

‘La piu difficile, e la piu disastrosa via, che mai fino allora niun altro’

Carlo Spinola and His Attempts to Get to the Índias

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When the great 17th century historian of the Society of Jesus, Daniello Bartoli, began to tell his readers the amazing and edifying tale of the Italian Jesuit Carlo Spinola, he had to use more ink and paper than he would have expected only in describing how his fellow-countryman attempted to reach the *Estado da Índia*—that is to say, he had to focus on a topic which should have been only a small part of Spinola’s life, whereas it turned out to be a six-year journey with many detours and setbacks, all worthy of being told.

Since Bartoli mastered the Italian baroque idiom so well as to deserve the epithet ‘Dante della prosa italiana’¹ we shall let him introduce this paper:

Hor della vita sua in Giappone, e delle opere, in che vi spese venti anni, non ne so dir nè piu brieve, 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: e dell’uscirne per via in tutto contraria, ma ben piu gloriosa dell’altra, per dove entrò: quella d’acque in tanti mari che corse, nè mai, con tutte le lor tempeste, e pericoli di naufragare, ne poterono spegnere la

*carità che il portava: questa di fuoco, in cui si generosamente morendo, fece l’ultima pruova della finezza dell’amor suo verso Dio, la Fede, e quella tanto sua cara nation Giapponese.*²

From these words we can extrapolate the main intent for which Bartoli wrote his *Historia* years after everything happened. Basically, his is an apologetic work that may rightly be inserted in the endless Jesuit bibliography with which it shares the same purpose.

Yet, since here we are not trying to give praise but to write about the history of the seas we will focus on more reliable sources, in particular Spinola’s own letters about these very voyages, which, of course, should be read through the lens of the 17th century style of writing.

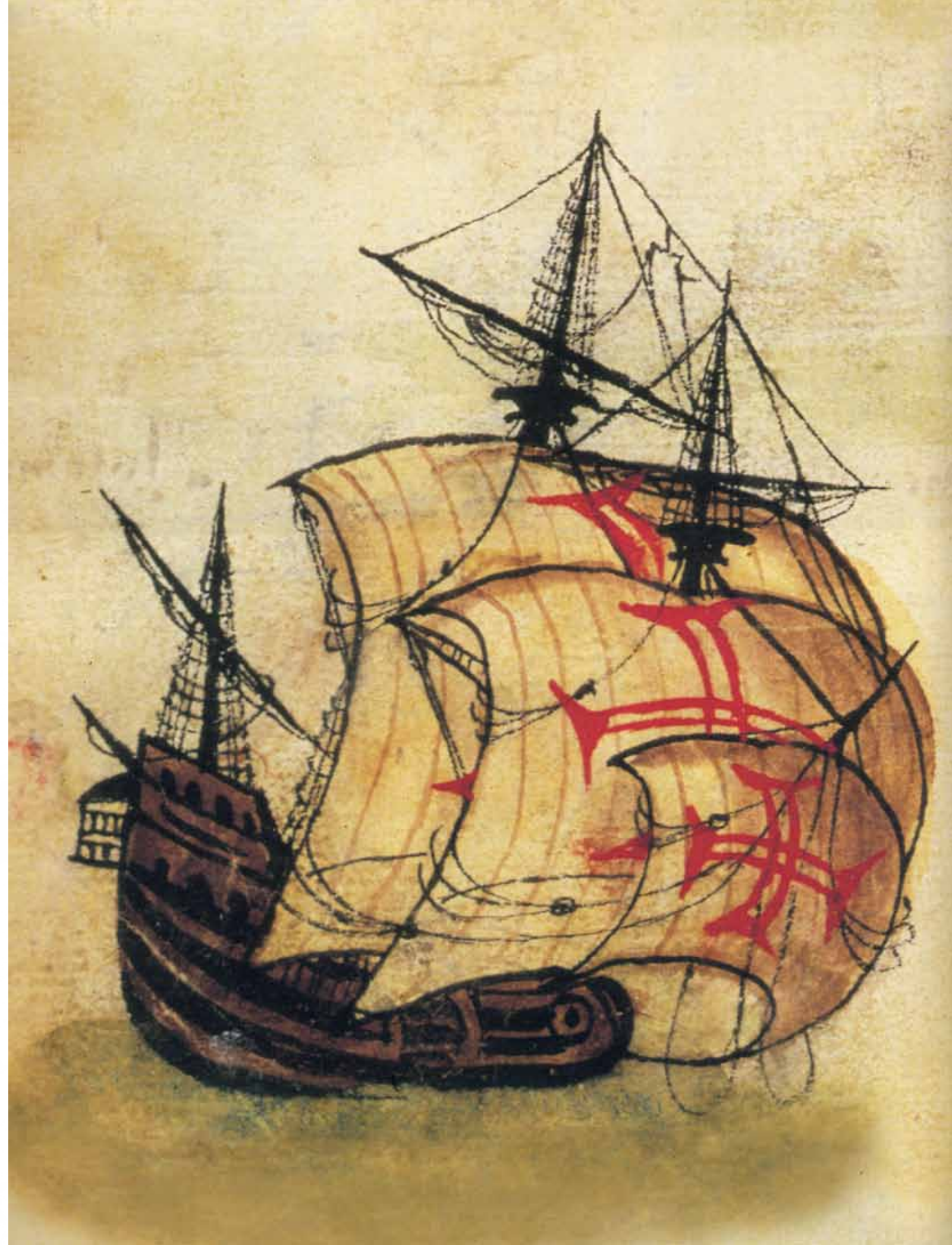
1. ‘QUOD FUIT DURUM PATI MEMINISSE DULCE EST. FARE CASUS HORRIBILIS’

Probably at the end of March 1598³ the Italian Jesuit Carlo Spinola, while in Lisbon—most likely in the hermitage of São Roque, situated on a hill immediately to the west of the old city walls—started to write a letter as lengthy as was the voyage he was about to describe to his Father General, Claudio Acquaviva.

Spinola wrote that he had eventually reached Lisbon on 18 January and that he deemed it necessary to inform the General thoroughly about the ‘*successo della nostra travagliosa, e lunga navigazione*’.⁴ What Spinola was about to recount was the description of his first attempt to reach the *Índico*, since in 1595 he was granted the honour of serving the Roman Church

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in the most tantalising land ready to be evangelised, namely that of the rising sun, Japan.

Yet, Carlo Spinola was not the only one who felt the necessity to inform Rome about his vicissitudes. According to the Portuguese castaway, Bento Teixeira Pinto, in ancient times it was common to bestow on a temple a board engraved with the description of how the bidder managed to escape a dreadful peril or a mortal disease as a token.⁵ It is unlikely that Spinola described his voyage in order not to get caught in another shipwreck—even though the second voyage proceeded way better than the first—nevertheless we are aware of another narration of this specific voyage. Among the twelve narratives of shipwrecks gathered by Bernardo Gomes de Brito in the *História Trágico-Marítima* we find the “Relação da Viagem e Sucesso que teve a Nau S. Francisco ... escrita pelo Padre Gaspar Afonso um dos oito da Companhia que nela iam”.⁶ Namely, the eight Ignatians on board were: the Lusitanian Gaspar Afonso and Jorge Pereira, the Spanish Bartolomé Sánchez and the Italians Giacomo de Vicariis, Girolamo de Angelis, Alessandro Ferrari, Girolamo Maruccelli and—last but not least—Carlo Spinola.⁷



First of all, we must point out that the story Spinola wrote and the “Relação” by Gaspar Afonso are not exactly the same thing. The eight Jesuits who sailed from Lisbon on 8 April 1596 did not stay together for the whole journey. They travelled together until August of the following year (1597) and then they parted and faced different fates. But this would have taken place only after a lot of misadventures. Therefore, it is better not to get ahead of ourselves and proceed with events in order.

The first question that materialised in our mind when we were reading about this voyage was why both Spinola and Afonso felt compelled to write about it in such a detailed way. To answer this question we must not forget that both the writers belonged to that fringe of the Church that bore with it a brand new methodology inherent to missions and evangelisation. This new product also comprehended the understanding and exploitation of that mass-media which was the printed word, that became the main way through which the Society disclosed to the Western readers its undertakings and successes. For that reason, the Jesuits used to send to Rome epistles ‘por obediência’ in which they described thoroughly not only the journey but also what life aboard was like.⁸ As a matter of fact, we find confirmation of what we have just stated in the very beginning of Spinola’s letter:

Hò scritto già molti mesi sono à V. P. dal Brasile, poi da Porto ricco, et ultimamente d'Inghilterra (che tutti questi paesi è stato servito il Signore ch'io scorresse per far bene il novitiato del Giapone, e del martirio, il quale spero ch' ivi mi stia apparecchiato) adesso scrivo da Lisbona, ove son giunto con il mio Compagno fratello, ora padre Girolamo de Angelis alli 18 di Gennaio; e perché dubito che non habbi ricevuto le mie, e per la molta sua carità, credo havrà caro d'essere informata di tutto il successo della nostra travagliosa, e lunga navigatione, ne gli do in questa compito ragguaglio; acciò vedendo V. P. le stentate peregrinationi de suoi figliuoli, ci compatisca, et aggiuti à ringratiar il Signore de tanti favori e carezze, che s'è degnato farci, e c'impetri gratia di patire maggiori cose per suo amore.⁹

From this quotation we infer that Spinola was just being zealous in following the orders he received.

Carlo Spinola.



panorama of Goa and the arrival of S. Francis Xavier to India (detail). Unknown author, 17th century.

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Furthermore, we also see his specific vision of the voyage. He believed that all the misadventures he went through were just a preparation for what was awaiting him in Japan—martyrdom—and that suffer was nothing less than a different way of testifying his Faith. His view about this point is perfectly expressed in a passage of the same letter, when he was describing the death of de Vicariis by using such words: *‘con volto angelico col far naufraggio del suo corpo senza tante navigationi gionse al vero Giapone’*.¹⁰

The obligation for the missionaries to communicate frequently with Rome in order to describe what travelling in the ships to the *Índico* was like is also underlined by Afonso. The Portuguese dedicated the first part of his letter to justify his non-fulfilment of this specific duty. He wrote that he still had not written a description of the journey because some of his fellows (Spinola himself maybe?) already had. Yet—he continued—someone had accused him of being in default on his obligations and invited him

to narrate to the General *‘ao menos daquillo q[ue] me lembrar’*.¹¹ This part is not present in the 1736 edition of the letter, maybe because it would have taken the credibility away from the narration. Nevertheless the quotation of Amphitryon from *Hercules Furens*—a tragedy by Lucius Annaeus Seneca, the Philosopher—remained: ‘Rob not thyself of toils best fruit; things ’twas hard to bear ’tis pleasant to recall. Tell thou the awful tale’.¹²

What Afonso tried to state might be clarified by the words of the 20th-century Japanese writer Natsume Sōseki who in his poetic novel *Kusamakura* wrote that ‘we tend to talk proudly about interesting or cheerful things, which is natural, but we do the same also about our dissatisfactions in the past. Yet, this does not mean that we deceive ourselves or lie to people. When I travel, my feelings are the ones of a common man, but when I tell what I saw I have already put myself in the poet condition and therefore such contradictions arise’.¹³ Thus started a voyage which was *‘tão trabalhosa*

peregrinação ... começada p[ar]a hu[m] Oriente, e preseguida por ta[n]tos Ocçide[n]tes e acabada enfim no mesmo ponto, donde o compasso deu principio, a este circulo tamanho, q[ue] por ser çirculo depois de fechado, fica sem principio, e sem fim’.¹⁴

The armada of 1596 raised anchor on 10 April—Holy Wednesday¹⁵—with Captain Vasco da Fonseca Coutinho¹⁶ aboard the *nau São Francisco*.¹⁷ The ships of the *Carreira da Índia* used to come out of the Tagus when winter gave way to spring, that is, between the end of March and the first two weeks of April. According to Aleixo da Mota, a pilot of the second half of the 16th century, 10 April was to be considered the time-limit, given that after this date the monsoons were unpredictable and it would probably have been necessary to winter in Mozambique.¹⁸

The route was the same as that sailed by Vasco da Gama—they set course for Cape Verde Islands turning thence southwest, so as to encircle the anticyclone in the South Atlantic in a bow-like trajectory which

took the ships close to the Brazilian coast, south of the Cape of Saint Augustine. Then they dropped slowly eastward, heading for the Cape of Good Hope.¹⁹ The voyage we are describing was no different. Spinola, indeed, wrote that:

*in pochi giorni gionsemo alla costa de Guinea con vento prospero ...; poi alli 2 di Maggio ci venne vento contrario, e da 20 giorni fummo tra due, e 4 gradi boreali ... il che fu commune all’altre navi, le quali mai scompagnorno sin alla linea equinoziale. Alli 23 incominciorno venti più favorevoli, et a 26 verso la sera si passò la linea con gran festa, e seguito buon vento, si che si facevano due gradi il giorno con la prora verso la Costa del Brasile, a quelli scogli che gli portughesi chiamano Abrolhos,²⁰ per buscar altri venti per passar il capo di buona speranza.*²¹

As we notice, Spinola underlined some passages of his writing. We might ask why he was eager to emphasise that the *armada* sailed united at least until the equator. The answer is first provided by Gaspar Afonso. The Portuguese Father spent a few more lines about this point to criticise a behaviour which was quite common back then. He wrote that once the *armada* passed the equator *‘nos começamos a apartar, como faze[m] todas por rezão do mesmo interesse pera chegar primeiro, e vender mais caro, q[ue] foi causa de ficarmos sós’*.²² We know that the ships were supposed to follow a statute issued by the Crown which stated that the *armadas* should travel united as long as possible.²³ Greed for profits was the main cause which put pressure on the ships. Nevertheless, sometimes incitements bordering on greediness did not come from the merchants themselves, but—as described in the narration of the shipwreck of the galleon *São Lourenço*—also from the chaplain aboard, who desired to arrive first in the *Índico* and therefore persuaded the pilot to leave the rest of the fleet behind.²⁴

In any event, the *São Francisco*’s clergymen preferred to occupy their time aboard dealing both with their studies and, in particular, with the religious offices, which were always quite an undertaking considering the number of people aboard—460 on the *São Francisco* according to Afonso, 500 wrote Spinola. A Spanish Jesuit, for instance, compared the ships to



¹⁰Olisipo, Sive ut Pervetustæ Lapidum Inscriptiones Habent, Ulyssippo, vulgo Lisbona Florentissimum Portugalliæ Emporiū, in Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, 1572.

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a probationary house, where the missionaries could improve their charity and get to know themselves.²⁵

We have already mentioned that there were eight Ignatians aboard the *São Francisco*, a number that would not have satisfied one of the distinguished Jesuits in the Far East, the Italian Francesco Pasio. In a letter he wrote back in Goa in 1578 he stressed that the presence of few members of the Society on one ship put the whole party in danger, since the care of the ill people fell completely on their shoulders. Therefore, *‘quando [the missionaries] sonno molti pochi in una nave, cioè meno di quatro o cinque, perché quando sonno molti si compartono li travagli e si agiutano l’un al l’altro, ma quando sonno pochi, tutti li travagli del temporale nostro di confessare, predicare e curare gli amalati (che è il principale) restano in pochi, et vi questa esperientia, che tutte le volte che il P. Generale ha mandato più di dieci persone, sempre sonno venuti bene, como ha mandati meno sonno morti alcuni?’*²⁶ As a matter of fact, we have already revealed that Giacomo de Vicariis did not make it through, but before he perished he helped Spinola to carry out the duties Pasio listed.²⁷ In particular, amongst the Sacraments administered on board the confession stands out. It is important to remember that the *Carreira da Índia* began to take off by the end of the 15th century, and it developed during a century that hosted the Council of Trent (1545-1563), one of the deliberations of which paid specific attention to the Sacrament of confession.²⁸ The obligation to confess and to take Communion annually became a social practice, registered and controlled also because it was the strictest way of verifying the believers’ orthodoxy in order to stop the progress of the Reformed faiths.²⁹ Therefore, we may understand why since 1568 the Crown dictated that nobody, neither sailors nor passengers, was allowed to step on board without having previously confessed and communed. Consequently, people on board had to carry with them a certificate issued by the curate of their own parish attesting that they were ready to embark. Those who could not produce such a document were to confess on board as soon as possible.³⁰ The confessions took place along the journey, but there were special occasions when the religious sentiment blossomed more fiercely in the people aboard, in particular when they weathered a peril, such as a storm, a pirate attack or when something on the ship went wrong, as happened in our case.

Two months after departure, precisely on 16 June, the *São Francisco* had reached the tropic of Capricorn and was sailing smoothly towards the Cape of Good Hope. But then, in the evening of the 19th, due to a stern wind the rudder broke and '*saltò fuori tutta quella parte che stava sott'acqua*'.³¹ According to Spinola, the reason was merely engineering, but Afonso preached about the mishap and wrote that '*a causa foi desobediência pura, q[ue] no mar, e na terra, sempre obra semelha[n]tes effeitos*'.³² Be that as it may, the accident led part of the crew and the passengers to ease away the pain with confessions. Spinola, in spite of everything, made it clear to Acquaviva that those people were looking for consolation mostly because the accident meant loss of incomings from the selling of their merchandise.³³

Whatever the feelings aboard, since the ship was in no condition either to face the currents of the Cape or to go back to Portugal—the solution suggested by the pilot—it was decided to build two big oars ‘*ao modo com q[ue] se guovernão os barcos de Riba do Douro*’,³⁴ with which it would somehow be possible to steer the ship. Eventually, after a week of debate, the crew convinced the Captain and the pilot to point the bow towards Salvador da Bahia,³⁵ although—as Afonso pointed out³⁶—an *alvará* issued by the Portuguese Crown in 1565 expressly forbade *Carreira’s* ships to winter in Brazil (mostly for economic reasons), rather they were requested to go back to Lisbon, which is probably the reason why the pilot tried to go back to Portugal, in the first place.³⁷

However, to sail back to Brazil had its own risks. The route, in fact, led the ship from the cold climate near the Cape back to the hot temperatures of the South Atlantic. If we add this change to the hygienic conditions on the ship after two months of shipping, we can imagine what kind of untreatable diseases might have spread. Afonso reported that '*adoeço toda a gente sem escapare[m] mais q[ue] cinco de 460 pessoas q[ue] hiamos e entrelas o Piloto; para ficarmos sem guoverno material, e rational por não ficar outro igual a elle*'.³⁸ We do not know whether there was a doctor aboard the ship, but we do know that, basically, only when people of high social status were aboard was a *físico* was part of the crew.³⁹ On the other occasions, the Ignatians were the ones in charge of assisting the sick but, obviously, the missionaries were not immune to those diseases.⁴⁰ With regard to that, Spinola wrote that he was one of the first to fall sick and he could but agree with Afonso

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'Ilha de Goa', from *Lyvro de plantaforma das fortalezas da Índia* (c.1612?/c.1635?).

when the Portuguese stated that if they had not found land quickly the mortality would have been very high. Fortunately for them, Brazil was not as far as they feared. They just could not see it.

2. 'NÃO ERA HU[M] SO, MAS M^{[UI]TOS}
OS IONAS Q[UE] DENTRO HIÃO': BRAZIL
AND THE SPANISH INDIES

Owing to the thick fog, which apparently was nothing new there,⁴¹ the people of the *São Francisco* almost did not notice their approach to Brazil. It was only a casual encounter with a small French ship⁴² that made the crew realise they were close to the coast—‘non

più ch'un tiro d'archibuggio’,⁴³ as Spinola wrote. Anyway, they had only to wait for the sun to clear the fog away and then, in the early morning of 16 July 1596, the *São Francisco* was finally able to enter All Saints Bay, on top of which stood the Jesuit *Collegio da Baya*, which at that time was ‘in the hands’ of the Spanish Inácio de Tolosa.⁴⁴ Afonso gave a brief description of this college, which—according to Spinola—was so skilfully built, that it could likely have been in Rome:

O Collegio he m^{[ui]to} fermoso, e grande, assi no numero dos sujeitos padres, e irmãos como no edificio, com linda, e curiosa vista sobre o Porto. Onde por 4 meses do anno são os Irmaões recreados, com continua vista de m^{[ui]tas} baleas, q[ue] alli por

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*particulares respeitos seus se vem recolher, e gastar em continuas festas, saltos, e danças: q[ue] não fora pouco empedim^{[en]to} do estudo, senão fora tão continuo.*⁴⁵

Unlike Afonso, who spent several pages on the description of the Brazilian wildlife, Carlo Spinola focused more on what happened to the people of the ship, both the living ones and those who were about to die, such as Giacomo de Vicariis and the Castilian coadjutor Bartolomé Sánchez. Yet, owing to his duties at this juncture—religious/medical assistance of the sick and help in unloading the ship—Spinola also got sick.⁴⁶ Back then, most of the diseases were treated with bloodletting and purges, since it was commonly believed that the illness was caused by harmful fluids, which consequently ought to be expelled. Spinola went through the procedure and, somehow, got better. In the meanwhile, the sailors were busy building the new rudder, unloading the old merchandise in order not to spoil it and uploading new goods, like sugar. Although those commitments should not have taken too long, the crew, in particular the soldiers who were aboard, were asked to stay to defend the city against French corsairs who were pillaging the adjoining islands.

Eventually, after five months in Brazil, on 12 December the *São Francisco* left All Saints Bay, looking for those winds which could possibly take the ship behind Pernambuco. This displacement proved to be so difficult that Afonso could not find other explanations for the bad luck of the ship than ‘*não era hu[m] so, mas m^{[ui]tos os Ionas q[ue] dentro hião}*’.⁴⁷ In any case, they managed to surmount the Cape of Saint Augustine only on 20 January 1598 and subsequently reached the Tropic of Cancer on 18 February. But then, as if the accidents had not yet been enough, a terrible storm almost tore the ship to pieces and then it was clear to everyone that the Canary Islands were definitely out of reach, as was Cape Verde. The only chance to make land was to go aft at the discretion of the wind, provided that the cargo was lightened. Therefore, 80 sugar crates were thrown overboard to let the wind slowly carry them until they caught sight of the *Índias de Castella*; the Virgin Islands next to Puerto Rico. On 25 March, thanks to the help of a Puerto Rican pilot, the ship entered San Juan’s port. This time we let Spinola do the honors:

*È quest’isola la prima grande dell’occidentali detta Boriguen*⁴⁸ *longa 54 leghe, e larga 24, in 19 gradi,*⁴⁹

*e quasi nel mezo da parte di tramontana tiene un seno di mare, nel cui mezzo sta un’isoletta, e quivi la città chiamata s. Giovanni di porto ricco, con buon porto, fortezza, e guarniggione di 400 soldati pagati, vi è Vescovo, Governatore, et alcune persone nobili, e mercanti ricchi, la città però picciola, e per lo più le case di legno, et un convento de cinque frati di s. Domenico, vi sono poi altre terre, e ville per l’isola, par che sia la terra come quella del Brasile con le stesse frutta, et alberi, i monti sono fertili d’oro, ma perche in cavare vi muoiono molti negri,*⁵⁰ *e costano caro, si sono dati a zuccari, e zenzero, il quale portato in Spagna si vende con gran guadagno à fiamenghi, e tedeschi, ma gl’inglesi nel mare lo decimano, anzi smezano alle volte.*⁵¹

If we follow Spinola’s train of thought we are able to draw a likely portrait of what Puerto Rico was like at the end of the 16th century. We know that the Spaniards had already set foot on Puerto Rico in the first decade of the 1500s.⁵² Nevertheless, the Crown decided to fortify the entrance of San Juan harbour only at the end of the 1530s, when it commissioned the construction of a fortification on a headland on the Western-most side of the San Juan Islet and, in 1539, the construction of Fort *San Felipe del Morro* was initiated. Besides the fortress, Spinola informed the General about a garrison of ‘*400 soldati pagati*’, a number that does not match with the strength of the city as it was back in 1595, when it counted almost 600 soldiers. Most likely, the reason for this discrepancy is that two years before the city was preparing itself to force back the English fleet commanded by ‘Francisco Draque’ (Sir Francis Drake) and ‘Iuan Aquinez’ (Sir John Hawkins).⁵³ It is a fact, indeed, that it was Drake’s Caribbean raid of 1585–1586 which first compelled the Spaniards to plan the defence of the Indies on a systematic basis. In 1586, Philip II sent out the Italian engineer, Giovanni Battista Antonelli, to review the defences of the Caribbean. In the light of his report, elaborate fortifications were constructed for the protection of the principal ports, whose effectiveness was demonstrated rightly by the discomfiture of the Hawkins-Drake expedition of 1595.⁵⁴

The city, of course, was governed by a representative of the crown—the *gobernador*—a title that in the first years of the conquest included that of captain-general and was given to a number of the early *conquistadores*, in order to extend Spanish rule through the Indies.

Nevertheless, after the transitional stage of conquest this institution became to be bureaucratised and gradually the Governor ceased to be a conqueror and became an administrator, with judicial as well as administrative and military functions.⁵⁵ Probably, Spinola had the chance to meet Don Pedro Suárez Coronel, who had received the appointment of ‘*Gobernador y Cap^{[ita]n G[ene]ral de la isla de S^{[a]n Juan de Puerto Rico}}*’ in 1593.⁵⁶

The Catholic Church, on the other hand, both in Spanish America and in the mother country, functioned through its bishoprics. Dioceses were established as a consequence of military conquest or—much further on in the colonial period—of the growth in economic importance of certain regions. The bishopric constituted an autonomous administrative centre, taking care of consecrations, of appointments and of the judicial functioning of the church and it was also responsible for missionary work. From 1593 to the first half of 1598 the Puerto Rican See was bestowed on the Spanish-born Antonio Calderón de León, archdeacon of Santa Fé de Bogota, who, during Drake’s attack, apparently carried out to the full the duties incumbent on him, hastening to most dangerous posts in order to exhort the defenders of the town.⁵⁷

After the Jesuits found accommodation—some of them in the hospital (San Ildefonso?), some others in the Bishop’s or the Governor’s residence—they started to help in the religious offices, which were particularly demanding since the *São Francisco* reached San Juan only a few days before the Holy Week. During those days, between confessions and absolutions, the Ignatians tried to uplift the souls of the dwellers with preachers—both in Portuguese and in Castilian—although they could not use the pulpit, since a Dominican claimed it for only himself.⁵⁸

Once the Holy week was over, and with it all the confessions, the group of Jesuits divided. Gaspar Afonso was the only one to remain in San Juan to see the ship fixed. In fact, although belatedly, if compared with the Spanish-American colonies in the Pacific coast, shipbuilding yards also developed in Puerto Rico by the late 16th century.⁵⁹ The other Jesuits, on the other hand, left the city to start their apostolic mission, a fact that can be seen as evidence that to the Jesuits it did not really matter where they were supposed to spread their faith.

Following the Jesuit dictate of the *ire bini*, the four Italian Jesuits separated into two groups: Ferrari

and Marucelli were sent to visit some sugar mills ‘piene de negri ignorantissimi delle cose de Dio’⁶⁰ situated around the city, whereas Spinola and de Angelis set out on 14 May for a two-month journey around the island, a mission—we may say—inside the mission. This reminds us of those Jesuits who, although they were part of the large group of *indipetæ*, ended up in ‘discovering’ the *Indie nostre*,⁶¹ that is to say they found out that to meet people in need of evangelical aid they did not need to travel that far, because the rural regions of European countries, as well as the islands, were well in need of those shepherds. In the first half of the 1500s, in the Spanish world a parallelism between the Indians and the European peasants began to spread. The bishop of Ampurias in Sardinia, for instance, following this parallelism came to the conclusion that it was easier to convert the Indians of Peru than the Sardinians.⁶²

Consequently, people on board had to carry with them a certificate issued by the curate of their own parish attesting that they were ready to embark.

Anyway, after leaving the city of San Juan, Spinola and de Angelis started to move southward on horseback, through the tricky and mountainous ground of the island, which almost cost Spinola his life. However, fortunately for them, the two Ignatians managed to go beyond the mountains and in four days arrived safely at Coamo, a town situated some 70km south of San Juan. According to Spinola, the town rose ‘*in un bel piano, e molto fertile, le case stanno, tra di se distanti una e due leghe con la chiesa nel mezo, tutte di canne, e palme, o pagla*’.⁶³ Right away, Spinola felt the urge to tell Acquaviva the reaction of the dwellers when the news of the arrival of two missionaries spread. Apparently, a large number of natives soon gathered around them seeking a confession. By reading Spinola’s report we have a little suspicion about the truthfulness of his words. Our doubt lingers on whether Spinola was making use of a register which we may call ‘literary’, or whether it is just a coincidence that other reports

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of encounters with long-forgotten people are really alike? For example, let’s compare Spinola’s words with those of another Jesuit—Silvestro Landini—who wrote his letter back in 1553 from the island of Capraia on his way to Corsica. Landini, who had gained a lot of missionary experience throughout the Tuscan-Emilian Apennines, wrote:

*Et entrando noi in quella isola, tutti quanti si confessorno et comunicorno; tutte l’inimicitie si concordorno, si fecero bone limosina, si ripiliorno le sue moglie li mariti, et s’insegnò la dottrina christiana.*⁶⁴

Whereas, Spinola used the following words:

*...appresero tutti il misterio de la Santissima Trinità, e l’altre cose necessarie alla salute, particolarmente de la confessione, e del vero dolore de suoi peccati, con vero proposito di non tornarvi, nel che per quei paesi v’è grand’ignoranza, e perciò vi furno molte confessioni generali, e con l’udire i sermoni dei quattro novissimi concepirno un Santo timore, e si risolsero da dover di mutar vita, et attender alla sua salute, del che ne derno segno più volte con lagrime, con restituir il mal tolto, riconciliarsi con suoi nemici, et appartarsi dall’occasioni del peccato.*⁶⁵

The similarities are so many that we deem it legitimate to ask whether we are in front of similar descriptions or the two Jesuits were consciously using a merely stylistic device, which, presumably, had a specific response in Christendom.

Whether this really happened or not, the two missionaries spent ten days in Coamo. During those days, they convinced the town to finish the construction of the church—the roof was still missing—and they also managed to gather alms to buy the chalice for the religious offices.

On 28 May, Spinola and de Angelis left Coamo early in the morning. They reached Bucaná⁶⁶—near the present Ponce—by evening and then the next day moved on, riding for three days until they reached the settlement of Nueva Salamanca, the present San Germán, on Saturday 31 June. Here they rested awhile. Spinola’s religious offices started right the following day. Again, we find the same stereotype of stylistic device which we have illustrated before. Nevertheless, we deem it necessary to use this excerpt to underline how the Society of Jesus reflects properly the image of Christianity depicted in Trent.

When we speak about the mendicants in the evangelisation of America, we speak of the Franciscans, the first to arrive, the Dominicans, the Augustinians and the Mercedarians. Therefore, theirs also is the missionary literature that was published right after the first records from the Indies reached Europe. This literature, which is localised in the first half of the 16th century, underlined the easiness of the conversions and the great success obtained by the preachers. It is common to find descriptions of the willingness of the Indians to embrace the Catholic Church and the absolute absence of resistance.

Nevertheless, this glorious feeling was not meant to last long. Already in the 1530s, in fact, missionaries’ reports started to show the awareness that to be baptised was not the same as to be converted. Soon enough, then, this model was supplanted by a new one—that of the deep conversion—and a new order, the Society of Jesus. The Ignatians carried with them the certainty that a full conversion was to be achieved not through perfunctory and massive baptisms, but rather through preaching, confessions and communions.⁶⁷ As a matter of fact, we saw that what really mattered to Spinola in his information was to underline how many people and how many times confessions occurred. In Nueva Salamanca, for instance, he wrote that:

*incominciai à predicare il giorno della Santissima Trinità,*⁶⁸ *et animarli con questa buona occasione à confessarsi, e tutti si risolsero di farlo: concorsero i convicini alla fama, et il giorno del Santissimo Sacramento*⁶⁹ *si comunicorno molti, et indi in poi predicai ogni giorno ...; sentì nuova forza comunicatame dal Signore, e fervore, si che io stesso mi stupiva di me, è de concetti fruttuosi che m’occorrevano con istraordinaria motione degl’ascoltanti.*⁷⁰

And then, he went back again to the stereotypes we saw before, but he added something which is worth pointing out:

il frutto corrispose al desiderio, perché le confessioni furno con dolore grande, e resolutione di mutar vita, e molte generali, s’appartarono molti da male compagnie, et occasioni di peccare, lasciorno la murmuratione molto commune, et ordinaria, e concepirno Santo timore d’offender’Iddio ..., et affermavano di sentir’ in se nuova virtù per vivere, come si conveniva à veri christiani: le donne cominciorno ad andare più honestamente vestite, e

*ritirate, e gl’huomini più devoti, si che nello stesso esteriore si scorgeva la mutatione dell’interiore...*⁷¹

We judge it necessary to emphasise the last part of the excerpt. There was one thing in particular that made the missionaries begin to consider better ways of carrying on the evangelisation of the Indies. After the first stage of missionary effort—that of the triumphant records—already in the 1530s the awareness of Indians’ resort to simulation in order to praise the friars but, at the same time, to stay close to their deities began to appear in the reports.⁷² Spinola, maybe consciously, maybe not, felt compelled to stress this point in order to make Acquaviva and the Society itself understand that the faith of the Puerto Rican was not superficial, instead it was deeply rooted in their way of life. In other words, his mission was definitely accomplished.

The influence of the Council of Trent on the missions can be felt not only through confessions and communions. The Counter reform emphasised a whole series of practices that clearly differentiated the Catholic church from Protestantism. Although no Protestants then existed in America, processions, veneration of the saints, devotions observed on behalf of souls in purgatory and indulgences, for example, were prominent features of Christianity in the Indies. External and institutional features were to some extent exalted over personal experience.⁷³ Then, we should understand the main reason why Carlo Spinola wrote the following words:

*ogni notte ivano per le strade disciplinandose alcuni à sangue, il che durò molti giorni, et all’11. de Giugno giorno di S. Barnaba, per penitenza de peccati passati, e per impetrare gratia di perseverare nel bene cominciato, si fece una devota processione su la notte con lumi: quasi tutti ivano scalzi, e molti battendosi a sangue, i fanciulli gridavano di volta in volta à Dio, Misericordia, alcune delle donne sconosciute caminavano sempre con le ginocchia per terra, l’altre piangevano, et era un spettacolo da muovere le pietre.*⁷⁴

On 30 June, the two Jesuits left Nueva Salamanca quite in a hurry, since they still had a town to visit—Arecibo—although they knew the ship was almost ready to sail. Although the road to the last stage was rainy and tricky, Spinola said that also in Arecibo the fruits of their mission were as good as the others. They spent ten days there and then took the road back to San Juan, where they arrived on 11 July.

Before they got there, Alessandro Ferrari and Jorge Pereira had already left the port on a small ship. The remainder—Gaspar Afonso, Girolamo de Angelis, Girolamo Marucelli and Carlo Spinola—decided to follow the advice of the pilot of the *São Francisco* and put an end to their journey aboard that unfortunate ship. The damage sustained by the vessel, in fact, could not be entirely fixed. Consequently, the four Jesuits were ‘repartidos a dous e dous’ and went on board ‘por outros navios’.⁷⁵ The *ire bini*, in other words, still went on.

3. ‘VENNE L’INGLESE CON NON GRANDE NAVE, MA BEN ARMATA’: ENGLISH PIRATES AND ITALIAN MISSIONARIES

The two missionaries eventually left San Juan heading for Lisbon on 21 August ‘in un picciolo naviglio disarmato ..., però nuovo, e stimato buono di vela’.⁷⁶ The ship on which Afonso and Marucelli were aboard ran aground beyond the harbour and therefore the fleet left the Antilles without it.

The first part of the voyage did not go very well, as we may expect. As a matter of fact, Spinola boarded ill and after only two days they passed through a harsh storm which lasted three days. Owing to that, they lost sight of the other five ships of the fleet, although they ran into a Flemish vessel whose crew was acquainted with the seamen aboard Spinola’s ship. Nevertheless, the fellow vessel was slower and therefore the navigation took much longer than it should have, with consequent waste of food and water.

Return voyages from the Antilles normally took a northerly route, leaving the Caribbean by the straits between Cuba and Florida and skirting the Bahamas. The hope was to use the Gulf Stream and then to catch the westerlies of the north Atlantic.⁷⁷

The two ships reached the Azores by 17 October, which meant that Portugal was only a week away. Yet, it was not still time to go back to Lisbon. That very day, in fact, the vedette caught sight of a ship sailing three leagues away from them. Maybe—as Spinola suggested—if they had hoisted the sails and sailed at full speed they would have been able to flee. However, the three men who were in charge of the ship⁷⁸ could not reach a common decision. Eventually, the question was settled and they waited for the unknown ship, even though, with the wisdom of hindsight, they should have

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known better than to wait, since the ship they deemed friendly turned out to be an English pirate ship:

Venne l'inglese con non grande nave, ma ben armata, inferiore però d'artegleria, e soldati, ma non già in coraggio, et incominciò à combatterla; la nostra nave come faceva molt'acqua, per non aprirne maggiore, non poteva disparare molte pezze, e non haveva buoni bombardieri, et essendo grandi l'onde, quelle che disparava poche accertava, e per dir'il vero niuno vuol morire, e gl'inglesi tengono quella loro pace di coscienza, e fiducia d'irsene dritto al cielo, che non gli fa temere ne morte ne altro; durò la battaglia due hore alla fine con tante balle venne l'inglese à rompere le due vele grandi de la nave, si che non poteva più così bene difenderci, ne voltarsi, quando l'inglese passava dall'altra parte per offendere noi. Visto questo i patroni del nostro patascio si risolsero di fuggire, ma non era tempo; perche l'inglese lasciando la nave grande, la quale si desperiva di poter vincere, massime havendo molto poca polvere, venne dietro à noi, dove sapeva che non vi saria stata resistenza, et in brieve ci sopraгонse, e buttativi dentro da 12 soldati, se n'impatronì ... I soldati che saltorno i primi, tolsero ciò che di buono trovorno nelle cascie che stavano di sopra, et entrato uno nella nostra cameretta mi pose il pugnale à la gola perche gli desse i danari se ne portavamo; e così ci tolse 400 ducati di quelli, che sua Santità haveva dati di limosina per il Giappone⁷⁹ al P. Egidio de la Matta,⁸⁰ e ciò ch'havevamo nelle cascie ...;⁸¹ non ferno mal'ad alcuno, ne toccarno sopra le vesti, che ciascuno portava indosso, ma tutt'il resto presero, e partirno tra loro, e per buscar meglio, e stare più sicuri, c'inserorno tutti in bascio.⁸²

It has been reckoned that there are three climaxes in the losses of the *Carreira's* ships caused by enemy attacks: 1587-1597, 1606-1608 and 1621-1622. The first one, the one that concerns us, corresponds to the British assault against Iberian interests in the Atlantic Ocean, which could be traced principally around the Azores and near the Iberian littoral. The British ships used to hunt their prey on the way back from India, so that the holds would be crammed with merchandise and the long journey would have weakened the ships' resistance.⁸³ For English privateers and pirates, the Azores were one of the favourite spots, yet not the only one. As we saw before, in the course of the war between

Spain and England from 1585 to 1604 the Caribbean was one of the main areas of English privateering.⁸⁴

The day following the boarding, Spinola and de Angelis were transported to the pirate's ship where they were received by Captain Andrew Fairfax⁸⁵ and by two noblemen, who acted as Latin-English interpreters. Then, something unexpected happened. When Fairfax asked about the personal details of the two Jesuits, Spinola decided to challenge his faith and answered that:

...eramo de la Compagnia di Giesù, et italiani; ma la cosa riuscì al contrario, perche ci cominciorno a riverire più, e trattar miglore, de lo che restai maraviglato, e mi dissero subito che non havea da temere, perche eglino non perseguono se non i naturali che vanno di propria volontà in Inghilterra per convertire alla fede del papa; tanto più essendo noi italiani, co quali loro trattano, e non hanno guerra, e questo copriva il tutto, massime essendo io Genovese non sogetto al Re di Spagna.⁸⁶

From the Society of Jesus's point of view, Spinola's surprise was well justified. After the death of the Catholic Mary I in 1558, the assumption of the throne by Elizabeth I brought renewed persecution of Catholicism, particularly in the second half of her reign, after the failed northern rebellion of 1569⁸⁷ and the papal bull *Regnans in excelsis*, in which Pius V excommunicated Elizabeth and threatened the same for all English Catholics who obeyed her.⁸⁸ Shortly before the publication of the bull, an English college was set up at Douai in France (1568) to provide a rallying-point for the scattered bands of Catholics who had fled from their native land. From being merely an asylum for refugees, Douai rapidly became the centre of a great missionary effort to wrest England from the grasp of heresy.⁸⁹ There followed the foundation of other English colleges throughout Catholic Europe, like the one in Rome (1576), during the two decades—1580s and 90s—which represented the peak of Catholic martyrological awareness in early modern Europe. The appearance of the Jesuits put the English monarchy on the alert and in order to meet the increasing danger the penal laws were greatly amplified and strengthened. In 1585, with the issue of the *Act Against Jesuits and Seminarists* (27 Elizabeth, Cap. 2)⁹⁰ it was ordered that 'all and every Jesuits, seminary priests, and other priests whatsoever ..., shall within forty days ... depart out of this realm of England, and out of all other her highness's realms and dominions'.⁹¹

We shall also stress the last part of the excerpt. According to Spinola, Fairfax underlined the political status of the two Jesuits as a reason not to harm them. As a matter of fact, the Elizabethan acts against Catholicism were not exactly acts of religious persecution. If we read the first paragraph of the aforementioned act, we find that Elizabeth was more concerned with political rather than theological issues. The act was published to make the missionaries unable 'to stir up and move sedition, rebellion, and open hostility within the same her highness's realms and dominions'.⁹²

Already in the 1530s, in fact, missionaries' reports started to show the awareness that to be baptised was not the same as to be converted.

This point was by no means unknown to the world of the 16th and 17th centuries, when religion and politics were hardly separable. In Catholic countries, for instance, where the principle of the *cuius regio eius religio* had been established since 1555, the crime of heresy was punished by the same standards as high treason, since by dissenting from the religion of a lord was a form of sedition and the same concept was held in Elizabethan England.⁹³ The rulers of Japan also shared this view. The issue of the 1587 edict of Catholic prescription by the tyrant Toyotomi Hideyoshi was due to his conviction that the Western faith would present obstacles to national unification, since it generated a separate authority that was not integrated into that political system of unity.

Anyway, Spinola's desire to suffer remained unsatisfied. On the contrary, their situation aboard the English ship ameliorated. They were not allowed to share the table with the high officials of the ship, but the Captain 'ci dava molte volte di sua mano da far colatione, et invitava à bere, e quando mangiavamo sempre ci mandava qualche cosa di sua tavola in particolare'.⁹⁴

Since the seizure of the ship granted an income of 24,000 ducats, and also to avoid unpleasant encounters with Spanish vessels, the English fleet decided to

navigate far away from the land and headed straight towards England.

Their entrance into the English Channel was welcomed by a tempest so strong that it did not permit the ship to reach its own destination. Consequently, probably on 5 November, they entered the closest port within reach—Axmouth—⁹⁵ and then the following day they arrived at Andrew's homeland, 'che non stava longi se non 6 leghe detta Atapson',⁹⁶ where the Captain provided accommodation for the captives, for whom he had to pay a daily fee.⁹⁷

When the selling of the booty began, those Englishmen who were able to speak a Romance language paid the Jesuits a visit and 'intendendo ch'eramo italiani ci facevano gran festa, et in segno di straordinaria carezza ci brindavano col miglor vino ch'havessero con zuccaro, ... dicendo che gl'italiani meritano ogni cortesia per essere così cortesi con tutti'.⁹⁸ Since Italy and the Italians were going through tough times we think they deserve this quotation.

Also during this gentle captivity, Spinola persisted in his apostolic mission. He wrote that those who greeted them, submitted questions about the faith, for example about the justification or the cult of the saints, and—according to Spinola—through the missionaries' explications some found themselves out to be Catholics! He also added that others:

c'invitorno a sue case, desiderando di vederci alcune signore vecchie catholiche molto nobili, le quali per lo più habitano fuori de le città in Santa solitudine e con le molte limosine, che fanno, e carità che usano con tutti, sono dalli stessi heretici amate, e riverite; molt'altri desideravano di fare il medesimo, ma lo lasciarno per non essere con questo scoperti, et erano Signori di titolo, e principali.⁹⁹

It is known that during the reign of Elizabeth some nobles were compelled to choose a life in the countryside in order to maintain both the Catholic faith and, if they were a peer of the realm, the charge and the respective political influence. The aforementioned northern rebellion fits in this space. We may also add that the Jesuitical mission during the 1580s and the 1590s benefitted exactly from the hospitality offered by these nobles, amongst whom two women are famous—Elizabeth Lady Vaux and the Countess Ann of Arundel. The Ignatians, therefore, concentrated their efforts on the conversion or on the maintenance of the faith of high social standing people—as they often

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did—and consequently they were seen as a danger to the constitutional order. Even so, in the late Elizabethan reign the relationship between nobles and Jesuits slowed down until it practically stopped and the Catholic families kept their faith for themselves only.¹⁰⁰

*Le cose d’Inghilterra stanno più rivolte che mai, e quanto a lo stato politico, e spirituale ...; la religione poi non si sa qual sia in Inghilterra tanta mescolanza vi è d’ogni setta, e già negano i più dotti che la Regina sia capo de la chiesa, e la fanno un cerbero di tre teste dei tre Arcivescovi, i quali voglono che siano i superiori Giudici de le controversie, con tutto ciò confessano per forza che la Regina fa tutte le leggi, e Vescovi, et è monarca di tutto.*¹⁰¹

It has been said that Anglican England is rather unique in the history of toleration, since, although it separated from the Roman Church, it harboured many dissidents of different faiths. In the light of what we have just underlined—the political implications of being Catholic—this point comes as a logical consequence. Elizabethan England sought accommodation with other faiths in order to gain control. We saw that although the Catholics were not regarded as heretics, they could be persecuted under the guise of treason. On the other hand, foreign Protestant refugees were allowed to have their own churches.¹⁰²

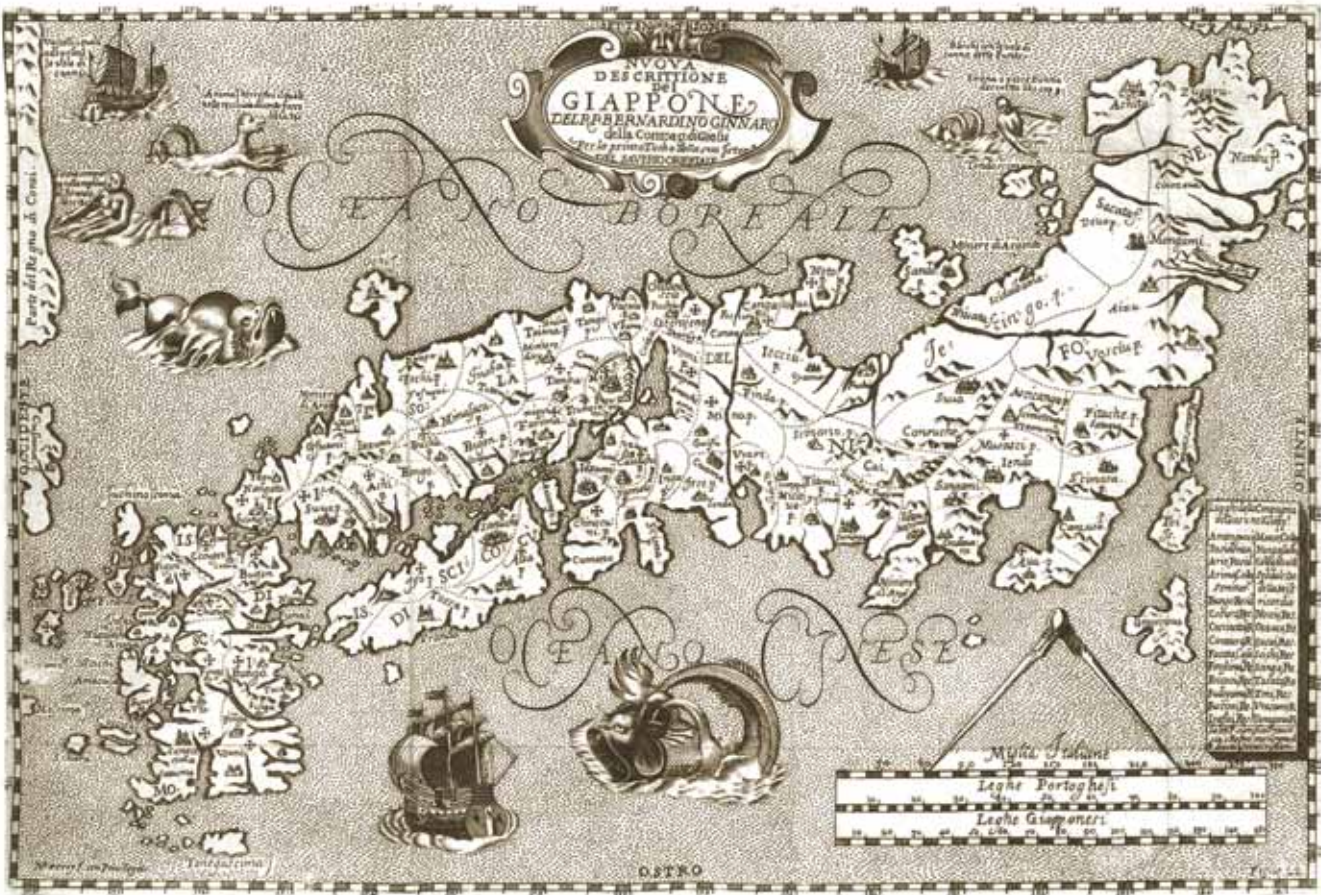
In any event, the two missionaries tried to leave England through London, right away. Although they did not even consider the idea of remaining there, Captain Fairfax did not free them, maybe fearing to pay ‘*la pena conforme al nuovo editto*’.¹⁰³ Eventually, however, on 6 December he decided to escort them personally to the French port of Saint Malo, but, once again, bad weather conditions did not allow the ship to arrive in the port. Therefore, it was decided to go back to Plymouth. There, the Jesuits had the first uncanny fluke in almost two years. They met a German Catholic merchant, who ‘*fa professione di condurre i preti d’Inghilterra, et Portogallo à sua patria, haveva passa porto d’ambedue i Regni, et all’hora veniva con particular licenza de la Regina, per poter condur seco à Portogallo alcuni de portoghesi, che in quel posto stavano*’.¹⁰⁴ On 10 January 1598, they sailed aboard a small ship and in only 8 days’ time they reached Lisbon, exactly where everything began 22 months before. Spinola and de Angelis went straight to São Roque where, since they were dressed in the English

manner and they had not shaved, it was hard to recognise them, also because they were reported lost at sea. Yet, there they were, so ‘*desiderosi ... à tentar mille volte di nuovo il camino, et impresa, aspettando di patire maggiori cose che non habbiamo patite sin’hora ..., et adesso come à soldati vecchi pareranno via più le cose facili, et i pericoli minori*’.¹⁰⁵

4. ‘SONO PUR GIUNTO CON LA DIVINA GRATIA ALL’INDIA, VERSO DOVE VO CAMINANDO, E SOSPIRANDO QUATTRO ANNI SONO’: CONCLUSIONS

Despite the fact that their desire to leave for Japan was very strong, the two missionaries had to wait longer than they expected. According to the first biography of Carlo Spinola, it was deemed necessary to first inform Acquaviva of their safe return to Lisbon and to wait for his new instructions.¹⁰⁶ We will not assume that this was the real reason, and we have some doubts about it. Actually, in a letter Spinola wrote on 8 March to an Italian friend, he wrote that ‘*non ho più tempo, le navi stanno di partenza, sono cinque, ma tre grandiss^{[im]e}, la mia avanza tutte, dimani credo, o al più tardi mercordì partiremo, e tornaremo a tentar l’impresa*’.¹⁰⁷ Therefore, Spinola was meant to get on board in March and it does not seem likely that on the two days between the eighth and the tenth the Superior in Lisbon decided that it was better to inform Rome. According to Juan Ruiz-de-Medina, there was no Jesuit registered on the *armada* of 1598.¹⁰⁸ He was wrong. Spinola and de Angelis were to sail that year, but it was the very armada that was obliged to delay the departure, ‘*p[er]che gl’inglesi stanno a la porta, et il tempo si va mutando, et insieme passando la stagione de la buona navigatione*’.¹⁰⁹

This delay offered to Spinola the opportunity of obtaining the fourth vote in October,¹¹⁰ and then by the end of March 1599 he left Portugal for the second time, while Lisbon ‘*ardeva in peste*’.¹¹¹ Obviously, it was not possible to keep the plague off the ship and although the epidemic lasted only until the equator, two missionaries—the Italian Felice Algerio and the Portuguese Afonso Alvares—succumbed to the disease. Other Jesuits died during the voyage between Mozambique and Goa,¹¹² while Spinola had to rest a week on the African Island owing to a strong fever—‘*la maggior febbre, che m’habbi patito in vita mia*’¹¹³—and



‘Nuova Descrizione del Giappone’ in Bernardino Ginnaro’s *Saverio Orientale à vero Istorie de’ Cristiani Illustri dell’Oriente*. Napoli, 1641.

then he left aboard another ship ‘*che chiamano del tratto, correndo rischio, se partiva alcuni giorni prima, di restar, et invernar ivi un’anno intiero*’.¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, Spinola finally was able to write the following words:

*Io adesso sto qui in Goa in questa Casa professa ..., aspettando il tempo per imbarcarmi verso il Giappone, il quale sarà questo Aprile. Non potria facilmente dire l’allegrezza, che sentii nel giungere à Goa, e vedere questo novo mondo, et intendere le molte, e grandi porte, che in questo novo oriente si sono aperte, e si vanno aprendo alla predicatione del S^{[an]to} evangelio ... Io vo molto animato, e confidato ... che certo quando penso à i molti ostacoli ch’hebbi in Italia, e poi ai tanti travagli, e contrasti nell’oceano, sono forzato à credere ch’il Sig^{[no]re} vogla per mio mezo convertire molte anime alla sua S^{[an]ta} legge.*¹¹⁵

Eventually, he reached Macao in August 1600. He was due to leave for Japan the next summer, but on 27 November ‘*nos pegaron fuego a nuestra Iglesia por la p^{[ar]te}*

de fuera, con q[ue] ardio toda, q[ue] só la podimos salvar el sacrario con el Sancto Sacram^{[en]to}’,¹¹⁶ and – according to Fabio Ambrosio Spinola – since Carlo ‘*haueua ... cura per essere buon Matematico*’,¹¹⁷ he was bestowed the honor of designing the new façade. Moreover, during the spring of 1601 Spinola was chosen to be Procurator by the new Rector of Macao’s college—Valentim Carvalho—because he ‘*achou o P^{[adr]e} Miguel Soarez morto, e vio que os home[n]s estavam be[m] com migo*’.¹¹⁸ He was assured that he would have been in charge only until the departure of the *Nao* in summer but owing to casualties and light cargo there was no regular voyage to Japan in 1601,¹¹⁹ and therefore he was forced to postpone his arrival to ‘*Jappão que tanto me custa*’.¹²⁰

The end of his voyage is dated August 1602 when he finally set foot on Japanese soil, the same soil that would see him die twenty years later. **RC**



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NOTES

1 ‘Quando mai, se si potesse, dovressimo, quanto allo stile, parere antichi che pensarono alla moderna. Laddove nei nostri accade tutto il contrario. Il P. Dan. Bartoli è il Dante della prosa italiana. Il suo stile in ciò che spetta alla lingua, è tutto a risalti e rilievi. (22. Marzo 1822).’ Giacomo Leopardi, ‘Zibaldone’, in *Tutte le opere*, edited by Walter Binni and Enrico Ghidetti, vol. 2, ‘Zibaldone di pensieri’, paragraphs 2396-2397.

2 Daniello Bartoli, *Dell'Historia della Compagnia di Giesù - Il Giappone prima parte dell'Asia*, pp. 141-142.

3 One of Spinola's letters we are going to use for the present work (for the reference see the note 4) does present neither the date nor the signature. Nevertheless, we can infer it was written on 23 or 24 March thanks to an annotation someone who was definitely not Spinola wrote down in the paper. The letter, indeed, contains several notes which, we may presume, were written by the Secretary of Claudio Acquaviva in Rome.

4 Carlo Spinola S.J. to General Claudio Acquaviva, Lisbon, end of March, 1598. Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu (henceforth, ARSI), *Japonica Sinica* 36. *Autograph. Mart. Mesquita-Zola 1599-1625* (henceforth, *Jap. Sin.* 36), fls. 137r-140r, quotation in fl. 137r. For Japanese readers there also exists an elucidated translation, see Miyazaki Kentarō 宮崎賢太郎, ‘Pádore karuro supinora, sengohyakukyūjūhachi nen ichigatsu jūhachinichi, risubon hatsu iezusukai sōcyō kuraudio akuwabiva ate syokan (sono ichi)’ パードレ・カルロ・スピノラ、一五九八年一月十八日、リスボン発、イエズス会総長クラウドリオ・アクワビーヴァ宛書簡 (その一) (A letter (18 January 1598, Lisbon) from Father Carlo Spinola to the Superior General of Society of Jesus Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., Part I), pp. 18-37 and from the same author ‘Pádore karuro supinora, sengohyakukyūjūhachi nen ichigatsu jūhachinichi, risubon hatsu iezusukai sōcyō kuraudio akuwabiva ate syokan (sono ni)’ パードレ・カルロ・スピノラ、一五九八年一月十八日、リスボン発、イエズス会総長クラウドリオ・アクワビーヴァ宛書簡 (その二) (A letter (18 January 1598, Lisbon) from Father Carlo Spinola to the Superior General of Society of Jesus Claudio Acquaviva, S.J., Part II), pp. 11-20.

5 See the prologue of Pinto's *Naufrágio Que Passou Jorge de Albuquerque Coelho Vindo do Brasil para este reino no ano de 1565*, in *História Trágico-Marítima compilada por Bernardo Gomes de Brito* (henceforth *HTM*) edited by Damião Peres (Porto: F. Machado, 1936), vol. III, p. 109.

6 *Relação da Viagem e Sucesso que teve a Nau S. Francisco em que ia por Capitão Vasco da Fonseca na armada que foi para a Índia no ano de 1596 escrita pelo Padre Gaspar Afonso um dos oito da Companhia que nela iam* in *HTM*, vol. V, pp. 81-171. The original manuscript used by the compiler is a letter that Gaspar Afonso wrote in Évora on 21 June 1599 and it is still available for consulting in the Roman archive of the Society of Jesus. See ARSI, *Lusitania* 106, fls. 251r-270v. For an elucidated edition of Afonso's letter see Giulia Lanciani, *Naufrági e Peregrinazioni Americane di Gaspar Afonso* (Milano: Cisalpino-Goliardica, 1984).

7 ‘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’. ARSI, *Historia Societate* 61 *Liber Patentium 1573-1601*, fl. 50r. A similar list also in ARSI, *Lusitania* 73, fls. 114r-115v. We also have a more thorough list in ARSI, *Goa* 24 [II], fl. 264r: ‘Na nao S. Francisco: P. Gaspar Afonso, natural de Serpa, arcebisgado d'Evora, idade 44 e da Companhia 24, pregador. P. Jacome de Vicari, natural de Napoles, de 28 anos e da Companhia 13, acabados seus estudos. P. Alexandre Ferraro, napolitano, de 31 anos e da Companhia 12, tres anos

de theologia. P. Carlo Espinola, genovês, de 30 anos e da Companhia 12, acabados seus estudos. Ir. Jeronimo Marucheli, napolitano, de 27 annos [sic] e da Companhia dez, estudou até phelosophia. Ir. Jeronimo de Angelis, siciliano, de 27 anos e da Companhia dez, coadjutor. Ir. Jorge Pereira, de Vila Real, arcebisgado de Braga, de 18 anos e da Companhia 4, estudava latim. Ir. Bertolamé Sanches, do arcebisgado de Toledo, de 30 anos e da Companhia 7, coadjutor’. For a transcription see Josef Wicki (ed.), *Documenta Indica*, vol. XVIII (henceforth *DI*), List of the Fathers and Brothers who sailed to India and Japan, pp. 528-530. Naus da Índia de 1541 a 1598’, pp. 5-17. In particular see pp. 6-9. ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 36, fl. 137r.

8 Joseph Wicki, ‘As Relações de Viagens dos Jesuítas na Carreira das Naus da Índia de 1541 a 1598’, pp. 5-17. In particular see pp. 6-9. ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 36, fl. 137r.

9 Ibid., fl. 137v.

10 ARSI, *Lusitania* 106, fl. 251r.

11 ‘Ne te fructu optimo / Frauda laborum. Quod fuit durum pati / Meminisse dulce est. Fare casus horridus’. ARSI, ibid. In the original text the excerpt sounds a little different: *Amphitryon: Pervince, Theseu, quidquid alto in pectore remanet pavoris; neve te fructu optimo Frauda laborum: quae fuit durum pati, meminisse dulce est: fare casus horridos*. Cf. Hercules Furens, third act, 654-657. We consulted the edition in *Seneca's Tragedies*, translated by Frank Justus Miller.

12 ‘面白かった事、愉快であった事は無論、昔の不平をさえ得意に喋々して、したり顔である。これはあえて自ら欺くの、人を偽わるのと云う了見ではない。旅行をする間は常人の心持ちで、曾遊を語るときはすでに 詩人 の態度にあるから、こんな矛盾が起る’. Natsume Sōseki 夏目漱石, *Kusamakura* 草枕 (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1996), p. 35. My thanks to Martín Nogueira Ramos of Waseda Daigaku for helping me with the translation.

13 ARSI, *Lusitania* 106, fl. 251rv.

14 ‘...uma Quarta Feira de Trêvas’. *HTM*, vol. V, p. 85.

15 The *Capitão-mor* of those *armadas*, as well as the captaincy of each ship, rapidly became a monopoly of the nobility by bestowing of the Crown, even if the noble in question did not exhibit any navigation skills whatsoever. He wielded his authority over military, judiciary and administrative matters. Consequently, the one who was responsible for the cruise of the ship was the pilot (*piloto*) who, in almost all the shipwrecks’ accounts and in ours too, remains unknown. Cf. Frédéric Mauro, *Portugal, o Brasil e o Atlântico 1570-1670*, pp. 103-104 and Paulo Guinote, Eduardo Frutuoso e António Lopes, *Naufrágios e Outras Perdas da ‘Carreira da Índia’ Séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisbon: Grupo de Trabalho do Ministério da Educação para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1998), p. 52.

16 Maritime historians have pointed out that it is almost useless to follow strict criteria in order to define, characterise and distinguish exactly what a *nau* (old Portuguese for *ship*) or a *galeão* (galleon) were alike, since if we compare them through different sources they may eventually correspond. Cf. Guinote *et al.*, *Naufrágios e Outras Perdas*, cit., p. 44. Still, we may add the names of the other two ships which formed the 1596 *armada*: the *Conceição* and the *São Felipe*.

17 Cf. Aleixo da Mota, ‘Roteiro da Índia’, in *Roteiros Portugueses da Viagem de Lisboa à Índia nos Séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1898), p. 94 quoted in Maria Benedita Araújo, ‘Naus da Índia, Deus as leva, Deus as traz’, p. 349.

18 See Luís de Albuquerque, *Escalas da Carreira da Índia*, p. 5.

19 It is an archipelago of five small isles situated at latitude of 18° south, about thirty miles southeast of the Whale Point (Ponta da Baleia). It is one of the most infamous archipelagos of the 16th and 17th centuries and its name is probably derived by the terror it struck into the Portuguese ships: *abre olhos*, open your eyes! Cf. Mauro, *Portugal, o Brasil e o Atlântico*, cit., p. 145.

21 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 36, fl. 137r. The underlining is Spinola's.

22 ARSI, *Lusitania* 106, fl. 251v.

23 ‘...continuaua a viagem trazendo sempre menos vela, que a outra nao, por conseruar sua companhia, & asi mo ter ordenado sua Magestade em seu Regimento’. Joseph de Cabreira, *Naufragio da nao Nossa Senhora de Bethlem feito na Terra do Natal no Cabo de Boa Esperança. Sucessos que teve o Capitão Joseph de Cabreira, que nella passov a India o anno de 1635 fazendo o officio de Almirante daquella Frota até chegar a este Reyno* (Lisbon: Lourenço Craesbeeck, 1636), fl. 2v quoted in Kioko Koiso, *Mar, Medo e Morte: Aspectos Psicológicos dos Naufragos na História Trágico-Marítima, nos Testemunhos Inéditos e Noutras Fontes*, vol. 1, pp. 277-278. Regarding the two other ships which were supposed to sail along with the *São Francisco*, we know that the *Conceição*, which took the Visitor Nicolau Pimenta, reached Goa safely on October 24. See *DI*, vol. XVIII, pp. 703-704. The *São Felipe*, on which Gil da Mata was sailing, arrived before December, 1596. See *DI*, vol. XVIII, p. 629.

24 António Francisco Cardim, *Relaçam da Viagem do Galeam Sam Lourenço, e sua perdiçam nos baixos de Moxincalc em 3 de Setembro de 1649*. Pello P. Antonio Francisco Cardim da Companhia de IESVS *procurador geral da Prouincia do Iapão. A Manoel Seuerim de Faria* (Lisbon: Domingos Lopes Rosa, 1651), fl. 3v quoted in Koiso, *Mar, Medo e Morte*, cit. p. 280.

25 ‘O Padre mío! Qué casa de probación es una nao destas, para provarse los verdaderos hijos de la Compañía, y perficionarse la charidad y conocerse cada uno quién es!’ Father Andreas de Cabrera S.J. to Father Inácio de Tolosa, Baçaim, 15.XII.1564. In *DI*, vol. VI, p. 381.

26 Father Francesco Pasio S. J. to Brother Lorenzo Pasio S. J., Goa, 28.X and 30.XI.1578. *DI*, vol. XI, pp. 353-354.

27 ‘In questo tempo il P. Alessandro Ferrari, con i due frate[lli] Girolamo Angelis, e Maruccelli, attendevano à studiare sua Theologia, legendogli il P. Giacomo [sic, Jacopo]; io attendeva à la dottrina christiana, confessare, et altri ministerij de la Compagnia, se bene il P. Giacomo come molto fervente non poteva comportare che faticassi tanto solo, e molte volte m'aggiutava con gran consolatione de portughesi, i quali gli tenevano grande veneratione, e credito di santità, nelli bisogni non mancava il P. Alessandro di fare sua parte’. ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 36, fl. 137r.

28 Session fourteenth, On The Most Holy Sacraments Of Penance And Extreme Unction, celebrated on 25.XI.1551.

29 Cf. Adriano Prosperi, *Tribunali della Coscienza: Inquisitori, confessori, missionari*, p. 270.

30 See Araújo, ‘Naus da Índia’, cit., p. 349 and Koiso, *Mar, Medo e Morte*, cit., p. 294. The *alvará* imposing the Communion was issued in 16 March 1568. Cf. Mauro, *Portugal, o Brasil e o Atlântico*, cit., pp. 120-121.

31 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 36, fl. 137r.

32 ARSI, *Lusitania* 106, fl. 251v.

33 ‘Si servi Dio nostro Signore di quest'occasione per far risolvere molti à far del bene, già che l'amore non bastava, perché molti apprendendo maggior pericolo di quello ch'era in fatti, stimandosi persi, e senza rimedio, si vennero à confessare, e riconciliar co suoi nemici; ... et à tutti era bisogno soccorrere, e consolare più per la malinconia di non poter andar avanti, e così perdere gran guadagno de le mercantie, che portavano, che per la febbre, la qual pure fu per lo più acuta, tuttavia non ne morirno se non 10’. ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 36, fl. 137r.

34 ARSI, *Lusitania* 106, fl. 251v.

35 ‘Segui gran confusione, e disparere tra marinari del partito, che s'haveva da prendere: il pilotto voleva ritornarsene dritto à Lisbona, ma non parve agl'altri di potersi far tanto camino senza timone, che se fosse venuta tempesta non se gli poteva resistere; altri tentorno di fare nuovo timone, e se ciò riusciva andavano all'India, ma non vi erano sufficienti officiali, ne ferramenti, e la machina era molto grande, cioè 50 palmi longo, e

9 largo; perciò si risolvorno di fare due gran remi d'antenne à due lati de la poppa, co quali se bene con gran forza, e poca vela si governava, havedoci favorito il Signore di bonaccia, e vento come lo desideravamo in quei frangenti. Fatti i remi, o spatelle, e posti otto giorni in continoue consulte, gli soldati, senza de quali non si poteva governar la nave per l'infermità de marinari, fecero resolver il Capitano, e pilotto quasi per forza che s'andasse al Brasil, al porto de tutt'i Santi che chiamano Bayà, perche per andar ad Angola era necessario giungere vicin' al capo, e poi tornar in dietro, et ogni picciola tempesta che fosse venuta, havria fatt'in pezzi i remi, e non vi era altro più sicuro porto, ne più comodo per far il timone’. ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 36, fl. 137r.

36 ‘...até final resolução q[ue] foi ir en demanda da Bahya de todos os S^[an]^{tes} no Brasil, indaq[ue] contra hu[m] expresso regim^[m]^{ento} del Rey’. ARSI, *Lusitania* 106, fl. 251v.

37 See ‘Provisão sobre as náos, que invernao, arriabbarem a esta cidade’ 6 March 1565, in *Boletim do Conselho Ultramarino, Legislação Antiga*, vol. I (1446-1754), pp. 169-170.

38 ARSI, *Lusitania* 106, fl. 252r.

39 See Guinote *et al.*, *Naufrágios e Outras Perdas*, cit. p. 58.

40 According to Alessandro Valignano the medica l assistance was one of the three aspects in which the Jesuits were the most successful: ‘Nelle navi s'è fatto notabile frutto da' nostril, particolarmente in tre cose: la prima in tener cura dell'infermi et soccorrere le loro et le necessità d'altri poveri, il che è stato la causa in parte che molti non siano morti; la 2.^a era nel quietare le risse et dissentioni che tra marinari et soldati sogliono tanto frequentemente nascere, li quali erano subito pacificati; la tertia era nel predicare et insgnar la dottrina cristiana et [co]nfessare, nel che fu notabile l'emendatione, particolarmente de giuramenti ch'al principio tanto frequentemente si facevano, di che si deve solamente dar gratia a nostro Signore che move le volontà’. Visitor Alessandro Valignano to Father Francisco de Santos, Mozambique, 6.VIII.1574 in *DI*, vol. IX, p. 389.

41 In the *Relação da Província do Brasil, 1610*, we found a description of the Brazilian weather, which suggests that the fog was a rather common atmospheric phenomenon: ‘Pera a vida é este Brasil a melhor parte desta América, assim pola bondade dos mantimentos e ares como das águas, O ser tão sadia, como é, me parece nascer dos Nordeste, Lestes e Suestes, ventos mareiros, os quais cursam a mor parte do ano, cuja viração entra polas 10 horas, e continua até à meia noite em que de ordinário acalma, parece por respeito dos vapores que se levantam, gerados das árvores e vales apaulados; e estes comumente se resolvem em chuva e orvalho, e com a nasçença do sol de improviso fica um céu mui claro e limpo’. See Serafim Leite, *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil* (henceforth *HCJB*), vol. VIII, pp. 394-395.

42 ‘... su l'alba comparve un naviglio di Roccellesi, de quali molti correvano quella costa, e venne à riconoscere la nave, ma non osò combatterla vedendola sì grande, e di sì grosse artiglarie armata, che se l'abordava, c'havria dato che fare stando quasi tutt'infermi, e se parti per darne forse nuova à compagni’. ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 36, fl. 137v. We infer that Spinola by ‘un naviglio di Roccellesi’ meant a ship from La Rochelle, the French port in Saintonge (today's Charente-Maritime), since during the second quarter of the 16th century it is apparent a continuous French presence in the Caribbean Sea. We are also aware that privateering expeditions were mostly bound towards Portuguese Brazil and Peru, although these ones had begun to slow down during the second half of the 16th century owing to the civil and religious wars in France. In fact, they were dependent on the capacity of the Huguenot ports of western France, which had been more weakened than strengthened by the religious wars. Cf. Paul Butel, *The Atlantic* (New York: Routledge, 1999), pp. 78 and 113.

43 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 36, fl. 137r.

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44 Inácio de Tolosa (Segóvia, 1533–Bahia, 1611) was the first Ignatian who graduated in theology in the University of Évora (Portugal). He had been in charge of the Brazilian province of the Society from 1572 to 1577, but he was also bestowed the charge of Rector of Rio de Janeiro and of Bahia's colleges. In the latter, he also taught theology for a while and was also the place where he died. See *HCJB, vol. II*, pp. 477-479.

45 ARSI, *Lusitania* 106, fl. 252v.

46 ‘...alli 30 di Giuglio mi venne buona febre congionta con sonno, e sdegnamento di stomaco, et alle volte svariamento di testa’. ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 36, fl. 137v.

47 ARSI, *Lusitania* 106, fl. 255v.

48 *Boriquen* (also *Borinquén*) was what the native called their island. This population—the Taínos—originated from the Orinoco Delta. They replaced a more primitive people, the Siboney, everywhere in the Caribbean but in western Cuba, therefore their range extended from Puerto Rico in the east, to the Lucayo Islands on the north, Jamaica on the south, and to the eastern half of Cuba on the west. See Anthony M. Stevens-Arroyo, ‘The Inter-Atlantic Paradigm: The Failure of Spanish Medieval Colonization of the Canary and Caribbean Islands’, pp. 515-543, in particular pp. 525-526.

49 Puerto Rico’s exact geographical dimensions and coordinates are: 100 miles long by 35 and it is located in northeastern Caribbean in 18° 27’ 0” N, 66° 6’ 0” W.

50 It is frequently claimed that work in the mines caused the deaths of multitudes of Indians. However, it has also been pointed out that at the time when the mines went into large-scale operation and needed labour in abundance, the population had already shrunk by over a half. Large-scale mining aggravated population decline; it did not cause it. Africans, on the other hand, were used in the role of auxiliaries. To save the Indians in the Antilles from extinction Hieronymites, Franciscans and Dominicans, also Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, although he would have regretted, proposed that African slaves be brought in to replace them as labourers. Africans had shown themselves well able to adapt to Caribbean conditions, and in the end they took the place of native Americans in the islands. Cf. María Paz Haro, ‘Las órdenes religiosas, el Indio y la conquista: medio siglo de polémicas y contradicciones’, in *Impacto y futuro de la civilización española en el Nuevo Mundo: actas del Encuentro Internacional Quinto Centenario/Décima Asamblea General de la Asociación de Licenciados y Doctores Españoles en Estados Unidos, Spanish Professionals in America, Inc.*, San Juan de Puerto Rico, 17-22 de abril de 1990, pp. 65-75 and Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz, ‘The population of colonial Spanish America’ in *The Cambridge History of Latin America* (henceforth *CHLA*), vol. II, *Colonial Latin America*, edited by Leslie Bethell, pp. 3-36. Curiously enough, the first vessel carrying slaves to have sailed directly between Africa and the Americas appears to have arrived exactly in Puerto Rico in 1519. See David Eltis, ‘The Volume and Structure of the Transatlantic Slave Trade: A Reassessment’, pp. 17-46.

51 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 36, fl. 138r.

52 The first Governor—from 1509 to 1512—was the famous Don Juan Ponce de León.

53 See *Relacion del viage que hizieron las cinco fragatas de armada de Su Magestad, yendo por cabo dellas Don Pedro Tello de Guzman, este presente año de noventa y cinco* (Seville: Rodrigo de Cabrera impressor, 1596). A digital edition is available on <http://memory.loc.gov/intldl/drakehtml/rbdkhome.html>.

54 Cf. John Huxtable Elliot, “Spain And America In The Sixteenth And Seventeenth Centuries” in *CHLA*, vol. I, *Colonial America*, pp. 287-339.

55 See *ibid.*, pp. 292-293.

56 He held the office twice: the first time from 1593 to 1597 and the second from 1598 to 1599. For his appointment see Archivo General de Indias (Seville), *Contratación, 5242, N.1,R.1*.

57 Bishop Calderón (Baeza, 1540–Peru, 1621) at the end of 1597 moved to occupy the See of Panama, and from there, in 1605, he went to Santa Cruz de la Sierra, in the viceroyalty of Peru, where he eventually died. Cf. Paniagua Oiler Angel, ‘Episcopology of Porto Rico’, pp. 348-364, in particular pp. 350-351.

58 ‘...così havessemo potuto predicare, che si saria raccolto frutto maggiore, ma già stava in possesso del pulpito un f. di s. Domenico’. ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 36, fl. 138r.

59 The Puerto Rican yard was a small establishment, as were Santo Domingo’s and Jamaica’s, whereas Havana, Maracaibo and Campeche had recognised yards. See Murdo J. MacLeod, ‘Spain And America: The Atlantic Trade, 1492-1720’ in *CHLA*, vol. I, pp. 341-389.

60 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 36, fl. 138r.

61 It was the very founder of the Society, Ignatius of Loyola, who used this expression in his letter addressed to the ‘alumnis Societatis Iesu in diversis Europae locis’ of 24 December 1552. Namely, he wrote: ‘Se pur ci comparamo con quelli fratelli nostri delgl’India [...] non mi pare che il patir nostro sia troppo duro. Potremo anche noi far conto d’esser nell’Indie nostre, quali per tutto se trovano’. In *Monumenta Ignatiana*, Series I, *Sancti Ignatii Epistolae et Instructiones* (Matriti 1906), pp. 564-565. Quoted in Prosperi, *Tribunali della Coscienza*, cit., p. 558.

62 *Ibid.*, p. 556.

63 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 36, fl. 138v.

64 Quoted in Prosperi, *Tribunali della Coscienza*, cit., p. 552.

65 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 36, fl. 138v.

66 ‘...la sera gionsemo à Bucanàs, che è una villetta de 12 case tutte gionte alla riva d’un fiume, dove la stessa sera confessai alcuni, et altri la matina, vi battizai un figliuolo, dissi messa, comunicandoli e consolandoli con un sermone’. ARSI, *ibid.*

67 Cf. Prosperi, *Tribunali della Coscienza*, cit., pp. 566-570.

68 June 1.

69 *Corpus Domini*, June 5.

70 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 36, fl. 138v.

71 *Ibid.*

72 For example, an Italian Franciscan, the Bolognese Antonio Allé, decribed clearly this point. According to him, the Indian priests secretly met and decided thus: ‘Facciamo dunque al nostro Dio una cappella o un oratorio, molto nascosto: sopra vi pianteremo una croce e fingeremo adorarla, ma intanto adoreremo il nostro Dio’. Cf. Prosperi, *Tribunali della Coscienza*, cit., pp. 562-563.

73 Cf. Josep M. Barnadas, ‘The Catholic Church in Colonial Spanish America’, in *CHLA*, vol. I, pp. 511-540. See also Juan Villegas, *Aplicacion del Concilio de Trento en Hispanoamerica, 1564-1600: Provincia Ecclesiastica del Peru* (Montevideo: Instituto Teológico del Uruguay, 1975).

74 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 36, fl. 138v.

75 ARSI, *Lusitania* 106, fl. 257v.

76 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 36, fl. 139r.

77 Cf. Murdo J. MacLeod, ‘Spain And America’, cit., p. 344.

78 Spinola did not write who those three men were. We may infer that the captain and the pilot were two of them. Concerning the third one, since Spinola did not mention anything about a prelate, we might rule out this hypothesis. So, we can imagine that a representative of the Iberian nobility or a marine officer might have been aboard.

79 In 1583, Pope Gregory XIII (1572-1585, in the world Ugo Buoncompagni) took the most unusual step (not duplicated elsewhere in the Portuguese Assistancy by any pontiff) of promising the Japan mission an annual subvention of 1,600 *ducados* for twenty years. Two years later, Sixtus V (1585-1590, in the world Felice Peretti) enthusiastically increased the papal subvention by 50% and declared it to be a permanent award. His successors found it impossible to honour that commitment, however, and Clement VIII (1592-1605, in the world Ippolito Aldobrandini) directed that only the original

stipend would be paid. We also know that according to mission organisation in 1592, the mission was allowed to receive only a certain amount at a time. Since there are more doubts than certainties about the real application of this point, we might be induced to think that the whole alms had been divided between the three ships in which the missionaries sailed from Lisbon. See João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, *O Cristianismo no Japão e o Episcopado de D. Luís de Cerqueira*, p. 121.

80 The Spanish Jesuit Gil da Mata (Logroño, 1547–China, 1599), although he was meant to be a missionary in Japan had to travel outside Asia from October, 1592 to August, 1598, since he had been elected as the mission procurator to Europe. He was received by Philipp II on December 18, 1594 and then went to Rome in 1595. For a biography see Jesús López Gay, *El matrimonio de los japoneses. Problema y soluciones según un ms. inédito de Gil de la Mata, S.J. (1547-1599)* (Rome: Librería dell’Università Gregoriana, 1964), pp. 79-130.

81 According to Alessandro Valignano the *São Francisco* was the ship delegated to carry ‘todos os livros e mais cousas que se comprarão em Portugal e vinhão pera Japão’ cf. Visitor of Japan Alessandro Valignano to Assistant of Portugal João Álvares, Goa, 12 December 1596. *DI*, vol. XVIII, pp. 627-632. Yet, we saw that the group of missionaries decided to abandon the unlucky *São Francisco* and, therefore, they had to divide the merchandise as well. Spinola, regarding this point, wrote that he and de Angelis did not receive any wares, only part of the alms for Japan. In the *São Francisco*, on the other hand, ‘*si posero mol’altre cose de panni, libri, paramenti, imagini e cose di prezzo, per non capire negl’altri navigli, e perche si saria pagato più di portature, che non volevano, e fù providenza del Signore, perche tutto si salvò nell’isola di S. Michele, dove la bruggiorno gli stessi portughesi, acciò non venisse in potere degl’inglesi, l’armata de quali stava in quel porto, havendone tirato prima il migliore, e salvatasi la gente tutta*’. So, basically, Japan never received what it was meant to. ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 36, fl. 139r.

82 *Ibid.*

83 Cf. Guinote *et al.*, *Naufrágios e Outras Perdas*, cit., p. 122.

84 For a statistical analysis of English activity in Spanish seas see Andrews Kenneth R., ‘English Voyages to the Caribbean, 1596 to 1604: An Annotated List’, pp. 243-254.

85 Spinola identified the English pirate by writing ‘Andrea Farfath’. There was no problem to understand the first name, whereas for the last name some doubts arose. Miyazaki Kentarō was not able to understand it. See Miyazaki Kentarō, ‘Pádore karuro supinora’, cit., note 10, p. 20. Our guess – Fairfax – derived by the fact that when Spinola, later in the letter, wrote about the town of Axmouth (see page 24) he used the transcription ‘Asthmuth’. The two words – Farfath/ Fairfax and Asthmuth/Axmouth – share a similar syllable – [fath] and [asth] – which lead us to this conclusion.

86 Geronimo de Angelis, on the other hand, was born in Gela, Sicily, a territory which belonged to the Spanish Crown. ARSI, *ibid.*, fl. 139v.

87 The insurrection, known as the ‘Rising of the North’, was headed by Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland and Charles Neville, Earl of Westmorland, both fervent Catholics.

88 Pius V opened a process for heresy against Elizabeth on 5 February, 1570 and on 25 a bull excommunicating and deposing the queen was published. The bull was basically directed to the achievement of a twofold result. In the first place, by declaring the queen excommunicate and deposed, it aimed at destroying the allegiance of her subjects. In the second place, it not only legalised rebellion but, by implication, positively commanded it. Both Philip of Spain and the emperor Maximilian II were unaware of Pius V’s plan. See John Benner Black, *The Reign of Elizabeth 1558-1603*, pp. 135-137 and Brad S. Gregory, ‘Persecutions And Martyrdom’, in *The Cambridge History of Christianity (CHC)*, edited by Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, vol. 6, *Reform And Expansion 1500-1660*, pp. 261-282.

89 Cf. Black, *The Reign of Elizabeth*, cit., p. 139.

90 Gee, Henry, and William John Hardy (eds.), *Documents Illustrative of English Church History* (New York: Macmillan, 1896), pp. 485-492. A digital version realised for the Hanover Historical Texts Project by the Hanover College Department of History here <http://history.hanover.edu/texts/ENGref/er85.html>.

91 *Ibid.*, p. 486.

92 *Ibid.*, p. 485.

93 Cf. Prosperi, *Tribunali della Coscienza*, cit., pp. 48-49.

94 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 36, fl. 139v.

95 A small town in the district of Devon, which Spinola referred to as ‘Asthmuth’. See note 85.

96 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 36, fl. 139v. Neither we nor Miyazaki were able to identify this town. Cf. Miyazaki Kentarō, ‘Pádore karuro supinora’, cit., note 9, p. 10.

97 ‘*pagava per ciascuno due reali il giorno*’. ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 36, fl. 139v.

98 *Ibid.*

99 *Ibid.*

100 For an in-depth study of the British aristocracy in the 16th and 17th centuries see Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641* New York: Oxford University Press, 1965.) We consulted the Italian translation, *La crisi dell’aristocrazia: L’Inghilterra da Elisabetta a Cromuelli*. See also Hugh R. Trevor-Roper, ‘The Elizabethan Aristocracy: An Anatomy Anatomized’, pp. 279-298.

101 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 36, fl. 139v.

102 Cf. Nicolette Mout, ‘Peace without Concord: Religious Toleration in Theory and Practice’, in *CHC*, vol. 6, cit., pp. 227-243.

103 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 36, fl. 139v. Probably, Spinola here is referring to the aforementioned edict against the Jesuit: ‘And every person which after the end of the same forty days, and after such time of departure as is before limited and appointed, shall wittingly and willingly receive, relieve, comfort, aid, or maintain any such Jesuit, seminary priest, or other priest, deacon, or religious or ecclesiastical person, as is aforesaid, being at liberty, or out of hold, knowing him to be a Jesuit, seminary priest, or other such priest, deacon, or religious or ecclesiastical person, as is aforesaid, shall also for such offence be adjudged a felon, without benefit of clergy, and suffer death, lose, and forfeit, as in case of one attainted of felony’. Gee, Henry, and William John Hardy (eds.), *Documents Illustrative of English*, cit., p. 487.

104 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 36, fl. 140r.

105 *Ibid.*

106 ‘*Ma giudicando quelli [the Jesuits of Santo Antão] non conuenire, che si effettuasse circa questo particolare cosa alcuna, se prima non si fusse ragguagliato il P. Generale del tutto*’. Fabio Ambrosio Spinola, *Vita del P. Carlo Spinola della Compagnia di Giesu morto per la Santa Fede nel Giappone* (Rome: Francesco Corbelletti, 1628), p. 73.

107 Carlo Spinola to Father Pompilio Lambertenghi, Lisbon, 8.III.1598. Bibliothèque Municipal Amiens (BMA), MS 568 D. Piece 001, fl. 1r.

108 See Juan Ruiz-de-Medina, “Un genovés nacido en Madrid. C. Spinola, científico, misionero y mártir”, p. 75.

109 BMA, *ibid.* Fabio Ambrosio Spinola wrote that the ships sailed but had to pull back because of the Dutch: ‘...doppo qualche poco di camino da lontano scoperta vna grossa armata d’Olandesi, che su le volte si tratteneuz, e l’aspettaua per combatterle’. Fabio Ambrosio Spinola, *Vita del P. Carlo Spinola*, cit., p. 75.

110 He did his profession on 28 October. See ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 37, fl. 13r.

111 Father Carlo Spinola to General Claudio Acquaviva, Goa, 21.XII.1599. ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 36, fl. 141r.

112 The Portuguese Father Biagio Cardozo and the Italian Pietro Marcano.

113 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 36, fl. 141r.

114 *Ibid.*

115 *Ibid.*

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116 Manoel Dias to General Claudio Acquaviva, Macao, 17.I.1601. ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 14 [I], fl. 45rv.
117 Fabio Ambrosio Spinola, *Vita del P. Carlo Spinola*, cit., p. 79.
118 Procurator Carlo Spinola to the Assistant of Portugal João Alvarez S.J., Macao, 27.I.1602. ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 36, fl. 149r. Miguel Soares (1551-1600) held the task of Procurator in Macao from 1588 until his death.

119 Cf. Charles R. Boxer, *The Great Ship From Amacon*, pp. 62-63 and Daniele Frison, ‘El oficio de Procurador al qual aunque tengo particular repugnancia - The Office of Procurator Through the Letters of Carlo Spinola S. J.’, in *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, no. 20, pp. 9-70.
120 ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 36, fl. 141r.

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