *biombos* arrived in America at the end of the sixteenth century or the beginning of the seventeenth, the new American societies emerging from the conquest and colonisation of the continent were still in the process of being defined. The creole aristocracy was formed by a heterogeneous group of conquistadors, adventurers, officials and settlers enriched through the endless opportunities that existed overseas, and who wished to consolidate their positions. In order to do so, this emerging group needed status symbols that reflected their new situation, which in turn generated an enormous demand for luxury products.
- Added to the Western fascination with Far Eastern objects that were surrounded by a diffuse halo of “exoticism”, myth and refinement was the fact that in America it was not easy to have access to European manufactures. The tapestries that covered the walls of the principal rooms in European palaces were scarce on the opposite side of the Atlantic, and were frequently substituted by the more accessible folding screens that covered the walls of the *salón de estrado*.²³ As a result of this element of substitution, *biombos* in New Spain imitated the European style of wall hangings and assumed their narrative character. The *Flying Stick*²⁴ folding screen in the Museo de América,

22 Three more *biombos* were cited by Castelló Iturbide: a Chinese *biombo* from the end of the seventeenth century held by Antonio Álvarez Cortina but was Andrés de Tapia's, who was the founder of the Hospital de San Andrés; a Chinese *biombo* from Coromandel from the eighteenth century found in the city of Pau, France, belonging to Henri Couget; and an eighteenth century Chinese lacquer *biombo* made for export that belongs to Don Alfonso Noriega. Teresa Castelló and María Josefa Martínez, *Biombos mexicanos* (Mexico: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1970).

23 Room containing the dais (T.N.). The similar use that the Japanese screens had with the European tapestries was already noted by the end of the sixteenth century by the Jesuit Gaspar Vilela. Gaspar Vilela, *Cartas que os padres e irmaos de Companhia de Jesus escreverão dos reynos de Iapão e China*, Évora, 1598, ff. 120v-121r.

24 Palo Volador (T.N.).

for example, is surrounded by a fringe with flowers such as tulips, assimilating the finish found in tapestries from Flanders. In some cases the borders that surrounded the leaves could be made of gold and coarse hemp fabric, while in others, as with the folding screens of the Rivero Lake collection and those of the Museo Franz Mayer, imitated cordovan.²⁵ These fabrics could also decorate the walls of the principal rooms and appear in cushions of such fabrics, creating an environment or collection.

It might be said that the *biombos* arrived in the right place at the right time. They were pieces of furniture distinguished by Oriental refinement and priced accordingly: the average new screen usually cost between 70 and 250 pesos, though some could sell for as much as 500 pesos. Additional value also derived from the fact that these objects were often gifts transported as adornment in the Japanese embassies, which established these furnishings as prestigious and distinguished objects from the start. It must not be overlooked that the first verified evidence of folding screens in Mexico are the ten "beautifully woven with gold" that arrived in 1614 among gifts from Shogun Ieyasu to Viceroy Velasco.²⁶ It was perhaps because of this diplomatic origin that the political culture of the time considered the folding screen a piece of furniture that was perfect for offering as a gift, as with the *biombos* sent from the viceroys of New Spain to the peninsula with a certain intention, or the "arrimador de estrado" that the governor of New Mexico, Diego de Peñalosa offered to the accountant of Mexico City, Carlos de Sigüenza.²⁷

Acquired by viceroys, folding screens soon occupied a prominent position in the furniture collections of the royal households of Chapultepec. In 1640, for example, they put up two *biombos* "that covered the music and instruments" while they served the welcoming banquet for viceroy Diego López Pacheco.²⁸ Life in the Mexican viceregal court followed the model of striving to imitate the New Spanish potentates, and surely their presence at official receptions had a profound impact on the mentality of attendees. As such, it

25 Alonso Gutiérrez Deza, owner of various bakeries had in his house: "a biombo de estrado of twelve tablets already painted in the Chinese fashion on red with wide golden edging on coarse hemp fabric and in fourteen pesos". "Un biobo de estrado de doce tablas ya servido pintado a la moda de china sobre encarnado con su zenefa de oro ancha en cotence crudo y en catorce pesos", AGN, Civil, vol 301, exp. 1, f. 19.

26 "maravillosamente tejidos de oro" (Castelló and Martínez 1970, 27).

27 "Throne support" (T.N.). The folding screens were also denominated 'arrimadores de estrado' in New Spain. AGN, Tierras, vol. 3283, exp. 2, ff. 54-61.

28 "que cubrían la música e instrumentos", Cristóbal Gutiérrez de Medina, *Viaje de tierra y mar, feliz por mar y tierra, que hizo el excelentísimo marques de Villena* (Mexico: UNAM, 1947), 74.

is valid to infer that this furniture became fashionable, and that many rich creoles hoped one day to be able to display such objects in their own homes.

Once acquired, folding screens could appear in different places in the houses or palaces: dining rooms, dance halls, any bedroom, or indeed any of the other rooms. There were two places, however, that can be considered the most common: the bedroom, where they were referred to as "bedside *biombos*", and in the *salón de estrado*, where the name *rodaestrados* was given. The latter placement was especially important because it was where the women of the establishment customarily passed most of their time, and where visitors were received and served.

Inasmuch as the *biombos* surrounded the dais and completed the scenes of the home's principal rooms, it is not surprising that in the inventories of goods they were included among paintings, and their importance as decorative objects was highlighted much more so than their practicality as moveable screens that shielded against air currents or created subdivisions in rooms. Moreover, even though the *salón de estrado* acted as a type of scenery meant to impress the guests, the theme of the paintings on the folding screens acquired an enormous relevance. For this reason, the value of the furniture and the themes chosen by the owner transmit a very clear image of the tastes and concerns of the numerous owners of these objects.

A clear indication that this style of furniture was highly valued is that in New Spain it would sell for high prices in the auctions even after being poorly cared for, old, or even unfinished. In 1651 Miguel de Morales spent 70 pesos on "two small Chinese *rodaestrados*, one with seven tablets and the other with five, poorly treated" which had belonged to Doña Gabriela de la Ribera.²⁹ In 1677 Juan Rodríguez Sánchez acquired "a *biombo* of eight tablets from China, old and broken" for twelve pesos in the auction of belongings remaining after the death of Captain Felipe de Navarajo.³⁰ In 1713, José de Pedrasa bought a screen "of eight unfinished tablets" and Blas de Mojica bought "an *arrimador* of twelve tablets also unfinished" for eight pesos.³¹

This being so, the folding screens became an indispensable element among the property and belongings of wealthy families in the viceroyalty. Marquise Doña Teresa Francisca María de Guadalupe Retes, for example, placed a total of eight *biombos* around her houses, one being undoubtedly of

29 "dos biogos de china pequeños de estrado, el uno con siete tablas y el otro con cinco, mal tratados", AGN, Civil, vol. 1720, exp. 3.

30 "un biobo de ocho tablas de China viejo y roto", AGN, Civil, vol. 1802, exp. 1.

31 "de ocho tablas sin acabar", "un *arrimador* de doce tablas también sin acabar", AGN, Bienes Nacionales, vol. 419, exp. 8; f. 11r.

Chinese origin,³² while the valuable belongings in the Count of Xala's house included a folding screen of Chinese lacquer worth 240 pesos and "another said to be from China with eleven leaves".³³ Among the rich dignitaries and officials there were also those who desired the pieces of furniture that international trade had placed within their reach – such as the treasurer of the mint in Mexico City, Luis Moreno Monroy, who in 1622 declared possession of "one large and two small *biombos*" valued at seventy pesos;³⁴ or the Chief Accountant of the Audiencia in New Spain, Don Miguél Gerónimo de Ballesteros, that owned four folding screens, two of which were from China, valued at one hundred pesos.³⁵

Other cases were those of miners who had become rich through the opportunities available to them in America and who sought valuable domestic furniture as a means of ostentatiously displaying their new privileged position. The objective was to meet or surpass the grandeur of the objects found in the palaces owned by families of the most prestigious lineage in the city. In these situations, the Asian folding screens, whose value was greater than many of those made locally, was the perfect way of visually demonstrating the ascent and fortune of their owner. In 1739, for example, the miner Martín de Valencia y Zavalza boasted that his home in Mexico City contained several *biombos* and *rodaestrados*, one of which "of maqué with nineteen tablets" was valued at one hundred and fifty pesos. Furniture of such size and value rivalled that frequently found in the homes of the creole aristocracy.³⁶

Folding screens were not isolated objects but formed part of a New Spanish material culture in which any object of Asian origin was highly valued. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Captain Andrés de Acosta, apart from the two aforementioned *biombos*, owned several other types of furniture such as a desk, trunk, small desk, bureau, various boxes of mirrors from Japan, three Indian bedspreads bordered with gold and silk, and a pavilion made with taffeta, a small box, kimonos, and fans from China, including a fourteen-year-old Chinese slave.³⁷ The resulting collection was a fantastical and artificial image of furniture and fabrics coexisting in the same home from diverse cultural and geographical origins. However,

32 Gustavo Curiel, "El efímero caudal de una joven noble. Inventario y aprecio de los bienes de la marquesa Doña Teresa Francisca María de Guadalupe Retes Paz Vera (Ciudad de México, 1695)", *Anales del Museo de América*, no. 8 (2000): 65-101.

33 "otro dicho de China con once hojas", Manuel Romero, *Una casa del siglo XVIII* (Mexico: Imprenta universitaria, 1957), 60.

34 "un biobo grande y dos pequeños", AGI, México, 263, n 131.

35 AGN, Civil, vol. 1569, exp. 2, f. 9v y 14r.

36 "de maque con diez y nueve tablas", AGN, Civil, vol. 735, exp. 14, f. 27v.

37 AGN, Civil, vol. 1998, exp. 3, f. 4r

from the Western point of view, these rooms enjoyed an authentic "Oriental scenery" interpreted by their own tastes and broad understanding of Oriental cultures. However, in the case of merchants, such as Acosta, who owed their fortunes to trade with the Philippines, these belongings could serve to remind guests how the owners of the belongings accrued such great wealth and social status.

Lastly, a very interesting phenomenon results from analysing Chinese and Japanese symbols or literary passages pertaining to their culture and religious tradition transmitted through the screens to New Spain. These works were interpreted as mere decor, rather than transmitting the original meaning intended by the Japanese and Chinese artists. Several examples of this are found in Mexico, as in Doña Juana de Solórzano y Alcalá's dowry letter in 1705 to Don Joseph del Real y Lanzaguren, where a folding screen is listed that depicts *The Battle of Buddha*. Because the subjects depicted on these objects were not understood, many times plagued with pagan concepts alien to the Christian religion, there was no threat to owning objects of this nature. As a result, the viceregal authorities and the Inquisition permitted unrestricted circulation of these pieces, and their presence in the residents' homes.³⁸

3. Why did New Spain develop an industry of folding screens?

One unique and pioneering aspect of New Spanish art was the early production of its own folding screens. Given the great success that the importation of this style of furniture enjoyed throughout the viceroyalty, in the first half of the seventeenth century people began to manufacture two types of folding screens in workshops: those that imitated or interpreted the *biombos* arriving from Asia, and those that introduced new themes and styles that reflected the interests of the New Spanish elite.

The syncretic process these pieces of furniture underwent through their journey across three continents was not unique, and must be considered through the relationship between this process and the production of other goods and locations, such as pottery from Puebla, that unified techniques from Talavera de la Reina with Eastern motives and forms,³⁹ or with

38 Archivo de Notaría de la ciudad de México (AN de México), Joseph de Anaya y Bonillo, n° 13-15 de abril de 1705, ff. 200r-205v cited in Gustavo Curiel, "Consideraciones sobre el comercio de obras suntuarias en la Nueva España", *México colonial* (Asturias: Caja de Ahorros, 1990), 64-83.

39 Refer to George Kuwayama, *Chinese ceramics in colonial Mexico* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1997); María Bonta de la Pezuela, *Porcelana china de exportación para el mercado novohispano: la colección del Museo Nacional del Virreinato* (Mexico: UNAM, 2008).

the origin of the production of *enconchados*, that showed clear Chinese and Japanese technical influences. It is also important to highlight that in Pátzcuaro, the location of the head Royal Customs House that the Asiatic merchandise arriving on the galleons from Manila passed through, maqué production began that was similar to the lacquer that arrived through the trade route.⁴⁰

In the case of both the *enconchados* and the folding screens it is not clear that the stylistic techniques used in their production were introduced to the viceroyalty by foreign populations. According to this idea, Asian artisans would have arrived as passengers, stowaways, or slaves in a number of the galleons that set sail from Manila each year, or with one or both of the two Japanese diplomatic committees that traversed New Spain in the early part of the seventeenth century, especially in the second, led by Samurai Hasekura. In 1613, Daimyo Date Masamune, lord of a principality in north-east Japan with its capital in Sendai, sent a diplomatic mission to Europe along the Pacific "Spanish route" that passed through New Spain. The delegation was initially composed of between one hundred and fifty and one hundred and eighty Japanese people. Of these initial members, only a score of them continued on from Mexico to Europe, the rest either returning to Japan or remaining in the viceroyalty for four years awaiting Hasekura's arrival during his return voyage to Japan.⁴¹ It is important to note that not all voyagers returned to Japan in 1618: a group of Japanese converts, along with their Chinese slaves, decided to establish themselves in the viceroyalty, especially in Puebla. The majority of Japanese that resolved to stay in the viceroyalty were Christian converts fearful of returning to their homeland after receiving news of religious persecution.

Little documentation exists about the lives of these Japanese people in New Spain, but their presence has led historians to formulate a range of theories. Teresa Castelló contends that some of the Chinese and Japanese that remained in close proximity to the embassy were artisans who began to construct furniture and *biombos*, first using wood and later switching to canvas.⁴² In her opinion the technique these Eastern artists passed on to the villagers would later have had a great impact on the local production of folding screens and *enconchados*. Furthermore, the antiques owner Ribero Lake asserted that the folding screen with the depiction of the *View of the*

40 Refer to Sonia Pérez, *La laca mexicana. Desarrollo de un oficio artesanal en el virreinato de la Nueva España durante el siglo XVIII* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, Ministerio de Cultura, 1990).

41 Eikichi Hayashilla, "Los japoneses que se quedaron en México en el siglo XVII. Acerca de un samurai en Guadalajara", *México y la cuenca del Pacífico* 6, no. 18 (January-April 2003): 10-17.

42 Castelló and Martínez 1970.

*Central Plaza of Mexico City and the Ixtalco Lagoon*⁴³ could have been made by Japanese people, given its style and the technique with which it was created. The grounds on which he does so are its lack of a European-style perspective, the presence of Nanban clouds, and the fact that its form of assembly was the same as that traditionally used in Japan.⁴⁴ Professor Julieta Ávila highlighted the fact that both the formal resources (composition, drawing and color) and the techniques employed on the *enconchados* (especially the India ink) were based on Eastern artistic tradition. According to this theory, these pieces were made by Chinese or Japanese people established in the viceroyalty or by others in New Spain trained by Eastern teachers.⁴⁵ Sonia Ocaña, through examination of these *enconchados*, also believes that they were created by Japanese people who decided to remain in New Spain in order to explain the origin of the recreation process of nanban lacquer.⁴⁶

Despite the general opinion, the fact remains that even today there is still no conclusive documented evidence to support the hypothesis that people of Asian origin initiated the manufacture of *biombos* or *enconchados* in the viceroyalty. The arrival of the foreign population on galleons from Manila was indeed constant throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries – but the data obtained by Dr. Déborah Oropeza concerning the forced and free emigration of Asians to New Spain does not actually support the theory that they began the production of screens and *enconchados* in the viceroyalty. The majority of them remained on the Pacific coast working on cacao and coconut plantations; those who ventured to Mexico City worked as merchants, barbers, or silversmiths, being slaves destined for domestic servitude or textile work.⁴⁷ Some did occupy important positions in society, such as the Japanese Juan de Páez – executor of the wills of important persons in Guadalajara in the mid-seventeenth century, and steward to the cathedral from 1654 until his death in 1675 – but there do not appear to have been Chinese and Japanese people associated with the guilds of artisan workers in New Spain.⁴⁸ Moreover, several names of artisans that constructed both

43 *Vista de la Plaza Mayor de la ciudad de México y laguna de Ixtacalco*.

44 Rodrigo Rivero Lake, *El arte namban en el México virreinal* (Madrid: Turner, 2005), 183.

45 Julieta Ávila Hernández, *El influjo de la cultura china en los enconchados de la Nueva España* (Mexico: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1997).

46 Sonia I. Ocaña, "Marcos enconchados: autonomía y apropiación de formas japonesas en la pintura novohispana", *Anales del instituto de investigaciones estéticas*, no. 92 (2008): 107-153.

47 Déborah Oropeza, *Los "indios chinos" en la Nueva España la inmigración de la nao de China, 1565-1700*, PhD dissertation in History (El Colegio de México: Centro de Estudios Históricos, Mexico, 2007).

48 Melba Falck and Héctor Palacios, *El japonés que conquistó Guadalajara* (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 2009).

biombos and *enconchados* have been identified, but none of them appear to be of Asian origin.

Additionally, the fact that analyses drawn through a series of *enconchados* from the Museo de América in Madrid demonstrate the existence of underlying drawings made with metallic pencil, or that typical tulips of Flemish art appear on the borders of screens that imitate the nanban art forms, indicate that the artists who created these works united Eastern decoration techniques with European pictorial practices.⁴⁹ Therefore, without discarding the possibility of Christianised or Hispanic-influenced Chinese or Japanese intervention in the viceroyalty, it is also appropriate to consider the work of New Spanish mestizos or that of intermediaries and *passeurs culturels* such as the Jesuits, merchants, and officials. These people in continual movement could have participated in the circulation of ideas and objects through four continents, just as much as they could have influenced the creation of a new, global material culture. However, facing the search for external and sporadic factors, it is more important to analyse the internal circumstances of the viceroyalty. It is necessary to reveal the causes that drove the emergence of a local industry of *biombos* in New Spain, and what motivated the industry to develop and evolve its own unique path:

1. Firstly, the commissioning of folding screens entailed the setting up of a complex set of commercial relationships, which required a great deal of patience. The process of shipping the order to Japanese or Chinese artisans, the production of furniture itself, and then its transportation to its destination consumed a considerable amount of time that could have been extremely frustrating if an error or other problem occurred such as a shipwreck or pirate attack.

The need for greater access to the pieces was discussed in 1688 in a treatise on art written by John Stalker and George Parker, as a possible motivation for the emergence of a lacquer industry in Europe that mimicked the lacquers transported from Asia.⁵⁰

49 Estefanía Rivás Díaz, "El empleo de la concha nácar en la pintura virreinal: estudio radiográfico de la colección de pintura «enconchada» del Museo de América de Madrid", *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, Serie VII, Historia del Arte, t. 15 (2002): 147-167; Andrés Escalera and Estefanía Rivás, "Un ejemplo de pintura enconchada: la virgen de la Redonda: estudio radiográfico", *Anales del Museo de América*, no. 10 (2002): 291-305; Marita Martínez del Río, "Los biombos en el ámbito doméstico: sus programas moralizadores y didácticos", in Rafael Tovar, Gerardo Estrada, Roberto Hernández and Carmen López, *Juegos de ingenio y agudeza, la pintura emblemática en la Nueva España* (Mexico: Museo Nacional del Arte, Ed. del Equilibrista, 1994), 133-150.

50 J. Stalker and G. Parker, *A treatise of japanning and varnishing*, (reprint: London, Alec Tiranti, 1971), 17.

In addition, the desire to adapt Chinese and Japanese iconography to Western taste gave rise to new demand away from the original production centers. Artists in New Spain, following the model of imported objects, began to produce this type of furniture at the start of the seventeenth century. These folding screens were designated in the sources as “achinados”, “a la moda de China”, “A la manera de Japón”,⁵¹ or “Al remedo de China”.⁵² On the other hand, the *biombos* that imitated the Eastern style of lacquer were qualified as “Lienzo maqueado”, “maqueado”, “maqué fingido”, or more explicitly, as “maqué criollo”.⁵³ It is important to clarify that to classify a piece of furni-



Fig. 1 – “Achinado” folding screen
New Spain, Eighteenth Century
Museo Franz Mayer, Mexico⁵⁴

51 “in the Japanese way” (T.N.).

52 “in the image of China” (T.N.).

53 In order of appearance, “maqué lacquered canvas”, “maqué lacquered”, “fake maqué”, “creole maqué” (T.N.).

54 Donna Pierce and Ronald Otsuka, *Asia & Spanish America, trans-pacific artistic and cultural exchange, 1500-1850* (Denver: Simposium series, Denver Art Museum, 2006), 30.

ture as “achinado” did not necessarily mean that the piece was based on the Chinese model or technique. It is known that at the time, the majority of the population was not capable of distinguishing the origin of an object, which caused many Japanese and Indian objects to be erroneously qualified as Chinese just because they arrived on a galleon from Manila. For the same reason, it is clear that in the “achinados”, many elements of distinct Asian traditions were mixed, which for the great majority of works, were grouped into a common generic provenance.

2. Secondly, aside from the “achinado” furniture, an interest in producing new themes related to the cultural concerns of the emerging New Spanish aristocracy gave birth to a new style of folding screens whose paintings originated in the Western tradition. These pieces of furniture responded to the viceregal elite’s search for a unique form of expression that reflected its own tastes and interests. The circumstance in which some themes were strongly linked with the past, or creole vindication, which occurred with the folding screens that displayed depictions of conquest and visits to Mexico City, or the fact that some of this furniture was sent as presents to the Peninsula, relate this type of objects to the emergence of a new creole identity in New Spain.⁵⁵

The New Spanish *biombos* did not substitute the Asian ones, since many examples are found in which owners of folding screens manufactured in China or Japan also owned others made in New Spain. In 1694, for example, Manuela Fernández de Velasco, wife of the senior accountant Francisco de Castro y Prado, owned a Chinese folding screen and “another Mexican”.⁵⁶ In 1733 Josefa de Castillo listed among her numerous belongings a Japanese *biombo* as well as another that depicted the history of Don Quixote de la Mancha.⁵⁷ This situation was common in the rooms of the viceroyalty, reflecting the hybrid nature of the New Spanish material culture.

3. Lastly, it is essential to emphasise the economic opportunity that the demand for this style of furniture opened up for local artisans. By eliminating

55 Alberto Baena, “Nueva España a través de sus biombos”, in *Orbis incognitus: avisos y legajos del Nuevo Mundo: homenaje al profesor Luis Navarro García*, ed. Fernando Navarro Antolín (Huelva: Ed. Asociación de Americanistas Españoles, 2007), 441-450. In the case of the *enconchados*, professor Sonia Ocaña defends that their increased exportation to Europe demonstrates that the New Spaniards considered these works as typically theirs and were proud of them, showing “a little known aspect of the artistic identity of the New Spanish power groups”, “un aspecto poco conocido de la identidad artística de los grupos de poder novohispanos” (Ocaña 2008, 107-153).

56 “otro mexicano”, AGN, Bienes Nacionales, vol. 445, exp 4, f. 11r.

57 AGN, Civil, vol. 1327, exp. 1, ff. 17v and 18r.

the great expense arising from the long journey and the unavoidable intermediaries spread along the route, the “achinado” screens offered much lower prices than Chinese and Japanese *biombos*, normally selling for between five and sixteen pesos. Those made “al remedo de maqué”⁵⁸ or of “maqué fingido” were valued at between thirty and fifty pesos – but this was still far cheaper than the one hundred pesos which served as the minimum price for new Asian manufactured folding screens. The same happened with *biombos* painted with Western themes, which were valued more highly than “achinado” folding screens but were still much less expensive than the screens of Asian origin.

The reduction in price and increase in availability led to the folding screens being found in most New Spanish homes. The fact that the owners of *biombos* “achinados” came from diverse backgrounds (booksellers, bakers, merchants, judges, inquisitors, tax collectors, doctors, magistrates, etc), and that they appear not only in Mexico City but also in other important cities such as Puebla, Cuernavaca, and San Juan de los Llanos, illuminates the fact that this particular type of furniture found its way to a wide array of people and places throughout the viceroyalty.

In 1688, Stalker and Parker wrote a treatise in England discussing how to imitate Japanese lacquer. In their opinion the appearance of such an industry would permit nobles and the bourgeoisie alike “to have complete collections of lacquered furniture when earlier they would have been content with a folding screen, a boudoir, or a cup”.⁵⁹ In New Spain, with the development at the end of the seventeenth century of a local production of objects “a la moda de China”, the creation of Oriental spaces had another twist. Now what they produced was an “achinado scenography” that preserved all of the attraction and prestige of the Eastern folding screens. In 1787, Matías de Ribera, master of the golden shot and possessor of vast fortune, owned a collection of objects “al remedo de la China”: two screens, one headboard of fine gold, one *biombo* of two golden beams and one ordinary, two trunks, twenty two stools, three dais tables, all of which, “achinados”.⁶⁰ The fact that he had been able to gain access to all these original Asian objects and decided to decorate his rooms with them shows that this style of furniture was directly associated with sophistication, luxury, and wealth.

Furthermore, the development of folding screen production also provides clues to the birth of a technique that was typically New Spanish although influenced by the Orient, namely paintings that were encrusted with

58 “in the semblance of maqué”.

59 “tener conjuntos completos de mobiliario lacado cuando antes se deberían contentar con un biombo, un tocador o una taza” (Stalker and Parker 1971, 17).

60 AGN, vol. 396, exp. 13, ff. 25v-27r.

mother of pearl and varnish. Although traditionally there was an emphasis on its relationship with nanban lacquer, these were earlier and technically different from Mexican manufactures. In the search for the antecedents to the *enconchados*, the influence exerted by the constant influx of Asian *biombos*, many of a similar style, has not been sufficiently considered.⁶¹ Six folding screens are found in the will of a past governor of the Philippines, Don Fausto Crusat y Góngora, drawn up in 1706. They were of Japanese maqué and mother of pearl, one depicting hunting scenes and another birds, in addition to four others made with maqué and agate stone.⁶² The formal similarity between these works and the *enconchados* opens the door to new interpretations of what could have been the particular materials that were adopted by the New Spanish artists. The fact that at least one folding screen has been conserved with depictions of the city of Vienna made with the *enconchado* technique, and that a series of paintings exist that depict the conquest, and another depicting the battles of Alejandro de Farnesio, that were transformed into screens soon after being made, reinforces the relationship between this style of painting and the fabrication of *biombos* throughout the period in which they were developed.

As for where this type of “achinado” screen was produced within the viceroyalty, little is known. Focusing on the few articles that discuss this aspect and its parallels with lacquer furniture, it is possible to indicate two production centres: Puebla and Michoacán. Francisco de Ajofrín, in his *Journal of the Voyage to New Spain*, refers to the “colorful canvases painted in imitation of China” that were made in Puebla, which references how the artisans from Puebla would have assimilated oriental forms.⁶³ Later the same author refers to one of the principal production centers of lacquered furniture and with “achinado” forms of the viceroyalty, Pátzcuaro:

“[the Indians] have already forgotten this practice [feather painting], but not that of painting lacquered or varnished trays. Today a celebrated painter flourishes, a noble Indian, named Don José Manuel de la Cerda, who has perfected this skill, to the level that it exceeds the Chinese maqués in delicacy and luster.”⁶⁴

61 Researcher Sonia Ocaña points out the technical differences between the *enconchados* and Japanese lacquers while noting the formal relationship of the frameworks with nanban art (Ocaña 2008, 107-153).

62 AGN, Civil, vol. 114, exp. 1, ff. 53r, 53v and 60v.

63 “vistosos lienzos pintados a imitación de la China”, Francisco de Ajofrín, *Diario del viaje a la Nueva España* (Mexico: Sep. Cultura, 1986), 55.

64 “[los indios] Ya han olvidado este ejercicio [la pintura de plumas], pero no el de pintar bateas maqueadas o acharoladas. Hoy florece un celebre pintor, indio noble, llamado Don José Manuel

What is interesting about Ajofrín's commentary is that it is a testimony to a typical phenomenon of globalization, namely cultural exchange. The commercial and political expansion of the Catholic monarchy led indigenous tradition to merge with forms, iconography and techniques that came from Asia and Europe, resulting in a new and original style.⁶⁵ The production in Michoacán of "achinado" furniture made of lacquered wood leads to the conclusion that there could also have been an important production of folding screens made from this technique. Today there still exists a copy of a canvas painted in Pátzcuaro that shares formal characteristics with the lacquers in the region.⁶⁶ The vermillion background and the way in which birds and butterflies are represented are similar to the style of furniture of Oriental influence, even though it represented a typically European theme, *The allegory of good government and the entry of a king*.⁶⁷

In the European case it is documented that the liking for Chinese or Japanese lacquer was so great that the leaves of these decorated folding screens were often disassembled and reused as furniture.⁶⁸ In New Spain, examples are also found of the reutilization of the folding screens' leaves, in this case a Japanese lacquered *biombo* was reused to adorn the pulpit in the San Miguel del Milagro church in Tlaxcala. Furthermore, in the inventories of goods it is evident that some people treasured these tablets. In 1729, merchant Diego de Castañeda was in possession of "five rodaestrado tablets gilded with fine gold", surely with the intention of giving them another use or selling them in the future.⁶⁹

de la Cerda, que ha perfeccionado mucho esta facultad, de suerte que excede en primor y lustre a las maques de la China". *Ibidem*, p. 97.

65 Teresa Castelló sustains that lacquer was already known and used in the Pre-hispanic cultures, but while this was based in a composite formed by animal fat extracted from the body of an insect (aje), the Oriental maqué or lacquer was of plant origin, made with resin extracted from Sumac trees, forming a thick film over the objects (Castelló and Martínez 1970).

66 Rosario Inés Granados, "Guía doméstica de moralidad: un biombo novohispano del siglo XVIII", in *Del libro de emblemas a la ciudad simbólica, Actas del tercer simposio Internacional de emblemática Hispánica*, ed. Victor Minguez, vol. II (Castellón: Publicaciones de la Universidad Jaume I, 2000), 647-669; Rosario Inés Granados, "Hacia la puerta norte del salón de estrado", in *Esplendor y ocaso de la pintura simbólica*, ed. Herón Pérez Martínez and Bárbara Skinfill (Michoacán: CONACYT, 2002), 215-221.

67 *La alegoría del buen gobierno y la entrada de un rey*.

68 Moura 2001, 41-66; Maria da Conceição de Sousa, "Móveis à maneira do oriente", in *As artes decorativas e a expansão portuguesa. Imaginário e viagem*, org. Isabel Mayer Godinho Mendonça e Ana Paula Rebelo Correia (Lisbon: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, Escola Superior de Artes Decorativas, 2010), 157-171.

69 "cinco tablas de rodaestrado doradas de oro fino", AGN, Civil, vol. 838, exp. 3, f. 57r.

4. The “achinado” taste in New Spain and its influence on Mexican folding screens

The impossibility of importing Chinese or Japanese lacquer to Europe pushed the artisans to look for ways to reproduce the coveted glaze effect, publishing numerous works that explained the different techniques that would allow them to achieve a similar result. From the seventeenth century onwards, important productions of furniture that imitated the Asian lacquers can be found in Holland, England, France, Italy and Germany. Not only did they attempt to achieve a similar finish, but also to adopt the decorative repertoire of the originals. The result was the development of a new style that redefined the language and techniques of the originals. In Europe, the objects created in this way were referred to using different terms depending on their origin: *chinoiseries*, Japanwork or japanning.

In the case of Spain and Portugal it has been affirmed that the availability of real lacquer in sufficiently large quantities to meet the demands of the market in both kingdoms resulted in the late emergence of their own *chinoiserie*.⁷⁰ Moreover, at the same time that a European trend developed for this style, the imported furniture made in England or France would have met a significant portion of the demand and also influenced local products.⁷¹ However, studying New Spanish paintings and furniture gives rise to questions regarding the passive or marginal role attributed to the Spanish Empire in this artistic field.⁷²

First of all, the degree to which the liking for the “achinado” language had developed in the Madrid court can be inferred from a letter sent in 1734 by the Secretary of Finance, Navy and Overseas (Secretario de Hacienda, Marina e Indias), José Patiño to Francisco de las Varas y Valdéz, president of the Customs House in Cadiz. This letter orders the mission to obtain two red patent leather folding screens and another of 24 tablets of patent leather with “red surfaces and light golden figures” that would be destined for the Queen’s cabinet.⁷³ The minister gives concrete instructions regarding the

70 Sousa 2010, 157-171.

71 José António Proença, *Mobiliário da Casa-Museu Dr. Anastácio Gonçalves* (Lisbon: Casa-Museu Dr. Anastácio Gonçalves, 2002), 178.

72 If one keeps in mind Gustavo Curiel’s opinion, it is more appropriate to use the contemporary terms “al remedio de la China” or “achinado” for referring to the New Spanish works inasmuch as they had some of their own characteristics that make it less appropriate to classify them as chinoiserie: Gustavo Curiel, “Perception of the other and the language of “Chinese Mimicry” in the decorative arts of New Spain” in *Transpacific artistic cultural exchange, 1500-1850*, ed. Donna Pierce and Ronald Otsuka (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2009), 19-36.

73 “campos encarnados y figuras lisas de oro”, AGI, MP-Estampas, 280.

number, width and height of the leaves of the *biombo*, as well as adding, in the margin of the letter, two drawings of “relief figures, rocks, and trees”⁷⁴ that should serve as models for these paintings. Even though it is not known where or who was commissioned for this artwork, the role of the entrusted person proves how the “achinado” language had been completely assimilated by the Spanish culture at the time, such that any educated person might have taken it upon themselves to sketch a design based on this iconography.

In regard to New Spain, the production of folding screens since the beginning of the seventeenth century attempted, on one hand, to develop an “achinado” language, while on the other hand it incorporated elements of the Oriental decorative repertoire into compositions of European style and theme:

1. In the folding screens made “al remedio de la China”, New Spanish artisans, responding to the importation and use of furniture of Chinese origin, created compositions that incorporated pagodas, bridges, boats, landscapes, animals, birds, plants, trees, or Oriental clothing.⁷⁵ However, this did not entail merely copying the models that came from Asia, but was rather a conscious and selective appropriation of their decorative repertoire with the objective of giving it a new meaning in accordance with New Spanish taste. A clear reinterpretation of the iconography of fashion is observable on the “achinado” *biombo* at the Museo Franz Mayer. A series of caricatures dressed in Oriental styles appear in diverse daily scenes, framed by a mix of Asiatic and New Spanish architectural elements. The composition highlights the defective use of the traditional Western perspective that could owe itself to the painter’s deficiencies or the premeditated desire to imitate evident technical problems within many of the exported Chinese screens.⁷⁶

An unsurpassable display of the new eclectic style that begins to develop in the viceroyalty is found in the *biombo* entitled *Cock Fight*⁷⁷ made in seventeenth-century New Spain. In this work the artist takes the aspects that interested him from the different available sources and reworked them to send an intentional message, a representation of Mexico City in an Oriental environment. Mixed elements of all types are again distinguishable, New Spanish buildings with others like pagodas, people in European dress and

74 “figuras de relieve, peñascos y árboles”.

75 Gustavo Curiel 1990, 64-83.

76 The *biombo Diluvio* in the Museo Soumaya, made in Macao or Manila at the end of the seventeenth century, can be understood as an example of the absence of perspective and vanishing point in an exported Chinese screen.

77 *Pelea de Gallos*.

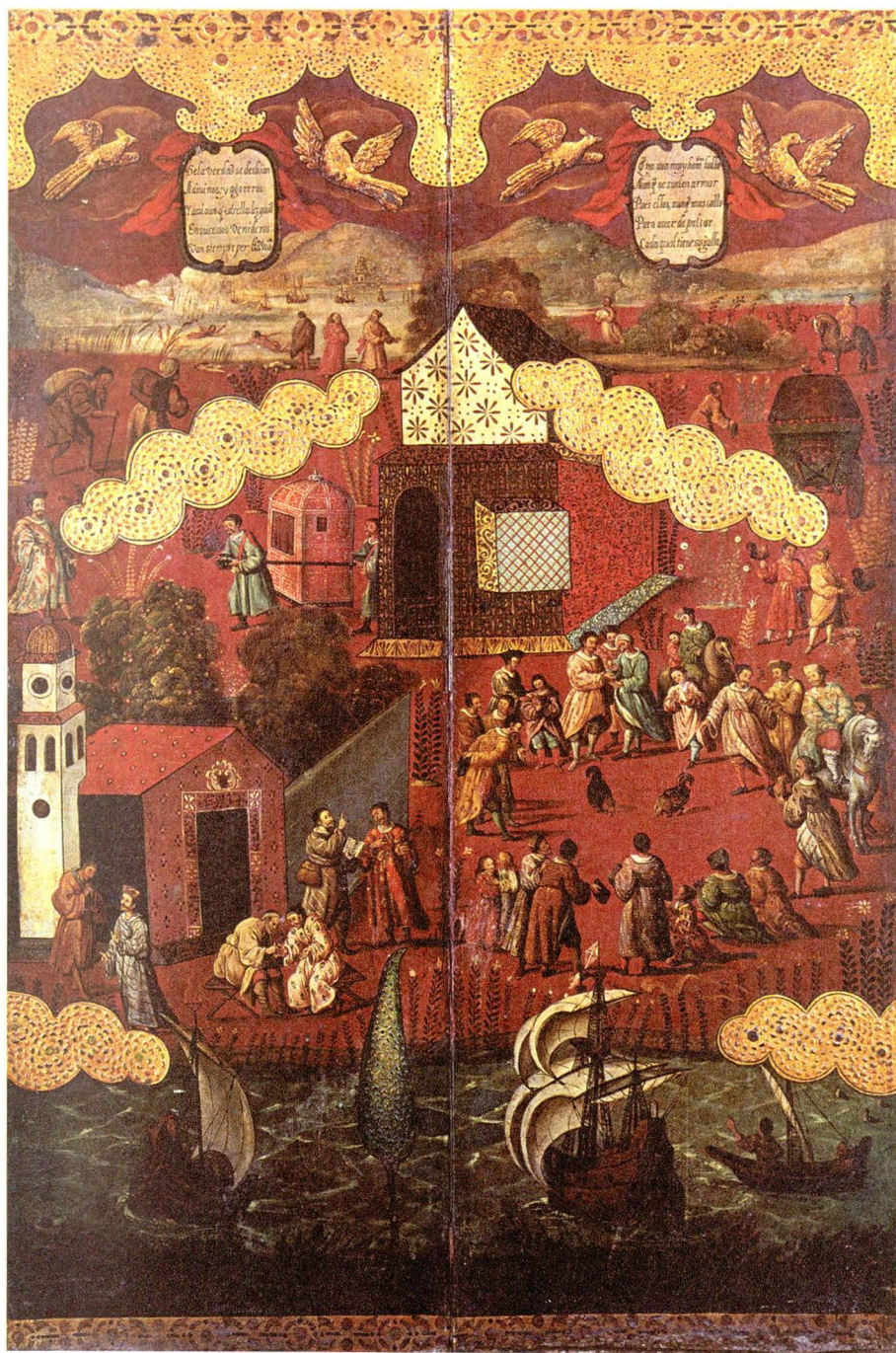


Fig. 2 – *Cock Fight* folding screen (detail)

New Spain, Seventeenth Century

Private Collection

others in kimonos and long pigtails, small nanban clouds and Baroque cartouches in Spanish.⁷⁸ Despite the unreal setting, the lake, vegetation, and some urban aspects such as the bridge with two pipes that crossed the Ixtacalco canal or the fountain on the alameda, indicate that the capital of the viceroyalty is being depicted. It is, therefore, a piece of Asian furniture that reproduces a Western theme (satirical verses with their respective morals), with an “achinado” style and with typically New Spanish characteristics. As such, the fusion of three artistic traditions that create a new language servicing the creole identity are represented in a symbolic way on the leaves of this particular folding screen.⁷⁹

2. Along with this type of “achinado” paintings, the Oriental influence manifested itself in different ways in the folding screens apparently painted with a Western style and themes. Despite the fact that over time Mexican artists searched for their own language, distancing themselves from the Asiatic models, the Chinese and Japanese influence never entirely disappeared. Throughout the greater part of the seventeenth century the artists independently maintained certain elements that satisfied the tastes of the creoles, but gave them a new meaning. Gold-dust clouds, for example, are evident in the majority of *biombos* from the time period, changing from being elements that indicated the meaning of the narrative, separating scenes without changing the theme or what framed and united the leaves, to becoming mere decorative objects. The New Spanish compositions are much smaller and yet still large enough to give the ostentatious effect of a golden shine.⁸⁰ Furthermore, Oriental influence was also maintained when it came to the birds, especially in the use of the phoenix, depicted in American landscapes, or in the depiction of flora. On the folding screen *The Birds*,⁸¹ conserved at the Museo Soumaya in Mexico City, Asian-inspired plants and animals are found among small nanban clouds.⁸²

78 The *Cock Fight (Pela de gallos)* folding screen is found in the Alvear Zubira family collection (Madrid). María Josefa Martínez del Río, “Permanencias y ausencias de obispos, virreyes e indianos”, in *México en el mundo de las colecciones de arte*, dir. María Luisa Sabau García, vol. 2 (UCOL: Mexico, 1994), 12-14.

79 About the relationship between creole identity and art, see Curiel 2009, 19-36. Baena: 2007, 441-450.

80 The *biombos* of the palace of the viceroys and the Alameda (palacio de los virreyes y la Alameda), conserved in the Museo de América de Madrid, the screen called *The Birds (Las Aves)* in the museo Soumaya and the one of the *Entrance of the viceroy of Cadereyta (Entrada del virrey de Cadereyta)* in the Rivero Lake Collection, depict clouds of nanban influence.

81 *Las Aves*.

82 Iván Leroy, “El biombo de las aves de la tierra prometida” in Gustavo Curiel, Benito Navarrete and Iván Leroy, *Viento detenido, mitologías e historias en el arte del biombo* (Mexico: Museo de Soumaya, 1999), 135-150.

Moreover, the aforementioned influence also manifested itself in a less evident way, as with the choice of themes. It is possible that a similar urban development situation and the social ascent of a new group of traders and military personnel outside the traditional nobility favoured the thematic agreement represented on the folding screens on both sides of the Pacific Ocean. Sofía Sanabraís suggests that the Japanese *rakuchu-rakugai zu* style – characterised by the depiction of the principal places and monuments in Kyoto, and of its inhabitants in different daily activities – could be behind the appearance of works in New Spain that showed the most emblematic parts of the city.⁸³ It is also possible to add the effect that the *Edo-zu biombos* with scenes from the centre of Tokyo from a bird's eye view could have had on the products from New Spain with aerial view of Mexico City in the seventeenth century. As such, the Chinese folding screen with aerial views of the



Fig. 3 – Folding screen with views of Mexico City and the entry of a viceroy
New Spain, Mid-Seventeenth Century
Rivero Lake collection

83 Sofía Sanabraís, “The Biombo or folding screen in colonial México”, in *Asia & Spanish America, trans-pacific artistic and cultural exchange, 1500-1850*, ed. Donna Pierce and Ronald Otsuka (Denver: Simposium Series, Denver Art Museum, 2006), 69-106.

city of Canton and of Macau conserved in the Museu do Oriente in Lisbon, surely commissioned by a Portuguese person residing or passing through this commercial enclave, also has aspects in common with the previous ones. All of these aspects open up the possibility of discovering mutual influences between the different folding screen production centres.

Moreover, in the Kobe City Museum, the Atami Art Museum, and the Moritasu Hosokawa collection in Tokyo, some Japanese folding screens of European influence are found that display gallant figures, or of the genre whose origin is difficult to specify. The most accepted hypothesis is that these works were produced in the last decade of the sixteenth century by artists who were taught by Jesuits, but who had also previously been educated at the Kano school. The original inspiration for this trend could have been Flemish engravings of allegories that were freely interpreted. As such, differently from what occurred with those of nanban art, the iconographic womb of the screens was not Portuguese but Flemish, reflecting the relationship between the Dutch and Japan or of the success of their engravings in the time period. If it is difficult to establish a link, it is striking that throughout the eighteenth century, some *biombos* produced in an area that represent scenery similar to Japan became fashionable in New Spain. In these works rich creoles are found idly interacting in ideal gardens, and as depicted in the Japanese folding screens discussed previously, play cards, drink wine, play a musical instrument, dance, or simply court one another. These types of idle scenes were very pleasing to the American and European eighteenth century aristocracy and are able to be found on different objects and surfaces, as their inclusion on French and Flemish fans of the time period, snuff or tobacco kits, furniture, wall paintings or tiles, etc., shows.

Independent of their direct or indirect relationship, the commonalities found in the chosen themes represented on both sides of the Pacific Ocean seem to respond to the same context of transformation and development of urban culture whose protagonists in these paintings sought to narrate the prosperity of their daily lives.

Lastly, together with the process of reinterpreting the Oriental iconography, one must not forget that there was also a process of adaptation of materials, meaning, and use of the *biombo* itself. In Japan, this furniture defined places of unequal importance, being destined to adorn both laical and religious ritual spaces. Furthermore, they usually were made on paper, silk, or lacquered wood and were composed of two units that complemented each other. In New Spain, they were unique and independent objects, made in the majority of cases as a wooden structure covered with painted canvas, hide, or different types of fabrics. Thus, aside from the "fine painting" or "ordinary" folding screens, others are found made of taffeta, damask,

moreen, hemp fabric, Indian, elephant, or chamois although some examples exist that are made of wood over which a Pre-Hispanic traditional varnish was applied.

Another characteristic that differentiated the New Spanish folding screens was the rich plaques that crowned their leaves. With this type of ornate finish the artisans sought to complete the furniture's decoration while also increasing its sale price. On many occasions they were painted with gold, thus augmenting the screen's visual impact, while in other cases they could only manage to imitate the golden effect.⁸⁴ The fact that numerous inventories of the period were meticulous in describing these works is a demonstration of how valuable they were.

In some cases the transformation of the original model was surprising. In 1671, Antonio García Fragoso, a resident of Puebla, had two *rodaestrados* made with "cotton from China", one of them in "double taffeta *de la tierra*".⁸⁵ Here, therefore, is an example of a piece of Oriental furniture produced in New Spain with material imported from China, but with a completely different style from the original.

Final considerations

The appearance of folding screens as a new commodity in the world economy in the sixteenth century, and their production in New Spain from the seventeenth century, helps illustrate the scope of the movement of objects and ideas during the Early Modern Period. In consolidating the two new routes that united Asia with America and Europe, the Portuguese and Spaniards established the basis for commercial and cultural exchange that transformed the societies brought into contact with each other. From this situation arose a new, modern mentality, expressed in different ways. *Biombos* can be considered one of the most interesting material manifestations, since the development of their production inside and outside Asia, or the borrowing of distinct artistic traditions, provides evidence of transformations and mutual influences. The Chinese and Japanese artisans modified their style or themes represented on the leaves of the folding screens after having had

84 In 1778, Francisco Casanova, carver in the Royal Mint of Mexico, counted among his belongings, "a finely painted biombo, of ten leaves, with plaques painted blue and gold, of sixteen pesos." "Un beobo de pintura fina, de diez hojas, con tarjas pintadas de azul y oro, en diez y seis pesos", AGN, Civil, vol. 470, exp. 1, f.16v. In 1753 Gregorio Montiel, owner of a "tuniquería store" in Mexico, owned a *rodaestrado* of ten leaves with plaques "painted blue and false gold", "pintadas de azul y oro falso", AGN, Civil, vol. 299, exp. 1, f. 19r.

85 "algodón de China", "tafetán doble de la tierra", AGN, Civil, vol. 569, exp. 1, f. 169v.

contact with Europeans, while in New Spain an industry based on these foreign objects emerged that came to meet local demand and give expression to the incipient creole identity.

Once the production of *biombos* in New Spain began, it took a double direction. Those made “al remedo de la China” assumed and reinterpreted the “Oriental” iconography, giving it a new meaning that was adapted to the tastes of its possible clients. Alongside this “achinado” furniture, other folding screens emerged that incorporated themes or elements of the Asian decorative repertoire into a pictorial European tradition. This latter type addressed themes such as the conquest of Mexico, views of the principal recreational places in the capital of the viceroyalty, stories taken from classical mythology, or episodes from Castilian literature of interest to the power groups of the Viceroyalty. Both styles of folding screens are proof that the commercial relationships throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries between Asia, America and Europe did not remain solely within economic boundaries, but brought about a series of cultural dynamics that resulted in forms of syncretic expression, reflecting a world in constant contact and dialogue.

Additionally, beyond the seductive power exerted by the imports arriving on galleons from Manila, the success in New Spain of the “Chinese fashion” should be framed within its own internal processes. If the *biombos* were incorporated into the viceroyalty’s material culture, and if paintings were used to represent typical New Spanish laical themes, it was because the folding screens were perfectly adapted to the particular interests of their owners. This furniture offered the creoles an original medium through which to express their most immediate and “worldly” tastes, concerns and aspirations in intimate or public spaces. Also, as Sonia Ocaña points out, “the abundant local appropriations of Asiatic art reveal the will to artistically distance themselves from Europe and explore their own paths.”⁸⁶

Lastly, the appearance in America of an “achinado” style with unique characteristics makes it possible to question the “Eurocentric” vision of history and show the existence of various “artistic centres”. The fact that the first recorded New Spanish folding screen is from the early years of the seventeenth century opens a debate over key issues in art history.⁸⁷ Firstly,

86 “las abundantes apropiaciones locales del arte asiático revelan la voluntad de alejarse artísticamente de Europa y explorar caminos propios” (Sonia I. Ocaña 2008, 107-153).

87 Sofia Sanabrais points out a folding screen that appears in the inventory of goods in 1617 of Viceroy Luis de Velasco as the first known of New Spanish production. As indicated that the *biombo* was “from the Overseas”, it is logical to think that it was acquired in Mexico before his departure in 1612. Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de la ciudad de Madrid (AHPM), 2320, 21 de septiembre, 1617, 92r-93v; Sanabrais 2006, 69-106. However, after studying other Spanish inventories of goods, we believe this *biombo* could have arrived by way of the Portuguese India route.

one must ask where it was that developed this re-interpretive phenomenon of different Asiatic styles – New Spain, as appears to be the case with the folding screens, or Europe, as has been noted for other types of objects. Once it has been established whether there was a single place of origin – or various, as is more likely – the next challenge for researchers will be to discover what relationships were established between the different productions of national *chinoiserie*, if they produced mutual influences, or if they borrowed from each other.

ECUMENISM IN IMAGES AND TRANS-CONTEXTUALITY IN PORTUGUESE 16TH CENTURY ART: ASIAN REPRESENTATIONS IN *PENTECOSTES* BY THE PAINTER ANTÓNIO LEITÃO IN FREIXO DE ESPADA À CINTA

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Abstract

Following the identification of an unusual 16th century painting forgotten until recently in a chapel in Freixo de Espada à Cinta on the distant frontier of North-east Portugal and an attempt to prepare the biography and gather the pictorial corpus of António Leitão, the gentleman-painter, this article raises a series of issues about the representation of a *Pentecostes* which shows images of Asians. Some of the central aspects mentioned and analysed are the power assumed by the images, the categorisation of Portuguese society itself at the end of the Renaissance and the creation of stereotypes by means of religious images.

Resumo

Através da identificação de uma singular pintura quinhentista até agora esquecida numa capela de Freixo de Espada à Cinta, na fronteira remota do nordeste português, e da tentativa de fazer a biografia e reunir o corpus pictórico do pintor-fidalgo António Leitão, este artigo levanta uma série de questões em torno da representação de um Pentecostes de sua autoria em que surgem imagens de asiáticos. O poder assumido pelas imagens, a categorização da própria sociedade portuguesa do final do Renascimento e a criação de estereótipos por via das imagens de culto são alguns dos eixos centrais equacionados e analisados.

* The author would like to thank all those who have helped in this on-going investigation: Alexandra Curvelo, Alexandra Leitão, Ana Calvo, Ana Cristina Costa Gomes, António Martinho Baptista, Beatriz Albuquerque, Carlos Mendes (Associação Terras Quentes), Fátima Pereira dos Santos, Filipa Raposo Cordeiro, Gonçalo Vasconcelos e Sousa, Isabel Mendonça, Joaquim Inácio Caetano, João Mário Soalheiro, Jorge Guerra Cardoso Duarte, Jorge Estrela, José Artur Pestana, José Meco, José Pessoa, Juan Gil, Lécio da Cruz Leal, Lília Pereira da Silva, Luís Afonso, Luís Alexandre Rodrigues, Luís Filipe Barreto, Luís Filipe Marques da Gama, Manuel Cardoso, Nuno Resende, Pedro Flor, Raquel Seixas, Rui Oliveira Lopes, Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa, Teresa Leonor Vale, Vanessa Antunes and also my father, Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, and Maria Adelina Amorim.

要旨 (アブストラクト)

ポルトガル北東のスペインとの国境に近い Freixo de Espada à Cinta (地名: フレイショ デ エスパダ ア シンタ) のチャペルに非凡な16世紀の絵画が存在する。現在まで注目を浴びなかったその絵画の鑑定、および、その絵画の作者である貴族画家アントニオ レイタオンの伝記編纂と、彼の画作全集を総体化する試みを通して、同画家の作品ペンテコステに描かれるアジア人像の描写について、本稿では一連の論点を提起する。本稿では、評価、分析の中心軸の一端に、以下の主題を据える: 東洋人像の描写より推測される権力、ルネッサンス末期のポルトガル社会階級分類、そして宗教画に見られる固定観念の産物。

Keywords:

António Leitão, Portuguese painting, Orientals, Mannerism

António Leitão, Pintura portuguesa, Orientais, Maneirismo

アントニオ レイタオン、ポルトガル絵画、東洋人

1. An ecumenically minded Descent of the Holy Spirit

The recent identification of a unique 16th century painting that had lain forgotten somewhere in a chapel in Trás-os-Montes has sparked renewed interest in the figure of António Leitão and ecumenical depictions within the artistic context of Portugal.¹

The panel in question is proof positive of the eloquent power assumed by images in Portuguese society from the end of the Renaissance, expressed in a narrative sense that is not only of the (sacred or profane) story represented but of a more imaginative ideological discourse endowed with trans-contextual images that when looked at today reveal precise intentions and redeemable aspects. This excellent Mannerist composition has many deliberate plural senses of a precise idea of *Christian ecumenism*, pretextually incorporated in the choice of a theme, the *Descent of the Holy Spirit on the Virgin and the Apostles*, more commonly known as *Pentecostes*, taken as an original integration of unusual figures next to the Virgin Mary and the apostles Peter and John. This late 16th century panel shows a number of profane

1 "Painel quinhentista identificado em Freixo de Espada à Cinta", item in the newspaper *O Mensageiro*, Bragança, 18 September 2009.

and contemporary figures (some of them possibly portraits), a sort of class harmonisation ranging from the provincial nobility to the merchants, the Franciscan friar, the priest of the Society of Jesus, soldiers, servants, a Maghrebin and four extremely rare depictions of Asians whose features, clothing and poses, characteristically Japanese, all receive the tongues of fire in a convincing display of the testimony of faith preached on an imperial scale in the Old and the New Worlds.

In this painting everything is imaginative and reflected in the multiple iconological and symbolic meanings of the composition. The painting, in a bad state of repair, hangs in the Chapel of Santo António in the town of Freixo de Espada à Cinta. It fully deserves restoration and an integrated study, and its author must be analysed by art historians from a more attentive critical and comparative viewpoint. Little so far is known about the figure and work of this gentleman painter, whose existence was discovered some ninety years ago in a monograph by the historian Vergílio Correia on the panorama of artists and craftsmen active in the city of Lamego.² He was again mentioned, fifty years ago, in a study by the genealogist António Machado de Faria, based on the *de genere* entitlement process of three of his descendants when they applied for a position as members of the Holy Inquisition and had to provide data on “blood purity” and other characterological aspects of their relatives.³ It was only in 1998 that the first specific data was published on works by the painter in churches in Cepões (Lamego) and Vila Nova de Foz Côa.⁴

2. The biography of an unknown 16th century gentleman painter

What have we learnt so far about António Leitão? He was a Portuguese painter whose career, just like his output, are still somewhat mysterious. In his few extant works he shows an irreverent and rebellious stamp, to a

2 Vergílio Correia, *Artistas de Lamego* (Coimbra: 1922), 26-28, mentions the presence of António Leitão as being active in Lamego as a painter in 1565 and 1571.

3 A. Machado de Faria, “Dois pintores quinhentistas de escola estrangeira”, *Arqueologia e História*, vol. X (1961), 183-199. The study was based on information of the steps for membership of the Holy Inquisition by Gregório Rodrigues, the artist’s son-in-law, in 1622, and Dr. António Leitão Homem and Mateus Homem Leitão, the artist’s grandsons, respectively in 1634 and 1638 (ANTT, *Habilitações do Santo Ofício*, António, Maço 6, diligência n.º 247; Gregório, Maço 1, diligência n.º 4; and Mateus, Maço 1m, diligência n.º 6).

4 See Vítor Serrão, “O núcleo de pintura religiosa do Arciprestado de Vila Nova de Foz Côa”, *Foz Côa. Inventário e Memória. Programa de Inventário do Património Cultural Móvel das Paróquias do Arciprestado de Vila Nova de Foz Côa*, coord. João Mário Soalheiro (Instituto Português de Museus and C. M. V. N. Foz Côa, 1999), 68-82, 109-139 and 228-229; and Maria Beatriz Albuquerque, *A Visitação da Capela de Santana – Cepões na Pintura Maneirista da Beira Alta*, Master’s thesis, supervised by Vítor Serrão (Lisbon: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 2002).

certain extent following the proud attitude of the transalpine and Nordic Mannerists. Art historians have only recently begun to recognise and value his personality.

We know that he was born in around 1530 in Castelo Bom, an historic town on the Beira borders (in the municipality of Almeida, district of Guarda), into a family of “noble old Christians on both sides of the family”, who were considered “leading men of the best in the Kingdom”,⁵ who simultaneously (an unusual occurrence!) studied the artistic models of Rome and Antwerp, cities that he visited. We also know that he liked music and hunting and riding, wearing a plumed hat and a gold ring on his finger with the coat of arms of his patron, Infanta D. Maria,⁶ with a proud demeanour, no doubt conscious of his *liberalised* situation, which enabled him to develop a personal stylistic language along the rules of Mannerism, an artistic style then in force in Europe. He was the nephew of Ambassador Domingos Leitão and was also related to another renowned *eupuryensis* (born in Castelo Bom), who was his namesake, had studied at the Sorbonne in 1542 and was professor of philosophy in Santa Bárbara in 1547. In this necessarily incomplete scenario we can imagine the multi-faceted profile of this “servant of Infanta D. Maria” who was a “soldier in Flanders”, who “followed the cause of Dom Antonio”⁷ and who was also a “distinguished painter”, as acknowledged by some of his contemporaries and subsequent sources.⁸

5 As testified on 28 July 1634 by a resident of Pinhel, one Manuel Pinto da Fonseca, aged 65 (ANTT, *Habilitações*, António, diligência n.º 247, fl. 24). Another Pinhel testifier, Jerónimo de Herédia Barbosa, said that the artist’s grandson, who was applying to be a member, “came from the Leitões of Castello Bom, leading men of the best in the Kingdom and all known to be old Christians with no trace of Moor, Jew or other disreputable nation...” (*ibidem*, fl. 29v).

6 According to reports gathered after his death, António Leitão lived for some time in Castelo Bom on his return from Flanders. He and his wife Luzia dos Reis lived there in a mansion house suited to the Leitões, “nobles on both sides of the family”, his high social standing was mentioned, as he had a mule and a horse, was “served at table by many servants” and always appeared in public with his “green velvet hat with a gold braid and a large gold ring with the coat of arms of the Infanta” (ANTT, *Habilitações*, António, Diligência n.º 247).

7 The testimony of 18 August 1634 by Father António Velho of Lamego, who was 71 years of age and had known the painter and Luzia dos Reis, attests to his being a follower of D. António, Prior do Crato, for which reason they fled to Bragança (ANTT, *Habilitações*, António, Diligência n.º 247, fls. 15-16).

8 Father Sebastião Gonçalves Raposo, the parish priest of São João de Bragança, testified in the proceedings for the qualification of the apothecary Gregório Rodrigues, the artist’s son in law, on 31 March 1622, saying that he had known “Antonio leitão and luzia dos reis” for “approximately forty years ... and that he was a distinguished painter and said to be noble and honoured who had come from Lameguo at the time of the changes” (ANTT, *ibidem*, *Habilitações*, Gregório, diligência n.º 4, fl. 11). António Dias, who testified in the qualifications of Dr. António Leitão Homem, the Canon of Lamego Cathedral, said on 16 August 1634 that he “met Antonio Leitão who was a very good painter” (ANTT, *Habilitações*, António, Diligência n.º 247, fl. 7v).

What we do know is that António Leitão was the (supposedly illegitimate) son of the nobleman João Gonçalves Leitão of Castelo Bom, and was raised in the town of Pinhel in the house of António Marmeleiro da Costa and Lucrécia Leitão Barbosa, where he spent his adolescence,⁹ having soon after moved to the capital with the support of his uncle, the ambassador, Domingos Leitão. The latter was his father's brother and an eminent figure of Portuguese diplomacy in the time of D. João III. By his hand the young António was able to move to Lisbon and enter the service of Infanta D. Maria. Domingos Leitão was a gentleman knight of the Infanta's Household and her diplomatic emissary abroad; he was appointed a knight of the Order of Christ in 1571 and served as ambassador during particularly troubled times in European politics. Linked to the entourage of the Infanta, for whom he acted as representative and also executor, he served in her household in Flanders and in France, having also been consul in Antwerp, and always considered a "person of great quality".¹⁰ In 1562, António was in effect in the household of the Infanta who was indeed a patron of the arts and a major character of Portuguese humanism, where he served as her chamberlain.

No doubt aware of gifts shown by the young man, the Infanta paid for a training period in Rome where he could learn the art of painting. In an undated letter sent by Queen D. Catarina of Austria to Lourenço Pires de Távora, her ambassador in Rome, she recommends "Antonio Leitão, chamberlain of Infanta D. Maria... who will be going to that court to practise the art of painting".¹¹ Little is known as yet about his sojourn in the papal city apart from what is inferred from the letter sent to Ambassador Lourenço Pires de Távora, but it is obvious that Leitão's passage through Rome – following in the footsteps of other Portuguese artists who had trained there, such as Francisco de Holanda, António Campelo, Gaspar Dias and Baptista, the latter at the service of the Princess of Eboli¹² – involved him in the

9 As testified in 1622 by Sister Guiomar dos Reis, abbess of the monastery of São Luís de Pinhel, aged 70, who said she knew the artist well (ANTT, *Habilitações*, António, Diligência n.º 247, fl. 26).

10 Domingos Leitão, son of Gonçalo Martins do Carvalhal and Filipa Leitão, was married to D. Cecília de Góis da Silveira and died in Bordeaux, his remains having been transferred to the church of Castelo Bom, cf. Cristóvão Alão de Morais, "Leitões Barbosas", in *Pedatura Lusitana*, t. III, vol. II, (Porto: 1945), and Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *A Infanta D. Maria e a sua fortuna no Sul de França* (Lisbon: 1955).

11 Cf. Visconde de Santarém, *Quadros Elementares das Relações Políticas e Diplomáticas de Portugal*, vol. XIII (Lisbon: 1876), 223; José da Silva Mendes Leal, in *Corpo Diplomático Português*, vol. IX (Lisbon: 1886), 149; and F. M. de Sousa Viterbo, *Notícia de alguns pintores portugueses...*, I series (Lisbon: 1903), 100. The letter, which is undated, is from 1562, the year when the ambassador ended his term of office.

12 On this Italianised artistic environment and relations between Portuguese painters and Italian centres, cf. Vítor Serrão, "El Manierismo en la pintura portuguesa: los artistas y su contexto

aesthetic language of the *Bella Maniera*. Here he admired not only what was produced in the predominant Michelangelo-like circles headed by Daniele da Volterra, but the art of the brothers Taddeo and Federico Zuccari, Girolamo Siciolante da Sermoneta (who inspired Salzedo, author of the retable at Jerónimos) and also the '*fiamminghi*' who trained there, such as Michiel Coxie, who influenced him.¹³ Some of the repertoires and plastic solutions of this artistic environment, which the painter combined with what he also learnt in Lisbon and Antwerp – in other words, he lived in three of the most important centres of coeval Europe and from them gained, although in a lesser tone, proposals, information and ideas – would make themselves felt in the works he produced for some of his religious clients in Beira Alta and Trás-os-Montes, although nothing is known about his profane themes for private markets.

In the meantime, António Leitão served as a soldier in the Spanish armies in Flanders during the wars against the Protestants and passed through Bordeaux and cities in the Low Countries, either with his diplomat uncle,¹⁴ or on missions at the service of Infanta D. Maria. He also spent some time in Antwerp, where he married Luzia dos Reis, a very beautiful Flemish lady, on a date that is not known. The depositions made in Bragança during the *de genere* inquiries into the descendants of the artist recall that Luzia dos Reis was "a very beautiful lady" and so, it was said, also painted, even if this served mainly a qualificative for one who, as the wife of a renowned painter, surely handled his business and the payment of commissions.¹⁵ After accompanying his uncle on several missions, he settled in Portugal. Between 1564 and 1580, he lived for times in Lamego, Pinhel and Castelo Bom, mainly in the first of these places, where the couple owned houses near Santa Maria de Almacave. He was at court at the service of the Infanta, his protector,

socio-cultural", in *El modelo italiano en las artes plásticas de la Península Ibérica durante el Renacimiento*, coordinated by Professor Maria José Redondo Cantera (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2004), 41-76.

13 Cf. the exhibition catalogue *Fiamminghi a Roma, 1508-1608. Artistes des Pays-Bas et de la Principauté de Liège a Rome a la Renaissance*, coordinated by Nicole Dacos Crifó and Bert W. Maijer (Brussels: 2005). About Michiel Coxie from Malines (1499-1592), see pp. 169-173.

14 In 1571, Domingos Leitão was in Bordeaux buying certain goods from two Englishmen of Bristol on the orders of D. Sebastião. It is hardly possible, however, that he should have been accompanied on this date by his nephew, who had, in the meantime, settled in Lamego and was painting in this city.

15 In the deposition by Maria Gonçalves, heard at the *de genere* process of António Leitão Homem (ANTT, *Habilitações...*, diligência n.º 247), it is said that Luzia dos Reis was "very well-disposed and very beautiful." The depositions of Francisco Dias da Fonseca and Maria Gonçalves of Castelo Bom (entitlement process of the Bragança apothecary Gregório Rodrigues, knight of the House of Braganza, married to António Leitão's daughter) say that Luzia dos Reis was also a painter.

although the homonymy prevents us from knowing whether the painter could be linked to other people with the same name who are recorded in royal chanceries, such as for example one António Leitão who was a character witness for Damião de Góis in 1572 at the time of the famous inquisition proceedings that sentenced the humanist and who is mentioned therein as “a master who taught young girls” (in this case, one must take into account the link and possible relationship of the famous writer with the diplomat Domingos Leitão and his wife Cecília de Góis).¹⁶ The same could be said for other homonyms recorded in the chanceries of D. Sebastião and D. Henrique. There is much that remains to be investigated in the life of the enigmatic gentleman painter.

In addition to what we have gleaned from his artistic output in Lamego and its environs so far, there is not much else that we know about what he did in these years of a prosperous and relatively calm life. We do know that the artist's support for the unfortunate candidate to the throne, D. António, Prior do Crato, in the troubled months in 1580 and 1581, caused the couple and their children to seek self-imposed exile in the town of Bragança. He was nevertheless identified as a supporter of the defeated claimant, a fact that was still remembered thirty years after his death, although he was left alone and continued somewhat discreetly to paint, having the reputation of “distinguished painter”. An old man of 104 from Bragança, the hospitaller Simão Rodrigues, said in his testimony that he had actually met the couple, and the Licentiate João Teixeira added that they had died a long time before and were both buried in the church of S. João Baptista.¹⁷ The painter had two sons who were canons of Miranda do Douro Cathedral: Belchior Leitão and João Homem Leitão,¹⁸ and a daughter called Maria Leitoa who married

16 The inquisition process of Damião de Góis was published and studied by Raul Rego, *O Processo de Damião de Góis na Inquisição* (Lisbon: 1972). It could, however, be a case of homonymy as the signature of this António Leitão, teacher of young girls, does not coincide with the one we know of the painter from Castelo Bom. There were in fact other men with this name during the time of D. Sebastião and under the kings of Spain, as one can see from briefly consulting the indices of the royal chanceries. The one analysed here is always mentioned as a painter attached to the house of the Infanta, who was his protector.

17 ANTT, *Habilitações...*, António, Diligência n.º 247, fls. 46 to 52v. The oldest parish record books in the parish of São João Baptista (in Arquivo Distrital de Bragança) date to 1608 and the death entries bear no record of the couple, leading us to infer that they both died before that date.

18 In August 1634, in the entitlement process of Dr. António Leitão Homem, the school master Pedro Garcia, aged fifty-five, wrote in his deposition: “...said Maria Leitoa being forty five to fifty years of age came to this city of Miranda do Douro where she had her canon brothers” (ANTT, *Habilitações...*, António, Diligência n.º 247, fl. 36v), so we can conclude that Leitão and his wife and daughter came to Bragança from Miranda in about 1585. In 1588 fathers João Homem Leitão and Belchior Leitão are mentioned in Miranda documentation as canons of the See and the references continue until the 1720s (Arquivo Distrital de Bragança, *Arquivos Diocesanos* –

the apothecary Gregório Rodrigues, knight of the Order of Christ. This daughter, who lived in Bragança, gave the artist two grandsons, António Leitão Homem, a doctor of Law and Canons of Coimbra University and also a judge, who died in 1659, and Mateus Homem Leitão, vicar of the parish church of Torre de Moncorvo – which reveals the symptomatic vocational weight of the clergy in the offspring of the Leitão family and also helps reconstitute part of their circle of contacts and commissioners.

His final years as a painter, in both oils and frescoes, were lived in the lands in and around Bragança. He worked mainly for religious clients, but possibly also for other markets in the neighbouring bishoprics of Zamora and Leon, as these were the times under the Spanish kings, and despite António Leitão's political allegiance to the Prior do Crato, reasons of survival and his own merits led him no doubt to be active in such lands.¹⁹ The painter António Leitão died in his properties in the parish of São João Baptista in Bragança on a date that is not known but certainly after 1595. His wife Luzia dos Reis died soon after. There are depositions to this effect in the entitlements dated 1622 and 1638 in which various elderly people of Bragança who had met the “*Flemish*” couple, as they were usually called, mention them with liking and even sympathy, but always as a distant and diffuse memory, as people who had died a long time before. New research into the so-far badly prospected Bragança archives may further clarify certain facets of the last activity of our artist.

It is possible (although there are no concrete facts on this subject) that whilst at court in Lisbon António Leitão may have come across such well-known figures of contemporary culture and art as the poet Luís de Camões, the treatise writer Francisco de Holanda, the painter and calligrapher Giraldo Fernandes de Prado and the illuminator António Fernandes (all with connections to the court of the Infanta D. Maria), the architect Jerónimo de Ruão (who designed the Infant's major works in Carnide), and the painters Campelo (author of a portrait of the Infanta), Diogo Teixeira (who worked on Luz Church) and Cristóvão Vaz (a painter who was a servant in the house of Infanta D. Maria),²⁰ or even Gaspar Dias and the Andalusians Lourenço

Mitra, cf., for example, *L.º 79 de Rec. e Despesa da Sé de Miranda do Douro*, fl. 71, and *L.º 3.º de Acórdãos, 1606-1625*, fls. 12v and 29).

19 In this regard, see the doctoral thesis of Irune Fiz Fuertes, *Pintura sobre tabla en el Siglo XVI en la Antigua Diócesis de Zamora*, monitored by Professor Maria José Redondo Cantera (Universidad de Valladolid: 2009), mentioning many painters and frontier contacts, although there are no references to our own António Leitão.

20 Cf. Vítor Serrão, “O pintor Cristóvão Vaz, mestre dos retábulos da Igreja da Misericórdia de Sintra (1581-1584)”, *Boletim Cultural da Assembleia Distrital de Lisboa*, directed by Maria Micaela Soares, III series, n.º 85 (1979): 3-48, and Margarida Rodrigues, “Um novo testemunho

de Salzedo and Francisco Venegas (the latter painted the retable panels of the Church-Pantheon of the Infanta, Nossa Senhora da Luz). All these artists engaged in an artistic language that followed Italianising Mannerism, often with accents of rebellion and great awareness of their status of liberalness, as was characteristic of artistic movements of the time. António Leitão was part of this reference framework that fostered the discourse of *all'antico* and the study of fine arts, and one can imagine that his personality was moulded when in contact with this exceptional ambience. Around the Infanta D. Maria, daughter of D. Manuel I, “the Fortunate”, and a grand lady of Christian humanism, there gravitated a court of learned and artistic men, a court that throbbed with humanistic and neo-Platonic debates on such themes as the deepening of spirituality at a time of ferocious religious struggles, on the one hand, and the discovery of the New Worlds, on the other, which helps explain Leitão’s pictorial choices. The court of the Infanta was very open to the fascinations of the East and she not only collected pieces from the overseas territories in Asia but also developed and assimilated knowledge of the New Worlds, in a sense in which crusading was subordinate to the contemplative idea of study, full knowledge of the communities and their uses and customs; she was even portrayed with a Japanese fan in her hands, the first time it had ever happened in Europe. As Carla Alferes Pinto says, the Infanta contributed in her entourage to “unite the two parts of the world in the light of the lessons of Christian humanism”.²¹

It is possible that the environment of the Infanta’s circle marked the tastes and the style of this adventurous and almost Romanesque character of his time, a gentleman painter and also a soldier in the war against the Protestants, possibly a spy for D. Maria and his uncle’s assistant when on diplomatic missions. As the result of erratic training between Antwerp and Rome, this allowed him to develop a loose, “modern” discourse which is very interesting in its personal interpretation of the rules of Mannerism.²²

3. The Retable of the Church of Misericórdia in Lamego

There are few paintings identified as having been produced by António Leitão but what we do know is interesting, certainly in the context of the Portuguese Mannerist output outside Lisbon, in which he acquires some

de liberalização da arte da Pintura no tempo de Camões: o alvará de 1577 ao pintor Cristóvão Vaz”, *Artis – Revista do Instituto de História da Arte*, n.º 3 (2004): 347-352.

21 Carla Alferes Pinto, *Infanta D. Maria de Portugal (1521-1577). O Mecenato de uma Princesa Renascentista* (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 1999).

22 *Ibidem*.

prominence, comparable to that of Bernardo Manuel in Coimbra, or Francisco João in Évora.

He painted the unusual retable panel with the scene of the *Pentecostes*, identified in a chapel in the town of Freixo de Espada-à-Cinta, mentioned earlier. Other works can be found in the Chapel of Sant'Ana de Cepões (Lamego) and in the parish church of Vila Nova de Foz Côa, the land of Rui Gomes da Silva, Prince of Eboli. They are now going to be valorised and will provide distinctive data about his personality and stylistic characterisation.

In addition to the many references gathered by the artist during his Roman sojourn along the models of the Italian-Flemish *Bella Maniera*, the result of the artistic environment in which he participated *de visu*, Leitão's work also shows stylistic influences of the best Portuguese Mannerist works, which he knew well. Examples include the main retable in the church of Santa Maria de Belém, painted by Lourenço de Salzedo in 1570-1572, which inspired him (in this case in extremely modern moulds!) in certain models and recipes that were formally "more evolved", when painting the boards of the retable of Vila Nova de Foz Côa. These include the *Christ deposited from the Cross*, where the sinuous drawing of the dead Christ is a reference to Salzedo's model in the painting in Jerónimos. He was also aware of the contributions of Renaissance Zamora, having implied (given what we see in his representations of the *Passion of Christ*) that he was familiar with certain works by Lorenzo de Ávila and Luís del Castillo, more "normalised", or even by Cristóbal de Colmenares, more formally agitated,²³ nor was he indifferent, naturally, to the more traditionalist models of the great Beira paintings of the first half of the 16th century by Grão Vasco and his co-painters, which he was able to admire in the cathedrals of Lamego and Viseu and in various churches of Beira and Trás-os-Montes.

By 1564 the painter António Leitão was already living in the city of Lamego with his Flemish wife. In the last months of that year and the first months of 1565, he painted a large panel with the *Visitation of the Virgin to Saint Elizabeth*, to be placed on the altar of the first church of Santa Casa da Misericórdia in Lamego and which many years later was moved to the village of Cepões, near Lamego, where it now adorns the Chapel of Santa Ana.²⁴ This is a most beautiful Mannerist painting of Italian and Flemish influence which proves the artist's qualities and personalisms; he was a man

23 Fuertes 2009; Irune Fiz Fuertes, "Nuevas obras del pintor Cristóbal de Colmenares. La asimilación de las novedades berruguéticas en la Diócesis de León", *De Arte*, n.º 1 (2002): 65-74.

24 Maria Beatriz Albuquerque, *A Visitação da Capela de Santana – Cepões na Pintura Maneirista da Beira Alta*, 2 vols., Master's dissertation, supervised by Vítor Serrão (Lisbon: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 2002).

with a very restless, undisciplined style, filled with whims and formal daring, typical of a Mannerist with an international culture. On the date of its discovery by Beatriz Albuquerque, the painting was in very bad condition and was treated and studied by this conservation and restoration expert. It has confirmed the painter's creative merits, his taste for warm colours, his control of a large plastic culture based on references of the *Bella Maniera* gathered by him in the Italian and Flemish centres where he studied in Rome, Antwerp and Lisbon, and helped to understand more clearly the extent of his contemporaries' praise. This, then, is a painter who composed with broad strokes, stirring the groups of figures with skilful foreshortening, using deliberate distortions that artistically enhance the episode of Marian iconography and gives it a compositional dynamic that, not by chance, was reproved by some of the members of the Santa Casa, who then imposed a number of alterations which the author was forced to introduce before he was able to receive quittance for the work.

The panel was the central and largest part of the old retablo of Misericórdia Church in Lamego. It was painted by António Leitão in 1564-65; in the late 18th century it survived the alterations to the church when the entire retabular set was taken down; some time later, the painting was delivered or sold to serve as decoration for the altar of the humble Chapel of Santa Ana in the village of Cepões, within the limits of Lamego. It is painted on chestnut wood and measures 2040mm high × 1100mm wide. It underwent in-depth conservation and restoration work in 1998-2000 in the laboratory of Tomar Polytechnic, with a scientific study by Beatriz Albuquerque.²⁵

In this large panel by António Leitão, one can find a direct echo of the models of Grão Vasco, the Viseu painter Vasco Fernandes. This is particularly visible in the *Visitação* which he painted in 1506-1511 for the great retablo of the high altar in Lamego Cathedral, a commission by Bishop D. João Camelo de Madureira. This work was very likely admired by Leitão who adhered to the composition formula when he composed the painting for the Misericórdia about fifty years later.²⁶ Despite it, the plastic discourse of Leitão's painting showed raised poses, acid chromatic effects, frozen movements and deforming whims of plans, fanciful architecture, multiple vanish-

25 Victor Gaspar, the conservation and restoration expert, and António Ventura, the photography expert, among others, examined the item at the Physics and Chemistry Lab of Tomar Technology School, with a study by Beatriz Albuquerque. The painting's X-rays and infrared photographs showed the primitive position of the Virgin Mary and of Saint Anne that had been profoundly altered between the original and the later aspect the painter gave it.

26 On the *Visitação* from the old retablo in Lamego Cathedral, see Dalila Rodrigues, exhibition catalogue *Grão Vasco e a Pintura Europeia do Renascimento* (Lisbon: CNCDP, 1994), 126-127, and the classic study by Vergílio Correia, *Vasco Fernandes mestre do retábulo da Sé de Lamego* (Coimbra: 1924).

ing points and ambiguous relations of values. As Beatriz Albuquerque rightly points out, the spatial register of this *Visitação da Virgem a Santa Isabel* is “confused, with mysterious mists, and unstable, an instability caused by the ruins which contradict classical naturalism where the surroundings are real, properly defined and even minutely detailed.”²⁷ So, when the time came for the artist to be paid his last instalment, the board demanded that he “correct” a series of compositional aspects, which he did, for he only received final quittance (as detected at the time of the laboratory study) after having carried out the requisite alterations to the figure drawings. He was asked to modify the “*faces of Our Lady of Visitation*”, expressly referred in the quittance, which were in fact altered to the Director’s liking, and the figure of the “*King of Portugal*” under Our Lady’s mantle, a reference the scene of *Mater Omnium*, probably in the upper part of the retable or in the predella. We were unable to assess said alterations to these examples as these other panels of the retable have disappeared. The painter was very young at the time of this commission and so was restricted by a number of provisions with which he had to comply. In this painting, the figures of Our Lady and Saint Isabel have changed positions, there are traces of another head that was erased and repainted and even on the pictorial layer itself we observe various hesitations of the paintbrush and obvious corrections²⁸ – making this panel of *Visitação da Virgem a Santa Isabel*, also in terms of that aspect of its specific phasing, an invaluable document that testifies to the complex process entailed in producing a 16th century panel, so often subject to constant impositions by the clients...

The authorship of this panel, among other proof, is based on a priceless deed of quittance included in the *Livro de Contas da Misericórdia de Lamego*, made known by Vergílio Correia, which says that:

“aos xj dias de janeiro de 1565 anos na casa do cabido da Mis^a, estando juntos o pvd^or e irmãos e Amt^o leitam pintor, fizerõ conta do dr^o do retavollo asi da pintura como do ouro e acharõ que a casa lhe ficava devendo nove mil cento e cincoenta rs de dous mil e quinhentos pães douro e duseros de prata e duzentos rs de quebra de humas moedas que lhe derõ, em que se montou os ditos nove mil e cento e Lta rs que loguo recebeu e cõ elles se deu por bem paguo, entregue e satisfeito, e a casa e provedor e irmãos delle declararõ que ho que fosse pera cõcertar na pintura dele que elle

27 Albuquerque 2002, 162.

28 See the analytical file by the same author, “Visitação da Virgem a sua prima Isabel”, in the exhibition catalogue *O Compasso da Terra. A Arte enquanto caminho para Deus*, vol. I (Lamego: Diocese de Lamego, 2006), 160-163.

o faria, e cõ isso a casa ficou contente e satisfeita e do derõ a elle por quite e livre e desobrigado da pintura e ouro e de tudo o q. elle era obrigado, e por verdade se mandou fazer este asento por todos asinado, e eu o L.do Amt^o de gouvea escrivã da casa que o escrevi no dito mês e era acima dita, e declarõ que as obras da Mis^a que estão no banco elle lhe daria mais lustro, e os Rostos de nosa Snõra da visitaçõ e ellRej de portugal cõcertaria, e asinaram aqui.”²⁹

This retable of Lamego Misericórdia included other panels in addition to this surviving one, all painted on chestnut wood. The whole included the *Visitation* in the centre; some *Stations of the Cross* on the sides; at the top a panel with Nossa Senhora da Misericórdia (Our Lady of Mercy); to wit, a succession of small predella panels with the seven *Obras da Misericórdia* decorated the bank on the lower part. Only the large central panel has survived to our days. We gather from Lamego documentation that some figures not being to the liking of the brotherhood, in January 1565 the painter had to alter various details of the retable, namely in the large central panel as was recently verified in the physical study of the painting. At the end of the 18th century another retable of neoclassical taste was painted, which in the tribune included a large canvas from Lisbon by the painter Pedro Alexandrino de Carvalho (1730-1810), in the classical style and of excellent quality, which replaced the 1565 retable and which today is in Lamego Museum.

Let us return to the life of the artist during his years in Lamego. On 30 October 1567, the painter and his Flemish wife rented some houses next to Santa Maria de Almacave, for one generation, from Lamego Cathedral Chapter.³⁰ Four years later the board of Lamego Misericórdia paid António Leitão 4.000 rs for certain works done for the Santa Casa, such as a processional banner which has disappeared:

“...de pymtar sete varas e de pymtar o crucefixo da bandr^a e a cruz e de pymtar o crucefixo grande e de pintar as imagens dos altares e a bandeirinha que anda plla cidade os dias que se tiram as allmas do purgatorio e de dourar e rapar a caxinha para encerar o santissimo sacram.to e do ouro p^a ella que foram trezentos pães de ouro.”³¹

29 Arquivo da Misericórdia de Lamego, *L.º de Contas da Misericórdia de Lamego, 1565*, pp. 89v-90; cf. Vergílio Correia, *Artistas de Lamego* (Coimbra: 1922), 26-28.

30 ANTT, *Cabido da Sé de Lamego, L.º 120, Notas de 1567-1616*, fl. 18-19v. (unpublished). Also see Arquivo do Cabido da Sé de Lamego, Livro 1.º de Baptismos de Santa Maria de Almacave, 1571-1662 (cx. 19, n.º 8), fl. 96v (1-XI-1575, unpublished).

31 Arquivo da Misericórdia de Lamego, *L.º de Contas da Mis.ª de 1570-1571*, fl. 88; cf. Correia 1922, 28.

At that time, António Leitão spent part of the year in Lamego but also in his houses in Castelo Bom, and it is possible that together with his colleague, Domingos Pinheiro, he constituted a sort of artistic vanguard in the local market panorama, at least in comparison with the more traditionalistic art of the preceding generation, such as Bastião Afonso, for instance, still tied to a tardy taste in the style of “Grão Vasco”, greatly popularised by the acceptance of Beira clients. The painter and his wife lived in dwellings next to Santa Maria de Almacave and also had a «campo» assigned for a limited period to the Cathedral Chapter for 60 rs rent.³² On 17 March 1584 a lease of dwellings made by António Leitão, who gave his address as living in Rua da Cruz Dourada in Lamego, tells us that these dwellings with their stores would be leased for four years to a Lamego man called Duarte Vaz for the sum of 9.500 rs.³³ In August 1567 Domingos Pinheiro, the said painter, also lived in houses near the church of Santa Maria de Almacave, close to Leitão’s houses. This artist from out of town worked for the Chapter, who knows whether in association with Leitão;³⁴ no works of his remain to give us an idea of his style, although we know he was active in Braga, years later: in 1571 Domingos Pinheiro lived in this city, and in 1573 he painted a retable (which has disappeared) for the high altar of the Church of Santa Maria de Viana da Foz do Lima.³⁵ Among other artists and artisans who might have been associated with Leitão during those years, we also come across the name of André Gonçalves, who in October 1567 also lived in houses by the Church of Santa Maria de Almacave.³⁶

Little is known about this post-Grão Vasco artistic environment in the lands of the Lamego and Viseu dioceses but from what we do know and in view of the artistic quality shown in the Cepões panel, the last third of the 16th century was a culturally and artistically relevant era in Beira production.

4. The retabular assignment in the Church of Vila Nova de Foz Côa

Another interesting Mannerist work on the Beira borders is the set of nine paintings which made up the former main retable of the parish church

32 ANTT, *Almacave*, 13-2, fl. 441v; cf. M. Gonçalves da Costa, *História do Bispado e Cidade de Lamego*, vol. III (Lamego: 1982), 341.

33 Arquivo Distrital de Viseu, *L.º 439/58, Notas de Diogo de Moraes, 1584*, pp. 43-44. The term is signed by António Leitão (unpublished).

34 ANTT, *L.º 97 de Prazos do Cabido da Sé de Lamego, 1561-67*, pp. 9v to 11 (unpublished).

35 Arquivo Distrital de Braga, *Tabelião Público Geral, L.º 3 de Notas de António Bravo*, pp. 129v-130v; e *L.º 17 de Notas de Francisco Campelo*, fls. 116v to 118 (unpublished).

36 ANTT, *L.º 120 de Notas do Cabido da Sé de Lamego*, pp. 567 et seq., pp. 7-8 (unpublished).

of Vila Nova de Foz Côa, painted by António Leitão, in about 1575. All, except for one, have been adapted to the Baroque decoration of the sides of the main chapel framed by elaborate 18th century gilt wood carvings.

As with the *Visitação* (1564-1565) in the chapel of Santa Ana de Cepões (Lamego), and the *Pentecostes* in the Chapel of Santo António in Freixo de Espada à Cinta, these Mannerist boards are a very valuable work by António Leitão. It was an important commission, given the prominence of the town for which it was destined, one that enjoyed the protection of D. Rui Gomes da Silva (1516-1573), the famous prince of Eboli. Born in Chamusca, he was the son of Francisco da Silva and D. Maria de Noronha, daughter of the third count of Unhão;³⁷ he was Duke of Pastrana, Francavila and Estremera and a major figure in peninsular politics in the second third of the 1600s.³⁸ The controversial husband of the Princess of Eboli, D. Ana de Mendoza de La Cerda, was a Spanish grandee, major-domo of the household of Infanta D. Isabel, wife of the Emperor Charles V, superintendent of La Hacienda, a favourite of Philip II and leader of the so-called “peace party”, which was opposed to the bellicose faction of the Duke of Alba and its cruel practices during the wars in Flanders. We know that Rui Gomes da Silva (who in his political life would naturally have come into contact with Ambassador Domingos Leitão) endowed the Portuguese towns under his jurisdiction with various gifts, paying for works and improvements in the churches. It is quite likely that the alterations done to the main chapel of the parish church of Vila Nova de Foz Côa were sponsored by this aristocrat. We know that a forebear of his, also called Rui Gomes da Silva, was the fifth lord of Chamusca, Ulme, Nespereira and Vila Nova de Foz Côa at the time of Henry the Navigator and gave these lands many gifts, including vestments, books and other liturgical items.³⁹

This now dismantled main retable has nine paintings. Originally, they were disposed in three superimposed layers. The larger panels represent *The Flagellation of Christ*, *Christ carrying the Cross*, *The Calvary*, *The Descent from the Cross*, *The Deposition in the Tomb* and *The Resurrection of Christ*; on

37 On Rui Gomes da Silva, see, among other studies: José Adriano de Carvalho, “Benfeitores dos Franciscanos Observantes portugueses em tempo de Frei João da Póvoa”, *Via Spiritus*, n.º 6 (1999): 227-231; Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão, *O Reinado de D. António, Prior do Crato*, vol. I (Coimbra: 1956); and Kate O’Brien, *That Lady – history of the princess of Eboli* (London: 1946); António Herrera Casado, *La princesa de Éboli: una guía para descubrirla: un manual para seguir sus pasos por Castilla* (Aachen: 2002).

38 Cf., among others, Guillermo Rocafor, *El Príncipe de Eboli*, ed. Multimédia (Madrid: 2009). As lord of Pastrana, Rui Gomes da Silva was probably responsible for the donation to Philip II of the famous tapestries alluding to the conquest of Arzila, which were later given by the Mendoza family to the Pastrana Collegiate.

39 Felgueiras Gayo, *Nobiliário das Famílias de Portugal*, vol. IX (Braga: 1990), n.º 396 and 406.

the predella are *Jesus entering Jerusalem*, *Jesus in the Garden* and *The Last Supper*.⁴⁰ With the exception of the *Resurrection*, which is still in the sacristy, the other eight panels can be found hanging on the side walls of the main chapel for, at the time of the Baroque works when the church was redecorated, at the start of the 18th century, they were still considered a valuable work of art and were reframed and included in the side wall decorations surrounded by gilt wood carvings.

As with the Cepões painting, the restoration works on the Foz Côa paintings, instigated by João Maria Soalheiro in 1999-2000,⁴¹ revealed an artist of evident merit and with a personalised style, who followed formulas of Italian-Flemish Mannerism and was characterised by a personal stylistic language, with loose, disorderly drawing, repeating occasional errors of figuration and recipes for fabric modelling and very free colouring, with open tones of green, yellow, red and pink revealing a rebellious temperament. Throughout the artist's work we see repeated a typology in the drawing of raised figures and also precise models. The backgrounds with loose, luminous chromatism and variations in green, brown and earth colours, include small moving figures, painted on directly with the brush, as is the case of the agitated multitude of little figures in *Jesus entering Jerusalem*. The feeling of unreality and deliberate deformation of the Renaissance canon can often be verified in the way the second plans interfere in the apparent narrative tranquillity of the religious scenes, agitating the poses and multiplying proposals of scenic animation.

In António Leitão's pictorial style we see the predominance of a taste that is not yet that of *pittura senza tempo* (characteristic of the major serial productions of the Catholic Counter-Reformation at the time of Sixtus V and subsequent Popes) but a sort of fidelity to the rules of the *Bella Maniera*, which develops in poses of unstable equilibrium, disregarding the rules of accuracy and doctrinaire decorum, and with a taste for capricious anti-Renaissance drawing that is not always correct but endowed with a wisdom that attests to an artist who had travelled. Leitão's drawing is an idiom of exaggerations on a Cyclopic scale, unreal elongations, fresh luminous colours, deformed architecture, frozen gestures, unstable plans, deviations from perspective and the compositional order, a mute dialogue of small personages,

40 Cf. Vitor Serrão, "O núcleo de pintura religiosa do Arciprestado de Vila Nova de Foz Côa", *Foz Côa. Inventário e Memória. Programa de Inventário do Património Cultural Móvel das Paróquias do Arciprestado de Vila Nova de Foz Côa*, coordinated by João Mário Soalheiro (Vila Nova de Foz Côa: Instituto Português de Museus and C. M. V. N. Foz Côa, 1999), 68-82, 109-139 and 228-229; Vitor Serrão, "A pintura maneirista no Nordeste transmontano, entre periferismos e modernidade: algumas contribuições", *Cadernos Terras Quentes*, n.º 1 (2004): 59-82.

41 Cf. the «restoration note», in *Foz Côa. Inventário e Memória*, 228-229.

agitated plans, but, all things considered, it is these temperamental strokes of the artist, his personal style and restless nature that give him his artistic force and enable us to take a renewed contemporary look at his works.

António Leitão's vehemently Mannerist taste is softened in some of his compositions by his having remained faithful to Renaissance canons, probably due to indications set by his clients in Foz Côa, as they were more faithful to tradition. This can be seen in his use of prints by Lucas van Leyden when composing scenes such as the *Flagellation of Christ* or the *Deposition in the Tomb*, and when he takes up the more traditionalist (read in the manner of those of Ferreirim and Grão-Vasco) solutions in scenes such as *The Last Supper*; particularly in the order and stability of the main group surrounding Jesus mounted on the donkey, and as regards the angelical glory of *The Resurrection*, with references to the works of the Masters of Ferreirim. The Romanised drawing of the undulating and elegantly posed figures in *The Descent from the Cross* is a reference to the deformative aesthetics of an artist such as Lourenço de Salzedo in the central panel of the retable in the main altar of the Monastery of Jerónimos (1570-1572)⁴², a panel that Leitão had certainly admired quite recently in the capital for it was an absolute novelty, confirming that there was a certain sense of keeping up to date with Romanised aesthetic references.

The study, restoration cleaning and revaluation of these paintings from the parish church of Vila Nova de Foz Côa have redeemed aspects and characteristics of style of a hitherto unknown artist and we now see that from then on, similar easel paintings as well as frescoes would naturally be identified in churches in the Beira and Trás-os-Montes border country, such as for instance the case of the *Pentecostes* in Freixo de Espada à Cinta. The Foz Côa set of paintings, moreover, has significantly re-evaluated the region's artistic heritage, greatly enhanced by the site of Palaeolithic paintings but which, in the end, also has important added value that must be identified and fostered at the heart of an integrated development plan.

5. *Pentecostes* in Freixo de Espada à Cinta

For some years now the technical team of the Associação Cultural Terras Quentes has been drawing up the *Sacred Art Inventory of the Bragança-Miranda Diocese* under a protocol signed in 2006 with Bragança-Miranda

42 On this panel by Salzedo, see Cármén Olazabal Almada, Luís Tovar Figueira and Vítor Serrão, "Lourenço de Salzedo, pintor do retábulo do Mosteiro dos Jerónimos, 1570-1572", in *História e Restauro da pintura do Retábulo-mor do Mosteiro dos Jerónimos* (Lisbon: IPPAR and BCP, 2000), 15-77.

Diocese. So far, many hundreds of items have been recorded and identified in churches, chapels, shrines and oratories in the district of Bragança.⁴³ Innumerable pieces and documentary funds have been explored and made known to the public through this invaluable inventory work.

The novelties listed include the identification of the late 16th century retable we have been mentioning, and also an unusual oil painting on chestnut wood with the scene of the *Pentecostes*, or the *Descent of the Holy Spirit on the Virgin and the Apostles*. It measures 1.53 high by 1.08 metres wide and lay forgotten and in disrepair in the sacristy of the chapel of Santo António in Freixo de Espada à Cinta. This is a small temple bearing the date 1731 on the façade although its interior has traces of 16th century characteristics (note the triumphal arch in carved stone and the coffered vaulted ceiling in the main chapel). The remaining contents, such as the altar of São Bartolomeu, dated 1648, and the 18th century carved wood retables, are of a later date, leading us to believe that the panel now in the small sacristy was not painted originally for that space. It was probably part of the retable of the old chapel of the 'Confraria do Espírito Santo de Freixo de Espada à Cinta'. In Santa Casa da Misericórdia, where stone work for the church was done in 1558-1573 under Master João Martins from Torre de Moncorvo,⁴⁴ there was an important Chapel of Santo Cristo, annexed in 1573 to the Misericórdia on the initiative of D. Frei Bartolomeu dos Mártires, Archbishop of Braga, which underwent major redecoration at the end of the century.⁴⁵ It was also around then that the six panels of the primitive retable were painted by what was probably an artist from Zamora and later, in 1732, included in the Baroque retable that is still there, executed by Frutuoso Lourenço Ferraz, a woodcarver from Lagoaça.⁴⁶ It is quite likely that the

43 In the light of a protocol signed by the Bragança-Miranda Diocese, Associação Terras Quentes (directed by Master Carlos Mendes), the Art History Institute of the Arts Faculty of Lisbon University, Porto Catholic University and the Municipality of Macedo de Cavaleiros, an inventory has been done of the sacred art in the municipalities of the Bragança diocese, coordinated by the art historians Dr.^a Lília Pereira da Silva and Lécio da Cruz Leal. They began in 2003 although it was only done systematically after the protocol. The aim has been to list Bragança heritage artefacts within a framework that has exceeded all expectations. In addition to the two sectoral exhibitions held (in Alfândega da Fé and Vimioso), the Museum of Sacred Art of Macedo de Cavaleiros was opened. It is an invaluable display of sacred art from Gothic to Rococo styles found in churches in this municipality and was created with the support of U.C.P., a Preventive Conservation Workshop for diagnosis and interventions, based in Vale da Porca (Macedo).

44 Arquivo da Misericórdia de Freixo de Espada à Cinta, *Livro de Acordos, Propriedades e Eleições, 1554-1573*. I would like to thank Dr. Jorge Manuel Guerra Cardoso Duarte, of C. M. of Freixo de Espada à Cinta, for giving me access to the documents.

45 Arquivo da Misericórdia de Freixo de Espada à Cinta, *Livro de Acórdãos e Arrematações*, 1585 e segs.

46 Eugénio de Andrea da Cunha e Freitas, "Os retábulos da igreja da Misericórdia de Freixo de Espada-Cinta", *Museu*, 2nd series, n.º 9 (1965): 10-31, and Francisco António Pintado, *Santa Casa*

expenditure of *Pentecostes* by António Leitão took place during this phase of the works, which the members of the Santa Casa carried out in the late 16th century for their church, hospital, the 'Confraria do Santo Cristo' and other suffragan spaces.

The painting, sporting its primitive gilt retabular structure, has specificities of style and chromatism and an unexpected width in the composition for, around the Virgin Mary with St. John the Evangelist and St. Peter on either side of her, are twenty-eight figures disposed in various planes within the classic space of a centralised plan inspired on the Pantheon in Rome. The group includes Christ's apostles and disciples, as well as various contemporary figures such as aristocratic couples, a Franciscan friar, merchants, a Berber and four Asian figures, two of them wearing Japanese clothes and hats. In the extreme right background there seems to be a Jesuit priest, half concealed in the architectural colonnade. On the ground, next to the Virgin Mary, a closed book with a good binding, lies on a knotted carpet with a black chequered border and with flowers and buds with tendrils on a red background inspired, in the expert opinion of Jessica Hallett, on a 16th century Persian rug. All in the painting is capricious and profound. It develops in a sort of mute dialogue enlivened by a shared feeling of the redemption of mankind and so revealing artifices of an enviable artistic culture, formatted by the travel experiences of the artist and of other people linked to the commission.

The *Pentecostes* of Freixo de Espada à Cinta reveals artistic talents inspired by Italian-Flemish Mannerism, for as we have already said, the artist trained in both (in Rome and Antwerp), not to mention his period in Lisbon. Here he saw, for example, works by the Italianised Lourenço de Salzedo in Jerónimos. Despite certain limitations shown in the drawing and the obvious weaknesses in the design of the clothing and anatomies, there is always the imaginative power of compositional detailing in the way the figures are characterised, aptly expressed in the backgrounds and especially visible in this painting. We know of no other painting of the Pentecost in Portuguese art that includes so many figures and so many restless poses in the additional scenes! There are many panels with this representation painted during the first half of the 16th century in works by artists such as Vicente Gil and Manuel Vicente (Coimbra), Francisco Henriques (São Francisco de Évora), Vasco Fernandes (Santa Cruz de Coimbra, Viseu Cathedral), the Master of Lourinhã (Funchal Cathedral and MNAA), Garcia Fernandes (MNAA), Gregório Lopes

da Misericórdia de Freixo de Espada à Cinta (SCMFEC, 2001). The six Mannerist panels must originate in a workshop in Zamora or Leon, quite natural in an institution in which the stone works and others were often made by men from neighbouring Castile.

(MNAA), etc., and all those panels harmoniously have a feeling of order, of balanced, logical and scenic narration, with the group of apostles and disciples placed, according to tradition, around the group with the Virgin Mary and the Holy Women, highlighting a sense of *concordatio*.⁴⁷ The Mannerist version of Freixo de Espada à Cinta has quite a different discourse, bolder and freer, open to the abundant and apparently illogical presence of restless contemporary figures who commune with the tongues of fire, the sign of the Holy Spirit. We recall here, because its composition is somewhat similar including as it does numerous groups of contemporary figures, the large fresco painted in the apse of the Church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, in Rome, by the Florentine Jacopo Zucchi, dating from the last years of the 16th century but which Leitão cannot have known.⁴⁸ In all the Pentecost paintings done in Portuguese Mannerism (and they number quite a few) there are similarly restless versions by Diogo Teixeira (Chapel of Espírito Santo in Turcifal) and by Fernão Gomes (MNAA reserves and Grândola parish church), which are more or less coeval with the making of the Freixo painting although, truth be said, these do not contain that deviation from the ecumenical tone in the representation of the groups of figures witnessing the descent of the Holy Spirit, in a sort of unending communion. The composition is freely inspired on two Mannerist engravings by Cornelis Cort, one according to a Roman Mannerist original by Federico Zuccaro, the other after an original by Michel Coxie, the Romanised man from Flanders. In that engraving the artist was inspired in the typology of the large and bold composition and in certain groupings of figures. When constructing his painting for a brotherhood in Freixo de Espada à Cinta, António Leitão no doubt took into account his knowledge of the models of those iconographic sources, which served to stimulate the more restless and revolutionary solution he opted for, a daring interpretation of Mannerist scenography.⁴⁹

Furthermore, in the last plan behind the Virgin Mary we see a Christian lady in the act of embracing an Asian woman wearing what seems to be a kimono, emphasising the moralising ecumenical tone of the scene. This

47 Cf. Fernando António Baptista Pereira, "Descidas do Espírito Santo em programas iconográficos retabulares dos séculos XV e XVI", *Artis – Revista do Instituto de História da Arte*, n.º 3 (2004): 161-198. On that same subject but limited to some Northern pieces, cf. the recent technical-iconographical study by Ana Calvo, Joana Salgueiro and Salomé Carvalho, "The wooden supports in Portugal: the Pentecost in different altarpieces structures", *International Conference on Wooden Cultural Heritage: Evolution of Deterioration and Management of Change* (Hamburg: 2009).

48 Claudio Strinati, "Note sur Jacopo et Francesco Zucchi", in *La Villa Médicis. Études*, vol. 2 (Académie de France à Rome, 1991), 553-566; and Philippe Morel, *Le Parnasse astrologique, les décors peints pour le cardinal Ferdinand de Medicis, étude iconologique* (Rome: 1991).

49 Engravings reproduced in *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 52, undated.

creative originality together with the turbulent gestures and movement of the groups had already been noted in the paintings of Foz Côa and Cepões, where the typical models also used in this painting often appear.

As we have said, we do not know if this retable, painted circa 1580, was to be placed in this chapel (whose Antonian name dates to the 18th century) but it is possible that it belonged to the former chapel of Espírito Santo in this town, linked to the Misericórdia's welfare structures. Some research still remains to be done in order to define the "critical fortune" of the piece. Nevertheless, the identification of one more work by António Leitão has greatly enriched the heritage of Freixo de Espada à Cinta – which includes the already well-known sixteen panels by the workshop of Vasco Fernandes, painted circa 1530, which constituted the old Renaissance retable of the parish church, and the anonymous Mannerist boards of the retable of Misericórdia church, painted in the late 16th century, probably by a Zamoran workshop, also enrich our national heritage. The cleaning and laboratorial study of the panel will reveal other details, so far hidden by dirt and hideous varnishes. It is important to broadcast the existence of this item known and create the conditions to enable it to be preserved and properly displayed.

6. Painting and ecumenism: the Asian figures in the panel by António Leitão in Freixo de Espada à Cinta

The Trás-os-Montes *Pentecostes* painted by António Leitão is highly valuable in iconographic terms. The composition has about thirty figures in contemporary clothing receiving the tongues of fire, surrounding the *Virgin Mary and the apostles Saints Peter and John*. These figures include noblemen, burghers, a Franciscan friar, a Jesuit priest, servants, merchants, Moors, a Berber and the aforementioned two Japanese with their typical Oriental outfits. The accuracy of the clothing and the poses of these Japanese figures call to find various depictions of their fellow countrymen both in the Nanban screens in Kobe City Museum and in Caramulo Museum (catalogue nº 302 is a painting on paper with a Christianised Japanese youth prior to the Tokugawa Shogunate).

This totally unexpected inclusion makes the bustling composition painted for the retable of that brotherhood of north-eastern Portugal a rare testimony of a Christian ecumenical aspect combining the eternal ontological principles of mankind with values of a return to primitive Christianity claimed by the first mentors of the Catholic Counter-Reformation, through a loose interpretation mingling various peoples and cultures gathered to militate to redeem humanity under the luminous halo of the Holy Spirit. As we

admire this piece, we recall what is known about the evenings of *literati* and humanists in the house of Infanta D. Maria, where the discussions and comparisons on the discovery of the New Worlds, including China and Japan, were favourite themes. That this ecumenical discourse should have emerged – exposed in these bold formal terms – in a small chapel near the border with Spain, is certainly an added and relevant cultural fact which merits further study.

This is surely one of the oldest depictions of Japanese people in European art, coeval with the visit to the Portuguese court in 1584 of the Japanese committee that had been sent to see the Pope two years earlier. This scene is very well described in the chronicle by Father Duarte de Sande,⁵⁰ evoking the exotic colouring of the descriptions of *Historia de Japam* by Father Luís Fróis (called the “first European Japanese”)⁵¹ and of *Peregrinação* by Fernão Mendes Pinto (still unpublished but known in the closed circles around the writer in Almada).⁵² Given its unusual proof of contemporaneity testimony, this painting is a powerful artistic document on the “encounter of cultures” between Portugal and Asia and the attraction for the unknown, at a time when the Jesuit missions in Asia were settling and, given their receptivity, in apparent splendour.⁵³ Furthermore, Freixo de Espada à Cinta was the home town of Jorge Álvares, the mysterious Portuguese merchant who travelled in the Orient, is mentioned in *Peregrinação* by Fernão Mendes Pinto, and is considered the first Japanese chronicler for having, at the request of St. Francis Xavier, written the famous “*informação do Japam*”, in 1544, an invaluable historical account.⁵⁴

It is a fact that although the Portuguese arrived in Tanegashima in 1543, the European mission in Japan began in 1549 with the arrival of St. Francis

50 Duarte de Sande, S.J., *De Missione Legatorum Iaponensium. Diálogo sobre a Missão dos Embaixadores japoneses à Cúria Romana*, translated by Américo da Costa Ramalho (Macao: 1997); and Juan Gil, “Europa se presenta a si misma: el tratado ‘De missione legatorum iaponensium’ de Duarte de Sande”, in *O Século Cristão do Japão*, Colóquio Comemorativo dos 450 anos de amizade Portugal-Japão (1453-1993) (Lisbon: 1994).

51 Luís Fróis, *Tratado dos Embaixadores Japões*, introduction and notes by Rui Loureiro (Lisbon: CNCDP, 1993); and J. F. Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits. Alessandro Valignano in sixteenth-century Japan* (London: 1993).

52 The first edition of *Peregrinação de Fernam Mendez Pinto em que da conta de muytas e muyto estranhas cousas que viu & ouuiu no reyno da China, no da Tartarias, no do Sornau, que vulgarmente se chama Sião, no de Calaminham, no de Pegù, no de Martavão, & em outros muytos reynos & senhorios das partes Orientais, de que nestas nossas do Occidente há muyto pouca ou nenhuma noticia*, was published in Lisbon by Pedro Craesbeeck in 1614.

53 Ana Paula Laborinho, “O Imaginário do Japão na ‘Peregrinação’ de Fernão Mendes Pinto”, *Mare Liberum*, n.º 11-12 (1996): 39-52.

54 Rui Loureiro, *Os Portugueses e o Japão no Século XVI. Primeiras informações sobre o Japão* (Lisbon: CNCDP, 1990).

Xavier, Father Cosme de Torres and Brother Juan Fernández, opening up the territory to the influence of the Society of Jesus. The first catechism in Japanese arose as a result of the effort of these three Jesuits and their Japanese assistant called Yajiro, or Paul of the Holy Faith, who profoundly adapted Japanese uses and customs. However, in 1597, after various conflicts, Christians began to be persecuted, and many men in holy orders, Jesuits in particular, were martyred, culminating in 1639 with the Tokugawa Shogunate edict. When the atmosphere still favoured fruitful relations and an extended encounter of cultures, the above-mentioned embassy prepared by the Jesuits was sent to Rome in 1582, having passed through Portugal. It included four Japanese princes who had converted to Christianity. The development of artistic poles with Japan goes back to that time and we can well imagine that the painting of Freixo de Espada à Cinta might be explained within research done discoveries throughout the unknown worlds that gradually opened to the ecstasy but also the greed of western civilisation.⁵⁵ What we do know is that chronologically it is prior to the more famous 17th century representations (such as the canvases by André Reinoso in São Roque, for instance) or the depiction of Japanese in nanban art. So-called nanban art, in painting, sculpture, ceramics, furniture, lacquer ware, ornaments and holy objects, which arose following the Portuguese arrival in Japan, began to evolve throughout the second half of the 16th century and the first half of the 17th century, exchanging works and experiences in the western market.⁵⁶ This type of sacred art of the evangelisation naturally tends to become miscegenated with autochthonous contributions, materials, techniques and tastes: note the writing-boxes (*suzuribaco*), items in lacquer (*urushi*), porcelain, gold, decorated weapons (*tsuba*), painting on paper, and the famous screens showing the arrival of the ships (*Kurofune*), customs, weapons, Portuguese clothing, the native populations and the cortege of foreigners. The number of nanban screens found in the great museums of the world is remarkable and in Japan there are still more than fifty works of this type painted in the main by the artists of the Kano school.⁵⁷ In the case of the painting in question, the depiction of the Japanese is not only proof but has a force that is more, shall we say committed in the way it searches to ecumenise the feeling of expansion of the New Worlds.

55 On this atmosphere of disclosure and debate in the New Worlds in the 16th century, see Sylvie Deswarte-Rosa, *Ideias e Imagens em Portugal na época dos Descobrimentos. Francisco de Holanda e a teoria da arte* (Lisbon: Difel, 1992).

56 Not to be missed is the work by Alexandra Curvelo, *Nuvens Douradas e Paisagens Habitadas. A 'Arte Namban' e a sua circulação entre a Ásia e a América: Japão, China e Nova Espanha (c. 1550-1700)*, doctoral thesis (Lisbon: Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, 2008).

57 *Ibidem*.

The issues linked with categorising Portuguese society in the 16th century, identifying the orders and classes and creating stereotypes through but not limited to cult images, are extremely relevant in history of art studies. We must look at that “era” in which society saw itself in the light of the new knowledge of the world, as a platform of social *status* transition and as a reformulation of the individual importance of man in his space of sociability. The mercantile dynamics and intercultural contacts within the Empire, mainly for the Asian Orient where there was strong cultural confrontation between civilisations that had been established for centuries, led to the social emergence of individuals who previously would not have had or had been able to have any place of prominence in Portuguese society.

It is extremely interesting to see how this aspect becomes visible when (in purely formal and compositional terms) we compare the *Visitation* by Vasco Fernandes in the retablo of Lamego Cathedral with the painting of the same theme by António Leitão for another important client in the same city (the Misericórdia), or if we compare the *Pentecostes* by Vasco Fernandes and his workshop in the retablo of the parish church of Freixo de Espada à Cinta with the painting done by António Leitão for the brotherhood in that same town. What we can conclude is that at a distance of sixty or seventy years, the time that separates these works by Grão Vasco and by Leitão, the pictorial space became as it were condensed, scenes were democratised and to a certain extent laicised, they gained different movement, other protagonists and a new disorder to the extent that new “witnesses” appear and are included in certain episodes traditionally represented in the worship. The stages in the *Visitação da Virgem Maria a Santa Isabel* and in *Pentecostes* are enlightening as to that subterraneous awareness of a change of paradigms. In Leitão’s versions, as opposed to Vasco Fernandes’, the effects of scenic narrativeness have been multiplied to a sense of militancy that is truly contemporaneous and therefore, centuries later, preserves its eloquent dialoguing fabric.

The iconological look proposed here multiplies the focuses of interest of this true work of talking art. In it, civil society of deepest Portugal penetrates into the territory of the actual biblical narratives and dares intervene in discourses on new times and New Worlds. That is the precise role of missionary work, the openness to dialogue between different poles, the discoveries of uses and customs that are different but understandable, the range of the communion of languages and cultures, that is, the weight of Christianity as the ultimate unitarian expression to understand the New Worlds, queried but in a positive way: that is, one could still in the light of Christian Portugal imagine a more favourable environment for total communicability through religion as the unifying trunk of the expansionist edifice in Asian lands.

Basically, Leitão's *Pentecostes* shares a humanistic meaning, possibly considered strange in an adventurous and warrior-like personality such as this painter-soldier had, but which circumstances of life (and the commission) had softened. This calls to mind some of the theories of Benito Arias Montano on Christian ecumenism as set out in his books published by Christopher Plantin in Antwerp, not only in his famous *Polyglot Bible*, but also in *David. Hoc Est Virtutis Exercitissimum Probatum Deo Spectaculum, ex David Pastoris Militis Ducis Exulis ac Prophetæ Exemplis* (1575), with emblems drawn by Crispin van den Broeck and engraved by Philippe Galle, where Arias explored the polysemous nature attributed to the Old Testament shepherd king in the light of the fratricide wars in Flanders at the time of the Duke of Alba and Governor D. Luis de Requesens. By defending the *ideal of the kind and tolerant Christian prince* and exalting the virtues of *Fides, Pietas, Prudentia* and *Temperantia*, attributed to the shepherd David, the humanist proposed more indulgent policies, defending the impunity of the defeated (rather like the example of piety shown by the biblical city of Abel-Bet-Maaka), and a general sense of tolerance towards the Other, which should be maintained as the basis of the understanding of men in the context of the New Worlds.⁵⁸

The late 16th century paintings done by António Leitão in towns near the border with Spain, such as this *Pentecostes*, represent that “new” painting and that “new” time which was understood (at least at the core of the more attentive peripheries) as a manifesto of reflection and a project of intentions. This is particularly evident in the *Pentecostes* of Freixo de Espada à Cinta. What we really find represented here in this painting under the luminous nimbus of the Holy Spirit's tongues of fire is the presence of a collection of people that embody the true builders of the Portuguese Empire, not the knights with lineage, the corporations, the Military Orders, the Court apparatus or the militant church but rather the simple figures of merchants, Franciscan friars and Jesuit priests and travellers from the deepest part of Portuguese provinces, all sharing a feeling of Christian ecumenism which some not only considered possible but was precisely the legitimising basis of the imperial process.

In a mingling of Sebastianist nostalgia and the concealed affirmation of patriotism (we must not forget that António Leitão had been a keen follower of the cause of the Prior do Crato), the situation of the dual monarchy

58 Cf. Silvaine Handel, *Benito Arias Montano. Humanismo y arte en España* (Universidad de Huelva, 1999); Juan Antonio Ramírez, *Dios Arquitecto* (Madrid: Ediciones Siruela, 1995); and Juan Gil, *Arias Montano En Su Entorno (Bienes y Herederos)* (Seville: Regional Extremadura, 1998).

may also have helped share these aspects more strongly within a regional environment such as the one surrounding the commission and execution of the *Pentecostes* of Freixo de Espada à Cinta. It might even be said that amongst the many figures portrayed in this painting, some in bold *contraposti*, one peering out from the bottom right hand background, all touched by the tongues of fire, we will find the painter and his wife. This is assuming that a handsome middle-aged couple shown in the background to the right of the composition might be the effigy of António Leitão and Luzia dos Reis, who is wearing a courtier-like headdress and using the typical bonnet... Be that as it may, what is important to confirm in this excellent late 16th century painting is that it serves as a portrait of Portuguese society at the time of the Discoveries, that is, a society that was strongly memorised but was beginning to change its hierarchical structure, aspiring to conquer a place of prominence at least in terms of painting.

7. Meaning of the painting by António Leitão

As seen from recent field surveys there are many frescoes in rural churches in Beira and Trás-os-Montes dating from the second half of the 16th century which should undergo restoration and analytical and comparative studies, the same going for the frescoes that have meanwhile been found over the border in Spain, in Zamora and Leon.⁵⁹

As Leitão painted both oils and frescoes, the latter mainly used in brotherhoods with fewer resources, it is quite possible that new works by the artist may be identified in the border territories of north-eastern Portugal. The need to survive in times of crisis such as the late 16th century often forced the painter to accept commissions of “false retables”, done as frescoes for modest brotherhood chapels, rather than the more expensive easel paintings, commissions for these being rarer as they required different techniques. Even so, we should study the possibility, following the necessary study and analysis, that some of the works painted in the area of Bragança might be attributed to Leitão and even to his wife Luzia dos Reis – is the case, as regards his Flemish wife, of twelve small paintings on copper on a profane theme representing the *Twelve Months of the Year*, strongly Antwerpian in

59 A survey to discover mural paintings on both sides of the border near Bragança and Miranda do Douro will soon take place, with the support of the team of Associação Terras Quentes (Drs. Lécio da Cruz Leal, Lília Pereira da Silva, Raquel Seixas and Fátima Pereira dos Santos) and the team of Prof. Irune Fiz Fuertes of the University of Valladolid. In the last two years, forty mural decorations dating from the second half of the 16th century have been identified there. There could possibly be some work by António Leitão among those frescoes.

style, found in the sacristy of the cathedral of Miranda do Douro.⁶⁰ As this is a town where her husband definitely worked and as that they had two sons who were canons, this is quite a plausible hypothesis.

New works by the painter António Leitão were recently identified at the Misericórdia Church in Melo (Gouveia), in the chapel of Santa Luzia in Figueiró da Serra (Gouveia) and in the Parish Church of Escarigo (Figueira de Castelo Rodrigo). They all date from the late 16th century and they all have the same stylistic characteristics of the paintings mentioned above. The three painting from Melo follow the models of the predellas of the Foz Côa retable, showing that the painter often adhered to the same artistic solutions.

A more obvious attribution is that António Leitão may have painted the frescoes in the galilee of the Chapel of Nossa Senhora da Teixeira in the parish of Açoreira near Torre de Moncorvo. These are very interesting paintings narrating the miraculous events linked to the foundation of this Douro church by Friar Jordão do Espírito Santo when he returned from Rome in about 1584, and the cult of the relics connected with the hierophanic site, having a strong Italianate Mannerist culture, namely in the Michelangelo-type vision of the *Judgement of the Souls*, with its terrifying hell.⁶¹ The frescoes and other paintings and ornamentations date from two phases and were done by at least two different workshops, one of them active in the main chapel in 1587. The frescoes in the galilee are the most outstanding and stylistically those that most closely resemble what we know of the figurative repertoires of António Leitão, in the types of faces, adornments and postures and in the compositional aspects: they date from 1595 and have a monogram that could be interpreted as the painter's initials. In this and other anonymous works of Trás-os-Montes it is still too soon to proceed any further in the attributions until detailed stylistic comparisons, laboratory tests and archival research are carried out.

60 According to António Rodrigues Mourinho, *O Calendário da Sé Catedral de Miranda do Douro* (Miranda do Douro: 2005), these are Flemish paintings of the late 16th/early 17th century; they do in fact comply with models of known Antwerp prints of that time, such as those by Hendrick van der Broeck, for instance. These late 16th century copper paintings are listed in the Cathedral inventories of 1720 and 1739: "twelve copper sheets with black-painted wooden frames with gilt corners and middles, all the same, measuring little over a palm in height and half a palm in width, recounting the portrait of the twelve months". Representations of the *Allegories of the Months* in Portugal are very rare, although there are the frescoes (dated 1605) in the refectory of the Monastery of São Bento de Castris in Évora, and the remarkable series of proto-Baroque canvases by Baltazar Gomes Figueira (1604-1674), in private collections.

61 Cf. Padre José Augusto Tavares, *Monografia de Nossa Senhora da Teixeira* (Moncorvo: 1985); Eugénio Cavalheiro, *Os Frescos da Senhora da Teixeira*, (Mirandela: Ed. João Azevedo, 2000); and Serrão 2004, 59-82. Regarding the founder, Fr. Jordão do Espírito Santo, who commissioned the frescoes, there is one known power of attorney of his dated 1607 concerning causes of the brotherhood (Arquivo Distrital de Bragança, *L.º 1 de Notas de Sebastião Ribeiro, notário de Torre de Moncorvo*, fls. 91v to 92. Unpublished).

For the time being, the paintings by this Mannerist gentleman painter so far identified number only twenty (Cepões, Vila Nova de Foz Côa, Melo, Escarigo and Freixo de Espada à Cinta), all showing a very personal taste in the design and the strong chromatism used, with influences manifested in four levels:

- a) The tradition of the Manueline and Joanine Renaissance which can be seen (possibly imposed by clients with old-fashioned taste) in the choice of certain more traditionalist solutions and models (resorting to engravings by Dürer, Lucas van Leyden and also inspired by Ferreirim and even Grão Vasco models);
- b) The influence of the models of the *Bella Maniera* of Rome, even though remote and only superficially assimilated, of painters such as Giorgio Vasari and the Zuccari, as well as the Raphaelesque engravings of Marcantonio Raimondi and even certain “recipes” of Michelangelo’s circles;
- c) The influence of the Flemish Romanism of painters such as Michel Coxie, for example, all mingled in a very personal Counter-Reformation discourse in which the creation of images (mostly for religious purposes) gains an eloquent flavour that is adapted to the types of markets that António Leitão found in the dioceses of Lamego and Miranda do Douro;
- d) And the willingness to assimilate in his compositions ideological principles and objectives in keeping with an unquiet and engaged temperament, as duly confirmed by the Christian ecumenical vision developed in the panel of Freixo de Espada à Cinta where he included Japanese and other peoples of the New Worlds in the groups touched by the tongues of fire of the Holy Spirit.

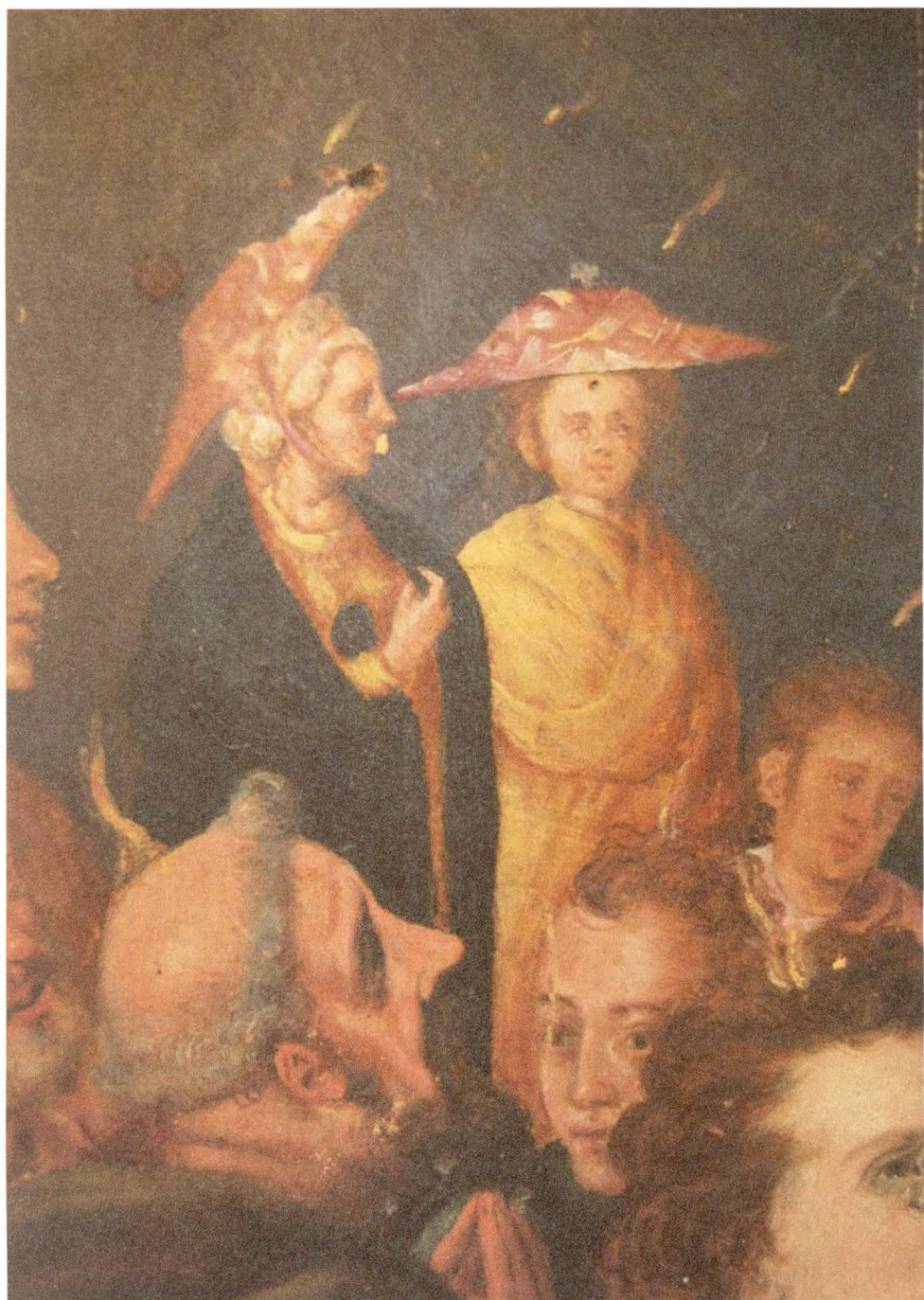


Fig. 1 – António Leitão, *Pentecostes* (detail).

ca. 1580.

Chapel of Santo António, Freixo de Espada à Cinta.

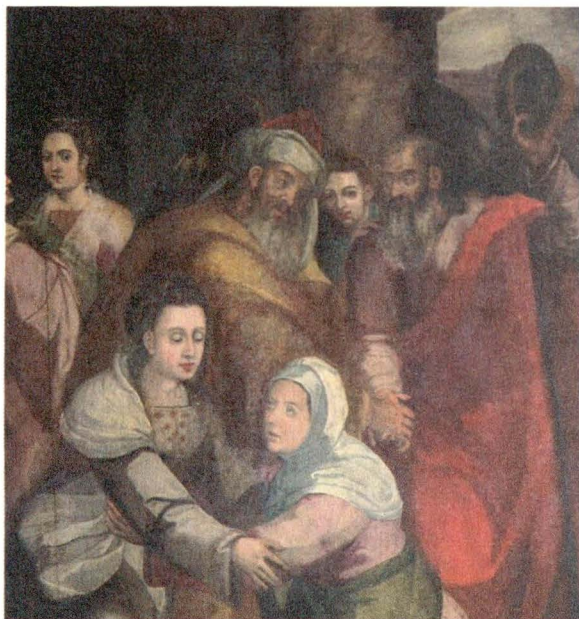


Fig. 2 – António Leitão, *Visitation of the Virgin* (detail). 1564-1565. Chapel of Santa Ana, Cepões (Lamego).

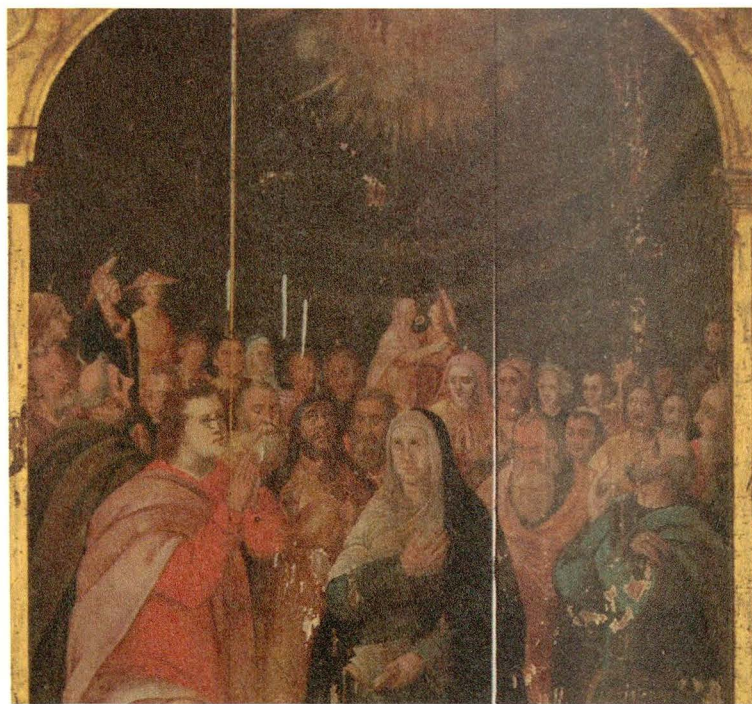


Fig. 3 – António Leitão, *Pentecostes*. ca. 1580. Chapel of Santo António, Freixo de Espada à Cinta.



Fig. 4 – Vasco Fernandes, *Visitation*.
1506-1511.
Former retablo of the Lamego Cathedral
(Museum).



Fig. 5 – António Leitão, *Visitation*.
1565.
Former retablo of the Misericórdia Church,
Lamego.



Fig. 6 – Reconstitution of the former retablo of the high altar
of the parish church of Vila Nova de Foz Côa.

António Leitão, *ca.* 1575.

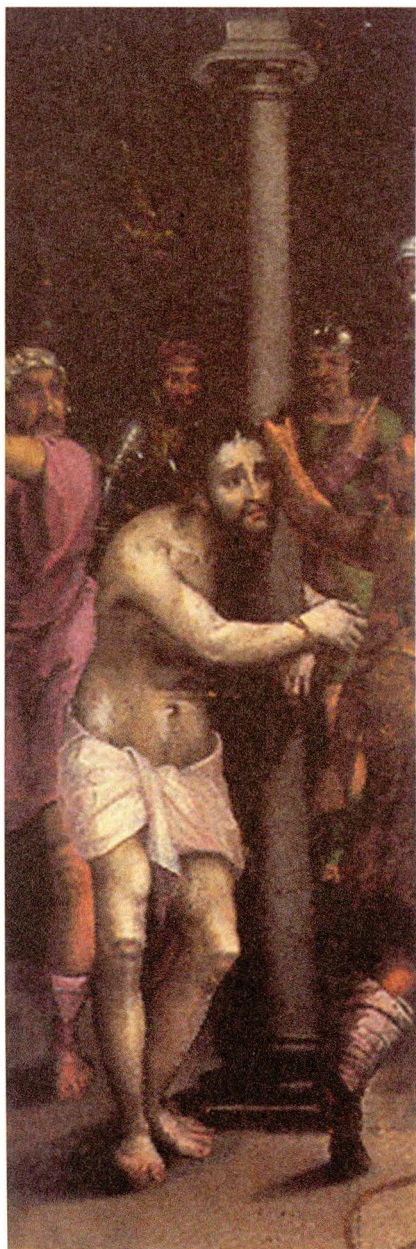
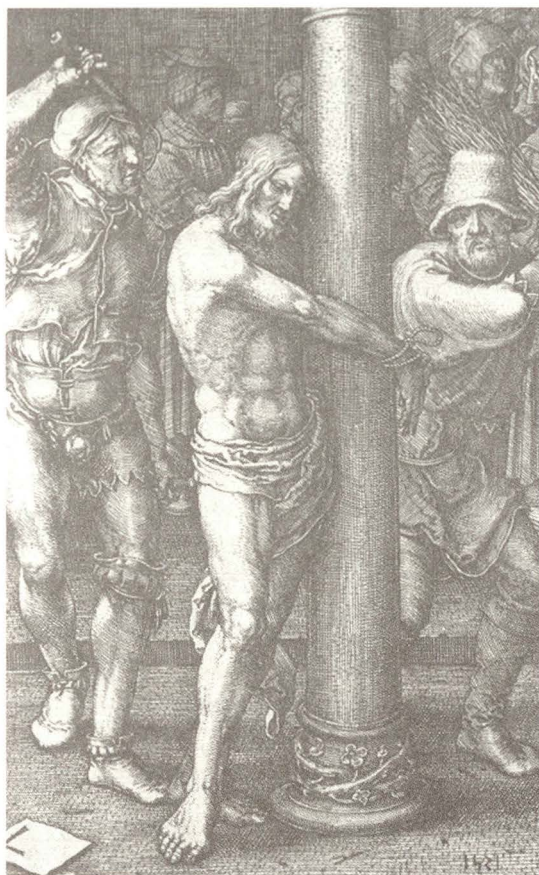


Fig. 7 and 8
Engraving by Lucas van Leyden
(1521)
for António Leitão's
Flagellation of Christ.

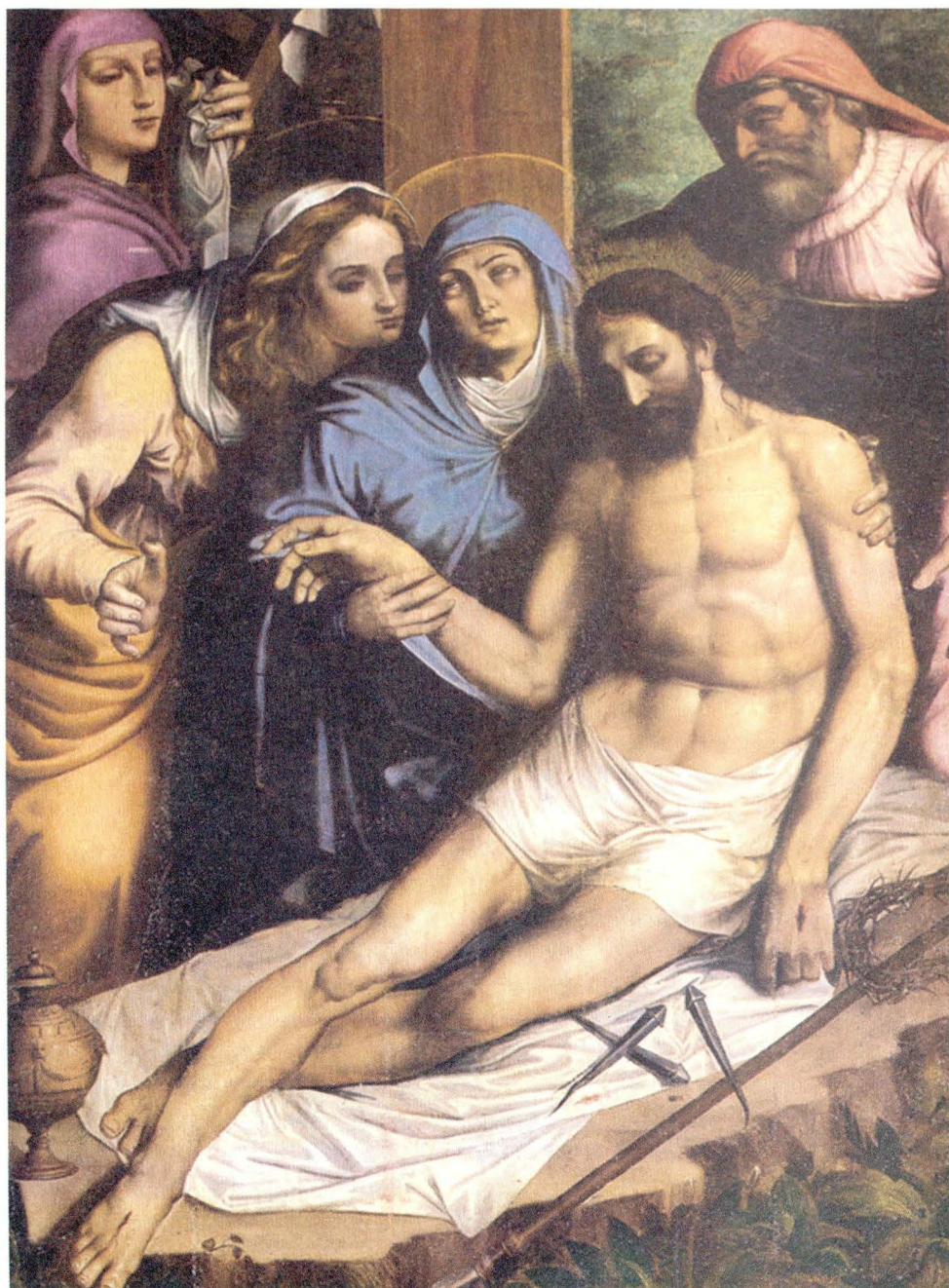


Fig. 9 – Lourenço de Salzedo, *Christ deposited from the Cross*.

1570-72

Retable of the Monastery of Jerónimos.



Fig. 10 – António Leitão, *Christ deposited from the Cross*.
ca. 1575.
Retable of the parish church of Vila Nova de Foz Côa.



Fig. 11 – António Leitão, *Jesus entering Jerusalem* (detail).
ca. 1575

Former main retablo of the parish church of Vila Nova de Foz Côa.

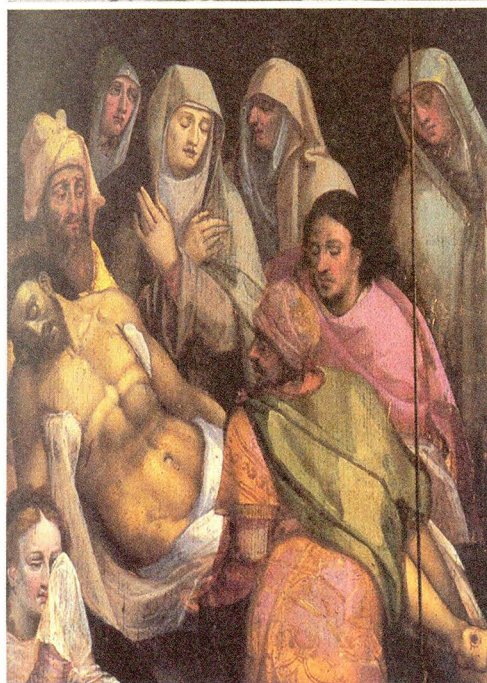


Fig. 12 and 13 – Engraving by Lucas van Leyden
(1521)
for António Leitão's *Deposition in the Tomb*.

Fig. 14 – Vasco Fernandes (workshop), *Pentecostes*.
Parish church of Freixo de Espada à Cinta.

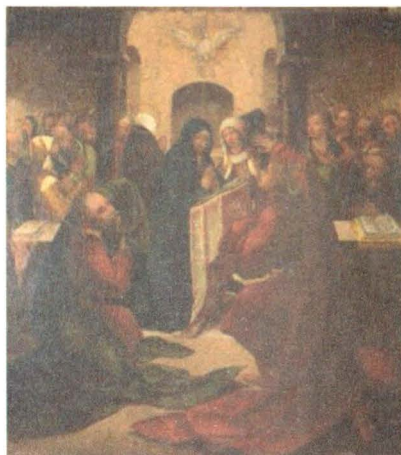


Fig. 15, 16 and 17 – Engravings by Cornelis Cort,
according to Michel Coxie and Frederico Zuccaro, which inspired António Leitão's panel
for the Chapel of Santo António in Freixo de Espada à Cinta.

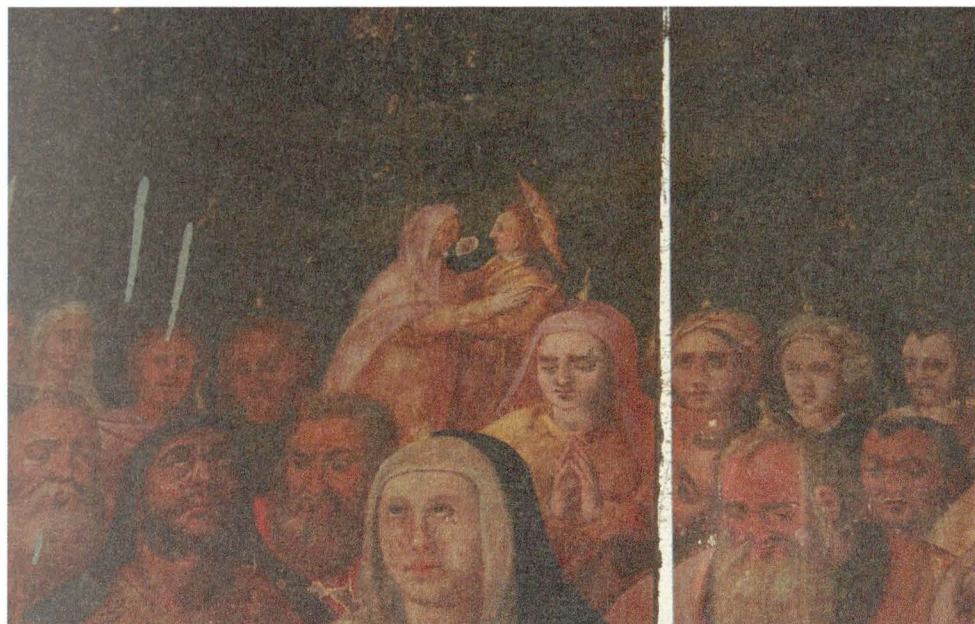


Fig. 18 – The ecumenical embrace.
António Leitão, *Pentecostes* (detail).
Freixo de Espada à Cinta.

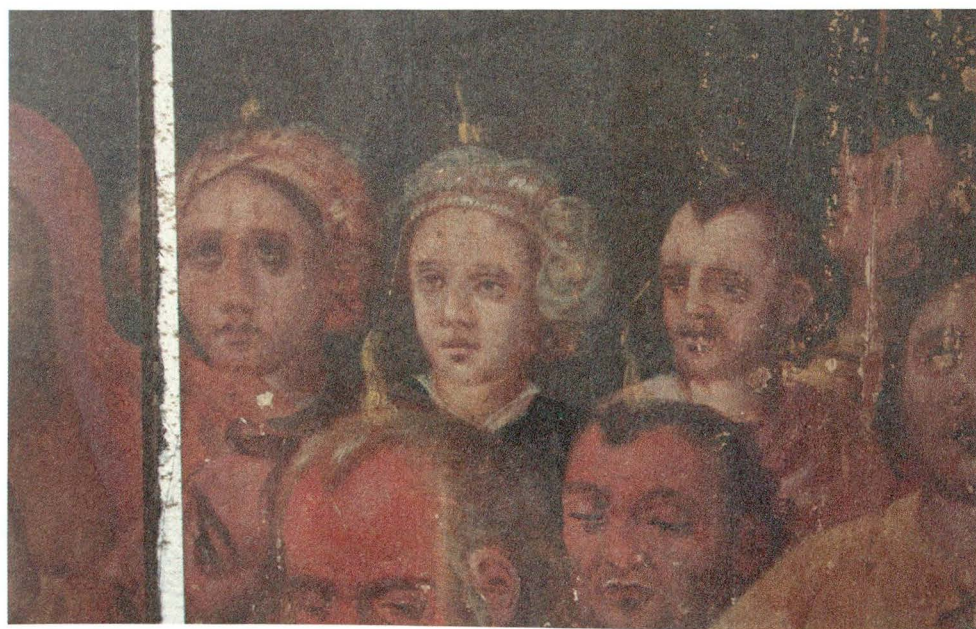


Fig. 19 – António Leitão, *Pentecostes* (detail).
Freixo de Espada à Cinta.
Portraits of the painter and his wife?

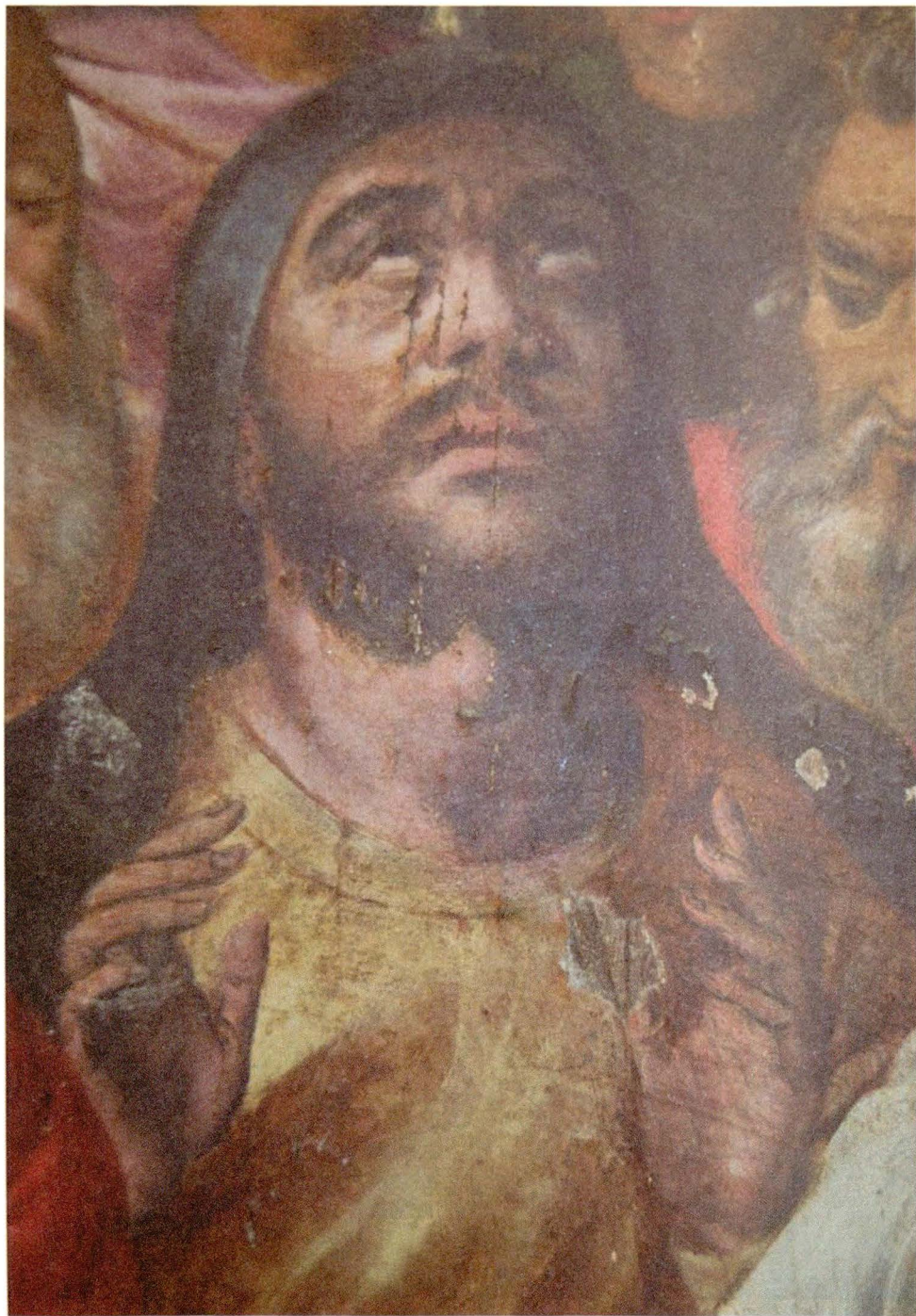


Fig. 20 – António Leitão, *Pentecostes* (detail).
Freixo de Espada à Cinta.



Fig. 21 – António Leitão, frescoes in the galilee of the Chapel of Nossa Senhora da Teixeira (detail).

Torre de Moncorvo, *ca.* 1595.

Note to Contributors

The *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies* (ISSN 0874-8438) is published twice a year in June and December.

Contributions are welcome and should be sent to the Editor:

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Contributions are considered on the understanding that they are unpublished and are not on offer to another journal. All articles will be refereed. Two copies should be submitted, typed in double-spacing, plus in a MS Word file, either in diskette or via electronic mail. An abstract of around 100 (maximum 150) words should be included. The Editors will provide Portuguese and Japanese translations of the abstract.

All contributions must be in English but documentary sources can be published in the original languages. All efforts to include text in Japanese characters will be made but technical difficulties may prevent it. In this case, the authors will be contacted.

Bibliographic information should be given in footnotes; the bibliographic style used by each author will be respected, except for minor editing. Line drawings and photographs can be included. Line drawings should be drawn boldly in black ink on white paper and photographs must be glossy prints of good contrast.

The graphic design of the *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies* was made by João Sotomayor. The translation from Japanese to English of the article by Ôhashi Yukihiro was made by Martin Nogueira Ramos. All the other translations to English were made by Alexandra Leitão. All translations to Japanese were made by Yuko Kase.

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bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies

Foreword

Alexandra Curvelo

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PARTICULAR REPUGNANCIA.»

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