

# A Face Hidden Behind the Façade

## New Evidences about Carlo Spinola's Authorship of the Project of São Paulo's Church

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*il disegno della nuova Chiesa dedicata all'Assunzione di Maria Vergine*.<sup>1</sup>

Every researcher has the moral and scientific to work really hard before admitting defeat to a question. We may read this assertion contrariwise and affirm that historians are also supposed to question what has already been said before aligning with someone else's thesis. Following this statement, the present paper questions a matter which, with only a few exceptions, has been considered settled since 1628.

The matter we are going to deal with revolves around a simple question: can we ascribe to the Italian Jesuit Carlo Spinola (1564-1622) the original project of the layout of Macao's church of São Paulo? In other words, do we have evidence that supports this theory or should we still rely on the only clue which has been quoted so far? First of all, then, we should have a look at the proof we have.

The only piece of information that directly links the church to Spinola is the following: '*Haveva [Carlo Spinola] in oltre cura per essere buon Matematico, di far*

This small paragraph is to be found in the first published biography of Spinola, written by a cousin of his, Fabio Ambrosio, a Jesuit himself.<sup>2</sup> Although the biographer in his work quotes letters verbatim, this information appears to be extrapolated from another source, which is still unknown. As a matter of fact, among Carlo Spinola's own writings there is no mention of his authorship of the project. Beside Carlo's letters, however, Fabio Ambrosio also drew on another source that we know of; an account of Carlo's life written at the time of his martyrdom by a Portuguese Jesuit, Bento Fernandes.<sup>3</sup> Yet, also in this previous document, no connection with the plan of the church is to be found. Fernandes, in fact, made only a brief mention about Spinola's time in Macao and avoided all those passages of Spinola's life which might be intriguing to us now, but not to him, since he was depicting the ideal image of a martyr of the Roman church.

From a historiographical perspective, then, it would seem that Fabio Ambrosio's quote appears to be evidence too insignificant to attribute the plan of the church to Carlo Spinola. Hence, it is necessary to look elsewhere for further clues and the first evidence we find worth quoting does not revolve around Spinola, rather the old church itself and the fire that burned it down.

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Manoel Dias, the Rector of the College of Macao, had no doubts: it was no accident. In fact, he wrote to General Claudio Acquaviva<sup>4</sup> that ‘[a] *veinte y siete de Noviembre 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[ien]to.*’<sup>5</sup> A vivid description of the arson is to be found in the annual report sent from China in January 1602, most likely another source used by Fabio Ambrosio Spinola<sup>6</sup>:

*[E]m [o] ensendio e destruição se vio bem o amor e charidade e afeição que os moradores desta Cidade tem a Co[m]panhia, pois q[ue] en se dando sinal não somente elles acodirão a toda a pressa trabalhando por apagar o fogo e salvar algu[m]dous retabolos da Igreja, por sere[m] de preço e muita obra ajudadados dos seus moços, mas as mulheres e donas honradas vinhão pollas ruas do medo q[ue] ordinariam[en]te estão em suas casas carregados de vazos de agoa, iuntam[en]te com suas mossas, e escravas dando-os aos maridos e mossos pera lançarem no Ince[n]dío, q[ue] foi tão forte e co[m] ta[n]ta quehemensia que escasam[en]te deu lugar pera se tirar o Sacrário do Santissimo Sacramento, a que acudio logo o Capitão Mor co[m] algu[n]s Padres q[ue] acaso então se tinha achado no Collegio ajudando a levar o Sacrario as costas, e depois acudindo a todas as demais cousas p[ar]a q[ue] não acabasse de arder todo o collegio q[ue] sem duvida ardera se não fora a m[ui]ta diligencia q[ue] os homens nisto puzerão atalhando o fogo co[m] se cortar a parte da casa. E sem falta q[ue] se não fora o grande cuidado e vigilancia q[ue] em todos avia, não escapara cubiculo ne[m] cousa algu[m] ficara en todo Collegio q[ue] não ardera porq[ue] estando a Igreja na mor furia do incendio se attio o fogo em 3 p[ar]tes diversas e distantes como foi na Refeitoria, rouparia em hu[m]a vara[n]da que continuava co[m] o dormitorio q[ue] estes annos atras tinha feito o P[adr]e Visitador. E se o fogo passava avante não ouvera remedio pera se poder i[m]pedir. Como a Igreja ardeo, de modo que não ficou em pê mais q[ue] as paredes e essas estaladas e abertas co[m] a grande quentura do fogo por sere[m] de taipa, não avia comunidade pera se tornar a Igreja a concertar.*<sup>7</sup>

According to this account, written by the new Rector of the college, Valentim Carvalho, nothing but the walls survived the fire. The Society of Jesus, consequently, had to find a temporary solution to celebrate Christian

rites and the premises of the primary school (*escola dos meninos*) were arranged for this purpose.<sup>8</sup> At the same time, the city of Macao rallied its means to aid the Society erect a new church. The Captain Major, on a proposal from the citizens of Macao, granted half percent of the incomes from the trade with Japan<sup>9</sup> to the Society so that, as Carvalho wished, at least half of the new building could be financed. But of course, the Society was in need of other resources as well as economic. It was necessary to entrust someone with the project of the new church and luckily for him he had a lot of people available around him.

Between 1600 and 1601, in fact, the college of Macao was crowded with missionaries. Owing to lack of silk, in fact, the annual carrack bounded for Japan did not sail,<sup>10</sup> and the missionaries who had received the pass for Japan had to postpone their departure. Amongst them, there was also Carlo Spinola. The Italian Jesuit arrived in Macao in August 1600 and would leave for Japan only two years later, in July 1602.

Although the usual number of missionaries in Macao was about 30, in 1601 the college was manned with 59 missionaries: 21 Fathers and 38 Brothers. We should focus mostly on the former, whose different occupations appear in Table 1.

Unfortunately, the catalogues of the college from both 1600 and 1601 are lost. To identify who these missionaries were, then, we can only rely on the 1603 and 1604 catalogues. However, before surveying the names when looking for Carlo Spinola, it is worth stressing a simple fact. Carvalho closed this annual report on 25 January 1602, fourteen months after the fire. Although by that time the founding stone had not yet been placed,<sup>12</sup> we may suppose that at least the project had already been commissioned.<sup>13</sup> Hence, it is quite surprising that Carvalho mentioned neither who was drawing the project nor the scientific or mathematic skills of any missionary. However, it has to be said that both in the annual report and in the catalogues those skills associated more directly with the formal growth of a preacher, such as Theology and Philosophy studies, were deemed more important.<sup>14</sup>

Now, let us find Spinola amongst these numbers. When he arrived in Asia, Spinola was a Father professed of the fourth vote, which means that he had already finished the four-year course of Theology, therefore we can exclude him as one of those who were finishing this course or that Father who was at the third year

TABLE 1. JESUIT FATHERS AT THE COLLEGE OF MACAO IN 1601

Theology lecturers	2
Cases of Conscience lecturers	2
Masters of Philosophy	1
Masters of Humanities	1
Students of Theology	3
Final-year Student	1
Various occupations	11
TOTAL	21

Source: *Annuæ Sinicæ*, in ARSI, Jap. Sin. 121, f. 1.

of probation. Furthermore, we know that between 1600 and 1603, two Portuguese Fathers—Balthazar Borges and Francisco Pacheco—were in charge of the Theology classes.<sup>15</sup> The same goes with the classes of cases of conscience, philosophy and humanities. It is almost certain, then, that Spinola was counted among those with various occupations.

In March 1601, in fact, Valentim Carvalho appointed Spinola to the office of procurator in Macao.<sup>16</sup> The procurator was one of the most important officials for the Japanese Vice-province. There were two of them, one in Nagasaki and the other in Macao, and they jointly took care of all the necessities and needs of the mission. One of their toughest jobs was to balance the budget and avoid financial ruin. If Carvalho would have slavishly followed the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus, he could not have appointed Spinola to this role. St Ignatius, in fact, strictly prohibited Fathers professed of the fourth vote to hold such a position, because being procurator meant unavoidably to deal with matters linked too much with the secular world.<sup>17</sup>

There was a problem that arose out of this nomination. Performing the office of procurator was a full-time task. In order to facilitate it, the procurator

was excused from taking part in the common offices; he was exempted from eating at the established hours with his confreres and, while busy preparing the dispatch for Japan, his superiors were not allowed to burden him with extrinsic duties.<sup>18</sup> Hence, we face two assumptions. The first is that, owing to this commitment, Spinola never received the commission to draw the plan. The second, and more probable, is that he had been appointed as draughtsman before Carvalho arrived in China in March 1601. In other words, he received the appointment by Manoel Dias and worked at the project between December 1600 and March 1601. By assuming that, moreover, we can also partially explain why Carvalho made no mention about the designer of the new church. It has been stated that it is unlikely that Spinola could be the man behind the project, since he left before the building was actually erected.<sup>19</sup> Yet, the theory that hypothesises that the São Paulo’s church sprang from an original proposal by Spinola and was gradually enriched and completed afterwards would seem more likely.<sup>20</sup> Carlo Spinola, in fact, was no artist. He had a scientific mind and it is probable that he first sketched the layout of the new church, and then afterwards was assigned to the procurator’s office, a job he carried out until his departure for Japan in July 1602.

A digression with regard to the building regulations of the Society of Jesus is now in order. It seems noteworthy that the topic had come out already in the First General Congregation of 1558. During this meeting, the Ignatians unanimously agreed that the practical use of the buildings had to fit with the religious poverty. In the Second General Congregation of 1565, it was decided that architectonic projects were to be put forward to the *consiliarius ædificiorum* in Rome,<sup>21</sup> so that he could weigh them up and, only after his consent, the General could affix his paraph.<sup>22</sup> Yet, it soon appears how unpractical and lengthy a process this was. Thus, in 1573 this decree was revoked, leaving the supervision of the buildings to the Father Superior and the delegated architect in loco.<sup>23</sup> That does not definitely exclude that the project of the new church of Macao was sent to Rome to be approved or just examined, yet it is clear that the fathers did not wait for the approval to come. Actually, although it was no longer mandatory to send projects to Rome, we will see that the Japan Province still needed to inform the Curia about its constructions.

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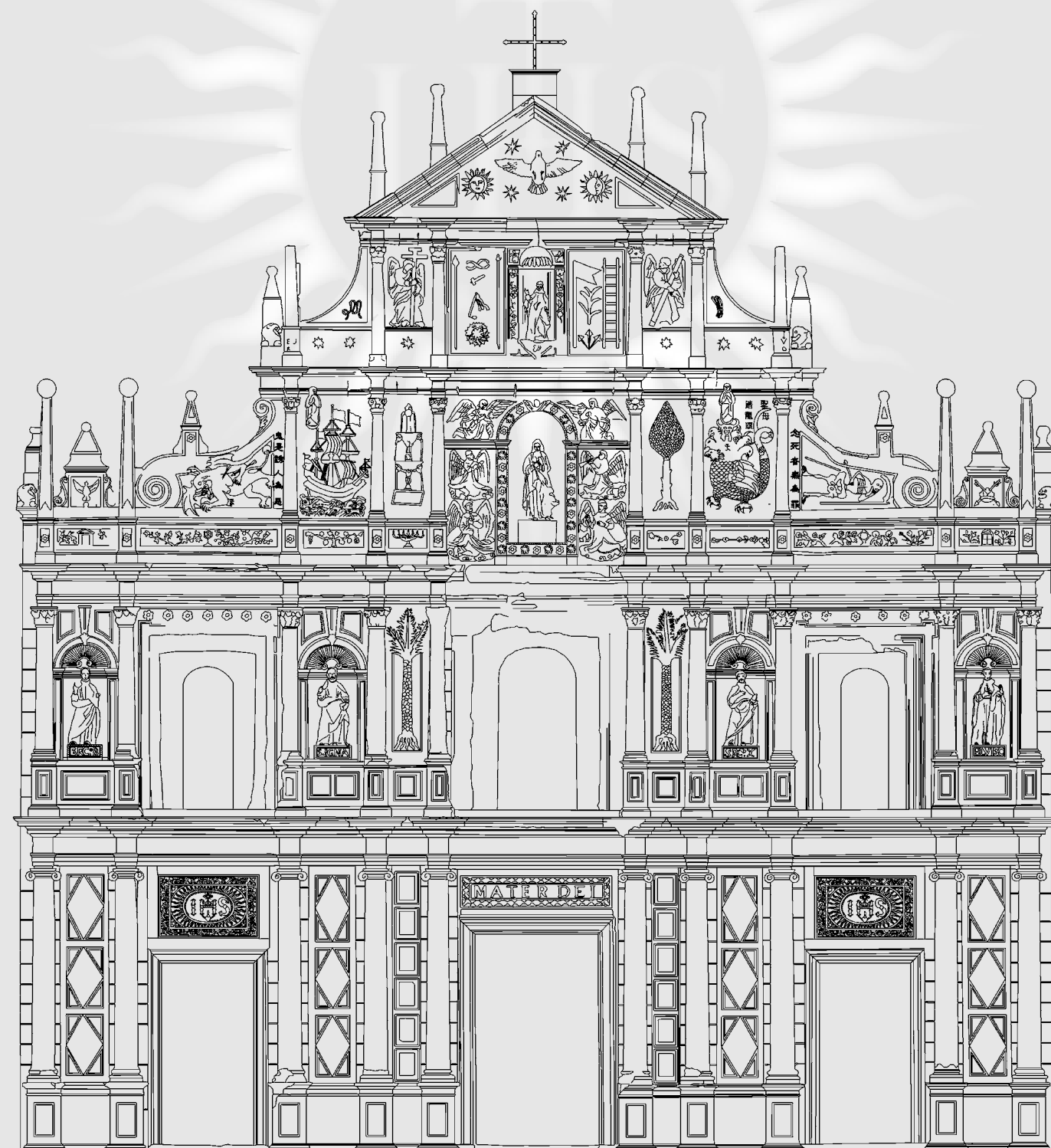
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In any case, Spinola's appointment as procurator might be explained by the same reason he could be the man behind the project of the church, i.e. his proficiency in mathematics. Carlo Spinola's biography is too long and full of events to be represented here. Therefore, we shall focus only on those sections that are relevant to us.

There are some details about Spinola's life that need to be revised. In order to facilitate the attribution to the Italian Jesuit of the whole design of the church—the plan and the façade, it has been said that some contemporary documents clearly state that Carlo Spinola was appointed to do the job. These documents, however, remain unknown and unquoted.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, some of Spinola's biographic details had been slightly misinterpreted by recent historiography and need to be clarified.<sup>25</sup> Carlo Spinola entered the Society of Jesus in the province of Naples in December 1584. During his novitiate he moved throughout the province, between Nola, Lecce, and Naples, but as early as 1586 we can find traces of him in Rome. However, if we look to the catalogues where Jesuits recently arrived in Rome were registered, we do not find Spinola's name—and that is a pity, since these catalogues are a sort of registration form, which each Jesuit was supposed to fill with his personal details, as well as the things in his possession. Carlo Spinola, in fact, did not officially enter the Collegio Romano, yet between 1586 and 1587 he enlisted in the advanced mathematics course held in

the scientific academy founded by the German Jesuit Christoph Clavius.<sup>26</sup> Although it has been stated that Spinola spent some years in Rome, there is no documental evidence of this fact. On the contrary, it is probable that he spent no more than a few months in the Eternal City. Furthermore, Fabio Ambrosio Spinola corroborates this idea as he wrote that '*per qualche poco di tempo si trattenne studiando Matematica sotto il P. Claudio*'.<sup>27</sup> Although during the 1580s Clavius had been trying to have the academy officially recognised within the institutional body of the Society, it remained an informal course until 1594, and for this reason we do not have precise information about the Jesuits who attended it in the 1580s. Anyway, one thing that can be ascertained is that the average duration of attendance was usually only one year,<sup>28</sup> more or less the same as Spinola's. The didactic of the academy represented an example for other colleges and also a place where missionaries learned how to react to different situations while in territories far away from Europe. The Society of Jesus, in fact, both in Europe and in the outer missions, was supposed to find within its ranks the solution for problems like the edification of its own buildings.<sup>29</sup> In the Indies, evidently, this problem was even more pressing. In January 1586, for instance, Alessandro Valignano exemplified the necessity of architects in Goa by saying that the situation was so grave that he—a doctor *in utroque iure*—was the most versed in such disciplines.<sup>30</sup>





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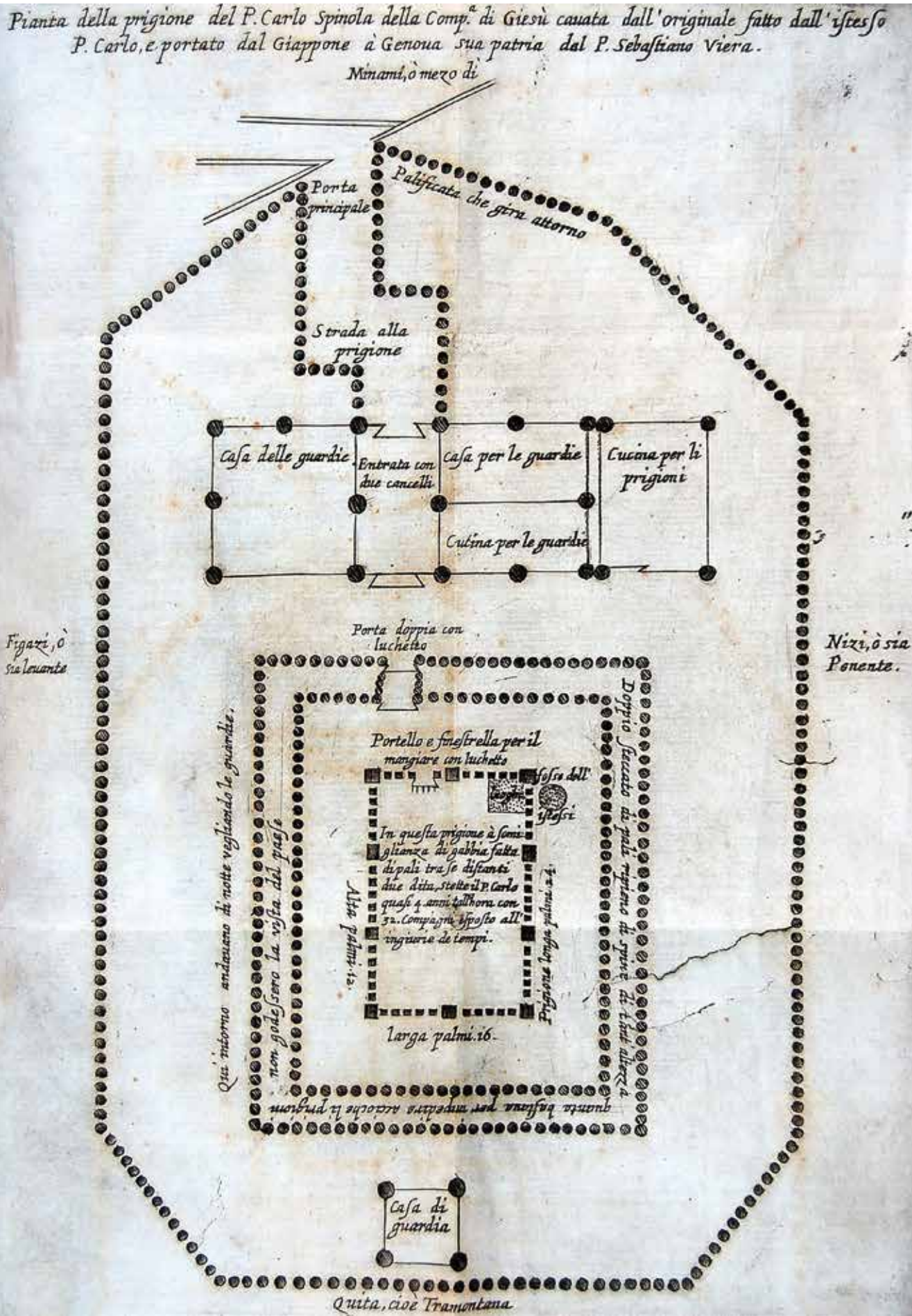


Fig. 1. In Fabio Ambrosio Spinola, *Vita del P. Carlo Spinola della Compagnia di Gesù morto per la Santa Fede nel Giappone*. Rome: Francesco Corbelli, 1628, n. pag.

It is unclear how many months Spinola spent in Rome, yet it is certain that he was sent there exactly for attending Clavius's and Giulio Fuligatti's advanced lessons.<sup>31</sup> Therefore, since he entered the Society of Jesus not even two years before, we may suppose that before entering the novitiate, Spinola had a previous and more than elementary knowledge of scientific topics or at least a keen aptitude for them.

It is not clear yet what Spinola had been busy with in 1588, but, since all the sources agree, it is probably that right after Rome he reached Milan, specifically, the College of Brera. Although his acquaintance with Clavius lasted only a year, the two of them remained in contact while Spinola was in Northern Italy, and this is evidence of the intensity of the time the Italian spent with the German. In Milan, Carlo Spinola first taught grammar in 1590,<sup>32</sup> and then in 1591 replaced Bernardino Salino as *Magister* of mathematics, after Salino had been in charge of the classes for two years, since 1589.<sup>33</sup> Spinola held the chair until the end of 1594,<sup>34</sup> and eventually in September 1595 Acquaviva informed him that he had been selected to go to Japan.<sup>35</sup>

It has been pointed out that almost all the missionaries who attended Clavius's lessons were later employed in the Asiatic missions.<sup>36</sup> This custom brought about a strict connection between the Collegio Romano and the Portuguese colleges of Santo Antão and Coimbra.<sup>37</sup> Spinola himself spent more than a year in the College of Santo Antão in Lisbon. It is highly probable that in the Portuguese city he became acquainted with the teacher of mathematics—João Delgado—who is considered the advocate of the Jesuit mathematic tradition in Portugal.<sup>38</sup> There are some similarities between Spinola and Delgado that are worth pointing out. First, they both were students of Clavius and almost in the same period. Spinola attended the 1586-1587 course, whereas Delgado probably the one of 1584-1585. Second, Delgado was employed also as an architect in Lisbon. In March 1592, in fact, he wrote to Acquaviva that he was supervising the building site in Santo Antão.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, Delgado was not the only architect of the college. His assistant as teacher of mathematics, Francisco da Costa, could also brag about this quality.

Thanks to the information we have presented, we know that Spinola probably had some scientific knowledge before entering the Society, he spent a year attending Clavius's lessons and during two years he

taught mathematics as *Magister* in the college of Brera near Milan. We may suppose also that during his stay in Lisbon he at least debated with Delgado or Da Costa regarding scientific matters. Finally, if we choose a comparative approach, we may also add the fact that there are several examples of mathematicians who were employed as architects, and also as procurators, as happened to Spinola. It is beyond any doubt, then, that Carlo Spinola had the scientific knowledge to be draughtsman of the Church of São Paulo. Now, we will see if we can find substantial confirmation of this hypothesis in the documents *following* the fire.

As we saw, the only evidence that directly attributes the project of the church to Spinola is in his biography. Spinola's *Vita*, however, contains also an indirect proof of his ability as draughtsman.

As commonly known, Carlo Spinola was burned alive on a hill over Nagasaki in September 1622, after almost four years of captivity. On the night between 13 and 14 December 1618 he was arrested by the governor of Nagasaki, Hasegawa Gonroku, and taken to a temporary prison in Omura, where he remained for almost six months. Then, when it was eventually decided that the prisoners were not to be expelled from Japan, a new prison was built and on 7 August Spinola and other captives entered the prison.<sup>40</sup> Spinola not only gave a detailed description of the prison, but drew also a layout, which is included as an appendix to his biography (Figure 1).

As we can read in the heading, the layout is a copy of the original made by Spinola delivered in Genoa by the Portuguese Jesuit Sebastião Vieira. This is the only design made by Spinola that has survived, although in copy, until today. By comparing it to Spinola's own description of the prison, we deduce that it is not a forgery:

*La priggione è di largo 16 palmi, e di longo 24 aponto come una gabbia d'ucelli di legni quadrati d'intorno, e di sopra, distanti tra se due dita con tetto di tegole, et il suolo attraversato con molte travi, et inchiodatevi grosse tavole; tiene un portello, per il quale apena può passare una persona serrato a chiave, et alli vicino un buco alla misura, e forma della scudella di riso giaponica, in che ci danno da mangiare; all'intorno vi è un camino largo 8 palmi, il quale sta chiuso da doppia steccata di legni spessi, et alti con le punte aguzze, e nel mezzo riempita di spine, et in questa steccata vi è una sola porta*



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*all'incontro del portello, la quale non si apre si non al tempo del disnare, e cena; vi sono poi in due parti case per li soldati che ci guardano di giorno, e di notte, e per il caporale che tiene conto che rondino molte volte, et non siano negligenti, e la cucina. Finalmente tutto il restante del sito sta d'intorno chiuso con un'altra forte steccata, e porta principale, di modo che molto tempo stettero senza potere né mandare, né ricevere lettere di Na[n]gasachi, non che altre cose di provisione.*<sup>41</sup>

It is beyond doubt that Figure 1 is the physical representation of what we have just quoted. Spinola's ability to measure empirically the space around him and to transpose the observations onto paper is a strong proof in favour of him being the draughtsman of São Paulo's Church. If we read once again what Fabio Ambrosio Spinola wrote, in fact, we see that he only wrote that Spinola was taking care of 'far il disegno' of the new church, not a long-term project which would have taken more time and effort.

Besides this element, in Spinola's holograph epistolary there is even more decisive proof, which can be found in a letter he sent to General Muzio Vitelleschi<sup>42</sup> while he was the procurator in Nagasaki. In this letter, Spinola wrote that he received a request for advice from Macao by Valentim Carvalho. Specifically, Carvalho wanted Spinola to inform Vitelleschi about the sum of money the province had spent for the building of a house in Nagasaki in 1613, and the reason why they resolved to make it a four-storey building instead of three.<sup>43</sup> Regarding the second point, Spinola wrote that:

*... a causa foy que estando traçada de tres sobrados, ficavão muy altos, e desco[n]passados, e a caza por ser comprida, e estreita, e não arrumada a outra, não saya tam forte pera resistir a os ventos muy rijos que aqui ventão, pello que eu propus que fazendo os repartimentos baixos chara Japam, com a mesma altura de toda a caza se podião fazer quatros sobrados, e com isso ficaria mais forte, e segura. Chamou o P[adr]e a consulta, e os consultores todos forão de parecer que assi se fizesse.*<sup>44</sup>

We can essentially draw two considerations out of this quote. The first one takes us back to the First General Congregation of the Society of Jesus. In order to respect the holy poverty, the Fathers of the first congregation issued a rule to define how to build churches, colleges and houses. One of the key points was basically that edifices of the Society should be 'nec sumptuosa [...] nec curiosa'.<sup>45</sup> Valentim Carvalho was probably worried that Vitelleschi could consider a four-storey edifice as a demonstration of power and wealth, something contrary to what was stated in the congregation. Therefore, firstly he needed the procurator to ascertain the exact amount of money invested in the building, but he also needed someone reliable who could give a practical justification for the four floors. And here comes the second consideration. By sending these requests to Spinola, Carvalho basically invested him with the title of most trustworthy figure within the Japan Province regarding architectural topics. He not only entrusted Spinola with the task of clarifying with the general the expenditures of the province, which was one of the duties of the procurator, but he also believed Spinola to be the only one whose scientific judgement had relevant value in front of Vitelleschi and the *consiliarius aedificiorum*, whose main job was to give advice with regard to functional enhancements

and cost containments. Furthermore, Spinola himself confirmed that it was he who gave the instruction to follow the Japanese way and to go for more and more stable floors.

Incidentally, we can also draw a parallel between this house and Macao's church. The following quotation from the annual report of 1603 gives us not only a link to Spinola but also a thorough description of the church:

*Sahio esta igreja mui capaz, e airoza, e no Verão será muito fresca, por ter as tres portas da fronteira ao Sul, que he vento nesta terra fresco no tempo de calmas. Tem tres naves, tres capelas e dois altares no Cruzeiro: o arco da capela-mór, e os das duas collaterais são todos de pedra branca lavrada, e muita parte da frontaria, e são os tres primeiros de pedra que se virão nesta terra. Gastarão-se nesta fabri[c]a, com hua torre para os sinos com seo terrado, donde se descobre*

*toda a cidade e barra, por onde entrão e saem as naos, sete mil taeis, pouco mais ou menos, tudo de esmola que derão os moradores desta cidade. O corpo da igreja de largo tem 84 palmos, de comprido mais de 160, estriba sobre 8 esteos de paos grossos, 4 por banda; as paredes tem de alto perto de 50 palmos, por as taipas desta terra não soffrem muita altura por cauza dos grandes tufões e temporaes, que nella ha: a capella-mór tem de largo 44 palmos e de comprido 62, de alto perto de 60; a qual com as duas capellas das ilhargas fica forada de madeira fina de Japão, que chamão foniqui,<sup>46</sup> com hua fermoza tarja, e remate de JESUS no meio dourado, com toda a pregadura a modo de diamas dourados, com cordões, laçarias, e rozas de ouro, e de azul.*<sup>47</sup>

The part which should hold our attention is in italic. Both for a house and for a bigger building such as the church, there was a structural limit which could not

Fig. 3. Axonometry of São Paulo's Church with the existing façade. Artwork by Arch. Cavaterra Fabio.

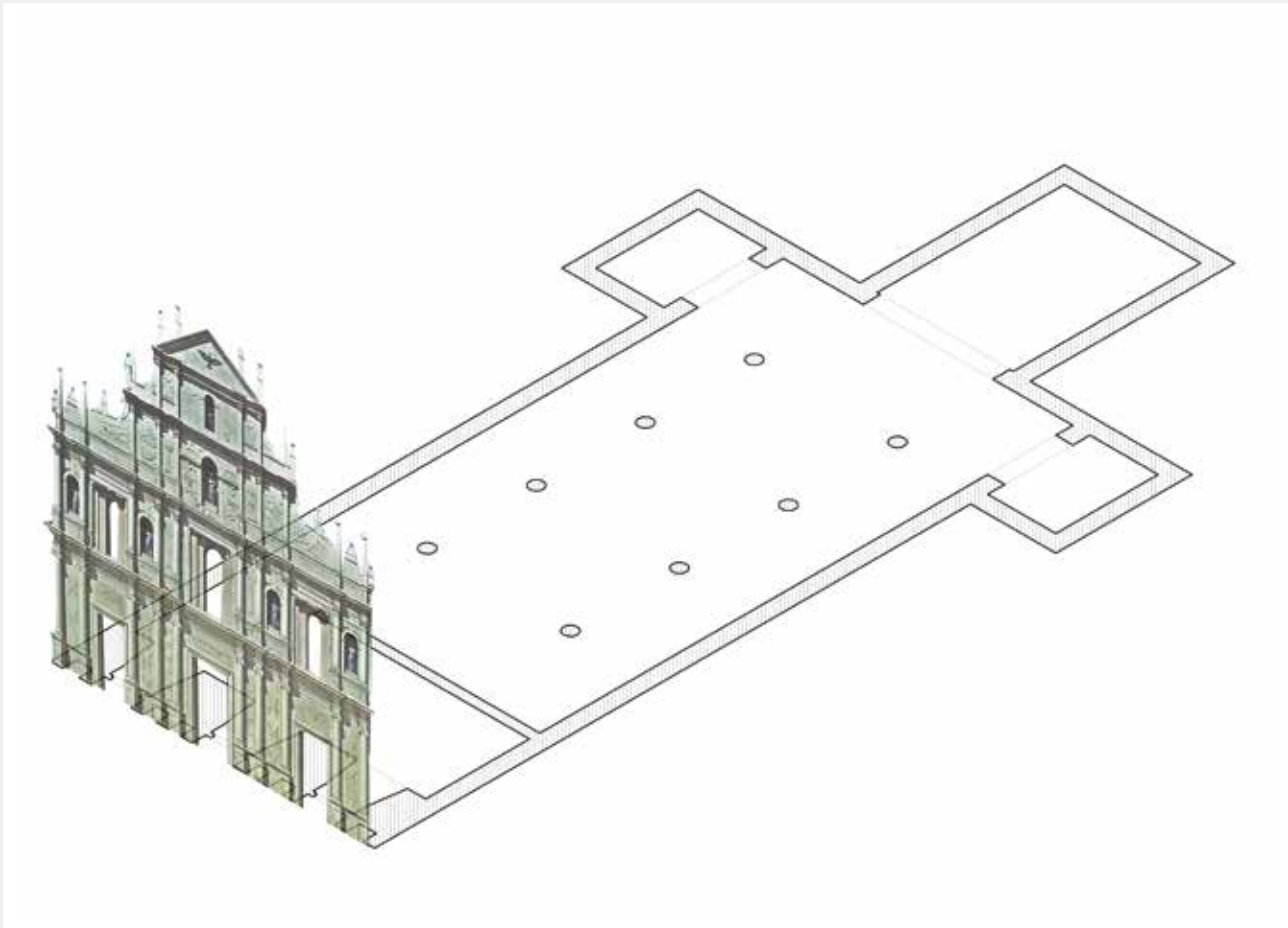
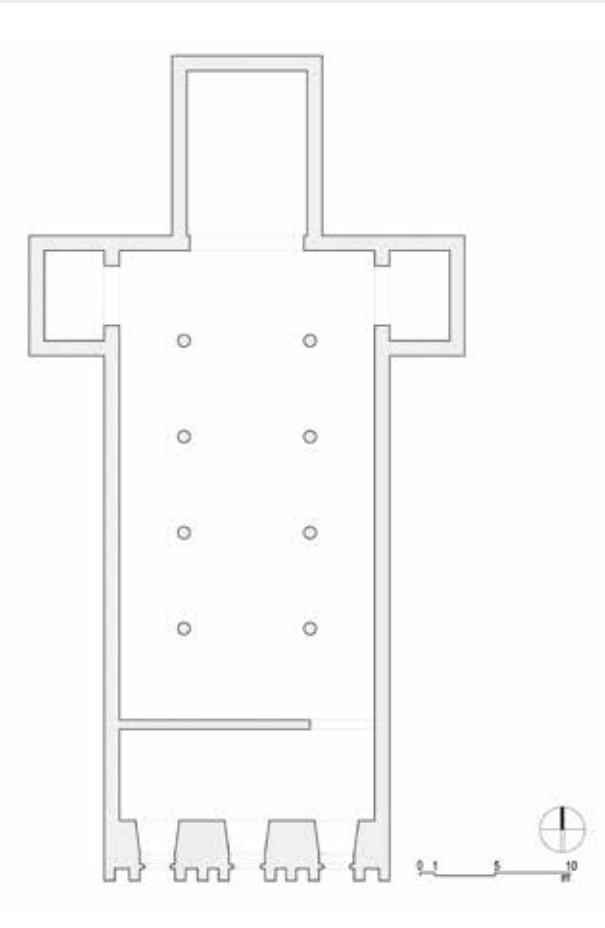


Fig. 2. Plan of the São Paulo's Church. Artwork by Arch. Cavaterra Fabio



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be overlooked, i.e. the height had to be calculated in relation to the strength of the winds. The Anua tells us exactly the same thing that Spinola wrote to Vitelleschi: the walls made of taipa were not robust enough to resist the strength of typhoons.<sup>48</sup> Probably, this was a belief held by many people in Macao, but it is still relevant that also in Japan the stability of structures was calculated to withstand the typhoons.

There are two other pieces of evidence collected during Spinola’s life in Japan that might link him to Macao’s church.

Carlo Spinola spent seven years in Miyako (present day Kyoto), from 1604 to the end of 1611. During those years, he was engaged in the strenuous effort of converting the nobles of the capital to the Christian faith. It was a more difficult undertaking than the evangelisation in Kyushu, because in central Japan no more than echoes were received of the profits coming from the Portuguese ship. Therefore, the Society of Jesus had to devise other ways to allure the sophisticated Japanese to the capital. On the one hand, the Jesuits aimed to attract people by demonstrating the superiority of the European scientific thought; on the other hand, the same goal was pursued through the display of pieces of art and craftsmanship. Both of them saw an active participation by Carlo Spinola. We only have one letter by Spinola during the seven years in Kyoto. Nevertheless, this letter is a comprehensive description of the Jesuit strategy:

V. R. por charidade me queira ma[n]dar algu[n] os escritos, e livros modernos, ou de nossos P[adr]es, ou de fora dos q[ue] sobejão por esses collegios, ainda q[ue] sejão e[m] lingua italiana, como de Arithmetica copiosa (que a peq[ue]na do P[adr] e Clavio, com a esfera, de Horologiis, e Astrolabio aqui tenho) de medir os ca[m]pos etc. de Machinas diversas, Architettura, p[er]spectiva, pintura etc. calquer livro destas materias, farà aqui agora mais fruto q[ue] outros livros de Theologia.<sup>49</sup>

As Spinola plainly stated, they were not in need of Theology treatises, something really similar to what Matteo Ricci was writing from Peking in the same period. Anyway, with regard to the present paper, it is relevant to stress Spinola’s request for a textbook of architecture. According to Bento Fernandes, in fact,

while in Kyoto Spinola helped in the building of an ‘*edificio que então se fes*’.<sup>50</sup> Although Fernandes did not specify the intended use of this *edificio*, we have an account written by another Jesuit, João Coelho, who in 1609 drew a list of all the properties of the Japan Vice-province. Regarding the Kyoto residence, he wrote that: ‘Tem esta casa hum edificio acomodado à cidade aonde está; e principalmente a igreja,<sup>51</sup> que por ser tão formosa realça toda a obra e edificio’.<sup>52</sup> The expression ‘acomodado à cidade aonde está’ basically meant that the building followed the Japanese architectural style.<sup>53</sup> Similar to the four-storey building in Macao, then also in Kyoto, the Society of Jesus erected a Japanese-style edifice and in both cases Spinola was involved in the construction. These two things combined lead us to believe that Spinola became acquainted with Japanese architecture, he acknowledged its functionality both for evangelisation and for basic sheltering purposes, and decided to reproduce it. Although the breadth of Spinola’s contribution to these projects is still not completely clear, one thing we do know for sure is that on more than one occasion Spinola was actively linked to the architecture of the Society of Jesus.

In conclusion, through a detailed survey of the manuscripts and printed documentation, we saw that there are several proofs attesting that Carlo Spinola had all the credentials to be the designer of Macao’s church. Paradoxically, although contemporary historiography had been relying almost exclusively on Fabio Ambrosio Spinola’s work, it would seem that it is not as definite a clue as the others we have presented in this paper. Spinola’s intellectual background, matured in Europe in fact, gives us a precise notion of his scientific skills and how he implemented them within the didactics of the Society of Jesus. It is undeniable that his proficiency in scientific subjects was recognised also in Asia, where he was appointed procurator and where he is constantly associated with the architectural development of the Japan Vice-province both in Macao and in Kyoto. Therefore, it is true that definitive evidence (the project or his own confession) of Spinola’s authorship is still to be found; yet, at the same time, the elements we have point solidly to him and for now there are no elements that might definitely exclude him in favour of someone else. **RC**

NOTES

- 1

Fabio Ambrosio Spinola, *Vita del P. Carlo Spinola della Compagnia di Giesu morto per la Santa Fede nel Giappone*, p. 79.
- 2

We do not have precise information about Fabio Ambrosio Spinola, but it is unlikely that he belonged to the same branch of the Spinola family as Carlo, the Counts of Tassarolo. Fabio was born on 5 October 1593 and entered the Society of Jesus on 28 August 1610, in the Milanese province, which included also Genoa, where most likely he was born and would die on 18 August 1671.
- 3

Bento Fernandes, ‘Da vida e virtudes do P[adr]e Carlo Spinola’, in ‘Relaçam das vidas, e mortes gloriosas, que por pregare o Sa[n]to Evangelho nos reinos de Iapão algu[n]s Padres, E Irmãos da Comp[anh]a de Iesu padeceram no anno de mile seis ce[n]tos, e vinte e dous, feita pello P[adr]e Bento Fernandes da mesma Comp[anh]a reside[n]te em Japam’. *Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu* [ARSI], Jap. Sin. 60, ff. pp.224-233. Fernandes was born around 1578 in Portugal and set off for the Indies in 1602 reaching Japan three years later. He remained in Japan even after the decree of expulsion of 1614, and continued to proselytise until his capture in 1633, the same year of his martyrdom.
- 4

The Italian Claudio Acquaviva was the 5th Father General. He was elected after the demise of the Belgian Everard Mercurian and remained in charge from 19 February 1581 until 31 January 1615.
- 5

ARSI, Jap. Sin. 14 [I], ff. 45-45v.
- 6

When describing the damages inflicted by the fire, Spinola used words very similar to the ones we found in the Annua: ‘... *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 Spinola, *Vita del P. Carlo Spinola...*, p. 79.
- 7

ARSI, Jap. Sin. 121, ff. 2-2v.
- 8

ARSI, Jap. Sin. 14 [I], f. 45v. The escola dos meninos Carvalho referred to was probably the one constructed in 1572, where children were taught reading, writing and arithmetic. Cf. Manuel Teixeira, ‘The Church of St. Paul in Macau’, p. 55.
- 9

Valentim Carvalho estimated an income for the Society of about 2’500-3’000 cruzados, which was the half percent of the value of the goods that were expected from Japan. Cf. ARSI, Jap. Sin. 121, f. 2: ‘... *todos universalm[en]te movidos de charidade e co[m]paixão fizeram entre si hu[m]a aiunta diante do Capitão Môr em q[ue] determinarão, uno animi co[n]census, q[ue] elles nos davão meio por cento de todo o q[ue] tinham em Jappão trazendo N. S. a nao a salvam[en]to, o q[ue] não foi tão pouco q[ue] a vinda da nao não montasse dous mil e trezentos taeis que vem a dizer tres mil sento e trinta e sete pardaos de reales*’. For other alms offered to the Society at Macao, see ARSI, Jap. Sin. 121, ff. 4-4v. See also Gonçalo Couceiro, ‘The Church of The College of Madre de Deus’, p. 181.
- 10

See ARSI, Jap. Sin. 36, f. 149. Regarding the Portuguese fleet movements in 1601, see Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Great Ship From Amacon*, pp. 62-63 and João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, ‘A Route Under Pressure. Communication between Nagasaki and Macao (1597-1617)’, p. 86.
- 11

Back in 1594, Father Duarte de Sande informed General Acquaviva that the College courses consisted of Dogmatic Theology with two teachers; Morals with one teacher; Humanities and Rhetoric with another teacher, as well as philosophy and other subjects. See Teixeira, ‘The Church of St. Paul in Macau’, p. 61.
- 12

Owing to Chinese authorities the stone was placed only in April after Easter, whereas the building of the foundations started in summer.
- 13

Cf. ARSI, Jap. Sin. 46, f. 318v.
- 14

Regarding the teaching lessons held in the college, see ‘Ordem que deo o P[adr]e Vizitador Alexandre Valignano em Outubro de [15]97 para
- 15

as Escolas deste Collegio de Macao’. Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino [AHU], Cód. 1659, ff. 277-288v.
- 16

Cf. *Monumenta Historica Japoniae I – Textus Catalogorum Japoniae 1553-1654*, pp. 452-454 and Joseph Dehergne S. J., *Répertoire des jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800*, pp. 3-304.
- 17

With regard to the office of procurator, see Daniele Frison, “‘El officio de Procurador al qual aunque tengo particular repugnancia’”. The Office of Procurator through the Letters of Carlo Spinola S.J.’, pp. 9-70.
- 18

ARSI, Jap. Sin. 3, ff. 48-48v.
- 19

Cf. Regimento para o Procurador de Jappão que Reside na China, Biblioteca da Ajuda – Jesuítas na Ásia (BA/JA), Cód. 49-IV-66, ff. 11v-12.
- 20

Teixeira, ‘The Church of St. Paul in Macau’, p. 70.
- 21

Fernando António Baptista Pereira, ‘A Conjectural Reconstruction of the Church of the College of Mater Dei’, p. 210.
- 22

Between 1575 and 1609, the consiliarus aedificiorum was Giovanni De Rosís.
- 23

Richar Bösel, ‘La ratio aedificiorum di un’istituzione globale tra autorità centrale e infinità del territorio’, pp. 42-45.
- 24

Sofia Isabel Plácido dos Santos Diniz, *A Arquitectura da Companhia de Jesus no Japão. A Criação de um Espaço Religioso Cristão no Japão dos Séculos XVI e XVII*, pp. 29-31.
- 25

Couceiro, ‘The Church of The College of Madre de Deus’, p. 183.
- 26

Ibid., p. 184: ‘... the reason why he was chosen in 1601 to do the project of the new church of the College of Madre de Deus had to do with his years of study with. Fr. Clavius’.
- 27

Cf. Ugo Baldini, *Saggi sulla cultura della Compagnia di Gesù (secoli XVI-XVIII)*, p. 91 and Daniele Frison, ‘Il contributo scientifico del gesuita Carlo Spinola nel Giappone del primo Tokugawa’, pp. 21-22.
- 28

Spinola, *Vita del P. Carlo Spinola...*, p. 12.
- 29

Baldini, *Saggi sulla cultura della Compagnia di Gesù...*, p. 57.
- 30

Ibid., p. 99.
- 31

See *Documenta Indica* XIV, p. 293: ‘*Passamos para la casa nueva professada después de la Epiphania, y estamos para bechar la primera pedra del nuevo edeficio daqui a tres días, que será el lunes y octava de la Epiphania. Y la traça toda de la dicha casa enbio a V. P. con ésta. Para esta obra y para otras que siempre se van haziendo en esta Provincia tenemos aquí summa necessidad de algún maestro que entienda desso, porque algunos que teniamos aquí primero que por ciencia o experiencia sabian desto alguna cosa, N. Señor los llevó todos pera sí de manera que agora no tenemos ninguno que entenda de semejantes obras, y estamos redusidos a tal término que a mí me jusgan por el que mejor entiende desto, de donde podrá V. P. infirir quán faltos estamos*’.
- 32

Baldini, *Saggi sulla cultura della Compagnia di Gesù...*, p. 92.
- 33

ARSI, Med. 47, f. 24.
- 34

Cf. Ugo Baldini and Pier Daniele Napolitani (eds.), *Christoph Clavius: Correspondenza*, vol. I, part II, pp. 91-92 and vol. III, part II, p. 8.
- 35

Cf. Karl Adolf Franz Fischer, ‘Jesuiten-Mathematiker in der französischen und italienische Assistenz bis 1762 bzw. 1773’, p. 82.
- 36

ARSI, Med. 22 [I], f. 8v.
- 37

Cf. Baldini and Bernardino Fernandes, ‘As assistências ibéricas da Companhia de Jesus e a actividade científica nas missões asiáticas (1578-1640). Alguns aspectos culturais e institucionais’, pp. 196-197.
- 38

Cf. Ugo Baldini, *L’insegnamento della matematica nel collegio di S. Antão a Lisbona, 1590-1640*, p. 71.
- 39

João Delgado (Lagos, c. 1553-Coimbra, 30 September 1612). Cf. Baldini, *L’insegnamento...*, pp. 283-284.
- 40

Ibid., note 20, pp. 281-282.



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40

In his work on Carlo Spinola, Diego Pacheco had tried to determine the exact location of the prison. See Diego Pacheco (Yuuki), *Suzuta no Shūjin: Karuro Supinora no shokan* 鈴田の囚人—カルロ・スピノラの書簡 (Suzuta’s Prisoner: Carlo Spinola’s Letter), pp. 21-26.

41

ARSI, Jap. Sin. 36, ff. 201-201v.

42

The Italian Muzio Vitelleschi was the successor of Claudio Acquaviva as General of the Ignatian Order. He was elected in 1616 and died almost 30 years later, in 1645.

43

The Spanish Jesuit Diogo de Mesquita accused Valentim Carvalho to have spent a great sum of money (more than 3,000 cruzados) in the edification of this house. Cf. ARSI, Jap. Sin. 36, f. 36. However, Spinola in this letter rectified that the total sum did not surpass the 1,200 cruzados.

44

ARSI, Jap. Sin. 36, f. 192.

45

See *Acta in Congregationis Generalis, I, 1558, Decretum 34 – De Ratione Aedificiorum*.

46

Hinoki 檜.

47

BA/JA, Cód. 49-V-5, ff. 24v-25.

48

For a description of the strength of Macao’s typhoons, see ARSI, Jap. Sin. 121, f. 4v.

49

ARSI, Jap. Sin. 36, f. 151v. For a detailed analysis of the letter, see Frison, ‘Il contributo scientifico del gesuita Carlo Spinola nel Giappone del primo Tokugawa’, pp. 21-56.

50

ARSI, Jap. Sin. 60, f. 226.

51

In 1605, the Japan Vice-province, helped by the alms of Japanese Christians, built a new church. See ‘Annuae Japon ab Octobr. 1605 ad Octobr. 1606 Lusitane ad P. Aquaviva’, ARSI Jap. Sin. 55, ff. 347v-355v. In particular, see f. 348.

52

See ‘Narração breve do número das casas, da gente, da renda, e gastos da Companhia de Jappão’, ARSI, Jap. Sin. 23, ff. 33-40v.

53

According to Bailey Gauvin, the Jesuits in Asia developed an architectonic style which resulted from their approximation to the Japanese culture. Basically, they tried to remain faithful to the precepts of the Roman church, yet blended in Japanese architectonic language. Cf. Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art in the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America 1542-1773*, p. 64.

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