An Early Modern Cosmopolitan Priest: Fr. Diego Collado (ca. 1587–1641), OP, and the failed attempt to promote *Propaganda Fide* in the Far East*

Abstract

A common generalization regarding the Society of Jesus highlights its globalizing nature as a manifestation of the Jesuits' universal vision for their spiritual enterprise, often setting them apart from other religious orders. Yet, members of other orders also operated within similarly expansive global networks. Adopting a renewed approach to church history that foregrounds ecclesiastical conflict, this article situates the Dominican friar Diego Collado (ca. 1587–1641) within a broader global context marked by the circulation of papal agents, goods, and knowledge between early modern Europe, Japan, and the Philippines. Drawing on archival materials, official reports, religious manifestos, and royal decrees, I examine this influential agent of the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* to reveal not only the internal divisions within the Order of Preachers but also the contested nature of *Patronato* relations in the Far East.

Keywords

Propaganda Fide, Philippines, Diego Collado, seventeenth century, Japan.

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Introduction

In recent years, historiography has extensively examined Jesuit procurators as pivotal nodes within the Society's global architecture. Scholars have traditionally analyzed these figures through the lens of a radial structure connecting the Roman center to its peripheral provinces, placing significant emphasis on their transcontinental networks and extraordinary long-distance mobility.[1] This scholarly focus has successfully illuminated how procurators functioned as the 'connective tissue' of a globalizing world, mediating between local missionary needs and the centralizing impulses of the Jesuit Curia and the Spanish Monarchy.

However, this emphasis on the official Jesuit apparatus has frequently overshadowed the role of other religious agents who operated within the same transoceanic circuits. These actors also undertook arduous journeys to the courts of Madrid and Rome to report personally to the Spanish Crown and the Holy See. This was the case of the Dominican Fr. Diego Collado (ca. 1587–1641†), who became an influential agent of the Pontifical Congregation of *Propaganda Fide* [Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith] from 1625 to 1632, moving freely between the royal and papal courts.[2] To what extent were procurators and non-state agents the unequivocal product of early modern globalization, thereby helping to understand both interconnections across worlds and religious dynamics within Europe? Or to what extent did these agents, along with the local contexts where they were immersed, shape early modern globalization? Although it is true that for a long time this

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[1] J. Agustín Galán García, *El 'Oficio de Indias' de Sevilla y su organización económica y misional de la Compañía de Jesús (1566–1767)* (Seville, 1995); J. Gabriel Martínez Serna, 'Procurators and the Making of the Jesuits' Atlantic Network', in *Soundings in Atlantic History: Latent Structures and Intellectual Currents, 1500–1830*, ed. Bernard Bailyn and Patricia L. Denault (London, 2009), pp. 194–201; Carlos-Urani Montiel, 'Los escenarios políticos del Procurador Diego Ignacio Fernández: corte, misión y aduana', in *Los jesuitas: religión, política y educación (siglos XVI–XVIII)*, vol. 1, eds. José Martínez Millán, Henar Pizarro Llorente and Esther Jiménez Pablo (Madrid, 2012), 325–46. For more recent work, see Alexandre Coello de la Rosa and Fabian Fechner (eds.), *Political Agents and Cultural Mediators: Jesuit Procurators in a Globalizing World (16th and 18th centuries)* (Leiden and Boston, 2026).

[2] Giovanni Pizzorusso, *Propaganda Fide. La Congregazione Pontificia e la Giurisdizione sulle Missioni* (Rome, 2022).

'globalized world' was more a vision than a reality, Iberian expansion generated new and unprecedented connectedness and cross-cultural interactions.[3]

Collado's figure illustrates cosmopolitanism and a complex circulation of papal agents, goods, and knowledge that were not exclusive of the Society of Jesus' global network. The circulation of information was included in a web of 'missionary knowledge', as Guillermo Wilde put it, bringing to the fore the role of the religious orders as global-minded organizations capable of operating in interconnected early modern world as well.[4]

First, I provide a brief overview of Collado's early years in Spain and his subsequent arrival in the Philippines. Second, I summarize the key aspects of the evangelization of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Japan, emphasizing how martyrdom affected Collado's perception of Far Eastern missions. Finally, I examine his courtly activities in Madrid and Rome as procurator of the mendicant orders stationed in Japan, which eventually turned them into an agent of *Propaganda Fide*. His lobbying efforts were twofold: he revalued the papacy's role in appointing bishops — particularly native ones — in the peripheral areas of the Far East, and he campaigned to dismantle the Jesuit monopoly on the evangelization of Japan. These activities took him to the Philippines once again, where he confirmed that the hegemony of the religious orders in the Philippines rested on the minimal influence of the diocesan clergy. In doing so, he led an eclectic group of missionaries—the so-called 'bearded fathers,' named for the distinctive long beards they all wore—to reinvigorate the mission in the Far East.[5] Although *Propaganda Fide*'s objectives were not fully realized, Collado's maneuvering

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[3] Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'Ethnography and Cultural Translation in the Early Modern World', *Studies in Church History*, 53 (2017), 272–310, at 280. For an overview of Iberian overseas expansion consequences, see Ivonne del Valle, Anna More and Rachel Sarah O'Toole (eds.), *Iberian Empires and the Roots of Globalization* (Nashville, 2020).

[4] Guillermo Wilde (ed.), *Saberes de la conversión. Jesuitas, indígenas e imperios coloniales en las fronteras de la cristiandad* (Buenos Aires, 2011). See also Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, Javier Burrieza Sánchez and Doris Moreno Martínez (eds.), *Jesuitas e imperios de ultramar (siglos XVI–XX)* (Madrid, 2012); Fabian Fechner and Guillermo Wilde, 'Cartas vivas' en la expansión del cristianismo ibérico. Las órdenes religiosas y la organización global de las misiones', *Nuevo Mundo/Mundos Nuevos, Débats* (2020), https://journals.openedition.org/nuevomundo/79441.

[5] Manuel Merino, OSA, 'La Provincia Agustiniana del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas (Cap. X)', *Archivo Agustiniano*, 59, no. 3 (September-December 1965), 299–332, at 316.

brought the tensions of church–state relations to the foreground, particularly in the borderlands of the Iberian empires.[6]

From Spain to the Philippines

Interest in the figure of the Dominican friar, Diego Collado, from Extremadura, has grown in recent years. Various philologists and early modern historians, such as José Delgado,[7] Noriko Hamamatsu,[8] Fernando Cid,[9] Carla Tronu,[10] Esther Jiménez,[11] José Tomás Saracho,[12] Carlo Pelliccia,[13] Sven Osterkamp,[14] and Antonio Doñas,[15]

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[6] As Pizzorusso recently pointed out, the short-lived congregation of the 'bearded fathers' was a 'tentativo fallito di collegarsi al papa evitando le costrizioni politiche con la Spagna' (Giovanni Pizzorusso, 'Universalismi a confronto: la strategia missionaria di Propaganda Fide e la Monarquia Hispánica,' in *Tra Roma, Madrid e i Nuovi Mondi. Le canonizzazioni del 1622 e la competizione tra gli universalism cattolici*, eds. Isabella Iannuzzi, Manfredi Merluzzi, Carlo Pelliccia, Micbele Rabà, Gaetano Sabatini (Rome, 2025), 282).

[7] José Delgado García, 'El Salmantino Fr. Diego Collado, O.P (1587–1641)', *Ciencia Tomista*, 115 (1988), 233–85.

[8] Noriko Hamamatsu, 'La obra lingüística de Fray Diego Collado: Legado de su labor misionera en Japón', in *¿Qué es Japón? Introducción a la cultura japonesa*, ed. Fernando Cid Lucas (Cáceres, 2009), 309–28.

[9] Fernando Cid Lucas, 'Pedro de Baeza y Diego Collado: trayectorias y logros de dos extremeños en el país del sol naciente,' in *Japón y la Península Ibérica*, ed. Fernando Cid Lucas (Gijón, 2011), 93–108.

[10] Carla Tronu, 'Los primeros materiales para el estudio del japonés realizados por un español: Diego Collado OP y la misión japonesa en el s. XVII', in *Séptimo centenario de los estudios orientales en Salamanca*, coord. Ana Agud Aparicio, Alberto Cantera, Alfonso Falero, Rachid El Hour Amro, Miguel Ángel Manzano Rodríguez, Ricardo Muñoz Solla and Efrem Yildiz (Salamanca, 2012), 755–62; Carla Tronu, 'The Rivalry between the Society of Jesus and the Mendicant Orders in Early Modern Nagasaki,' *Agora: Journal of International Center for Regional Studies*, 12 (2015): 25–39.

[11] Esther Jiménez Pablo, 'El papel de Fray Diego Collado al servicio de Propaganda Fide en las Indias Orientales.' *Librosdelacorte* 4 (2016): 153–63.

[12] José Tomás Saracho Villalobos, 'La obra lingüística de Diego Collado.' *Revista de Estudios Extremeños* 72, no. 3 (2016): 1561–94.

[13] Carlo Pelliccia, 'Analisi e riflessioni sulla presenza in Giappone di missionari portoghesi e spagnoli (secc. XVI e XVII).' *Sguardi sul Giappone da Oriente e Occidente* (April, 2021): 61–79.

[14] Sven Osterkamp, 'Notes on the Manuscript Precursors of Collado's *Ars grammaticæ Iaponicæ lingvæ* in the British Library (Sloane Ms. 3459) and Especially Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Borg. lat. 771).' *Bochumer Jahrbuch zur Ostasienforschung* 36 (2012): 199–212.

[15] Antonio Doñas, 'Órdenes religiosas en Japón: Diego Collado y el Memorial de 1631.' *Liburna* 13 (2018): 51–92; Antonio Doñas, '«Negotio gravissimo del Giappone»: Diego Collado OP y las Considerationi intorno alle risolutioni fatte dalla Congregatione di Spagna circ'il Giappone de Francesco Ingoli (1628).' *Archivo Dominicano* XLIV (2023): 89–115.

among others, have approached the multiple edges (linguistic, missionary, political) of a Dominican priest whose career, incomprehensibly, has not yet merited any detailed biography.[16] Fr. Collado was a 'globalized' priest who transited between seventeenth century Spain, the Holy See, the Philippines, and Japan. He became vicar provincial of the Dominicans and aligned himself with the guidelines of the Pontifical Congregation of *Propaganda Fide* [Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, 1622], which called for peaceful rather than violent evangelization in the East Indies — unarmed yet pious soldiers whose exemplary conduct, according to the Dicastery, sufficed to convert the pagan world.[17]

He was born in Miajadas, Cáceres, around 1587. He studied at the Convent of San Esteban in Salamanca, where he later entered the Order of Preachers on July 29, 1605.[18] He remained there until 1610, when the Dominican prior decided to send him to the Philippines. There he served in the parishes of Camalaniugan and Piat until 1617.[19] The Dominican provincial, Fr. Melchor Manzano de Haro (1579?–1630†), subsequently assigned Fr. Collado to the troubled vicariates of Santa Cecilia de los Mandayas (or Mandaras) and San Miguel de Nisiping (present-day Nassiping), located in the Dominican missionary province of Cagayan, in northern Luzon.

It was at this time that Fr. Collado also witnessed the jurisdictional conflicts between Archbishop Diego Vázquez de Mercado (1608–16†) and the religious orders, mainly the Augustinians, arising from the prelate's determination to conduct canonical visitations of their parishes. Episcopal visitations served a dual purpose: they allowed the archbishop to examine the functioning of diocesan parishes and the proper administration of the sacraments, while also making his authority visible among the religious orders.

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[16] Doñas, 'Órdenes religiosas en Japón,' 53.

[17] Esther Jiménez Pablo, 'El martirio en las misiones durante el siglo XVII: devoción y propaganda política.' *Chronica Nova* 43 (2017): 139–65, at 150; Jiménez, 'El papel de Fray Diego Collado,' 153–63.

[18] Santiago Payá, OP, *Reseña Biográfica de los Religiosos de la Provincia del Santísimo Rosario de Filipinas desde su fundación hasta nuestros días* (Manila: Imprenta del Real Colegio de Santo Tomás, 1891), 338; Bartolomé Álvarez del Manzano, OP, *Compendio de la Reseña Biografica de los Religiosos de la Provincia del Santísimo Rosario de Filipinas desde su fundación hasta nuestros días* (Manila, 1895), 83–84.

[19] Álvarez del Manzano, *Compendio*, 84.

However, Vázquez de Mercado's interventionism had little to do with applying the principles established at the Council of Trent (1545–63), but, according to Cushner, had lots to do with the need to curb the excesses of the friars, particularly the Augustinians, whose abuse of the natives and charging of rents and duties were infamous. The internal crisis of that order reached a dramatic peak when its provincial, fray Jerónimo de Salas, OSA (1590–1617†), was poisoned on May 17, 1617, and his successor, fray Vicente de Sepúlveda, OSA (1614–17†), was strangled by his fellow Augustinians just months later, on July 31.[20]

Manila, besieged by internal and external enemies,[21] had become an unstable environment, and it is hardly surprising that some priests, like Fr. Collado, sought new ground on which to build the Christian faith. He remained in Cagayan-Apayao region, until 1619, when he moved to Japan.[22] There he learned of the martyrdom of the first Dominican martyr, Fr. Alfonso Navarrete (1571–1617†), together with the Augustinian Fernando de San José Ayala (1575–1617†) and the Japanese lay catechist León Tanaka, who were beheaded on June 1, 1617.[23]

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[20] Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, 'In this land all is death': Don Diego Vázquez de Mercado, first secular archbishop of Manila (1608–16) and the Vacant See (1617–20).' *Philippiniana Sacra* 58, no. 177 (2023): 587–618, at 607.

[21] Jean-Noël Sánchez, 'A Prismatic Glance at One Century of Threats on the Philippine Colony,' in *The Representation of External Threats. From the Middle Ages to the Modern World*, eds. Eberhard Crailsheim and Mª Dolores Elizalde (Leiden & Boston, 2019), 343–65.

[22] Payá, *Reseña Biográfica*, 338; Álvarez del Manzano, *Compendio*, 37; 119.

[23] Julián González Barrera, 'Un Fénix para los años de hierro. Lope de Vega y la orden de los dominicos'. *Hispania Sacra* 69, no.139 (2017), 233–24, at 238.

The Far East: From the Philippines to Japan

By the end of the sixteenth century, the Society of Jesus was a truly global religious order engaged in the defense and circulation of the Gospel across four continents.[24] In 1543, a Portuguese vessel reached for the first time the island of Tanegashima, off the coast of Kyushu. A few years later, on August 15, 1549, Francis Xavier (1506–52†) arrived at Kagoshima, southern Japan, alongside Father Cosme de Torres (1510–70†) and brother Juan Fernández (1526–67†).[25] Following in the footsteps of the Navarrese Jesuit Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606), Visitor of the Jesuit missions in India from 1573 to 1606, Valignano arrived in Japan in 1579, several years after Pope Gregory XIII (Ugo Boncompagni, r. 1572–1585) had established the Diocese of Macau, which claimed ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Japan. In the early 1580s, he organized what would become the celebrated embassy of young Japanese aristocrats and Christian converts to the Catholic courts of Europe.[26] The so-called Tenshō Embassy departed from Japan for Macau on 20 February 1582. After a stay of approximately ten months there, the envoys sailed for Melaka (Malacca), arriving on 27 January 1583. After a few days they embarked again to Cochin, where they stayed for six months, which allowed Fr. Valignano sufficient time to finish his *Sumario de las Cosas de Japón* (1582).[27] The embassy, together with the *Sumario*, were a propaganda operation aimed at gaining renewed material support from certain rulers of the Catholic world and stressing to Gregory XIII the importance of the Japanese mission.[28]

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[24] José Casanova, 'The Jesuits through the Prism of Globalization, Globalization through a Jesuit Prism,' in *Jesuits and Globalization: Historical Legacies and Contemporary Challenges*, ed. Thomas Banchoff and José Casanova (Washington, DC, 2016), 262; José Eduardo Franco and Carlos Fiolhais, *Jesuítas, construtores da globalização* (Lisbon: Clube do Colecionador dos Correios, 2016). See also Guillermo Wilde, 'Introducción: Trazos de alteridad,' in *Saberes de la conversión*, 15–27; Alexandre Coello, Javier Burrieza, and Doris Moreno, 'Introducción,' in *Jesuitas e imperios de ultramar (siglos XVI–XX)*, ed. Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, Javier Burrieza Sánchez, and Doris Moreno (Madrid, 2012), 11–31.

[25] Fernando García Gutiérrez, SJ, 'Japón y Occidente: la cultura y el arte como lugar de encuentro de la globalización,' in *Oriente y Occidente. La primera globalización en tiempos del Barroco*, ed. Antonio-Miguel Bernal Rodríguez (Seville, 2013), 8

[26] Joseph F. Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits. Alessandro Valignano in Sixteenth Century Japan* (London & New York, 1993).

[27] Alessandro Valignano, SJ, *Sumario de las Cosas del Japón (1583). Adiciones del Sumario de Japón (1592*). Edited by José Luis Álvarez-Taladriz. vol. 1 (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1954).

[28] Rui Manuel Loureiro, '*Kirishitan bunko*: Alessandro Valignano and the Christian Press in Japan.' *Revista de cultura / Review of Culture* 19 (2006): 134–53, at 135.

These noblemen arrived in Europe in August of 1584, and the embassy lasted for over eight years, during which it visited the main civil and religious centers of early modern Portugal, Spain, and Italy under Jesuit patronage. This grand tour *avant la lettre* brought with it exceptional gifts, such as two Japanese folding screens, or *biombos*, which had never been seen before in Spain.[29]

The impact of this embassy soon bore fruit. On January 28, 1585, the pope issued the bull *Ex Pastorali Officio* granting the Jesuits total control of the missions in Japan, which later popes Clement VIII (Ippolito Aldobrandini, r. 1592–1605†) in 1600 and Paulus V (Camillo Borghese, r. 1605–21†) in 1608 retracted in pro-Jesuit Briefs.[30] However, the Jesuit order resisted sharing a missionary territory it had always considered its own. In Japan, meanwhile, the powerful *taikō* (retired regent) Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–98†), lord of Kyoto, upon whom Jesuit Father Alonso Sánchez (1547–1593†) and the Manila authorities had pinned their hopes of a Chinese invasion,[31] became alarmed about the military influence of Japanese Christians. In 1587 he restricted the practice of Christianity by issuing an edict of expulsion against the Jesuits in his territories.[32] The trigger was the Spanish galleon *San Felipe*, which ran aground off the coast of Japan loaded with merchandise but also heavily armed. Believing that the missionaries were secretly acting on behalf of foreign powers, he imprisoned twenty-six missionaries and sentenced them to death on February 5, 1597 (*Nihon nijūroku seijin*).[33]

This mass execution included six Discalced Franciscan friars, three Japanese Jesuits (Pablo Miki and his two catechists, Juan Goto and Santiago Kisai), and

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[29] María del Pilar Cabañas Moreno, 'Mestizaje artístico y globalización cultural en el siglo XVII. Los nuevos biombos de Macao y México,' in *Visiones de un mundo diferente: Política, literatura de avisos y arte namban*, coord., Osami Takizawa and Antonio Míguez Santa Cruz (Centro Europeo para la Difusión de las Ciencias Sociales, 2015), 169; Liam Matthew Brockey, 'Books of Martyrs: Example and Imitation in Europe and Japan, 1597–1650.' *The Catholic Historical Review* 103, no. 2 (2017): 212–13.

[30] Jiménez, 'El papel de Fray Diego Collado,' 153–63; Doñas, 'Órdenes religiosas en Japón,' 55; Doñas, '«Negotio gravissimo del Giappone»,' 96.

[31] Manel Ollé, *La empresa de China. De la armada invencible al galeón de Manila* (Barcelona, 2002).

[32] Víctor Mínguez and Inmaculada Rodríguez, 'Japan in the Spanish Empire. Circulation of works of art and Imaginings of Cipango in metropolitan Spain and the American viceroyalties.' *Bulletin of Portuguese – Japanese Studies* 18 (2009), 206.

[33] Alexandre Coello, *Jesuits at the Margins: Missions and Missionaries in the Marianas (1668–1769)* (New York, 2016), 21.

seventeen Japanese-born neophytes.[34] The news of their violent deaths spread rapidly among their confreres by means of engravings, holy images, *post-factum* accounts, and eulogies with theatrical representation, moving martyrdom (*sanguine laureatus*) to center stage. Martyrdom was not, however, achieved solely through violent death: the cause of that death had to be the martyr's ardent devotion to the faith. As Brockey noted, there is a clear paradox here: while most martyrs who died for the faith in border missionary spaces like Japan were laymen and women, the reports dwelt primarily on the deaths of priests and friars. As he points out, 'the reason for this lies in the fact that laymen were not responsible for promoting the cult of martyrs; members of religious orders were, and these authors first memorialized their own.'[35]

After sustained lobbying efforts, the mendicant orders secured official authorization from both the Holy See and King Philip III (r. 1598–1621†) in 1611 to undertake missionary activity in Japan.[36] Shortly thereafter, in April 1612, the shōgun Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543–1616†) renewed the persecution of Christianity by ordering the closure of churches and the confiscation of missionary property.[37] Despite this increasingly hostile stance, the Tokugawa authorities continued for a time to tolerate the Christian presence, largely because of the economic benefits generated by the Macau–Nagasaki silk trade.[38]

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[34] These martyrs were canonized by Pius IX on August 8, 1862. See Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, *Varones ilustres de la Compañía de Jesús*, vol. 1, *Misión del Japón* (Bilbao, 1887), 219–30.

[35] Brockey, 'Book of Martyrs,' 210.

[36] José Luis Álvarez-Taladriz, 'Notas para la historia de la entrada en Japón de los franciscanos,' in *España en Extremo Oriente. Filipinas, China, Japón, presencia franciscana, 1578–1978*, ed. Víctor Sánchez Gil (Madrid, 1979), 4.

[37] Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549–1650* (Berkeley, [1951] 1967), 315. See also Arcadio Schwade, 'O Cristianismo no Japão durante o reinado de Tokugawa Ieyasu (1600–1616),' in *O século cristão do Japão: Actas do Colóquio Internacional Comemorativo dos 450 Anos de Amizade Portugal-Japão, 1543–1993*, eds. Roberto Carneiro and A. Teodoro de Matos (Lisbon, 1994), 459–75.

[38] Michael Cooper, 'The Mechanics of the Macao–Nagasaki Silk Trade.' *Monumenta Nipponica* 27, no. 4 (1972): 423–33, at 423. On the involvement of the Jesuits in this profitable trade, see Andrew C. Ross, *A Vision Betrayed. The Jesuits in Japan and China, 1542–1742* (Edinburgh, 1994), 32–47.

Against this backdrop, the Franciscan Luis Sotelo (1574–1624†) organized and led the Keichō Embassy (1613–1620) to Europe as an emissary of Tokugawa Ieyasu.[39] He did so without the knowledge or approval of either his Franciscan superiors or the governor-general of the Philippines, Don Juan de Silva y Enríquez (1609–1616†).[40] The delegation was headed by the samurai Hasekura Rokuemon Tsunenaga (1571–1622†), who acted as ambassador on behalf of Date Masamune (1567–1636†), lord of Bojú, and included the Spanish captain Sebastián Vizcaíno (ca.1548–1627), together with a retinue of approximately 150 Japanese participants. Between 1613 and 1620, the embassy visited numerous cities and ports throughout the Spanish Monarchy, as well as in France and Italy, including Mexico City, Seville, Toledo, Madrid, Zaragoza, Barcelona, Saint-Tropez, Genoa, Civitavecchia, Rome, and Venice. His activism, as Ojeda noted, was key to representing Japan in royal and papal courts.[41]

This situation changed dramatically in 1614, when Christianity was formally proscribed throughout Japan. The arrival of English traders in 1600, alongside the *Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (VOC, or Dutch East India Company) who had arrived in 1600, offered shōgun Ieyasu new alternatives to trade that were not linked to religious proselytism.[42] As a result, missionaries were expelled, churches were destroyed, and many Japanese Christians were forced into hiding. Although the ban was rigorously enforced, a number of Dominican, Franciscan, Jesuit, and Augustinian missionaries remained in the country clandestinely, ministering to underground

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[39] In 1610, he had organized one embassy to Europe, who was finally led by the Franciscan friar Alonso Muñoz (Ojeda, 'Los trópicos en los espacios metropolitanos…,' 158). See also Paolo Aranha, 'The Keichō Embassy and the Holy See: Interventions by the Nuncio in Madrid, the Roman Inquisition and Cardinal Borghese,' *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 118 (2025): 313–56.

[40] Ojeda, 'Los trópicos en los espacios metropolitanos…,' 157.

[41] Ramón Ojeda, 'Los trópicos en los espacios metropolitanos. Procuradores y agentes religiosos en la circulación cultural de los mundos ibéricos en el siglo XVII' (Ph.D., Universidad Complutense, Madrid, 2025), 137; 172–77; 264. For further information of Masamune's visit to Rome (1613–15), see José Koichi Oizumi and Juan Gil (eds.), *Historia de la embajada de Idate Masamune al papa Paulo V (1613–15). Por el doctor Escipión Amati, intérprete e historiador de la embajada* (Madrid: Doce Calles, 2012).

[42] Doñas, '«Negotio gravissimo del Giappone»,' 97.

Christian communities. Those missionaries who escaped martyrdom, including many Spanish Franciscans and Portuguese Jesuits, were eventually expelled from Japan.[43]

Japanese converts also faced severe persecution. Many looked for refuge in the Philippines, particularly in the district of San Miguel de Dilao, near Manila, where approximately 2,000 Japanese exiles settled. Those who refused to renounce their faith were frequently imprisoned, tortured, or executed.[44]

The origin of San Miguel was the arrival of three hundred and fifty exiles who left Japan at the end of the Keichō era (1596–1615) on February 25, 1614, led by a Jesuit priest named Pedro Morejón (1562–1634†).[45] This community included the families of the Christian daimios Takayama Ukon Justo, Naitou Tokuan João, and Naitou Julia; several Jesuit priests and coadjutor brothers; fifteen *doujuku* or confessors; and seventeen mendicant friars.[46] They arrived in Manila on December 21st, 1614.[47] Father Morejón's sojourn in the Philippines was brief: on August 2nd, 1615, he left for Europe through New Spain. Vázquez de Mercado described him as a 'very creditable and trustworthy person' who knew the Empire of the Rising Sun very well and had witnessed firsthand the martyrdoms of 1597 and 1614.[48]

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[43] Many of these missionaries ended up in Manila (Lucio Gutiérrez, *Historia de la Iglesia en Filipinas (1565–1900)* (Madrid, 1992), 228). As Boxer points out, the Dutch and the English had encouraged the shōguns' growing mistrust of Iberian missionaries (Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Great Ship from Amacon: Annals from Macao and the Old Japan Trade, 1555–1640* (Lisbon, 1959), 99).

[44] Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Great Ship from Amacon: Annals from Macao and the Old Japan Trade, 1555–1640* (Lisbon, 1959), 83–84; Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 316–36; Brockey, 'Book of Marthyrs:…,' 212–13. See also Nicolas Trigault, *De christianis apud Iaponios triumphis; sive, De gravissia ibidem contra Christi fidem persecutione exorta anno M DC XII usq. ad annum M DC XX*, vol. 5 (Munich, 1623), as discussed in Federico Palomo, 'Procurators, Religious Orders and Cultural Circulation in the Early Modern Portuguese Empire: Printed Works, Images (and Relics) from Japan in António Cardim's Journey to Rome (1644–1646).' *E-journal of Portuguese History* 14, no. 2 (2016): 17.

[45] Eduardo Javier Alonso Romo, 'Pedro Morejón: vida, obra e itinerario transoceánico de un jesuita,' in in *Los jesuitas: religión, política y educación (siglos XVI–XVIII)*, vol. 3, eds. José Martínez Millán, Henar Pizarro Llorente and Esther Jiménez Pablo (Madrid, 2012), 1551–1572.

[46] Noemí Martín Santo, *'Cosas de tierras extrañas': textos y contextos de la Relación del reyno del Nippon de Bernardino de Ávila* (PhD diss., Boston University, 2016), 74–111.

[47] Haruko Nawata Ward, 'Women in the Eyes of a Jesuit Between the East Indies, New Spain, and Early Modern Europe,' in *Western Visions of the Far East in a Transpacific Age, 1522–1657*, ed. Christina H. Lee (London, 2012), 119.

[48] AGI, Filipinas, 74, N. 82. 553v.

Shortly after the anti-Christian edict of 1614, Sebastião de São Pedro (?–1628†) began writing the *Recopilação das causas porque o imperador do Japão desterrou de seus reinos todos os Padres* (1615). He was a Portuguese Franciscan (more precisely, a member of the Franciscan province linked to the Portuguese Estado da Índia) who accused the Society of Jesus of regularly interfering in the government of the Japanese lords and of involvement in the lucrative trade in Chinese silk and Japanese silver — acting more as merchants than as priests. The edict of expulsion of 1614, according to him, was a direct consequence of Jesuit misconduct.[49]

According to the Augustinians, in 1614 Governor Silva wished to send an embassy to the emperor of Japan 'to reduce him to the good treatment of the religious orders.'[50] But the Philippines were beleaguered on too many fronts to afford such an expedition. Aware of the growing tension in Japan, in 1619 Fr. Collado secretly moved from Manila to Nagasaki, where he actively engaged in clandestine missionary activities, learned Japanese, and preached to the faithful.[51] The martyrs of 1597 had been part of a spectacle intended, as Nathalie Kouamé pointed out, not to repress the Christian community but to offer a warning to European powers.[52]

From 1620 onward, however, Japanese authorities changed course entirely. Sotelo's expedition began its slow return journey, reaching Manila in July 1618 after years of diplomatic activities as to resume the Franciscan mission in the lands of the Tokugawa shogunate. He remained there for more than three years and eventually returned to Japan around September 1622.[53] On September 10, 1622, the shōgun Tokugawa Hidetada (1605–32†) sent a far more devastating message — one aimed

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[49] Renata Cabral Bernabé, 'Entre preces e negociações: os Jesuítas no Japão dos séculos XVI e XVII.' *Dimensões. Revista de História da Ufes* 50 (2023): 129–49, at 137.

[50] AGI, Filipinas 85, N. 26.

[51] Doñas, '«Negotio gravissimo del Giappone»,' 98; Ojeda, 'Los trópicos en los espacios metropolitanos…,' 289.

[52] Nathalié Kouamé, 'La muerte en espectáculo: La ejecución de veintiséis cristianos en Nagasaki en 1597,' in *Extremo Occidente y Extremo Oriente: Herencias asiáticas en la América hispánica*, eds. Axel Gasquet and Georges Lomné (Lima, 2016), 21–32.

[53] Although the embassy failed to achieve its principal objectives—namely, the establishment of commercial relations with the Spanish Monarchy and the creation of an autonomous missionary jurisdiction for Japan—Sotelo nevertheless succeeded in disseminating throughout the Americas and Europe the image of a flourishing Franciscan Christianity in Japan (Ojeda, 'Los trópicos en los espacios metropolitanos…,' 137; 182; Aranha, 'The Keichō Embassy and the Holy See…', 351).

squarely at the Japanese themselves.[54] On Nishizaka Hill in Nagasaki, thirty Japanese laymen and twenty-five priests — including Jesuit missionary Carlo Spinola (1564–1622†),[55] seven Dominicans, and seventeen missionaries from other orders — were burned alive or decapitated in what came to be known as the Great Martyrdom of Genna.[56] Not long after, the new shōgun, Tokugawa Iemitsu (1603–51†), ordered the deaths of forty-seven Japanese laymen along with one Franciscan and two Jesuit missionaries.[57] Known as the Great Martyrdom of Edo (Tokyo), this event — which occurred on December 4, 1623 — followed the shōgun's order that all Christians should be eliminated, his first decree upon taking office.

After spending almost two years in prison in Ōmura, Father Sotelo suffered martyrdom after six months of imprisonment on 25 August 1624.[58] Prior to his death, on 20 January, he had completed his *Estado de la cristiandad del Japón*, a renewed *Beatissime Pater* addressed to Pope Paul V. Fr. Collado was responsible for circulating this treatise in Europe, thereby becoming a significant polemical instrument in the dispute between the mendicant orders and the Society of Jesus concerning the evangelization of Japan.[59]

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[54] As Nathalié Kouamé points out, 'The Philippines' constant refusal to pay tribute to the Japanese general [Hideyoshi]; the fact that during the winter of 1596–97 he was preparing to send new troops to Korea for a second great operation; [and] the need to finance that military campaign and guarantee new and constant resources from international trade came together to exacerbate Hideyoshi's rancor against the Spanish and the Franciscans' (Kouamé, 'La muerte en espectáculo,' 5–23).

[55] See Fabio Ambrosio Spinola, *Vita del P. Carlo Spinola della Compagnia di Giesù morto per la santa fede nel Giappone* (Rome, 1628).

[56] Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 350; Simona Binková, 'Contribución de los jesuitas de la provincia de Bohemia para la evangelización de las islas Filipinas y Marianas y para su conocimiento en Europa central,' in *Ir más allá…: Fuentes bohemicales para el estudio comparativo de la expansión colonial española en la temprana Edad Moderna*, eds. Simona Binková, Markéta Křížová, et al. (Prague, 2016), 34. See also Nieremberg, *Varones ilustres*, 372–407; Gutiérrez, *Historia de la Iglesia*, 230.

[57] Robert Cieslik, 'The Case of Christovao Ferreira.' *Monumenta Nipponica* 29:1 (1974): 1–54, at 11; Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 344–50; George Elison, *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge, MA, 1973), 188.

[58] Aranha, 'The Keichō Embassy and the Holy See…', 351.

[59] Ojeda, 'Los trópicos en los espacios metropolitanos…,' 289.

From Japan to Europe

Fr. Collado was always in disagreement with the Jesuit monopoly (1549–1600) of the 'spiritual gardens' in the far distant Japan.[60] Under the protection of the Portuguese authorities, who allowed the Society of Jesus to establish a lucrative regular trade with Dutch and Japanese merchants between Malacca, Macau, Nagasaki, and Makassar, the Jesuit missions flourished at the expense of the rest of the religious orders in what Charles R. Boxer came to define as the 'Christian century.'[61] In August 1622, Fr. Collado witnessed the persecution and martyrdom of the Flemish friar, Luis Flores (1565–70/1622†), and the Augustinian friar, Pedro de Zúñiga y Velasco (1580–1622†) in Nagasaki, well described by Jacinto Orfanell, OP, *Historia Eclesiástica de los sucessos de la Christiandad de Iapón, desde el año de 1602, que entró en él la Orden de Predicadores hasta el de 1620* (Madrid: Viuda de Alonso Martín, 1633). Shortly after, Fr. Collado and Fr. Domingo Castellet (1592–1628†) witnessed firsthand the Great Genna Martyrdom of Nagasaki on September 10, 1622, when more than 55 Christians, including his confrere Orfanell, were either decapitated or suspended in a pit (a torture method known as *ana-tsurushi*).[62]

By the end of 1622, the three mendicant orders — Augustinians, Dominicans, and Franciscans — decided to send Fr. Collado to the court of Madrid as one of the two Dominican survivors of the Great Martyrdom of Nagasaki.[63] According to the Dominican Juan de Rueda (¿–1623†), rumor had it that the Spanish King was planning to grant the Chinese and Japanese missions to the Society of Jesus.[64] After arriving in Spain, Fr. Collado presented a *Memorial* to Philip IV, together with supporting

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[60] I borrowed the concept of 'spiritual gardens' from Jorge Cañizares Esguerra, *Católicos y puritanos en la colonización europea* (Madrid, 2008), 239–84.

[61] Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*. See also Merino, 'La Provincia Agustiniana,' 304. See also Jiménez, 'El papel de Diego Collado,' 153–63; Pelliccia, 'Analisi e riflessioni,' 62.

[62] Juan Ferrando, OP, *Historia de los PP. Dominicos en las islas Filipinas y en sus misiones del Japón, China, Tung-Kin y Formosa*, Vol. II (Madrid, 1870), 76–77. In 1633, Fr. Collado added the prologue and a supplement of ten additional chapters (1620–22) to Orfanell's *Historia* (Emi Turull Pibernat, 'Testimoniatge i martiri en les cartes de fra Jacinto Orfanell, O.P., des del Japó (1609–1622).' *Illes i Imperis* 21 (2019): 339–69, at 344).

[63] Doñas, '«Negotio gravissimo del Giappone»,' 106.

[64] Pelliccia, 'Analisi e riflessioni,' 67; Doñas, '«Negotio gravissimo del Giappone»,' 98.

documentation that challenged the Jesuits' appropriation of martyrdom as a means of legitimizing their exclusive privileges in the Japanese mission.[65] Concurrently, he delivered relics of the deceased missionaries to ecclesiastical and secular authorities, using their material remains to underscore the sacrifices endured by members of the mission and to strengthen his case.[66] According to Alabrús Iglesias, his influence over the Pope Gregory XV (Alessandro Ludovisi, r. 1621–23†) must be strong.[67] On June 22, 1622, the pope opted for the foundation of the *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* as a way to exercise control over the cascade of martyrial relations as well as to centralize the apostolic and missionary action in Rome.[68] However, as Ernest J. Burrus (1907–91†) rightly points out, 'this pontifical organization did not succeed in breaking the regal Spanish and Portuguese monopolies.'[69]

In January 1625, Fr. Collado headed to the papal headquarters in Rome as official procurator of the three mendicant orders in Japan and provincial vicar of the Dominican order, to provide information about Japanese culture and beliefs and to seek the Congregation's support in breaking the Jesuit missionary monopoly.[70] Procurators were defined as legal representatives endowed with authority to act on behalf of their provinces from afar, reporting personally to the curia and acting as diplomatic and courtly business agents moving freely between royal and papal courts. While early

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[65] Rosa Mª Alabrús Iglesias, 'El rol femenino en la evangelización del Japón' in *Tra Roma, Madrid e i Nuovi Mondi. Le canonizzazioni del 1622 e la competizione tra gli universalism cattolici*, eds. Isabella Iannuzzi, Manfredi Merluzzi, Carlo Pelliccia, Micbele Rabà, Gaetano Sabatini (Rome, 2025), 523.

[66] In his *Historia*, Fr. Aduarte refers to the common practice of Japanese Christian men to wait until later to collect the relics of the dead priests, 'aunque fuse sacándolas de el mar, como otras veces avian hecho' (Diego de Aduarte, OP, *Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario de Filipinas, Japón y China de la Sagrada Orden de Predicadores* (Zaragoza, 1693), 127).

[67] Alabrús Iglesias, 'El rol femenino en la evangelización del Japón,' 522–23.

[68] Ernest Burrus, SJ, 'Un programa positivo: la actuación misionera de Propaganda Fide en Hispanoamérica,' in *Sacre Congregationis De propaganda fide memoria rerum*, vol. I, nº 2, ed. Joseph Metzler, SJ (Freiburg, 1971), 648–66; Mª Lourdes Díaz-Trechuelo, 'La Historia de la Iglesia en Asia.' *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia* 5 (1996): 171–96, at 183. On the connections between Propaganda Fide and the Society of Jesus, see Giovanni Pizzorusso, 'Il papa rosso e il papa nero: note sulle origini della conflittualità tra Propaganda Fide e Compagnia di Gesú (XVII secolo),' in *Les Antijésuites. Discours, figures et lieux de l'antijésuitisme a l'époque moderne*, eds. Pierre Antoine Fabre and Catherine Maire (Rennes, 2010), 539–62.

[69] Ernest J. Burrus, S.J., 'Pius V and Francis Borgia: Their Efforts on Behalf of the American Indians.' *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* 41 (1972): 207–26, at 225.

[70] Lino M. Pedot, cited in Doñas, '«Negotio gravissimo del Giappone»,' 99. See also Ojeda, 'Los trópicos en los espacios metropolitanos…,' 290.

modern historians have focused on Jesuit province congregations and their respective procurators (*procuratores provinciae*), those of other religious orders have been neglected as tangential to the expansion of Catholicism in the early modern Philippines. In this respect, Fr. Collado's career helps illuminate both the interconnections across worlds and the religious dynamics within Europe. He influenced the process of early modern globalization by combining the circulation of information with the acquisition and delivery of objects and relics, thereby methodologically linking 'missionary knowledge' with a diplomatic gift-giving economy.[71]

After lobbying for some time in the Eternal City, Fr. Collado became *Propaganda Fide*'s key agent in decision-making. By the end of June 1625, the first secretary of the Dicastery, Mons. Francesco Ingoli (1578–1649, r.1622–49†), sent him to Madrid to reassure the young King Philip IV (1605–65, r.1621–65†) and his most trusted advisor, the Count-Duke of Olivares (1587–1645†, r.1622–43), about the real intentions of the newly founded papal congregation.[72] The central question was the extent to which Propaganda Fide was altering the workings of the Spanish and Portuguese Patronages, which allowed Iberian authorities to make religious appointments. To avoid suspicion about his mission at the royal court, Fr. Collado focused squarely on the skills of the Jesuits in Japan, questioning their ability to understand the Japanese context and translate it accordingly.[73]

From August 1626 to June 1628, several *Juntas* were convened to discuss the opening of the Japanese mission to the mendicant orders, which ultimately confirmed the Spanish court as a space of political and global negotiation.[74] The matter was so delicate that in 1630 a *Junta Grande* was assembled, composed of the President of the Council of Castile, Don Miguel de los Santos de San Pedro (1563–1633; r.1629–33†), the President of the Council of Indies, Don Ramiro Núñez de Guzmán, Duke of Medina

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[71] On this issue of missionary collecting and gift packages to the popes and elite groups, see the monographic issue edited by Sabina Brevaglieri and her introduction, 'Missionary collecting between object eradications and resedimentations. An introduction.' *Quaderni storici* 169, a. LVII, no. 1 (2023): 3–20.

[72] Doñas, '«Negotio gravissimo del Giappone»,' 100.

[73] Jiménez, 'El papel de Fray Diego Collado,' 153–63.

[74] Doñas, '«Negotio gravissimo del Giappone»,' 100.

de las Torres (1629–31†), and the President of the Council of Portugal, Don Carlos de Borja y Aragón, VII Duke of Villahermosa (1617–33†). This last was the main opponent of *Propaganda Fide*'s interests, not only because he blocked the entry of non-Jesuit missionaries, but also because he proposed extending Jesuit presence for fifteen more years.[75]

To achieve their goals, Fr. Collado and the Apostolic Nuncio for Japanese matters, cardinal Giovanni Battista Pamphili (1574–1655†, the future Pope, Innocent X, 1644–55†), sought to meet with each President to register their disagreement with Spanish policy that contravened previous papal bulls and decrees.[76] Fr. Collado's political lobbying in Madrid and Rome was closely intertwined with a Dominican historiographical tradition that emphasized the martyrdom and sacrifices of friars in Japan as evidence of Jesuit failure and the necessity for broader missionary involvement. This narrative was later articulated by Fr. Diego de Aduarte in his *Historia de la Provincia del Santo Rosario en Philippinas, Iapon, y China* (first published in 1640 and supplemented by Fr. Baltasar de Cruz, OP, in 1693), which extensively chronicled the martyrdom of Dominican priests and framed their death as a pivotal element in missionary propaganda. Of its 139 chapters, only 15 dealt with the establishment of Dominican missions in the Philippines. As Jorge Mojarro has noted, Fr. Aduarte prioritized the heroic deeds of the martyrs in Japan because 'propelling the stories of martyrs actually became more useful than narratives about conversions.'[77] Aduarte's work prioritized these martyr narratives over accounts of routine conversions, reinforcing the polemical portrayal of Jesuit mismanagement and validating *Propaganda Fide*'s push to dismantle the Jesuit monopoly.

Rhetorically cast as victims of Japanese tyrants in the mold of Nero or Diocletian, martyrs became indispensable tools for missionary promotion and the imperialistic

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[75] Doñas, '«Negotio gravissimo del Giappone»,' 100.

[76] On the first years of his cardinalate, see Valentina Emiliani (Università Roma Tre, Rome)'s forthcoming book *Prima della porpora. Giovanni Battista Pamphilj diplomatico al servizio della Santa Sede (1621-1630)*, (Rome: Viella, forthcoming).

[77] Jorge Mojarro, 'History, Propaganda, and Glory in the Early Dominican Chronicles of the Philippines'. Personal communication. *Nuevas tendencias historiográficas para el estudio de las órdenes religiosas*. Ateneu Universitari Sant Pacià. Barcelona, December 14, 2023.

designs of the Spanish Crown. Between 1628 and 1630, treatises on the martyrdom of Dominican priests — such as the *Compendio della relatione in lingua Spagnola de successi della cristianità nel Giappone dall'anno 1628 fin al 1630 inclusive* — were published by *Propaganda Fide*, turning the *missio iaponica* into a battlefield — but one that, for the first time, belonged to the Dominicans and the Franciscans as much as to anyone else.[78] Collado's treatises and memorials, published by the Congregation, echoed this rhetoric by highlighting Jesuit shortcomings through the lens of the martyrdom memory, thereby justifying the division of Japan into missionary zones and the entry of mendicant orders.[79] Thus, Aduarte's historiography underpinned the ideological framework that shaped Collado's diplomatic maneuvers and publications, aligning with *Propaganda Fide*'s agenda to reassert papal authority and challenge Iberian royal patronage in Far Eastern missions.

His political lobbying in Rome, where he enjoyed the support of the anti-Spanish Pope Urban VIII (1623–44), proceeded in parallel with his efforts to secure a return to the Philippines and, from there, to Japan. On 15 March 1630, Fr. Collado petitioned the Council of the Indies for a license authorizing the passage of forty Dominican missionaries to the islands.[80] He also submitted a *Memorial*—later published in 1633—consisting of thirteen sections, whose principal aim was to challenge Jesuit influence in the Japanese mission.[81] In doing so, he aligned himself with the position previously advanced by the Franciscan Luis Sotelo, who had denounced the Jesuits' monopoly over the evangelization of Japan. Like Sotelo, Collado advocated the unrestricted movement of missionaries throughout the archipelago and supported the establishment of an archiepiscopal structure that would guarantee impartiality among the various religious orders.[82]

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[78] Jiménez, 'El papel de Fray Diego Collado,' 153–63.

[79] Jorge Mojarro, 'A Rare Spanish Imprint on Dominican Martyrs in Japan: Edition and Study.' *Philippiniana Sacra* 56, no. 168 (2021): 639–54.

[80] AGI, Filipinas 80, N. 147.

[81] Doñas, 'Órdenes religiosas en Japón,' 56.

[82] Ojeda, 'Los trópicos en los espacios metropolitanos…' 291–93.

Despite these difficulties, Fr. Collado achieved considerable success. Pope Pope Urban VIII divided Japan into four missionary spheres of influence, assigning them respectively to the Dominicans, Augustinians, Franciscans, and Jesuits. Nevertheless, on 11 March 1631, the Council of the Indies granted him only twenty of the forty missionaries he had requested.[83] Even so, Collado emerged as the principal heir to the missionary vision articulated by Luis Sotelo, continuing his efforts to challenge Jesuit predominance and to promote a more pluralistic missionary presence in Japan.[84]

The second *Junta Grande*, held in Madrid on July 29, 1631, addressed the claims of the religious orders regarding their participation in the apostolic labor in Japan.[85] This *Junta* ultimately authorized the free entry of all Spanish religious orders and the common use of maritime ports.[86] However, this mandate could not be fully realized in practice. While King Philip IV and the Council of the Indies categorically rejected *Propaganda Fide*'s petition to appoint an Apostolic Vicar for the Far East—viewing it as an infringement on royal patronage—Fr. Collado countered by proposing the establishment of new dioceses in China and Japan, territories where the Jesuits were already firmly entrenched.

The existing bishoprics in Macau, Malacca, and Goa were clearly insufficient to promote native priesthood, especially after the first see had been vacant for ten years (1628–38).[87] By requesting new ones, Fr. Collado was pushing the religious orders to move beyond the stipulations of the papal bull, *Omnimoda* of Adrian VI (1522–23†), dated May 10, 1522, which had granted friars ample faculties to assume the pastoral and sacramental duties of the secular clergy. Instead, Collado sided with Ingoli's thinking on instructing native clergy and bishops, which would favor episcopal jurisdiction over the

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[83] AGI, Filipinas 80, N. 147. On May 30, 1631, Fr. Collado requested a license to embark ten more Dominican priests (AGI, Filipinas 5, N. 402), which was finally granted on July 9, 1633 (AGI, Filipinas 80, N. 164).

[84] Ojeda, 'Los trópicos en los espacios metropolitanos…' 293.

[85] *Memorial de las Órdenes de Santo Domingo, San Francisco y San Agustín, sobre los inconvenientes que habría con la pretendida división o partición del territorio del Japón, asignando a cada Orden, incluida la Compañía de Jesús, su propia parte para las respectivas tareas apostólicas* (Madrid, 1631), in *Historia de la Provincia Agustiniana del Smo. Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas.* T. XIX, ed. Isacio Rodríguez-Rodríguez, OSA (Valladolid, 1987), 217–22.

[86] Doñas, 'Órdenes religiosas en Japón,' 56.

[87] Jiménez, 'El papel de Fray Diego Collado,' 153–63.

Patronato Real de las Indias.[88] Following the determination of the first bishop of Manila, the Dominican friar Domingo de Salazar (1512–94, r.1581–94), to reinforce diocesan authority over the orders in the Philippines, Fr. Collado was ready to break the Society of Jesus' monopoly. Proof of this was his publication of a Japanese grammar (*Ars grammaticæ Iaponicæ lingvæ*, Rome: *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, 1632), a Japanese-Spanish-Latin dictionary (*Dictionarivm sive thesavri lingvæ iaponicæ compendivm*, Rome: Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, 1632), a bilingual manual for confessors (*Niffon no cotobani yo confesion/Modvs confitendi et examinandi Poenitentem Iaponensem*, Rome: *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, 1632), and an expanded version of Jacinto Orfanell's *Historia eclesiástica de los sucesos de la cristiandad del Japón* (Madrid, 1633) — all tools for promoting the ordination of Japanese priests by the local dioceses.[89]

Back to the Philippines: Fr. Diego Collado and his 'Barbados'

The project of the Dominican friar, Diego Collado, who sought to bifurcate the Province of Our Lady of the Rosary into two parts, is a clear example of *Propaganda Fide*'s strategies regarding the Far East.[90] Several historians, including John L. O'Phelan,[91] James Cummins[92] and Jaume Górriz,[93] have noted that many missionaries, particularly Dominicans and Franciscans, viewed the Philippine missions primarily as a bridgehead for penetrating China and Japan, where they arrived in 1631 and 1633,

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[88] Doñas, '«Negotio gravissimo del Giappone»,' 95.

[89] Tronu, 'Los primeros materiales,' 756; Saracho, 'La obra lingüística,' 1561–94; Osterkamp, 'Notes on the Manuscript Precursors of Collado's *Ars grammaticæ Iaponicæ lingvæ*,' 199.

[90] Jiménez, 'El papel de Fray Diego Collado,' 153–63; Rômulo da Silva Ehalt, 'Theology in the Dark: The Missionary Casuistry of Japan Jesuits and Dominicans during the Tokugawa Persecution (1616–1622),' in *Norms beyond Empire. Law Making and Local Normativities in Iberian Asia, 1500–1800*, ed. Manuel Bastias Saavedra (Leiden & Boston, 2020), 259–60.

[91] John Leddy O'Phelan *The Hispanization of the Philippines. Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses, 1565–1700* (Madison, Milwaukee & London, [1959] 1967), 43–44.

[92] James Cummins, 'Two Missionary Methods in China: Mendicants and Jesuits.' *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 38, no 149–152 (1978): 33–108, at 38–40.

[93] Jaume Górriz, 'La Compañía de Jesús,' in *España y el Pacífico. Legazpi*, vol. II, ed. Leoncio Cabrero (Madrid, 2004), 362.

respectively.[94] As Marina Torres remarks, the Franciscans entered China for the first time in 1633 (*Ex debito pastoralis*, 1633), establishing an effective presence by 1637.[95] While the Jesuits explored alternative overland routes to China,[96] the prospect of evangelizing Japan had almost vanished following the enforcement of *sakoku* ('locked country'). This policy was codified through a series of edicts between 1633 and 1639 that prohibited the arrival of Portuguese ships and rendered the foundation of new missions in Japan virtually impossible.[97]

After six years of political maneuvering in Madrid and Rome, Fr. Collado obtained from the Master General of the Order of Preachers, Fr. Nicolás Ridolfi (1629–42) the foundation of a new Congregation called 'San Pablo.'[98] Master General Ridolfi gave the green light to the Congregation of San Pablo while remaining fully aware of the secret nomination of the Portuguese Dominican Agostinho das Chagas (Agostino delle Piaghe) as the new bishop of Japan (1635–36). In July 1635, Cardinals Bernardino Spada (1594–1661) and Giovanni Battista Pamphili proposed Agostino delle Piaghe to the Congregation of Propaganda Fide. Although he was of Jewish descent, what really mattered was King Philip IV's total ignorance of this appointment. As Massimo Carlo Giannini has recently demonstrated, this was a cunning plan devised in Rome during the last period of Urban VIII Barberini's pontificate (1635–44) to bypass the royal patronage and install *Propaganda Fide*'s own candidate.[99]

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[94] Nicolas Standaert, SJ, 'Actors,' in *Handbook of Christianity in China*, *Volume One: 635–1800*, ed. N. Standaert, SJ (Leiden, 2000), 295–98, at 297.

[95] Marina Torres Trimállez, 'Rescate, catolicismo e hibridación cultural en las misiones mendicantes en la China de la dinastía Qing' (Ph.D., Universidad de Cantabria, Santander, 2019), 54.

[96] Yuval Givon, 'Connecting Eurasia: Jesuit Experimentation with Overland Mobility Between China and Europe, 1656-1664.' *Journal of World History* 33, no. 4 (2022): 639-68.

[97] Despite these obstacles, Japanese products continued to arrive with relative frequency until the 1660s, and indirectly, until the early 1680s (José M. Herrera Reviriego, 'Conexiones en la época de la desconexión: Filipinas y Japón durante la segunda mitad del siglo XVII,' in *Visiones de un Mundo Diferente. Política, literatura de avisos y arte namban*, coord. Osami Takizawa and Antonio Míguez Santa Cruz (Alcalá de Henares, 2015), 45).

[98] His predecessor, Serafin Secchi (1612–28), from the province of Lombardy, was never convinced of Collado's ambitions to found a new Congregation to evangelize China and Japan (Ferrando, *Historia de los PP. Dominicos*, vol. 2, 256).

[99] Massimo Carlo Giannini, 'Può un religioso di origine ebraica diventare vescovo in Giappone? Lo strano caso del domenicano Agostinho das Chagas (1635–1636),' in *Una curiosità generosa. Studi di storia moderna per Irene Fosi*, ed. Giuseppe Mrozek Eliszezynski and Giovanni Pizzorusso (Collana, 2024), 219–30.

This Congregation of San Pablo was better known as the 'bearded' fathers.[100] Upon Fr. Collado's arrival in New Spain, suspicion hung in the air: although they were officially heading for the Philippines, their true destination was Japan.[101] The Viceroy of New Spain, the Marquess of Cerralbo (1624–35), was reluctant to let them go, but Fr. Collado and twenty-two Dominican 'bearded' fathers finally set sail from the port of Acapulco aboard the same galleon carrying the new Governor and Captain General of the Philippines, Don Sebastián Hurtado de Corcuera (1635–44).[102] During the voyage, Fr. Collado convinced him of the merits of their missionary project, which followed *Propaganda Fide*'s directives on the need to send greater numbers of missionaries to Japan under papal patronage.[103]

On June 25, 1635, Governor Hurtado de Corcuera, Fr. Collado, and his fellow travelers arrived in Cavite — the same day that Archbishop of Manila, friar Hernando Guerrero, OSA (1635–41), entered his archbishopric.[104] Upon his return to Manila, Fr. Collado took possession of the residences and parishes he considered most appropriate, including the vicarial residence of Hermosa (or Formosa) Island, called *Todos los Santos*.[105]

Interest in Hermosa had developed several years earlier. In 1627, prominent figures such as Juan Cevicos (1576–?)[106]—captain, pilot, and master of the Manila galleon *San Francisco*, which had been wrecked off the Japanese coast in 1609—advocated the expulsion of the Dutch from the island. Although Cevicos advised against

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[100] Merino, 'La Provincia Agustiniana,' 316.

[101] On May 23, 1631, the fiscal Don Juan de Solórzano y Pereira (1575–1655), had already reported that Collado's papal licenses had not been submitted yet to the Council of Indies, and as a result, he should not be allowed to embark to the Indies (AGI, Filipinas 80, N. 164).

[102] AGI, Filipinas 80, N. 187.

[103] Ferrando, *Historia de los PP. Dominicos*, vol. 2, 258. See Jiménez, 'El papel de Fray Diego Collado,' 153–63; Horacio de la Costa, SJ, *The Jesuits in the Philippines (1581–1768*) (Cambridge, Mass., 1989 [1961]), 377.

[104] Paulino Díaz Rodríguez-Alonso, OSA, 'Episcopologio Hispano-Agustiniano. Ilmo. y Rvmo. Sr. D. fr. Hernando Guerrero.' *Archivo Histórico Hispano Agustiniano* 2:7 (1914): 88–100, at 91.

[105] Ferrando, *Historia de los PP. Dominicos*, vol. 2, 260.

[106] According to the archbishop of Manila, Miguel García Serrano (1569–1629; r.1620–29), Juan Cevicos was born in the town of Cantalapiedra, in Castilla la Vieja, 'of clean and legitimate parents' (AGI, Filipinas 74, N.93, ff.685r–690r).

permanent Spanish settlement, arguing that Dutch naval supremacy in the region was indisputable,[107] the Dominicans of the Province of the Most Holy Rosary of the Philippines nevertheless resolved, from 1631 onward, to use Hermosa Island as a strategic base for missionary expansion into the Chinese empire, albeit with limited success.[108]

Fr. Collado's arrival only accelerated internal conflicts within the Order of Preachers.[109] In May 1636, Governor Hurtado de Corcuera granted the new Congregation control over five Dominican parishes: the convent of Parian, the convent of Los Reyes, the Royal Hospital of San Gabriel, the town of Binondo, and the port of Cavite — not without resistance from the Dominican superiors.[110] However, it was a premature decision. The ambitions of the 'last conqueror,' as the Jesuit Horacio de la Costa defined him with undisguised admiration,[111] had little to do with the new dicastery's strategies for expanding across Asian territories, and far more to do with the defense and consolidation of the Spanish empire in the Philippines.[112]

Fr. Collado also encountered the firm opposition of the Real Audiencia, the Dominican provincial and rector of the College of Santo Tomás (1627–33), Fr. Domingo González (1574–1647), and the Dominican friar, Juan Diego de Aduarte (1569–1636†), bishop of Nueva Segovia (1633–36†).[113] They accused the new Congregation of St. Paul not of founding new Dominican convents, but of appropriating those already existing in the Philippines.[114] Most damagingly of all, Fr. Collado and his

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[107] 'Inadvisability of a Spanish Post on the Island of Formosa,' Madrid, December 20, 1627 (Emma H. Blair and James A. Robertson, *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1803*, Vol 22 (1625–29) (Cleveland: The A.H. Clark Company, 1904), 168–77). On August 24, 1642, the Dutch took possession of the island (José Eugenio Borao Mateo, *The Spanish Experience in Taiwán, 1626–1642: The Baroque Ending of a Renaissance Endevour* (Aberdeen & Hong Kong, Hong Kong UP, 2009), 41–45).

[108] Ricardo Martínez Esquivel, 'Misión Sangley. La cristianización entre los chinos de Filipinas en el cambio del siglo XVI al XVII,' *Estudios de Asia y África*, 53, no. 1 (2018): 58.

[109] AGI, Filipinas 8, N.75. See also Ferrando, *Historia de los PP. Dominicos*, vol. 2, 261–62; 292–93.

[110] Rodríguez, OSA, *Historia*, vol. 20, 65–74.

[111] De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 377–403.

[112] Alexandre Coello and João Vicente Melo, *The Jesuit Encounters with Islam in the Asia-Pacific* (Leiden & Boston, 2023), 61–64.

[113] AGI, Filipinas 21, N. 48.

[114] AGI, Filipinas 88, cited in Rodríguez, OSA, *Historia*, vol. 20, 66.

‘bearded’ friars faced the frontal opposition of Archbishop Guerrero, who accused them of failing to submit the bulls to the Council of Indies.[115]

These rejections unsettled the new governor, a zealous representative of the Royal Patronage who did not welcome ecclesiastical interference in his decisions.[116] In a letter to King Philip IV and the Council of the Indies dated July 15, 1636, he denounced the Dominicans for defying the royal prohibition on dividing their Philippine province and for continuing to send fathers to Japan.[117] In response, the king issued a Royal Decree on February 21, 1637, explicitly prohibiting Fr. Collado from dividing the Dominican province, ordering that no alteration be made by virtue of the Royal Patronage.[118]

Abandoned by most of his followers and publicly humiliated, Fr. Collado was summoned by the Dominican provincial Friar Domingo González and sent to do penance in the province of Cagayan.[119] He remained there for four years, while in 1637 the Order of Preachers dissolved his congregation in the Philippines.[120] The following year, King Philip IV issued a further Royal Decree, dated February 21, 1638, ordering him to return to Spain.[121] He never did. He died in 1641 near Cabicungan when the sampan transporting him to Manila was shipwrecked.

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[115] Juan de la Concepción, OAR, *Historia General de Philipinas. Conquistas temporales, y espirituales de estos españoles dominios, establecimientos, progresos y decadencias*, vol. 5 (Sampaloc, 1788), 260; Ferrando, *Historia de los PP. Dominicos*, vol. 2,
255; Merino, ‘La Provincia Agustiniana,’ 316.

[116] De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 378. This episode was the beginning of a conflict between Hurtado de Corcuera and Archbishop Guerrero that would continue for several years, the climax of which was the forced exile of the prelate (May 10–June 6, 1636) on the island of Mariveles (Alexandre Coello, ‘Conflictividad y poder eclesiástico en el arzobispado de Manila, 1635–41.’ *Estudios de Historia Novohispana* 57, no. 68 (2023): 135–67).

[117] AGI, Filipinas 21, N.48.

[118] Payá, *Reseña biográfica*, 338; De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 377.

[119] Rodríguez, OSA, *Historia*, vol. 20, 73.

[120] Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (eds.), *The Philippine Islands, 1493–1898, Cleveland, The Arthur H. Clark Company, vol. XXII (1683–1690)* (Cleveland, 1905), 25–27.

[121] AGI, Filipinas 330, L.4, ff. 38r–38v.

Final Remarks

Since the arrival of Francis Xavier, Cosme de Torres (1510–70), and Juan Fernández (1526–67) in Kagoshima in 1549,[122] the Portuguese Jesuits exercised a near-monopoly on evangelization in Japan, effectively blocking mendicant orders from founding new missions there. Not coincidentally, the bishop of Funai, Luis de Cerqueira (1598–1614), was himself a Jesuit.[123] As Ojeda has recently argued, Father Collado emerged as the principal heir to the missionary project for Japan that Fr. Luis Sotelo had advanced through the Keichō Embassy.[124] He not only challenged what the mendicant orders perceived as the Jesuits' monopolization of the Japanese mission—a development they considered contrary to the universal character of Christianity—but also endorsed the centralizing agenda of the Pontifical Congregation of Propaganda Fide. The Spanish and Portuguese crowns, however, remained deeply wary of the new Roman dicastery, interpreting its claims over episcopal appointments as an encroachment upon the prerogatives guaranteed by the Royal *Patronato* and the *Padroado*, respectively.

In the Philippines, *Propaganda Fide*'s failure was closely tied to the so-called 'frailocracy,' a term coined by Marcelo del Pilar to describe a system that stymied the consolidation of episcopal and secular clerical authority.[125] Unlike in Japan, where mendicant friars were unable to challenge the Jesuit evangelizing space, in the Philippines, bishops struggled to assert authority over the friars' entrenched territorial influence. Archbishop Guerrero, in particular, opposed the division of the Dominican Province of Our Lady of the Rosary, aligning himself with defenders of the Royal Patronage against *Propaganda Fide*'s initiatives.

Nonetheless, the Congregation did manage to break the Jesuit monopoly by formally opening Japan to missionaries from other religious orders, marking a notable

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[122] Fernando García Gutiérrez, SJ, *La Compañía de Jesús, Puente cultural entre Oriente y Occidente* (Seville, 2016), 21–37.

[123] Carla Tronu, 'The Rivalry between the Society of Jesus and the Mendicant Orders in Early Modern Nagasaki.' *Agora: Journal of International Center for Regional Studies* 12 (2015): 25–39, at 29–30.

[124] Ojeda, 'Los trópicos en los espacios metropolitanos…,' 291.

[125] Marcelo Hilario del Pilar y Gatmaitán, *La Frailocracia filipina* (Barcelona, 1889).

shift in the ecclesiastical landscape of the Far East.[126] The militant memory of the martyrs of Japan was central to producing a rhetorical apparatus of treatises and hagiographic reports at the service of religious propaganda.

However, this victory was largely symbolic; Japan remained closed to Western missionaries and influence until 1854. Fray Diego Collado's persistent diplomatic lobbying and missionary ventures exemplify the intricate negotiations among religious orders, colonial authorities, and the papacy during this period. His career reveals the contested and fragile nature of church–state relations amid early modern globalization, highlighting both the possibilities and limits faced by *Propaganda Fide* in asserting papal jurisdiction within entrenched imperial patronage regimes.[127] Collado's legacy thus underscores the complex dynamics of missionary expansion—a process shaped as much by internal ecclesiastical rivalries and political resistance as by transcontinental religious ambitions.

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[126] Jiménez, 'El papel de Fray Diego Collado,' 153–63.

[127] Pelliccia, 'Analisi e riflessioni,' 70. See also Guillaume Alonge, *A History of Jesuit Missions in Japan. Evangelization, Miracles, and Martyrdom, 1549–1614* (London and New York, 2023); Miguel Rodrigues Lourenço, 'The Appeal of Propaganda Fide to the Portuguese Clergy in Asia in the 17th Century', in *Tra Roma, Madrid e i Nuovi Mondi. Le canonizzazioni del 1622 e la competizione tra gli universalism cattolici*, eds. Isabella Iannuzzi, Manfredi Merluzzi, Carlo Pelliccia, Micbele Rabà, Gaetano Sabatini (Rome, 2025), 293.