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

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Abstract

One generalization that describes the Society of Jesus is its globalizing nature, setting other religious orders aside. From a new approach of church history that emphasizes ecclesiastical contentiousness, I place the Dominican Fr. Diego Collado (ca. 1587–1641†) into a global context of circulation of papal agents, goods, and knowledge between early modern Europe, Japan, and the Philippines. Using archival materials, official reports, religious manifestos, and royal appointments and decrees, I focus upon this approach as an influential agent of Pontifical Congregation of Propaganda Fide [Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith] to demonstrate not only the inner division of the Order of Preachers, but also conflicting church-state relations in the Far East.

Keywords: Diego Collado, Dominicans, Philippines, Japan, Propaganda Fide.

1. Introduction

In the last years, most scholars have analyzed Jesuit procurators as key figures in the radial structures of the Society of Jesus from the center (Rome) to its provinces, setting aside other non-Jesuit agents, who also travelled to the courts of Madrid and Rome to report personally to the Spanish King and the curia. 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], moving freely between the royal and papal courts. To what extent were procurators and non-state agents ~~unequivocally~~ 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 “globalized world” was more a vision than a reality, Iberian expansion generated new and unprecedented connectedness and cross-cultural interactions.¹

The figure of Fr. Collado illustrates cosmopolitanism and a complex circulation of papal agents, goods, and knowledge that were not exclusive of the Society of Jesus. 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 in modeling an interconnected early modern world.²

¹ Joan-Pau Rubiés, “Ethnography and Cultural Translation in the Early Modern World,” *Studies in Church History* 53 (2017): 272–310, here 280. For an understanding of the consequences of the Iberian overseas expansion, see Ivonne del Valle, Anna More, and Rachel Sarah O’Toole (eds.), *Iberian Empires and the Roots of Globalization* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2020).

² Guillermo Wilde (ed.), *Saberes de la conversión. Jesuitas, indígenas e imperios coloniales en las fronteras de la cristiandad* (Buenos Aires: Editorial SB, 2011). See also Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, Javier Burrieza Sánchez and Doris Moreno Martínez (ed.), *Jesuitas e imperios de ultramar (siglos XVI–XX)* (Madrid: Sílex, 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>.

In the first section, I provide a brief overview of Fr. Collado's first years in Spain until his arrival in the Philippines. In the second section, I summarize the main aspects of the evangelization of the 16th and 17th century Japan, putting emphasis on how martyrdom affected Collado's perception of Far East missions. In the next section, I tackle on his courtly activities in Madrid and Rome as an agent of *Propaganda Fide*. His lobbying activities were to break up Jesuit monopoly on the evangelization of Japan. They took him once again to the Philippines, leading an outlandish group of missionaries, the so-called "bearded" fathers, because of the long beards they all wore,³ to foster the evangelization of the Far East. Although *Propaganda Fide*'s objectives were not fully satisfied, I argue that Fr. Collado's maneuvering brought conflicting church-state relations to the foreground, particularly in the borders of the Iberian empires.

2. *From Spain to the Philippines*

Interest in the figure of the Dominican_friar, Diego Collado (ca. 1587-1641), OP, from Extremadura has grown in recent years. Various philologists and early modern historians, such as José Delgado,⁴ Noriko Hamamatsu,⁵ Fernando Cid,⁶ Carla Tronu,⁷ Esther Jiménez,⁸ José Tomás

3 Merino, "La Provincia Agustiniiana..." 316.

4 José Delgado García, "El Salmantino" Fr. Diego Collado, O.P (1587–1641)," *Ciencia Tomista*, 115 (1988): 233-285.

5 Noriko Hamamatsu, "La obra lingüística de Fray Diego Collado: Legado de su labor misionera en Japón," in Fernando Cid Lucas (eds.), *¿Qué es Japón? Introducción a la cultura japonesa* (Cáceres: Universidad de Extremadura, 2009), 309-328.

6 Fernando Cid Lucas, "Pedro de Baeza y Diego Collado: trayectorias y logros de dos extremeños en el país del sol naciente," in F. Cid Lucas (eds.), *Japón y la Península Ibérica* (Gijón: Satori, 2011), 93-108.

7 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 Ana Agud Aparicio, Alberto Cantera, Alfonso Falero, Rachid El HourAmro, Miguel Ángel Manzano Rodríguez, Ricardo Muñoz Solla y Efreem Yildiz (coord.), *Séptimo centenario de los estudios orientales en Salamanca* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 2012), 755-762.

8 Esther Jiménez Pablo, "El papel de Fray Diego Collado al servicio de Propaganda Fide en las

Saracho,⁹ Carlo Pelliccia,¹⁰ Sven Osterkamp,¹¹ and Antonio Doñas,¹² among others, have approached the multiple edges (linguistic, missionary, political) of a Dominican priest whose career, incomprehensibly, has not yet merited any detailed biography.¹³ Fr. Collado was a “globalized” Dominican who transited between 17th century Spain, the Holy See, the Philippines, and Japan, becoming vicar provincial of the Dominicans of the Pontifical Congregation of *Propaganda Fide* [Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, 1622] in the East Indies.¹⁴

He was born in Miajadas, Cáceres, around 1587. He studied at the Convent of San Esteban in Salamanca, on the banks of the Tormes River, where later on he entered the Order of Preachers on July 29, 1605.¹⁵ He remained in the “golden city” until 1610, when the Dominican prior decided to send him to the Philippines, where he went to the parishes of Camalaniugan and Piat where he was stationed until 1617.¹⁶ Then the Dominican provincial, Fr. Melchor Manzano de Haro (1579?-1630), sent Fr. Collado to the conflicting vicariates of Santa Cecilia de los Mandayas and San Miguel de Nisiping.¹⁷ He remained in the province of Cagayan

Indias Orientales,” *Librosdelacorte*, 4 (2016): 153-163.

⁹ José Tomás Saracho Villalobos, “La obra lingüística de Diego Collado,” *Revista de Estudios Extremeños*, 72:3 (2016): 1561-94.

¹⁰ 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.

¹¹ 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.

¹² 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 risoluzioni fatte dalla Congregazione di Spagna circ’ il Giappone de Francesco Ingoli (1628),” *Archivo Dominicano*, XLIV (2023): 89-115.

¹³ Doñas, “Órdenes religiosas en Japón...,” 53.

¹⁴ Jiménez, “El papel de Fray Diego Collado...,” 153-163.

¹⁵ 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 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, 1895), 83-84.

¹⁶ Álvarez del Manzano, *Compendio*, 84.

¹⁷ Payá, *Reseña Biográfica*, 338; Álvarez del Manzano, *Compendio*, 37; 119.

until 1619 where he was acquainted with the first martyr of the Dominican order in Japan, Fr. Alonso de Navarrete, along with the Augustinian Fernando de San José Ayala and the Japanese catechist León Tanaka, decapitated on June 1, 1617.¹⁸

It was at this time, too, that Fr. Collado witnessed the jurisdictional conflicts between Archbishop Diego Vázquez de Mercado (1608-1616) and the religious orders, mainly Augustinians, because of the prelate's will to do a canonical visitation of their parishes. On the one hand, episcopal visitations were a tool that allowed the archbishop to look into the functioning of the diocesan parishes, as well as the right administering of the sacraments; and no less important, on the other hand, was to make his authority visible among the religious orders.

However, Vázquez de Mercado's interventionism had little to do with the application of the principles established in the Council of Trent (1545-1563), 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.¹⁹ On May 17, 1617, the provincial, fray Jerónimo de Salas, OSA (1590-1617) was poisoned, and on July 31, his successor, fray Vicente de Sepúlveda, OSA (1614-1617), was strangled by his confreres in a context of internal crisis of the Augustinian order (Coello, 2023: 607). Manila, considered the "pearl of the Orient", was besieged by internal and external enemies,²⁰ and for this reason, it should not come as a surprise that some priests, like Fr. Collado, decided to seek new "fertile ground" where to extend the Christian faith.

¹⁸ Julián González Barrera, "Un Fénix para los años de hierro. Lope de Vega y la orden de los dominicos". *Hispania Sacra*, LXIX:139 (2017), pp. 233-224, here 238.

¹⁹ Nicholas P. Cushner, SJ, *Spain in the Philippines. From Conquest to Revolution* (Rutland, Vermont & Tokyo, Japan: Ateneo de Manila University & Charles E. Tuttle Co., Inc, 1971), 83. See also AGI, Filipinas 74, N. 73, ff. 485r-493v; Isacio Rodríguez-Rodríguez, OSA, *Historia de la Provincia Agustiniiana del Smo. Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas*, t. XVII (Valladolid: Ediciones Estudio Agustiniiano, 1987), 248-53; Rodríguez, *Historia de la Provincia Agustiniiana*, t. X, 298.

²⁰ Jean-Noël Sánchez, "A Prismatic Glance at One Century of Threats on the Philippine Colony," in Eberhard Craillsheim and M^a Dolores Elizalde (eds.), *The Representation of External Threats. From the Middle Ages to the Modern World* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2019), 343-65.

3. *The Far East: From the Philippines to Japan*

By the end of the 16th century, the Society of Jesus was a truly global religious order engaged in the defense and circulation of the Gospel across four continents.²¹ Following in the footsteps of Francis Xavier (1506-1552), Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606), visitor of missions of the Society of Jesus to India (1573-1606), arrived in Japan in 1579 and organized a subsequently famous embassy of young Japanese aristocrats and neo-converts that visited the European Catholic sovereigns.²² The so-called Tenshō embassy departed on February 20, 1582, from Japan to Macau, where they stayed for ten months until they set sail to Melaka (or Malacca), arriving in January 27. After a few days they embarked again to Cochin, where they stayed for six months, which allowed Fr. Valignano sufficient time to finish up his *Sumario de las Cosas de Japón* (1582).²³ 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 the pope, Gregory XIII (Ugo Boncompagni, r. 1572-1585), the importance of the Japanese mission.²⁴

These noblemen arrived in Europe in August of 1584 and lasted for over eight years, during which the embassy visited the main civil and religious centers of early modern Portugal, Spain, and Italy under Jesuit

²¹ 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: Georgetown University Press, 2016), 262; José Eduardo Franco and Carlos Fiolhais, *Jesuitas, construtores da globalização* (Lisbon: Clube do Colecionador dos Correios, 2016). See also Guillermo Wilde, "Introducción: Trazos de alteridad," in *Saberes de la conversión: Jesuitas, indígenas e imperios coloniales en las fronteras de la cristiandad*, ed. Guillermo Wilde (Buenos Aires: Editorial SB, 2011), 15-27; Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, Javier Burrieza Sánchez, 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: Silex, 2012), 11-31.

²² Joseph F. Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits. Alessandro Valignano in Sixteenth Century Japan* (London & New York, Routledge, 1993).

²³ Alessandro Valignano, SJ, *Sumario de las Cosas del Japón (1583). Adiciones del Sumario de Japón (1592)*. Edited by José Luis Álvarez-Taladriz. Vol. I (Tokyo: Sophia University Press, 1954).

²⁴ Rui Manuel Loureiro, "Kirishitan bunko: Alessandro Valignano and the Christian Press in Japan," *Revista de cultura /Review of Culture* 19 (2006): 135.

patronage.²⁵ This *grand tour avant la lettre* brought with them exceptional gifts, such as two Japanese folding screens, or biombos, which had never been seen before in Spain.²⁶

The impact of this embassy soon bore fruit. On January 28, 1585, the pope issued the bull *Ex pastorali officio* granting the Jesuits a monopoly on Jesuit missions, which later popes, Clement VIII (Ippolito Aldobrandini, r.1592-1605) in 1600 and Paulus V (Camillo Borghese, r.1605-1621) in 1608 retracted.²⁷ However, the Jesuit order resisted to share a missionary land that was always considered as theirs. In Japan, meanwhile, the powerful *taikō* (retired regent) Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598), lord of Kyōto, upon whom Jesuit Father Alonso Sánchez (1547-1593) and the Manila authorities had pinned their hopes of a Chinese invasion,²⁸ became alarmed about the military influence of Japanese Christians. As a result, in 1587 he restricted the practice of Christianity by issuing an edict of expulsion against the Jesuits in his territories.²⁹ The trigger was the Spanish galleon *San Felipe*, which ran aground off the coast of Japan loaded with merchandise but also heavily armed and manned by soldiers. Believing that the missionaries were secretly acting on behalf of foreign powers, the emperor imprisoned the 26 missionaries and sentenced them to death on February 5, 1597 (*Nihon nijūroku seijin*).³⁰

²⁵ Eduardo Sande, SJ, *De Missione Legatorum Japonensium ad Romanam Curiam, rebusq[ue] in Europa, ac toto itinere animadversis Dialogus* (Macaensi portu Sinici regni: in domo Societatis Iesu, 1590).

²⁶ 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* 103:2 (2017): 212-213.

²⁷ Jiménez, “El papel de Fray Diego Collado...,” 153–63; Doñas, “Órdenes religiosas en Japón...,” 55; Doñas, “«Negotio gravissimo del Giappone»...,” 96.

²⁸ Manel Ollé, *La empresa de China. De la armada invencible al galeón de Manila* (Barcelona, Acanalado, 2002).

²⁹ Víctor Míguez 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.

³⁰ Alexandre Coello de la Rosa, *Jesuits at the Margins: Missions and Missionaries in the Marianas (1668–1769)* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 21.

This mass execution, ordered by the powerful *taikō* Hideyoshi, included six Discalced Franciscan friars (Commissary Peter Baptist and five brothers in habit), three Japanese Jesuits (Pablo Miki and his two catechists, Juan Gotō and Santiago Kisai), and seventeen Japanese-born neophytes.³¹ 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. But martyrdom was not, after all, achieved solely through violent death: the cause of that death had to be the martyr's ardent devotion to the faith. However, as Liam Matthew Brockey noted, there is a clear paradox: 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."³²

After intense lobbying, in 1611 the mendicant orders obtained official authorization from the Vatican and from King Philip III (1598-1621) not only to act as diplomats representing Portugal and Spain, but also to preach in Japan.³³ Shortly after, in April of 1612, *shōgun* (ruler) Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543-1616) revived the persecution of Christianity, closing churches and confiscating missionaries' properties.³⁴ Despite this official hostility, the two *shōgun* did still tolerate Christianity for a time,

³¹ 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: Imprenta del Corazón de Jesús, 1887), 219-230.

³² Brockey, "Book of Martyrs..." 210.

³³ José Luis Álvarez-Taladriz, "Notas para la historia de la entrada en Japón de los franciscanos," in Víctor Sánchez Gil (eds.), *España en Extremo Oriente. Filipinas, China, Japón, presencia franciscana, 1578-1978* (Madrid: Publicaciones Archivo Ibero-Americano & Edit. Cisneros, 1979), 4.

³⁴ Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1650* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1967), 315. See also Arcadio Schwade, "O Cristianismo no Japão durante o reinado de Tokugawa Ieyasu (1600-1616)," in Roberto Carneiro and A. Teodoro de Matos (eds.), *O século cristão do Japão: Actas do Colóquio Internacional Comemorativo dos 450 Anos de Amizade Portugal-Japão, 1543-1993* (Lisboa, 2 a 5 de Novembro de 1993) (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos dos Povos e Culturas de Expressão Portuguesa da Universidade Católica Portuguesa / Instituto de História de Além-Mar da Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1994), 459-75.

for the sake of the profits of the Macau-Nagasaki silk trade.³⁵ But in 1614, violence escalated against priests and church auxiliaries – catechists, altar servers, sacristans, deacons, etc. – and those Spanish Franciscans and Portuguese Jesuits that were not martyred were expelled from Japan.³⁶ Christian converts were also persecuted. Many of them migrated to the neighborhood of San Miguel de Dilao, founded in 1578 in Manila, where about 2,000 Japanese exiles lived there.³⁷ Those who did not renounce their new faith were often killed.³⁸

In 1619, Fr. Collado secretly moved from Manila to Nagasaki, where he actively engaged in reinforcing clandestine missionary activities.³⁹ He learned Japanese and was very active in preaching the faithful. The martyrs of 1597 were part of a spectacle that was meant, as Nathalie Kouamé pointed out, not to repress the Christian community in Japan but rather to offer a threat to European powers and keep them at bay.⁴⁰ However, from 1620 onward, Japanese authorities eventually changed their minds. On September 10, 1622, the Tokugawa Hidetada (1605–32†), the second shogun of the Tokugawa clan, sent another

³⁵ Michael Cooper, “The Mechanics of the Macao–Nagasaki Silk Trade,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 27, no. 4 (1972): 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: Edinburgh University Press, 1994), 32-47.

³⁶ Many of these missionaries ended up in Manila (Lucio Gutiérrez, *Historia de la Iglesia en Filipinas (1565-1900)* (Madrid: Maphre, 1992), 228). As C.R. (Charles Ralph) Boxer points out, the Dutch and the English had encouraged the *shōguns*' growing mistrust of Iberian missionaries. *The Great Ship from Amacon: Annals from Macao and the Old Japan Trade, 1555–1640* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudios Históricos Ultramarinos, 1959), 99.

³⁷ AGI, Filipinas, 329, L.2, ff. 367v-368v. See also Emilio Solá Castaño, *Historia de un desencuentro. España y Japón, 1580-1614* (Alcalá de Henares: Fugaz/Ediciones, 1999), 141.

³⁸ Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Great Ship from Amacon: Annals from Macao and the Old Japan Trade, 1555–1640* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudios Históricos Ultramarinos, 1959), 83–84; Ch. R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549–1650* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1967), 316-336; Brockey, “Book of Martyrs:...” 212-13. See also Nicolas Trigault, *De christianis apud Iaponiam triumphis: sive, De gravissima ibidem contra Christi fidem persecutione exorta anno M DC XII usq. ad annum M DC XX*, vol. 5 (Munich: Raphael Sadeler, 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.

³⁹ Doñas, “«Negotiogravissimo del Giappone»...” 98.

⁴⁰ Nathalie Kouamé, “La muerte en espectáculo: La ejecución de veintiséis cristianos en Nagasaki en 1597,” in Axel Gasquet and Georges Lomné (eds.), *Extremo Occidente y Extremo Oriente: Herencias asiáticas en la América hispánica* (Lima: IFEA, 2016), 21-32.

message – this one aimed at the Japanese.⁴¹ On Nishizaka Hill, in Nagasaki, the great Christian port of Japan, thirty Japanese laymen and twenty-five priests – including Jesuit missionary Carlo Spinola (1564-1622),⁴² 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.⁴³ Not long after, the new *shōgun*, Tokugawa Iemitsu (1603-1651), ordered the deaths of forty-seven Japanese laymen along with one Franciscan and two Jesuit missionaries.⁴⁴ Known as the Great Martyrdom of Edo (Tōkyō), this event – which occurred on December 4, 1623 – followed the *shōgun*'s order that all Christians should be eliminated, which was his first order upon taking office.

4. *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.⁴⁵ Under the protection of the Portuguese authorities, who allowed the Society of Jesus to establish a regular trade with Dutch and Japanese merchants between Macau and Nagasaki, the Jesuit missions flourished at the expense of the rest of religious orders in what become known as the “Christian

⁴¹ 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).

⁴² See Fabio Ambrosio Spinola, *Vita del P. Carlo Spinola della Compagnia di Giesù morto per la santa fede nel Giappone* (Rome: Imprenta de Francesco Corbellelli, 1628).

⁴³ Boxer, *Christian Century*, 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 Simona Binková, Markéta Křížová, et al. (eds.), *Ir más allá . . . : Fuentes bohemias para el estudio comparativo de la expansión colonial española en la temprana Edad Moderna* (Prague: Charles University & Editorial Karolinum, 2016), 34. See also Nieremberg, *Varones ilustres*, 372-407; Gutiérrez, *Historia de la Iglesia*, 230.

⁴⁴ Robert Cieslik, “The Case of Christovao Ferreira,” *Monumenta Nipponica* 29, no. 1 (1974): 11; Boxer, *Christian Century*, 344-350; George Elison, *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), 188.

⁴⁵ I borrowed the concept of “spiritual gardens” from Jorge Cañizares Esguerra, *Católicos y puritanos en la colonización europea* (Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2008), 239–84.

century.”⁴⁶ In August 1622, Fr. Collado witnessed the persecution and martyrdom of the Flemish friar, Luis Flores (1565-1570/1622) and the Augustinian Fr. Pedro de Zúñiga y Velasco (1580-1622) in Nagasaki, well described by Jacinto Orfanell, OP, in *Historia Eclesiástica de los sucesos de la Cristiandad 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) could experience, at first hand, the Great Genna Martyrdom of Nagasaki, dated 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*).⁴⁷

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. Rumor had it, according to the Dominican Juan de Rueda (?-1623), that the Spanish King was planning to grant the Chinese and Japanese missions to the Society of Jesus.⁴⁸ Already in Spain, Fr. Collado provided supporting documentation criticizing the activities of the Jesuit order, besides bringing some relics of the ill-fated priests to the ecclesiastical and civil authorities.⁴⁹ On June 22, 1622, the *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* had just been founded in Rome in a context of centralization of apostolic and missionary action under the pontificate of Pope Gregory XV (Alessandro Ludovisi, r.

⁴⁶ Manuel Merino, OSA, “La Provincia Agustiniiana del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas (Cap. X),” *Archivo Agustiniiano*, v. 59, n. 3 (septiembre-diciembre 1965): 299-332, here 304. See also Jiménez, “El papel de Diego Collado...,” 153-163; Pelliccia, “Analisi e riflessioni...,” 62; Doñas, “«Negotio gravissimo del Giappone»...,” 96.

⁴⁷ 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: Imprenta de M. Rivadeneyra, 1870). 76-77. In 1633, Fr. Collado added the prologue and a supplement of ten additional chapters (1620-1622) to Orfanell’s *Historia* (Emi Turull Pibernat, “Testimoniatge i martiri en les cartes de fra Jacinto Orfanell, O.P., des del Japón (1609.1622),” *Illes i Imperis*, 21 (2019): 339-369, here 344).

⁴⁸ Pelliccia, “Analisi e riflessioni...,” 67; Doñas, “«Negotio gravissimo del Giappone»...,” 98.

⁴⁹ 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: Imprenta de Domingo Gascón, 1693), Book II, Chapter XIX, 127).

1621-1623).⁵⁰ However, as Ernest J. Burrus (1907-1991) rightly points out, “this pontifical organization did not succeed in breaking the regal Spanish and Portuguese monopolies.”⁵¹

In January 1625, Fr. Collado headed to Rome as official procurator of the three mendicant orders in Japan, and provincial vicar of the Dominican order, to provide information about the specifics of the Japanese culture and beliefs, as might be expected, to seek support of the new Congregation for breaking the monopoly of the Jesuit mission.⁵² Procurators were defined as legal representatives endowed with authority to act on behalf of their provinces from afar. The position allowed them to report personally to the curia, which turned them into diplomatic and courtly business agents moving freely between the royal and papal courts. While early modern historians focused on the Jesuit province congregations and their respective procurators (*procurators provinciae*),⁵³ the procurators of other religious orders have been neglected, or cast aside, as tangential to the expansion of Catholicism in the early modern Philippines. In this respect, Fr. Collado was obviously

⁵⁰ Ernest Burrus, SJ, “Un programa positivo: la actuación misionera de Propaganda Fide en Hispanoamérica,” in Joseph Metzler, OMI (eds.), *Sacrae Congregationis De propaganda fide memoria rerum*, vol. I, nº 2 (Freiburg: Herder, 1971), 648–66; M^a Lourdes Díaz-Trechuelo, “La Historia de la Iglesia en Asia”. *Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia*, 5 (1996), 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 Gesù (XVII secolo),” in Pierre Antoine Fabre and Catherine Maire (eds.), *Les Antijésuites. Discours, figures et lieux de l’antijésuitisme a l’époque moderne* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2010), 539-562.

⁵¹ Ernest J. Burrus, S.J., “Pius V and Francis Borgia: Their Efforts on Behalf of the American Indians,” *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 41 (1972): 207-226, here 225.

⁵² Lino M. Pedot, cited in Doñas, “«Negotiogravissimo del Giappone»...,” 99.

⁵³ Agustín Galán García, *El “Oficio de Indias” de Sevilla y su organización económica y misional de la Compañía de Jesús (1566-1767)* (Seville: Fundación Fondo de Cultura de Sevilla, 1995); J. Gabriel Martínez-Serna, “Procurators and the Making of the Jesuits’ Atlantic Network,” in Bernard Bailyn and Patricia L. Denault (eds.), *Soundings in Atlantic History. Latent Structures and Intellectual Currents, 1500-1830* (London, England: Harvard University Press, 2009), 181-182; 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, 325-346 (Madrid: Pontificia Universidad Comillas, 2012). More recently, see the works of José Araneda Riquelme and Rafael Gaune Corradi, “La “Bitacorá” de un Procurador Jesuita. La construcción documental de un viaje atlántico (Santiago-Madrid, 1694-1709),” *Intus-Legere Historia* 14:2 (2020): 194–232; Fabian R. Vega, “Que se han de embarcar para la provincia del Paraguay’. Procuradores jesuitas y circulación de libros en el Río de la Plata, mediados del siglo XVIII,” *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura* 48:2 (2021): 49-80.

helping to understand both interconnections across worlds and religious dynamics within Europe. He clearly influenced the process of early modern globalization by including not only the circulation of information but also the acquisition and delivery of objects and relics, thereby methodologically combining the “missionary knowledge” with a diplomatic gift-giving economy.⁵⁴

After lobbying for some time in the Eternal City, Fr. Collado **became** *Propaganda Fide*’s key agent in decision-making. In the Philippines, he had witnessed the abuses of the religious orders, which made impossible to impose the diocesan authority over the friars.⁵⁵ By the end of June 1625, the first secretary of the Dicastery, Mons. Francesco Ingoli (1578-1649, r.1622-1649), sent him to Madrid to reassure the young King Philip IV (1605-1665, r. 1621-1665) and his most trusted advisor, the Count-Duke of Olivares (1622-1643), about the real intentions of the newly founded papal congregation.⁵⁶ To what extent **did** *Propaganda Fide* **was**—not alter the workings of the Spanish and Portuguese Patronages, which allowed Iberian authorities as representatives of the Catholic monarchs, to make religious appointments? To avoid possible suspicion about the credibility of his mission at the royal court, Fr. Collado focused squarely upon the wrongdoings of the Jesuits in Japan. He questioned their ability to understand the Japanese context and translate it accordingly.⁵⁷

From August 1626 to June 1628, several *Juntas* were convened to discuss the opening of the Japanese mission to the mendicant orders.⁵⁸ The matter was so delicate that in 1630, a *Junta Grande* was assembled. It was composed of the President of the Council of Castile, Don Miguel de los Santos de San Pedro (1629-1633), the President of the Council of Indies,

⁵⁴ 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*, n. 169, a. LVII, 1 (2023): 3-20.

⁵⁵ Jiménez, “El papel de Fray Diego Collado...,” 153-163.

⁵⁶ Doñas, “«Negotio gravissimo del Giappone»...,” 100.

⁵⁷ Jiménez, “El papel de Fray Diego Collado...,” 153-163.

⁵⁸ Doñas, “«Negotio gravissimo del Giappone»...,” 100.

Don Ramiro Núñez de Guzman, duke of Medina de las Torres (1629-1631), and the President of the Council of Portugal, Don Carlos de Borja y Aragon, VII duke of Villahermosa (1617-1633). This latter was the main opponent of the *Propaganda Fide*'s interests, not only because he did block the entry of non-Jesuit missionaries, but also because he again proposed to extend Jesuit presence for fifteen more years.⁵⁹ To achieve their goals, Fr. Collado and the Apostolic Nuncio, Giovanni Battista Pamphili (1574-1655, the future pope, Innocence X, 1644-1655), tried to meet with each President to show their disagreement with the Spanish policy that contravened the previous papal bulls and decrees. Between 1628 and 1630, some treatises on the martyrdom of Dominican priests, like 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*.⁶⁰ The militant impact of the martyrs of Japan was key to producing a rhetorical device in the form of treatises and hagiographic reports at the service of religious propaganda.⁶¹ In this sense, Fr. Collado was placing himself within the *Congregation of Propaganda Fide*'s guidelines, which called for a peaceful evangelization rather than a violent one. Unarmed yet pious soldiers whose exemplary attitude, according to the Dicastery, sufficed to convert the pagan world.⁶²

His political lobbying in Rome, where he was supported by anti-Spanish pope, Urban VIII Barberini (1623-1644), was parallel to his arrangements to return to the Philippines, and from there to Japan. On March 15, 1630, Fr. Collado requested a license from the Council of Indies to let 40 Dominican priests embark on a mission to the islands.⁶³ He also submitted a *Memorial* (later published in 1633), comprised of 13 sections, whose primary purpose was to complain against Jesuit

⁵⁹ Doñas, “«Negotio gravissimo del Giappone»...,” 100.

⁶⁰ Jiménez, “El papel de Fray Diego Collado...,” 153-163.

⁶¹ Jorge Mojarro, “A Rare Spanish Imprint on Dominican Martyrs in Japan: Edition and Study”. *Philippiniana Sacra*, LVI: 168 (2021): 639-654.

⁶² Esther Jiménez Pablo, “El martirio en las misiones durante el siglo XVII: devoción y propaganda política.” *Chronica Nova* 43 (2017): 139-165, here 150.

⁶³ AGI, Filipinas 80, N. 147.

influence.⁶⁴ Despite being hastily written, Fr. Collado was successful. The pope, Urban VIII, divided Japan into four areas of influence (Dominicans, Augustinians, Franciscans, and Jesuits). However, on March 11, 1631, the Council of Indies granted him only 20 out of those priests requested.⁶⁵

The second *Junta Grande*, dated in Madrid, July 29, 1631, came to terms with the religious orders' claims regarding the sharing of the apostolic labor in Japan.⁶⁶ It allowed the free entry in Japan of all Spanish religious orders, including the common use of maritime ports.⁶⁷ However, this ultimate goal could not be replicated. As King Philip IV and the Council of Indies categorically rejected *Propaganda Fide's* petition to appoint an Apostolic Vicar of the Far East, Fr. Collado instead requested new dioceses to be developed in China and Japan. The existing bishoprics in Macau, Malaca, and Goa were clearly insufficient to promote native priesthood, especially after the first see was vacant for ten years (1628-1638).⁶⁸ By requesting the foundation of new ones, Fr. Collado was pushing the religious orders to ignore the stipulation of the papal bull, *Omni moda* of Adrian VI (1522-1523), dated May 10, 1522, that granted friars ample faculties to assume the pastoral and sacramental duties of the secular clergy. Instead, Collado was siding with Ingoli's thinking of instructing native clergy and bishops, which would favor the episcopal jurisdiction over the *Patronato Real de las Indias* [or Royal Patronage of the Indies].⁶⁹ Following Domingo de Salazar's determination to reinforce the diocesan authority over the orders, Fr. Collado was ready to break up the Society of Jesus' monopoly. Proof of this was the publication of a

⁶⁴ Doñas, "Órdenes religiosas en Japón..." 56.

⁶⁵ 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).

⁶⁶ *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 Isacio Rodríguez-Rodríguez, OSA, *Historia de la Provincia Agustiniiana del Smo. Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas*. T. XIX (Valladolid: Ediciones Estudio Agustiniiano, 1987), 217-222.

⁶⁷ Doñas, "Órdenes religiosas en Japón..." 56.

⁶⁸ Jiménez, "El papel de Fray Diego Collado..." 153-163.

⁶⁹ Doñas, "«Negotio gravissimo del Giappone»..." 95.

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), and a bilingual manual for confessors (*Modvs confitendi et examinandi Poenitentem Iaponensem, formula suamet lingua Iaponica*, Rome: *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, 1632), all of which were tools for promoting the ordination of Japanese priests by the local dioceses.⁷⁰

5. *Back to the Philippines:*

Fr. Diego Collado and his “Barbados”

The project of the Dominican friar, Diego Collado, who sought to divide the Province of Our Lady of the Rosary into two parts, turning Manila into a stepping-stone for the evangelization of China and Japan, is a clear example of *Propaganda Fide*'s strategies regarding the evangelization of the Far East.⁷¹ Several historians, including John Leddy O'Phelan,⁷² James Cummins,⁷³ and Jaume Górriz,⁷⁴ pointed out that a great deal of missionaries, particularly the Dominican and Franciscan friars, in the evangelizing missions of the Philippines were no more than a bridge to penetrate China and Japan, where they arrived in 1631 and 1633 respectively. As Marina Torres remarks, the Franciscans entered China for

⁷⁰ Tronu, “Los primeros materiales...,” 756; Saracho, “La obra lingüística...,” 1561-1594; Osterkamp, “Notes on the Manuscript Precursors of Collado's *Ars grammaticæ Iaponicæ lingvæ...*,” 199.

⁷¹ Jiménez, “El papel de Fray Diego Collado...,” 153-163; Rômulo da Silva Ehalt, “Theology in the Dark: The Missionary Casuistry of Japan Jesuits and Dominicans during the Tokugawa Persecution (1616-1622),” in Manuel Bastias Saavedra (eds.), *Norms beyond Empire. Law Making and Local Normativities in Iberian Asia, 1500-1800* (Leiden & Boston, Brill | Nijhoff, 2020), 259-260.

⁷² John L. O'Phelan *The Hispanization of the Philippines. Spanish Aims and Filipino Responses, 1565-1700* (Madison, Milwaukee & London: University of Wisconsin Press, [1959] 1967), 43-44.

⁷³ James Cummins, “Two Missionary Methods in China: Mendicants and Jesuits”. *Archivolbero-Americano*, 38:149-152 (1978): 38-40.

⁷⁴ Jaume Górriz, “La Compañía de Jesús,” en Leoncio Cabrero (eds.), *España y el Pacífico. Legazpi*, t. II (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Conmemoraciones Culturales, 2004), 362.

the first time in 1633 (*Ex debito pastoralis*, 1633), having an effective presence in 1637.⁷⁵ In 1639, the dream of evangelizing Japan has almost vanished, especially after the closure of the borders, *sakoku* (“locked country”). This happened after issuing an edict, the first one, dated in 1633, and the last one, dated in 1639, which prohibited the arrival of Portuguese ships, making the foundation of new missions in Japan almost impossible.⁷⁶

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 (or Rodulfo) (1629-1642), the foundation of a new Congregation called “San Pablo”.⁷⁷ This congregation was better known as the “bearded” fathers.⁷⁸ Upon the arrival of Fr. Collado and his companions to the New Spain, a suspicion hovered on the air: although they were heading for the Philippines, their final destination was Japan.⁷⁹ The Viceroy of the New Spain, Marquess of Cerralbo (1624-1635), was reluctant to let them go, but Fr. Collado and twenty-two Dominican “bearded” fathers finally set sailed or sailed from the port of Acapulco.⁸⁰ They did it in the same galleon that carried the Governor and Captain General of the Philippines, Don Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera (1635-1644), to the far-flung Philippines. During the voyage, Fr. Collado was able to convince him of the excellence of their missionary project, which obeyed the directives of the *Propaganda Fide* on the need to send a

⁷⁵ Marina Torres Trimález, *Rescate, catolicismo e hibridación cultural en las misiones mendicantes en la China de la dinastía Qing* (Ph.D., Universidad de Cantabria, Santander, 2019), 54.

⁷⁶ Despite these obstacles, Japanese products continued to arrive with relative frequency until the 1660s, and indirectly, until the early 1680s (José Miguel Herrera Reviriego, “Conexiones en la época de la desconexión: Filipinas y Japón durante la segunda mitad del siglo XVII,” in Osami Takizawa y Antonio Míguez Santa Cruz (coord.), *Visiones de un Mundo Diferente. Política, literatura de avisos y arte namban*, (Alcalá de Henares: Centro Europeo para la Difusión de las Ciencias Sociales (CEDCS) & Archivo de la Frontera, 2015), 45).

⁷⁷ His predecessor, Serafin Secchi (1612-1628), 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. II, 256).

⁷⁸ Merino, “La Provincia Agustiniiana...,” 316.

⁷⁹ 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).

⁸⁰ AGI, Filipinas 80, N. 187.

greater number of missionaries to Japan under the patronage of the Papacy.⁸¹

On June 25, 1635, Governor Hurtado de Corcuera, Fr. Collado and his fellow travelers arrived in Cavite. It was the same day that the Archbishop of Manila, Hernando Guerrero (1635-1641), entered his archbishopric.⁸² Upon his return to Manila, Fr. Collado took possession of the residences and parishes he considered most appropriate, such as, –the vicarial residence of Hermosa (or Formosa) Island, called *Todos los Santos*.⁸³ In 1627, illustrious personages, such as Juan Cevicos, who had been captain, pilot and master of the Manila galleon *San Francisco*, shipwrecked in 1609 in the Japanese coasts, recommended expelling the Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC, or United East Indian Company) from the island, but on one hand, advised against the Spanish settling there because the naval power of the Dutch was unquestionable.⁸⁴ On the other hand, since 1631, the Dominicans of the Province of the Most Holy Rosary of the Philippines had used Hermosa Island as a stepping-stone for penetrating the empire of China, without much success.⁸⁵

Fr. Collado's arrival only accelerated internal conflicts within the Order of Preachers.⁸⁶ In May 1636, Governor Hurtado de Corcuera granted them control over five Dominican parishes: the convent of Parian,

⁸¹ Ferrando, *Historia de los PP. Dominicos*, Vol. II, 258. See Jiménez, "El papel de Fray Diego Collado...", 153-163; De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 377.

⁸² Paulino Díaz Rodríguez-Alonso, OSA, "Episcopologio Hispano-Agustiniano. Ilmo. y Rvmo. Sr. D. fr. Hernando Guerrero," *Archivo Histórico Hispano Agustiniano*, v. 2, n° 7 (July 1914): 88-100, here 91.

⁸³ Ferrando, *Historia de los PP. Dominicos*, Vol. II, 260.

⁸⁴ "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 Endeavour* (Aberdeen & Hong Kong, Hong Kong UP, 2009), 41-45).

⁸⁵ 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*, 53:1 (2018): 58.

⁸⁶ AGI, Filipinas 8, N.75. See also Ferrando, *Historia de los PP. Dominicos*, Vol. II, 261-262; 292-293.

the convent of Los Reyes, the Royal Hospital of San Gabriel, the town of Binondo, and the port of Cavite, not without resistance on the part of the Dominican superiors.⁸⁷ However, it was a premature decision. The ambitions of the “last conqueror”, as the Jesuit Horacio de la Costa defined him with undisguised admiration,⁸⁸ had little or nothing to do with the strategies of the new dicastery to expand throughout the Asian territories, but rather with the defense and consolidation of the Spanish empire in the Philippines.⁸⁹

In addition, Fr. Collado encountered the firm opposition not only of the Real Audiencia, but also of the Dominican provincial and rector of the College of Santo Tomás (1627-1633), Friar Domingo González (1574-1647), and of the Dominican friar, Juan Diego de Aduarte (1569-1636), bishop of Nueva Segovia (1633-1636).⁹⁰ They accused the new Congregation of St. Paul of not founding new Dominican convents, but rather of taking advantage of those already existing in the Philippines.⁹¹ And above all, and most importantly, Fr. Collado and his “bearded” friars counted on the frontal opposition of Archbishop Guerrero to their missionary project, who accused them of not submitting the bulls to the Council of Indies.⁹²

All these rejections and contradictions upset the new governor, a zealous representative of the Royal Patronage, who did not like the

⁸⁷ Rodríguez, OSA, *Historia*, t. XX, 65-74.

⁸⁸ Horacio de la Costa, SJ, *The Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581-1768* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1989), 377-403.

⁸⁹ Alexandre Coello de la Rosa and João Vicente Melo, *The Jesuit Encounters with Islam in the Asia-Pacific* (Leiden& Boston: Brill Research Perspectives, 2023), 61-64.

⁹⁰ AGI, Filipinas 21, N. 48.

⁹¹ AGI, Filipinas 88, cited in Rodríguez, OSA, *Historia*, t. XX, 66.

⁹² Juan de la Concepción, OAR, *Historia General de Philipinas. Conquistas temporales, y espirituales de estos españoles dominios, establecimientos, progresos y decadencias*, Vol. V (Sampaloc, Imp. de Convento de Ntra. Sra. de Loreto, 1788), 260; Ferrando, *Historia de los PP. Dominicos*, Vol. II, 255; Merino, “La Provincia Agustiniana...” 316.

ecclesiastical power questioning his decisions.⁹³ Proof of this was the letter that the governor wrote to King Philip IV and the Council of the Indies, dated in July 15, 1636, in Manila, denouncing that the Dominicans did not obey the prohibition of the royal decrees to divide the Philippine province of his order, and that they continued sending fathers to Japan.⁹⁴ In response to the news that arrived from the Philippines, the king dictated a Royal Decree, dated February 21, 1637, by which he explicitly prohibited Fr. Collado to divide the Dominican province in two, with himself superior of one of them, ordering that no alteration was to be made by virtue of the Royal Patronage that he held.⁹⁵

Abandoned by most of his followers, as well as humiliated and punished, the provincial of the Dominican Order, Friar Domingo González, summoned Fr. Collado and sent him back to do penance in the province of Cagayan.⁹⁶ He remained there for four years while in 1637 the Order of Preachers proceeded to dissolve his congregation in the Philippines.⁹⁷ In the following year, King Philip IV issued a Royal Decree, dated February 21, 1638, ordering him to return to Spain.⁹⁸ However, he never returned. He died in 1641 near Cabicungan when the sampan?? that was transporting him to Manila was shipwrecked.

⁹³ 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 de la Rosa, "Conflictividad y poder eclesiástico en el arzobispado de Manila, 1635-41," *Estudios de Historia Novohispana*, 57:68 (2023): 135-167.

⁹⁴ AGI, Filipinas 21, N.48.

⁹⁵ Payá, *Reseña biográfica*, 338; De la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, 377.

⁹⁶ Rodríguez, OSA, *Historia*, v. XX, 73.

⁹⁷ Emma Helen Blair and James Alexander Robertson (eds.), *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, Cleveland, *The Arthur H. Clark Company*, vol. XXII (1683-1690) (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1905), 25-27.

⁹⁸ AGI, Filipinas 330, L.4, ff. 38r-38v.

6. *Final Remarks*

Fr. Collado's lifetime illustrates the complex nature of Church-State relations, as well as the internal rivalries in Catholicism between Jesuits, Franciscans, and Dominicans in the first third of the 17th century.⁹⁹ His importance as an agent of *Propaganda Fide* is manifold. In the first place, because it revalued the importance of the papacy in the appointment of bishops, especially natives, in the peripheral areas of the Far East. And secondly, because it confirmed that the hegemony of the religious orders in the Philippines was justified by the diocesan clergy's lack of influence.

Since the arrival of Francis Xavier, Cosme de Torres (1510–70), and Juan Fernández (1526-1667) in Kagoshima in 1549,¹⁰⁰ the Portuguese Jesuits exercised a monopoly on evangelization in Japan, blocking any initiative of the mendicant orders to found new missions there. Not by chance, the bishop of Funai, Luis de Cerqueira (1598-1614), was a Jesuit.¹⁰¹ Fr. Collado opposed what he considered a violation of Christian universalism, but the kings of Spain (and Portugal) were suspicious of the new Roman dicastery, which claimed to have control over the appointments, considering it a violation of the privileges they exercised through the Royal Patronage (and *Padroado*).

In the Philippines, the failure of *Propaganda Fide* had to do precisely with the so called "frailocracy", as Marcelo del Pilar's first coined it,¹⁰² a system of government that prevented the consolidation of the power of the bishops and, therefore, that of the secular clergy. Unlike

⁹⁹ Pelliccia, "Analisi e riflessioni..." 70. See also the recent book by Guillaume Alonge, *A History of Jesuit Missions in Japan. Evangelization, Miracles, and Martyrdom, 1549-1614* (London and New York: Routledge, 2023).

¹⁰⁰ Fernando García Gutiérrez, SJ, *La Compañía de Jesús, Puente cultural entre Oriente y Occidente* (Sevilla: Videal, 2016), 21–37.

¹⁰¹ 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, here 29-30.

¹⁰² Marcelo Hilario del Pilar y Gatmaitán, *La Frailocracia filipina* (Barcelona: Imprenta Ibérica de Francisco Fossas, 1889).

in Japan, where the friars had not been able to dispute the evangelizing space with the Jesuits, in the Philippines the bishops could not impose themselves over the territory held by the friars who exercised *de facto* influence. But they could prevent the new Roman dicastery from further weakening the diocesan authority. For this reason, Archbishop Guerrero opposed the division of the Dominican province of Our Lady of the Rosary against *Propaganda Fide*'s project, aligning himself with the defenders of the Royal Patronage.

In 1640, Fr. Diego de Aduarte published the first volume of the order's *Historia de la Provincia del Sancto Rosario en Philippinas, Iapon, y China* (and later supplemented by Fr. Baltasar de Cruz, OP, in 1693). Divided into two books with a total of 139 chapters, only 15 chapters dealt with the successful establishment of the Dominican missions in the Philippines. Fr. Aduarte prioritized the heroic deeds of the martyrs who died in the promised land of Japan, according to Jorge Mojarro, because "propelling the stories of martyrs actually became more useful than narratives about conversions."¹⁰³ Rhetorically represented as victims of Japanese tyrants, like Nero or Diocletian, martyrs were indispensable tools for missionary promotion and the imperialistic designs of the Spanish Crown to annex them to their political system.¹⁰⁴

While I do agree with the fictional character of Fr. Aduarte's historiographical work, in my opinion, however, he was not simply casting the daily affairs of Dominican

activities aside but canonizing the official narrative of the Order of Preachers about martyrdom in Japan. To turn failure into victory, Fr. Aduarte was claiming authority over other Dominican accounts, like Fr.

¹⁰³ 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, 14 de diciembre 2023.

¹⁰⁴ Not surprisingly, Aduarte's *Historia* is dedicated to a pious yet powerful woman: María Henríquez de Guzmán (?-1695), daughter of Don Luis Enríquez de Guzmán, IX Count of Alba de Liste. In 1656 she married Don Carlos de Aragón Gurrea y Borja (1634-92), IX Duke of Villa-Hermosa. Financial support was expected from the wealthiest families of Spain.

Collado's, which considered martyrdom as the result of a failed (Jesuit) enterprise. Instead, Fr. Aduarte projected a "theatrical" or "dramatic" dimension of the ideal of sacrificial death of his Dominican brothers that turned the *missio iaponica* into a battlefield. But one that for the first time was also theirs.

Finally, it is noteworthy that the dicastery obtained the opening of Japan to missionaries of religious orders other than Jesuits.¹⁰⁵ A pyrrhic victory, if it is understood that those territories remained closed to the West until 1854.

¹⁰⁵ Jiménez, "El papel de Fray Diego Collado...", 153-163.