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‘SO MANY THINGS I WANTED FROM GUANGZHOU.’  
THE ORDERS OF TWO JESUIT PROCURATORS:  
FRANCISCO DE CORDES (1689-1768) AND  
JOSÉ ROSADO (1714-1797)

*Maria João Coutinho\**

ABSTRACT

Based on the analysis of two little-studied Portuguese Jesuits, who in the 18th century served as general procurators for the East Asia missions, this text draws on the theme of the circulation of material culture, such as tangible objects, between the two extremes of Eurasia. Through Francisco de Cordes (1689-1768) and José Rosado (1714-1797), we endeavor to contribute to a better understanding of the role of the General Procurator of the missions in ordering, acquiring and distributing artistic objects for consumption, both inside and outside of the Society of Jesus. The main objectives of this article are to outline their biographies and to analyze the sumptuary goods they transacted, namely through their correspondence and other related sources.

**Keywords:** Francisco de Cordes, José Rosado, Jesuit Procurators, East Asia missions, Material culture

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## INTRODUCTION

This study, in the scope of the circulation of material culture, has as starting point the figures of two Portuguese Jesuits, Francisco de Cordes (1689-1768) and José Rosado (1714-1797), who in the eighteenth century acted as General Procurators of the Province of Japan and the Vice-province of China, respectively. In these functions they were assigned a role, the relevance of which is important to assess, in the process of ordering, acquiring and distributing artistic objects, both for the missions they had under their jurisdiction and between those and the kingdom, as well as for the patrons of the Society of Jesus. It should be emphasized that this study, which is still in an initial stage, is intended to contribute to a better understanding of the role played by these and other General Procurators of the missions in the processes and dynamics of the circulation of material culture between the East Asian missions and Portugal/Europe and vice-versa.<sup>1</sup>

## THE PROCURATORS: DIFFERENT TYPOLOGIES

There were different typologies of Procurators in the organizational structure of the Society of Jesus.<sup>2</sup> Among them, the most studied is perhaps that of those Procurators who, being elected in the provincial congregation by the overseas missions, were sent to Rome and Lisbon to defend the interests of their missions in front of the Superior General and the Pope, as well as the king.<sup>3</sup> One of the works of reference in this area is that of Edmond Lamalle on the journey of propaganda undertaken by Nicolas Trigault (1577-1628), Procurator of China, in the early seventeenth century.<sup>4</sup> Interesting studies were also produced on Martino Martini (1614-1661) and Philippe Couplet (1623-1693), Procurators of China who arrived in Europe in the 1650s and

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<sup>2</sup> The Procurators are managers of the economic and business affairs of the Society of Jesus in various places, near the Holy See, in the various houses of the Assistance and in the Missions.

<sup>3</sup> All these Procurators came to ask for more missionaries and funds, while engaging in editorial activity to further their mission. I. Echarte, “Procurator,” in *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús, Biográfico-Temático*, ed. Charles E. O’Neill, S.I., and Joaquín María Domínguez, S.I. (Rome: Institutum Historicum, S.I.; Madrid: Universidad Pontificia Comillas), 3244-45; Dauril Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise, The Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire, and Beyond, 1540-1750* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 298-305.

<sup>4</sup> Edmond Lamalle, “La Propagande du P. Nicolas Trigault en faveur des Missions de Chine (1616),” *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 9 (1940): 49-120.

1680s respectively.<sup>5</sup> In the case of Japan, mention should be made of Federico Palomo's articles on António Francisco Cardim (1596-1659), elected in 1638 to go to Europe.<sup>6</sup>

But if this type of procurator elected by his mission poses no considerable doubts, there is another typology with a more problematic definition which, to our knowledge, still awaits further study. We refer to the case of the General Procurator of the Missions (*Procurador Geral das Missões*). This term goes back to the Constitutions, which stipulated that they were in charge "(...) to dispatch and see through the affairs of houses and colleges, to defend interests, and in general all kinds of business (...)."<sup>7</sup> This was, however, as Francisco Figueira de Faria noted, a very brief reference and did not define the specific functions of this second type of Procurator.<sup>8</sup> In fact, according to the most recent systematization by the same author, it is understood that this position had existed in the Portuguese Assistancy<sup>9</sup> since 1573, and that the General Procurator was based in Lisbon, just as that of the Spanish Assistancy, created in 1574, was in Seville.<sup>10</sup> With the creation of *Procuraturas*,<sup>11</sup> the various General Procurators of the missions were allowed to manage the missions remotely, a phenomenon visible in what Luke Clossey characterized as the "trinity of Rome, Portugal and China."<sup>12</sup> This "trinity" consisted of management based on the Roman guidelines, received and filtered in Portugal, and subsequently sent to China. This did not exclude *in loco* intervention by some of the most prominent members of the Society that held this function.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Noël Golvers, "'Savant' correspondence from China with Europe in the 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries," *Journal of Early Modern Studies* 1 (2012): 21-42 and Luisa M. Paternicò, "Martino Martini and the First Grammar of Mandarin Chinese," *Hanxue Yanjiu* 29, no. 3 (2011): 229-66.

<sup>6</sup> 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 (December 2016): 1-32.

<sup>7</sup> Saint Ignatius of Loyola, *Constituições da Companhia de Jesus* (Lisbon, 1975), 265.

<sup>8</sup> Francisco Figueira de Faria, "The Functions of Procurator in the Society of Jesus. Luís de Almeida, Procurator?," *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies* 15 (2007): 29-46.

<sup>9</sup> Given the extension of the Society of Jesus, it was determined that it should be divided administratively into territories. Thus, various Assistances arose, divided into Provinces, according to historical and geographic circumstances, and administered by an assistant of Father General. In the case of Portuguese Assistance, it comprised territories from 4 continents (Europe, America, Africa and Asia). See Francisco Rodrigues, *História da Companhia de Jesus na Assistência de Portugal* (Porto: Livraria Apostolada da Imprensa, 1931-1950) and Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*.

<sup>10</sup> Faria, "The Functions of Procurator in the Society of Jesus."

<sup>11</sup> The *Procuraturas* are official residences of the General Procurators. In Portuguese Assistancy, the *Procuratura* was in the college of Santo Antão-o-Novo, until the 1755 earthquake. After the earthquake the *Procuratura* settled in the residence of Saint Francisco de Borja until the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1759.

<sup>12</sup> Luke Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 11.

<sup>13</sup> J. Gabriel Martínez-Serna, "Procurators and the Making of the Jesuit Atlantic Network," in *Soundings in Atlantic History: Latent Structures and Intellectual Currents, 1500-1830*, ed. Bernard Bailyn, Patricia L. Denault (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011), 181-209.

The selection of the General Procurator of the missions was thorough to be sure. In a letter written in Macau, on April 28, 1751, Luís de Sequeira explained to Marcelo Leitão (1680-1755),<sup>14</sup> the General Procurator of the China mission just about to be succeeded by José Rosado, that: “Only a man of gifts and talent will serve, but one that has come of age; that will not draw knowledge from age if not for being old, either for higher positions or the grave; however, being the Reverend Father Rozado so young, and of so many gifts, I reckon he will not last long in this Procuratura, either because he will not fit in, or because the Procuratura will call him in due time to occupy other functions, being more concerned with who serves it through their influence than with who is actually useful to it; and so what is the use of said Procurator in that *Procuratura*, which resorts only to men of experience (...).”<sup>15</sup>

From this opinion, one can gather the diplomatic and coordination skills inherent to the position, as well as the importance of the maturity conferred by age and of field experience for the performance of these functions. This is also supported by the fact that the General Procurator of the missions supervised, through detailed letters and reports, the activity of the mission Procurators, who, in turn, coordinated the distribution of essential goods for subsistence on the field, such as drugs for medicinal use and textiles for making clothes.<sup>16</sup>

The analysis of the correspondence produced by the General Procurators of the missions shows that, besides ensuring that other members of the Society received books, tools and other products necessary for their missionary activity, they were also responsible for endowing the places of worship of other Provinces with “exotic” sumptuary goods,<sup>17</sup> or for responding to the various orders placed by lay people close to the Society.

In order to contribute to a better understanding of the position of General Procurator and its role in the circulation of material culture, we selected the specific cases of Francisco de Cordes and José Rosado. The first was the procurator of the Province of Japan and the second of the Vice Province of China. Like the position they held, which we propose to analyze, these two individuals remain largely unknown and deserving of study. Let us thus begin by their biographies.

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<sup>14</sup> Father Marcelo Leitão died in Lisbon in the earthquake of November 1, 1755, so he will never have seen the contents of this container; cf. João de Saldanha Oliveira e Sousa (Marquis of Rio Maior), *O Marquês de Pombal acusado e defendido*, vol. 2 (Lisbon: English Typography, 1949), 20.

<sup>15</sup> Arquivo Nacional/Torre do Tombo (ANTT), Lisbon, *Cartório Jesuítico*, mç. 98, no. 40.

<sup>16</sup> We could see, for example, the brother Manuel de Figueiredo (1589-1663), a pharmaceutical who was Procurator to the vice-province of China for 24 years; Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 307.

<sup>17</sup> These are objects of different origins that circulated among the various Provinces, so they were exotic to the orderers of other cultures.

## BIOGRAPHIES

Let us begin with Francisco de Cordes, the eldest of the two Jesuits.<sup>18</sup>

Born in Lisbon, in the parish of Encarnação, he was the son of António Luís de Cordes and Joana Maria, and he was baptized on February 17, 1689.<sup>19</sup> His father was a nobleman of the Royal House,<sup>20</sup> as was his first-born brother, Baltazar Pelles Sinel de Cordes.<sup>21</sup>

His father had been granted a charter of donation (*carta de mercê*) from D. Pedro II, in 1705, conceding him a license to hold the position of clerk at the *Desembargo do Paço*. In 1709, he received another charter of donation from the king João V (1689-1750), this time allowing him to join the Order of Christ.<sup>22</sup> This ascension to the nobility of the kingdom in 1701 had rewarded him with the charter that confirmed

<sup>18</sup> Several authors have already written about this Jesuit: Antonio Franco, *Synopsis annalium Societatis Jesu in Lusitania ab annis 1540 usque ad annum 1725* (Augustae-Vindelicorum [et] Graecii: sumptibus Philippi, Martini, & Joannis Veith, Haeredum, 1726), final indexes; Louis Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les jésuites de l'ancienne Mission de Chine* (Shanghai: Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1932), 651; Rodrigues, *História da Companhia de Jesus*, t. 4, vol. 1 (1950), 186; Joseph Wicki, "Liste der Jesuiten-Indienfahrer 1541-1758," in *Aufsätze zur Portugiesischen Kulturgeschichte 7* (1967), Entry no. 1598; Joseph Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine de 1552 à 1800* (Rome, Institutum Historicum S.I.; Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1973), 60; P. Manuel Teixeira, *Macau e a sua Diocese*, vol. 14 (Macau: Imprensa Nacional, 1977), 481-2; José Caeiro, *História da Expulsão da Companhia de Jesus da Província de Portugal (Séc. XVIII)*, vol. 3 (Lisbon: Verbo, 1995), 61; A. M. Martins do Vale, *Entre a Cruz e o Dragão: o padroado português na China no século XVIII* (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 2002), 558; Mariagrazia Russo and António Júlio Limpo Trigueiros, *I Gesuiti dell'Assistenza Lusitana esiliati in Italia (1759-1831)* (Padua: CLEUP, 2013), 237 and Mar García Arenas, "Una aproximación a la represión pombalina sobre el entorno social de la Compañía de Jesús: el caso de los colaboradores de los jesuitas del Hospicio de São Francisco de Borja de Lisboa (1760-1761)," *Lusitania Sacra* 32 (2015): 121-45, among others.

<sup>19</sup> This reference is in the index. However, fol. 51, referenced in the baptism record, is not found in the manuscript, preventing us from knowing the identity of the godparents. ANTT, Registos Paroquiais, Paróquia da Encarnação, Baptismos, L. 9, cx. 3, fol. 51.

<sup>20</sup> ANTT, *Registo Geral de Mercês*, Charters of donation by D. Pedro II, L.º 1, fol. 180; publ. by Jorge Miguel Lobo Janeiro, "Sinel de Cordes: de mercadores estrangeiros a secretários da Câmara Real," *Cadernos do Arquivo Municipal* 3, 2nd series (January-June 2015): 79-108.

<sup>21</sup> Baltazar was baptized in the parish of São Nicolau, where his family resided before moving to Loreto, from where no records previous to 1755 arrived. In addition to Baltazar, he also had the following brothers: João, whose record could not be located, possibly because he must also have been baptized in the parish of São Nicolau, Ângela Francisca, Luísa, Inácia Caetana, Jorge, Manuel and Agostinho. Cf. ANTT, *Registos Paroquiais*, Paróquia da Encarnação, Baptismos, L. 9, cx. 3, fols. 61, 108v, 130v, 185, 239, 275v, respectively. Ângela Francisca was baptized on March 21, 1690. Luísa was baptized on January 5, 1694, the godparents being Dr. João Pinheiro and D. Joana Inácia Zuzarte. Inácia Caetana was baptized the 17 of November of 1695. The godfathers were the captain João de Cordes and Isabel Van (?). Jorge was baptized on May 7, 1698. The godparents were Luís da Silva Correia and Antónia Fonseca. Manuel was baptized on October 22, 1700. Simão Correia da Silva, Earl of Castanheira, and Isabel Antónia Zuzarte de Lemos were the godparents. Agostinho was baptized on January 19, 1703. The godparents were D. Francisco de Portugal, Earl of Vimioso, and D. Ana Josefa de Almeida.

<sup>22</sup> ANTT, *Registo Geral de Mercês*, Donations by D. Pedro II, L.º 14, fol. 106 and ANTT, *Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, Habilitações para a Ordem de Cristo*, Letra A, mç. 50, no. 59

the aristocracy of Francisco, as well as that of his three brothers, João, Jorge and Manuel, on the same date.<sup>23</sup>

Francisco de Cordes, as the third child of a family in social ascension, chose the religious life by joining the Society of Jesus on September 21, 1704.<sup>24</sup> He studied four years of philosophy and four of theology, preparing for the missionary life that awaited him. He professed on February 22, 1722.<sup>25</sup>

Although it is ignored when he left for Asia, it is known that in 1716 he was already in Macau, there adopting the Chinese name of Fang Risheng. Between 1716 and 1721, he can be found in the Macau-Guangzhou axis.<sup>26</sup> During this period, he was able to observe the Jesuit churches of the region, as well as the apparatuses of the catholic cult and other everyday goods, and the way they were received and appropriated there. Between 1725 and 1728, he met the ambassador of the king, João V, to Emperor Yongzheng (1723-1735), Alexandre Metelo de Sousa e Meneses (1687-1766).<sup>27</sup> Between 1730 and 1732, precise references to his work appear, through the correspondence exchanged with the fathers Manuel Tomás and Francisco de Chaves.<sup>28</sup> He was then superior at the Jesuit house of Guangzhou.<sup>29</sup> In that last year, he is among the forty Jesuits expelled by Emperor Yongzheng, returning afterward to Macau.<sup>30</sup> However, until 1734, Francisco Chaves continues to write to him in Guangzhou, requesting various goods.<sup>31</sup> In Macau, Cordes signs a set of letters with

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid., fols. 254-255. Contrarily, the sisters as Ângela Francisca and Inácia Caetana only received due recognition with the concession of pensions in 1709; ANTT, *Registo Geral de Mercês*, Doações de D. João V, L.<sup>o</sup> 3, fols. 142-142v.

<sup>24</sup> Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), Rome, *Lus.* 47, fol. 86; publ. by Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine*, 60.

<sup>25</sup> ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 25, fol. 287; publ. by Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine*, 60.

<sup>26</sup> Teixeira, *Macau e a sua Diocese*, vol. 14, 479.

<sup>27</sup> António Vasconcelos de Saldanha, Mariagrazia Russo and Guo Ping Jin, *Embaixada de D. João V de Portugal ao imperador Yongzheng da China (1725-1728)* (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 2005), 44.

<sup>28</sup> Biblioteca da Ajuda (BA), Lisbon, *Jesuítas na Ásia*, 49-VI-5, fols. 2, 2v, 7. In the first letter of July 4, 1730, written in Tonquin, Father Manuel Tomás says "great sorrows will cause me the news that Your Reverence has sent me from these disturbances of China ...;" in the second letter of 1730, from the same place, Father Francisco de Chaves asks: "I do not know if it will be easy to buy some Theological books, etc. of Europe here in Guangzhou?;" in the third letter, from Tonquin, on April 3, 1731, Father Chaves inquires, among other things, about the possibility of missionaries of the Holy Congregation coming to help him make a greater number of confessions and baptisms.

<sup>29</sup> Letter from António Velez to Francisco Cordes, Tonkin, May 29, 1732, BA, *Jesuítas na Ásia*, 49-VI-5, fol. 12.

<sup>30</sup> Teixeira, *Macau e a sua Diocese*, vol. 14, 481.

<sup>31</sup> BA, *Jesuítas na Ásia*, 49-VI-5, fols. 12v, 13v, 14v, 22, 24, 23.

accounts and acquisition expenses in the city.<sup>32</sup> In 1734, however, it is from Guangzhou that he writes a note of expenses sent to the college of Santo Antão, in Lisbon.<sup>33</sup> From that year on, he writes to different recipients, sometimes from Guangzhou and other times from Macau, especially to his confreres Francisco da Fonseca,<sup>34</sup> “General Procurator of the India Province,” very active in acquiring works of art,<sup>35</sup> and Simão Esteves,<sup>36</sup> two Jesuits very engaged with the art trade.

In 1735, requests for objects succeed from Fathers José da Costa and Francisco Chaves, missionaries in Tonkin.<sup>37</sup> In that same year, following the death of the bishop of Macau, D. João de Casal (1690-1735), Cordes became the faithful custodian of the possessions left by the prelate.<sup>38</sup> Still in 1735, he was elected in the Congregation of the Province of Japan as Procurator to Rome. He then left Macau in the monsoon of January 1736 aboard a French ship, since he had not obtained permission from the Chinese authorities to embark directly at Guangzhou, from where he had been expelled in 1732.<sup>39</sup> Putting into question the actual occurrence of this journey as procurator to Europe, we come across Cordes’ presence in Tonkin the following

<sup>32</sup> ANTT, *Cartório Jesuítico*, cx. 16, mç. 67, no. 84, 85, 86, 87; cit. by Fausto Sanches Martins, “A Arquitectura dos Primeiros Colégios Jesuítas de Portugal: 1542-1759, Cronologia, Artistas, Espaços,” vol. 1, (PhD Diss., Faculty of Letters of the University of Oporto, 1994), 481-2, n227 and partially publ. by Maria João Pacheco Ferreira, *As Alfaías Bordadas Sinoportuguesas (Séculos XVI a XVII)* (Lisbon: Universidade Lusitana Editora, 2007), 259-63.

<sup>33</sup> ANTT, *Cartório Jesuítico*, cx. 16, mç. 67, no. 81; ref. by Martins, “A Arquitectura dos Primeiros Colégios Jesuítas de Portugal,” and partially publ. by Pacheco Ferreira, *As Alfaías Bordadas Sinoportuguesas*, 261-2.

<sup>34</sup> Letter from Francisco de Cordes to Francisco da Fonseca, Macau, January 3, 1734; ARSI, *Jap. Sin.* 199 I, fols. 354-354v.

<sup>35</sup> Francisco da Fonseca was an important “merchant” within the Society responsible for the acquisition of works of art, as illustrated by the commissioning of the polychrome stonework altarpiece for the church of the Luanda school in 1711, where he appears as “General Procurator of the India Province,” or in the contracting of the work on the altarpiece of the main chapel of the church of the college of Santarém, in 1713, as “Procurator General of the Provinces of Japan and Malabar;” Maria João Pereira Coutinho, “Ars Marmoris”: The Polychrome Marbles of the Main Altarpiece of the Church of the College of the Society of Jesus of Luanda,” in *Actas do 2.º Colóquio de Artes Decorativas*, ed. Isabel Mendonça and Ana Paula Correia (Lisbon: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau; Fundação Ricardo do Espírito Santo Silva, 2010), 279-292, and Ayres de Carvalho, “Documentário Artístico do Primeiro Quartel de Setecentos. Exarado nas Notas dos Tabeliães de Lisboa,” offprint of *Bracara Augusta*, vol. 27, fasc. 63/75 (1973): 43.

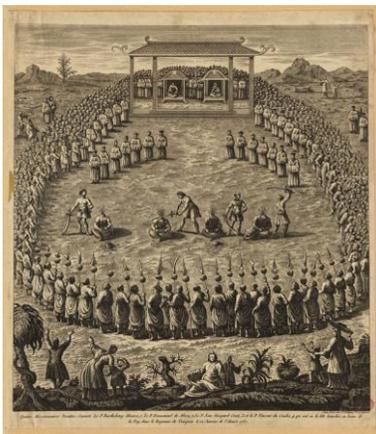
<sup>36</sup> Letter from Francisco de Cordes to Simão Esteves, Macau, January 14, 1734; ANTT, *Cartório Jesuítico*, mç. 67, no. 85, and letter from Francisco de Cordes to Simão Esteves, Macau, November 6, 1734; ANTT, *Cartório Jesuítico*, mç. 67, no. 86.

<sup>37</sup> BA, *Jesuítas na Ásia*, 49-VI-5, fols. 30-30v, 32.

<sup>38</sup> BA, *Jesuítas na Ásia*, 49-V-29, fol. 65. About D. João de Casal see António Franco, *Évora Ilustrada* (Évora: Edições Nazareth, 1945), 247 and P. Manuel Teixeira, *Macau e a sua Diocese*, vol. 12 (Macau: Tipografia da Missão do Padroado, 1976), 59-61. He was born in Castelo de Vide, studied at the University of Évora, was named bishop in 1690 by Alexander VIII and arrived in Macau in 1692. From his connection with the Society of Jesus, we can highlight the support he gave to the devotion of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in Macau, and his involvement in the Chinese Rites quarrel. Casal died in Macau on September 20, 1735, aged 94, and was buried in the Eucharistic chapel of the cathedral.

<sup>39</sup> BA, *Jesuítas na Ásia*, 49-VI-5, fol. 42.

year. There, he would have witnessed the beheading of Fathers Bartolomeu Álvares, Manuel de Abreu, Vicente da Cunha and Jean-Gaspard Cratz. If he was in Tonkin, he may have been exiled to Macau at that time.<sup>40</sup>



Jean-Dominique CANU, Quatre *missionnaires jesuits, sçavoir* [sic]. Le P. Barthelemy Alvarez, Le P. Emmanuel de Abreu, Le P. Jean Gaspard Cratz et Le P. Vincent da Cunha. Between 1737-1750. ©BNP, *Secção de Iconografia*, E-1308-V.

After less than ten years, he had returned to Europe, from where he never left again. Indeed, at the transition between 1744 and 1745, at the age of 55, we find him in Lisbon, thanks to two letters he wrote from there and sent to unknown recipients. These letters clearly reflect his concerns about the situation in Macau and China.<sup>41</sup>

At the end of the same decade, Cordes appears in the third catalogue of the *província Lusitana* for the year 1749. By that time, he is recorded as residing in Lisbon, at the college of Santo Antão-o-Novo.<sup>42</sup> Along with him were other General Procurators, Fathers Antonio de Sequeira, of the *província Lusitana*; Marcelo Leitão, of the vice-province of China; João Antunes, from the Goan province; Domingos de Sousa, designate of the province of Brazil; Bento da Fonseca, of the vice-province of Maranhão. José Rosado, whose biography we will trace next, was also there.<sup>43</sup> By the middle of the following decade, Cordes appears in an income certificate of the Casa das Rainhas of 1756 as being appointed as Procurator of the vice-province of

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<sup>40</sup> Teixeira, *Macau e a sua Diocese*, vol. 14, 481.

<sup>41</sup> One letter was from November 24, 1744 and the other from March 5, 1745; BA, *Jesuítas na Ásia*, 49-V-29, fols. 113-113v.

<sup>42</sup> *Catalogus Tertius, sive rerum Provinciae Lusitanae Anno 1749*; ARSI, *Lus.* 49, fol. 82v; ref. by Russo and Trigueiros, *I Gesuiti dell'Assistenza Lusitana*, 237-8.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

Malabar.<sup>44</sup> At the time of the suppression of the Society of Jesus,<sup>45</sup> he was registered as a resident of the São Francisco de Borja Hospice in Lisbon, from where he was taken to the fortress of São Julião da Barra on February 21, 1759, together with his peers.<sup>46</sup> He was deported to Rufinella, Italy, eight years later, on September 6, 1767.<sup>47</sup> There, he would pass away on the following year.<sup>48</sup>



D. João de Casal. © Diocese of Macau.

José Rosado,<sup>49</sup> the second Jesuit under analysis, was the son of João Catela Velho and Maria Rosada. Born in Vimieiro, archdiocese of Évora, he was baptized

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<sup>44</sup> This certificate, dated August 7, was recognized by the notarial officer António da Silva, on the 20th of the same month. ANTT, *Casa das Rainhas*, NT. 635, cx. 484.

<sup>45</sup> The Company of Jesus was suppressed in Portugal in 1759 following the attempted attack on the life of King Joseph I, and its members associated with this episode. Then they were jailed, and their movable and immovable property seized.

<sup>46</sup> Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine*, 60.

<sup>47</sup> ARSI, *Lus.* 40 b, fol. 3; ref. by Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine*, 60 and *Lus.* 41, fol. 6; ref. by Russo and Trigueiros, *I Gesuiti dell'Assistenza Lusitana*, 237. This information also features in entry no. 17 of the *Catálogo de todos os nossos, que forão prezos nos carcere de S. Gião desde o anno de 1759 escripto pelo P. Joze da Sylva prezo no mesmo carcere e remetido por hum Padre que dela sahio as instancias do Rey christianissimo; aos 3 de Dezembro anno de 1766*; ARSI, *Bras. Maragn.* 28, fol. 41; ref. by Dehergne, *I Gesuiti dell'Assistenza Lusitana*, 231.

<sup>48</sup> Teixeira, *Macau e a sua Diocese*, vol. 14, 481.

<sup>49</sup> For previous work on this Jesuit, see: Louis Pfister, *Notices biographiques et bibliographiques*, 986; Rodrigues, *História da Companhia de Jesus*, 186; Joseph Wicki, "Liste der Jesuiten-Indienfahrer," Entry no. 2118; Gustavo de Matos Sequeira, *Depois do terramoto: subsídios para a história dos bairros ocidentais de Lisboa*, vol. 1 (Lisbon: Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, 1967), 352; Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine*, 231; Caeiro, *História da Expulsão da Companhia de Jesus*, 64-65; Vale, *Entre a Cruz e o Dragão*, 596; Russo and Trigueiros, *I Gesuiti dell'Assistenza Lusitana*, 647-8 and García Arenas, "Una aproximación a la represión pombalina," 121-45, among others.

on 26 March 1714.<sup>50</sup> According to the marriage record of his parents, dated July 6, 1710, he was the paternal grandson of Matias Catela Velho and Maria do Ó; and maternal grandson of Manuel Rosado and Isabel Mora, all of them from Vimieiro village.<sup>51</sup> He was the brother of Jacinto, who was a clergyman in the habit of St. Peter, António and Rosaura Maria,<sup>52</sup> and great-nephew of Father Bartolomeu Catela Velho, who died before his birth. The executor of the latter's testament was Rosado's father.<sup>53</sup>

Perhaps marked by the memory of his great-uncle, by the vocation of the older brother and guided by his godfather, he joined the Society of Jesus on October 26, 1729, in Évora.<sup>54</sup> It is possible that he took the courses in Philosophy and Theology there. He professed on August 15, 1747 in the college of Vila Nova de Portimão.<sup>55</sup> Two years later, he features in the First Catalogue of the Portuguese province as teacher of Humanities, Rhetoric and Moral Theology<sup>56</sup> at the college of Setúbal. The *Third Catalogue*<sup>57</sup> of that same year indicates that he was by then, as was said above, with Francisco de Cordes.<sup>58</sup>

From 1751 on, we know of his presence in Lisbon, where he also occupied himself with the management of the goods which D. João Tomás Henriques de Cabrera (1646-1705), Admiral of Castile, had bequeathed to the Society of Jesus. In that year, he acquired the estate of the Lobatas, in Amora, and, in 1755, the estate of the Madre de Deus in Seixal, both on the south bank of the Tagus, possibly destined for Ignatian recreation. On April 16, 1755, he bought the land formerly belonging to the Earl of Tarouca, in the Cotovia (a location in the city of Lisbon, next to the garden of Príncipe Real, named for one of the estates that existed therein), for the construction of the College of the Missions, thus materializing the will of the Admiral.<sup>59</sup>

In 1756, he was appointed procurator of the vice-province of China in Lisbon.<sup>60</sup> On June 19 of that same year, Don José I (1750-1777), recently ascended to the

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<sup>50</sup> Arquivo Distrital de Évora (ADE), Évora, *Vimieiro, Registos Paroquiais*, L.º 6 de Baptismos, cx. 3, fol. 290v; ARSI, *Lus.* 49, fols. 43v, 82v. Having as godparents D. Sancho de Faro e Sousa (1659-1719), Earl of Vimieiro, and Antónia Rodrigues.

<sup>51</sup> ADE, *Vimieiro, Registos Paroquiais*, L.º 13 de Casamentos, cx. 5, fl. 33.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, *Registos Paroquiais*, L.º 6 de Baptismos, cx. 3, fols. 267, 344, 392, respectively. Jacinto's baptism took place November 6, 1712; António's took place on February 2, 1718; Rosaura Maria's took place December 1720.

<sup>53</sup> ADE, *Colecção de Testamentos*, cx. 66, no. 37: Testament of father Bartolomeu Catela Velho, born in Vimieiro, outskirts of Arraiolos.

<sup>54</sup> ARSI, *Lus.* 41, fols. 74-75; ref. by Russo and Trigueiros, *I Gesuiti dell'Assistenza Lusitana*, 647-8.

<sup>55</sup> ARSI, *Lus.* 16, fol. 288; ref. by Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine*, 231.

<sup>56</sup> ARSI, *Lus.* 49, fol. 43v; ref. by Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine*.

<sup>57</sup> The *Catalogs* are summary relations of the members of the Society of Jesus. There are various types of *Catalogs*, with name of members, date and place of birth, date of entry, with assessment of physical and moral qualities, organized by colleges or provinces.

<sup>58</sup> ARSI, *Lus.* 49, fol. 82v; ref. by Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine*, 231.

<sup>59</sup> Arquivo Histórico do Tribunal de Contas (AHTC), Lisbon, *Junta da Inconfidência*, mç. 89; ref. by Gustavo de Matos Sequeira, *Depois do terramoto*, 337-352.

<sup>60</sup> ARSI, *Jap.Sin.* 98, fol. 44v; ref. by Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine*, 231.

throne, bestowed him a benefit akin to a Treasury Certificate (*Carta de Padrão*), usually granted to those who had performed functions in the overseas missions or were supposed to act there. The king further gave him a perpetual pension, transmissible upon death to the recipient's descendants (*Tença de Juro e Herdade perpétua*). He wanted José Rosado to continue the work of the new college of Nossa Senhora da Conceição, which was under construction on the site of Cotovia, in Lisbon. On June 23, 1756, the monarch reiterates these benefits to him.<sup>61</sup>

Despite Dehergne's suggestion of the possibility that Rosado could have embarked for China between 1755 and 1758, we found no documentary support for the fact. In fact, in this period, we found him installed in the Hospice of San Francisco de Borja, where the Procurators of the overseas missions resided. In 1759, following the suppression of the Society of Jesus, Rosado was imprisoned in the prisons of São Julião da Barra, along with Francisco de Cordes and several other Jesuits. He remained there until 1767, when he was deported to Italy.<sup>62</sup> Since then, it is in Urbana (Italian region of Marche) that his presence is registered until 1774.<sup>63</sup> Although the exact date of his return is unknown, his arrival in Portugal, where he spent his last days, is certain. He died on January 13, 1797 in his native land.<sup>64</sup>



Admiral of Castile. © National Library of Spain.

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<sup>61</sup> AHTC, *Cartas de Padrão*, CT 248 and CT 249. These rewards appear in sequence to other(s) conceded, since 1751, to Father Marcelo Leitão, also with the position of General Procurator of China and executor of the testament of the Admiral of Castile.

<sup>62</sup> ARSI, *Bras. Maragn.* 28, fol. 41; ref. by Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine*, 231.

<sup>63</sup> ARSI, *Lus.* 40b; ref. by Russo and Trigueiros, *I Gesuiti dell'Assistenza Lusitana*, 647-8.

<sup>64</sup> ADE, *Vimieiro, Registos Paroquiais*, L.º 24 de Óbitos, cx. 8, fol. 43v.

## BETWEEN PORTUGAL AND EAST ASIA: OBJECTS IN TRANSIT

The commercial transactions between Portugal and Asia have been analyzed in several artistic fields. The exchanges carried out within the scope of diplomatic offers and within the Society of Jesus are therefore not unknown in the area of painting or ceramics, textiles, furniture, lacquers and other goods. In addition, they have often been revealed through examples from various private collections and museum collections.<sup>65</sup>

A set of information found in the Jesuit chronicles and reports, as well as in the inventories made in the Portuguese colleges and other residences, at the time of the suppression of the Society of Jesus, allow us to acknowledge both the appreciation for Asian objects, the Chinese in particular, and the subsequent orders placed for their acquisition. In fact, although the origin of the objects is not always mentioned, houses of Lisbon often featured painted and varnished frames (*molduras acharoadas*) and other pieces of identical finish, Chinese embroidered liturgical garments, curtains with valances of Chinese Chita fabric (Colégio de Santo Antão-o Novo)<sup>66</sup> and painted wallpapers (Seminário de São Patrício in Lisbon).<sup>67</sup> Other houses from the Portuguese Province featured cardboard boxes “of those that come from Xina,” “little plates or saucers of xina” (College of São Francisco Xavier in Setúbal),<sup>68</sup> besides hundreds of pieces of ivory, porcelain and other sumptuary goods.

It is in this context of involvement in temporal issues arising from the exercise of their functions as Procurators, that we now analyze Francisco de Cordes and José Rosado. The former assumes both roles of commissioner and intermediary, as

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<sup>65</sup> Maria Filomena Brito, Teresa Freitas Morna, Nuno Vassalo e Silva, eds., *O Púlpito e a Imagem, Os Jesuítas e a Arte* (Lisbon: Museu de São Roque; Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa, 1996); Alexandra Curvelo and Rafael Moreira, “A circulação das formas: artes portáteis, arquitectura e urbanismo,” in *História da Expansão Portuguesa*, ed. Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri, vol. 2, (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1998), 535; Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); John W. O’Malley, Gauvin Alexander Bailey, Steven J. Harris, T. Frank Kennedy, *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773*, vol. 2 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), Nicolas Standaert, *Handbook of Christianity in China*, vol. 1, 635-1800 (Leiden: Brill, 2001); Gauvin Alexander Bailey, “Art et architecture des Jésuites em Extrême-Orient, 1542-1773,” in *L’Art des Jésuites*, ed. Giovanni Sale (Paris: Éditions Mengès, 2003), 277-296; Pedro Dias, *Extremo Oriente*, Col. *Arte de Portugal no Mundo*, vol. 13 (Lisbon: Público, 2009); Teresa Freitas Morna, ed., *Arte Oriental nas Coleções do Museu de São Roque* (Lisbon: Museu de São Roque, Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa, 2010); Cristina Osswald, “A percepção dos jesuítas no mundo português: entre o trato de e o gosto por *orientalia* (sécs. XVI-XVII),” *HIPO-GRIFO* 1, Volumen extraordinario (2018): 245-64, among other authors.

<sup>66</sup> AHTC, *Junta da Inconfidência*, mç. 25, no. 96; publ. by Luiz de Bivar Guerra, org., *Documentos para a História da Arte em Portugal*, ed. Raúl Lino and Luís Silveira, vol. 5 (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1969), 3, 8, 12.

<sup>67</sup> AHTC, *Junta da Inconfidência*, mç. 33, no. 127; publ. by Luiz de Bivar Guerra, org., *Documentos para a História da Arte em Portugal*, ed. Raúl Lino and Luís Silveira, vol. 12, (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1972), 14.

<sup>68</sup> AHTC, *Junta da Inconfidência*, mç. 33, no. 133; publ. by Guerra, *Documentos para a História da Arte em Portugal*, vol. 12, 45-46.

shown by his correspondence exchanged. We find him, for example, involved in the transaction of books. In a letter of 1730, sent from Tonkin, Father Francisco de Chaves questions him in this manner: "I do not know whether it will be easy to buy some Theological books, etc. of Europe there in Guangzhou. If these ships do sell them, I would like to know."<sup>69</sup> Although no adequate response to this question has been found, the following missives show that it is a common practice to acquire European books, namely Portuguese ones, in Guangzhou.<sup>70</sup> We can refer to the case of a list of orders, dated from 1734, in which Chaves requests of Cordes the acquisition of "some Philosophical course, or Theologic, or books about humanities or some prosody," because he already possesses "Virgilio, Horasio, Selecta, Curcio, Viridario de Mendonça." He still remarks that the remaining money should be spent in "the philosopher, or tragic, Seneca, once Suetoni[o] was commented or heard; but whole, and not an excerpt that appears in the Selecta; or a copy of Valerio Máximo should be bought, as well as the works of Camões."<sup>71</sup> Also, a letter from Chaves to Cordes, of July of the same year, alludes to the acquisition, apparently in Guangzhou, of "a Theology by Plateli, a set of *Lacroix*, a *Curvo*, and a beacon of glass."<sup>72</sup>

In addition to European books, Chinese books are also purchased. Going back to the letters from Chaves to Cordes, in 1731, the former explains that among the "Chinese books that came to me from there [Guangzhou] I only found two about geography, which I was content with, because the rest are not lacking here. The Tunkins call these two books *Khôn Det*, and because they also deal with several meteors etc clearly, the Tunkins like to read them. I would have sent silver if I had known that Ethics could be bought in Chinese, because I have listened to praises to this work, and more Chinese books of Mathematics, Filosofy, and Theology, and the more I would have sent it to buy notable Moralists, and still speculative Theology, and Philosophies, if these European ships did sell them."<sup>73</sup>

Also, the textiles stand out in the correspondence under analysis. In a missive of 1732, once again addressed by Francisco de Chaves to Cordes, he declares: "Several things I wanted from Guangzhou." Among these various things that the Tonkin missionary intended were pieces of red silk. According to him, at the time Father André Nogueira had made purchases, he had acquired in Guangzhou a "piece of red silk painted with several flowers (...) for three taeis." He explained that "this and much more is the cost of any mediocre painted calico of India."<sup>74</sup> Two years later, we once again hear of the desire to obtain "some white or red pieces of fabric for frontal ornament and chasuble," this time to equip one of the churches of the Tonquinese

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<sup>69</sup> BA, *Jesuítas na Ásia*, 49-VI-5, fol. 2v.

<sup>70</sup> Noël Golvers, *Portuguese books and their readers in the Jesuit Mission of China (17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries)* (Lisbon: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, IP, 2011).

<sup>71</sup> BA, *Jesuítas na Ásia*, 49-VI-5, fol. 23.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 23v-25v.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 7.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 13v.

mission.<sup>75</sup> It should also be pointed out that the letters and accounts addressed in 1734 and 1735 by Francisco de Cordes to Simão Esteves provide us with an interesting set of information on numerous liturgical vestments such as dalmatics, pluvials, humeral veils and corporals, the specifications of which went from Europe to China.<sup>76</sup> Moreover, it should be noted that among the packages transported, in 1745, in the ship São Pedro and São Paulo was a large box destined to Father Cordes, the contents of which included two bedspreads with gold sewing, one being for the priest himself and another to offer to the Countess of Povolive.<sup>77</sup>

In the correspondence addressed to Cordes, there are also indications on the purchase of painted wallpapers.<sup>78</sup> In 1732, it is once again Chaves who says: “I once bought here some golden Chinese papers; they were 8 and each one cost almost a *cruzado*, they were already covered with glued paper so they would last: the field was speckled with gold, and 4 papers made a tree full of flowers, with specious birds and several beasts in the roots. Each one would be as tall as a man. These were lost in the pursuit and, when exposed in the church, drew everyone’s attention. If there are some with a good perspective, I would also want you to buy them.”<sup>79</sup> Two years later, the same missionary added, “I will appreciate if you will send for some eight pieces of paper from China with good flowers, and well-lined ones to equip the Church.”<sup>80</sup> We thus see the ordering process being carried out within the Japanese province itself, with the products circulating between Guangzhou / Macau and the missions of Southeast Asia.

Among the items bought in Guangzhou, those associated with the consumption of tea, are also worthy of note. In a letter that Cordes sends to Lisbon, dated January 1734, there are multiple references to such objects. In fact, the letter itself was accompanied by “three dozen teacups with their saucers: each dozen is distinctive of the others: two teapots and a small crockery pan to boil tea.”<sup>81</sup> Similarly, with the missive that Father Francisco Alberto sent to Cordes in January 1745, there followed five chests, containing boxes painted with flowers from Nanjing, bowls, rattan teacups with silver elements, painted trays, turtle shell boxes and teapots with the motto “Sam Hoã.”<sup>82</sup> While these crates were private requests by members of the Society, they also expressed the taste of the procurator. And if one of the sets was addressed

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<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 23.

<sup>76</sup> ANTT, *Cartório Jesuítico*, cx. 16, mç. 67, no. 81, 84, 85, 86, 87; ref. by Martins, “A Arquitectura dos Primeiros Colégios Jesuítas de Portugal,” vol. 1, 481-2, n227 and partially publ. by Ferreira, *As Alfaías Bordadas Sinoportuguesas*, 259-63.

<sup>77</sup> BA, *Jesuítas na Ásia*, 49-V-29, fol. 119. Ref. by Alexandra Curvelo, “A Arte,” in *História dos Portugueses no Extremo Oriente*, ed. A. H. de Oliveira Marques, vol. 2 (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 1998), 433-5.

<sup>78</sup> Unlike other art objects, the use of such wallpapers in Catholic missions in Asia is unknown.

<sup>79</sup> BA, *Jesuítas na Ásia*, 49-VI-5, fol. 14v.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 24.

<sup>81</sup> ANTT, *Cartório Jesuítico*, mç. 67, doc. no. 85; ref. by Martins, “A Arquitectura dos Primeiros Colégios Jesuítas de Portugal,” vol. 1, 481-2, n227 and partially publ. by Ferreira, *As Alfaías Bordadas Sinoportuguesas*, 259-63.

<sup>82</sup> BA, *Jesuítas na Ásia*, 49-V-29, fol. 119; ref. by Alexandra Curvelo, “A Arte,” 433-5.

to Father Giovanni Carbone (1695-1750),<sup>83</sup> there was a box specifically designed for Father Manuel de Campos, both men residing in an unknown location. In the same shipment, there was also a container for Manuel de Sande and Vasconcelos, with gifts of Father Paulo Amaro, sent by the appointed Procurator Francisco Alberto. There were also items sent by Brother João Álvares<sup>84</sup> to Brother Gabriel Dias, by Father José Anselmo to Father Marcelo Leitão; by Father Dionisio Ferreira to Father José de Oliveira and by Brother Manuel Gonçalves to Father Francisco Fontes, among others, without specifying their residences.<sup>85</sup>

Later, the roster of goods apprehended at the hospice of São Francisco de Borja of Lisbon, in the Cotovia, where the various Procurators of the overseas missions were provisionally lodged, and where Father Cordes naturally resided after his return to Portugal, highlights, in the inventory of February 5, 1759, the existence of boxes painted in black and gold in the lacquer [*charão*] technique.<sup>86</sup> In one of them are recorded some sticks of Nanjing ink, blue, white and gold crockery, tortoise shell boxes and “black painting for Architecture” [i.e. China ink]. In the sacristy's inventory, there is a silk altar frontal, embroidered in China, and a white silk chasuble with red, gold-embroidered orphreys of the same provenance.<sup>87</sup> Finally, in the inventory of the Alagoa estate in Carcavelos,<sup>88</sup> run by Francisco Cordes in the quality of General Procurator of Japan, there is also an altar frontal of white silk embroidered in China.<sup>89</sup> These objects, some with merely utilitarian functions (like boxes, cups, trays) and others of liturgical use (like host boxes, chasubles, dalmatics), testify to the constant presence of East Asian objects in the various houses of the Society in Portugal.

His experience in the management of artistic assets dates back to the time when he was in charge of the colossal heritage set left by the Admiral of Castile. As for Father José Rosado, his previous contacts with the artistic world on the occasion of his assignment as executor of the testament of D. João Tomás Henriques de Cabrera,<sup>90</sup> Admiral of Castile, who attempted to establish a college for the formation

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<sup>83</sup> About Father Carbone, see Luís Artur Marques Tirapicos, “Ciência e diplomacia na corte de D. João V: a acção de João Baptista Carbone, 1722-1750,” (PhD Diss., Faculty of Sciences of the University of Lisbon, 2017).

<sup>84</sup> He was Procurator of the province of Japan in Macau at the end of the 1730s. In the middle of the following decade, he devoted himself to moving the archive of the college of São Paulo (Macau); cf. Vale, *Entre a Cruz e o Dragão*, 548.

<sup>85</sup> BA, *Jesuítas na Ásia*, 49-V-29, fol. 119; ref. by Alexandra Curvelo, “A Arte,” 433-5.

<sup>86</sup> Decorative technique that covers small pieces of containment, trays, etc., with lacquer and painted ornaments.

<sup>87</sup> AHTC, *Junta da Inconfidência*, mç. 21, no. 83; publ. by Luiz de Bivar Guerra, org., *Documentos para a História da Arte em Portugal*, ed. Raúl Lino and Luís Silveira, vol. 4 (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1969), 45-47.

<sup>88</sup> Regarding this farm, see: Dauril Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 383.

<sup>89</sup> AHTC, *Junta da Inconfidência*, mç. 21, no. 83; publ. by Guerra, *Documentos para a História da Arte em Portugal*, vol. 4, 75.

<sup>90</sup> Regarding the Admiral and his patrimony see, among others, Cesáreo Fernández Duro, *El último Almirante de Castilla Don Juan Tomás Enríquez de Cabrera, Duque de Medina de Rioseco, Conde de Mógica, Osona, Cabrera y Melgar, Señor de las villas de Castroverde, Aguilar, Rueda y Mansilla*, etc.

of missionaries in Lisbon, should be emphasized.<sup>91</sup> Some years later, in 1759, already acting as General Procurator of the vice-province of China, once again Rosado had in his possession a significant set of artistic goods to be sent to the churches in the Qing empire, which reinforces his connections with the world of the arts.

Despite the prevailing documentary scarcity, we came across interesting information about a crate, with unspecified fabrics from India, which Rosado had in his custody in 1756. Destined for Pedro da Mota e Silva, a frequent buyer of objects of Macau, the crate was retained, due to his debts to the Society.<sup>92</sup> It should be noted that the retention of the crate suggests the supervisory action of José Rosado.

Furthermore, some data revealed in the inventory made of the cubiculum of Rosado, dated February 5, 1759, once again refer us to his familiarity and taste for Asian objects, although most of the mentioned goods are those of the Admiral of Castile, which were housed in this compartment. These included a silver and glass coffer containing the Admiral's heart, a silver watch, two seals, a wooden box (with an image of the Lord crucified in silver, with a cross and ebony Calvary, where there were also silver images of Our Lady, St. John and Our Lady of Mercy) and a Roman-style cross, of gold with fifty-six diamonds.<sup>93</sup> The existence, in the cubicle, of furniture painted in red, certainly indicative of the taste for the exotic that prevailed; of a glass jar with tea and teapots of enamelled copper;<sup>94</sup> together with a treasure of "fragments of Chinese dishware," that Judge Manuel Inácio de Moura found behind a false wall,<sup>95</sup> announce the public craving for these goods. Besides, it consolidates the idea that

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(Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico de la Viuda e Hijos de Tello, 1902); Gastão de Melo de Matos, "O último almirante de Castela em Portugal: 1702-1705," offprint of *Trabalhos da Associação dos Arquipélagos Portugueses*, vol. 2 (Lisbon: Tip. de João Pinto, 1937); Angela Delaforce, "From Madrid to Lisbon and Vienna: The Journey of the Celebrated Paintings of Juan Tomás Enríquez De Cabrera, Almirante de Castilla," *The Burlington Magazine* 149, no. 1249, Collecting in Spain (Apr., 2007): 246-55; and Cristina Agüero Carnerero, "El ocaso de los Enríquez de Cabrera. La confiscación de sus propiedades en la Corte y la supresión del almirantazgo de Castilla," *Tiempos Modernos* 33 (2016): 132-53, accessed December 20, 2017, <http://www.tiemposmodernos.org/tm3/index.php/tm/article/view/781/664>.

<sup>91</sup> It is never too much to briefly recall the history of what the Admiraltine College never came to be. Having established the priests Carlo Antonio Casnedi (1643-1725) and Alvaro Cienfuegos (1657-1739) as his most immediate executors, D. João Tomás de Cabrera also expressed the will that his testament should be managed by Provincial Procurators and by the Provincial of the Society of Jesus. After a long and troubled history, which led to the dispersion of Cabrera's goods, José Rosado assumed the management of the remnant, acquiring, as mentioned previously, the estate of the Lobatas, in Amora, the estate of the Madre de Deus, in Seixal, and a parcel in the Cotovia, for the construction of the College of Missions. The latter, due to the earthquake of November 1, 1755, never got to be completed; cf. Gustavo de Matos Sequeira, *Depois do terramoto*, 337-52.

<sup>92</sup> AHTC, *Junta da Inconfidência*, mç. 266, fol. 8v.

<sup>93</sup> AHTC, *Junta da Inconfidência*, mç. 21, no. 83; publ. by Guerra, *Documentos para a História da Arte em Portugal*, vol. 4, 35, 39.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 54-55.

<sup>95</sup> Caeiro, *História da Expulsão da Companhia de Jesus*, 64-65.

Rosado would also have been an active participant in the movement of objects between Portugal and Asia, namely China.

In the estates and recreation houses of the Society, such as Madre de Deus, where Rosado had other cubicles, there were thirty-two large saucers, eleven cups and nineteen small saucers, which could be from India as well as from China, as well as five inkwells from India, and a tray with its set of *tábulas*, of uncertain origin.

Rosado's participation in the circulation of sumptuary goods, for different recipients who are not always identified, is still demonstrated by two large crates that were deposited in the warehouses located next to the church of São João Nepomuceno, in Lisbon. Innumerable other boxes were coming from the House of India, with objects from Asia. These seem to be addressed to the inhabitants of the Cotovia residence. One of those boxes, the eighth to be accounted for, was precisely for Rosado.

It contained four “boxes of tortoiseshell, four large round trays painted in the charão technique, with other five inside; two long boxes, four broken ones, plus two painted boxes, each one carrying two bone fans, and a desk of enamelled copper, in the shape of a butterfly, all for Father José Rosado.”<sup>96</sup> The ninth recorded large box had inside a smaller box, also sent in the Rosado's care. Its contents consisted of an octagonal box painted in black and gold, an enameled copper desk for Father Antonio Salgado, a teapot in enameled copper and another in lead, a box of turtle shell with another inside for tobacco, among other artifacts for Father Antonio Caeiro and Brother José Leite. It is also essential to highlight the stone works commissioned by Rosado in Portugal: a washbasin and two sinks for holy water, destined for one or more churches in China.<sup>97</sup> If there persists a lack of detailed knowledge of the architecture and decoration of the Society's churches in China, some data confirm that some of them would have been Westernized, even if they constituted exceptions for a long time. The two oldest and most paradigmatic cases will be the Madre de Deus church in Macau and the Saint Joseph or Dontang church in Beijing, among others. In the Madre de Deus were erected those considered to be the first white stone arches of East Asia.<sup>98</sup> The drawings of the interior of the second church, from the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Lisbon), dating from the 1729, from Ferdinando Bonaventura Moggi (1684-1761),<sup>99</sup> also show the use of European forms and models

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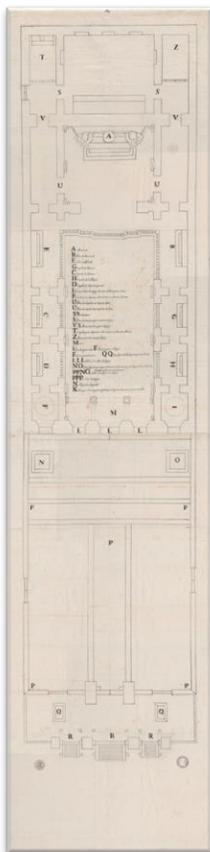
<sup>96</sup> AHTC, *Junta da Inconfidência*, mç. 21, no. 83; publ. by Guerra, *Documentos para a História da Arte em Portugal*, vol. 4, 68.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

<sup>98</sup> Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (AHU), Lisbon, Códice 1659, fol. 84; publ. by Alexandra Curvelo da Silva Campos, “Nuvens Douradas e Paisagens Habitadas, A Arte Namban e a sua Circulação entre a Ásia e a América: Japão, China e Nova-Espanha (c. 1550-c. 1700),” (PhD Diss., School of Social Sciences and Humanities of the Universidade NOVA de Lisboa, 2007), 356-7.

<sup>99</sup> AHU, *Cartografia Manuscrita*, 098/00758 e 00759; publ. by Dias, *Extremo Oriente*, 102-3, Pedro Luengo, “Arquitectura Jesuítca en Filipinas y China,” in AA.VV., *La arquitectura jesuítca: Actas del Simposio Internacional* (Zaragoza: Institución “Fernando El Católico” (C.S.I.C.); Diputación de Zaragoza, 2012), 523-40 and Elisabetta Corsi, “L'opera grafica di Ferdinando Bonaventura Moggi (1684-1761) e i

in the Chinese context that, while serving their common purpose according to the Catholic and European context, also helped to arouse the curiosity of the Chinese. These drawings, which had been dated to 1770, were made, according to a recent discovery by Elisabetta Corsi, for display to king João V.<sup>100</sup> It is therefore not surprising that Rosado acquired washbasins and sinks in Portugal to be sent to China, and there exposed and used.



Plant of a Church. [18<sup>th</sup> century]. © AHU/CARTM/098/00760.

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"Laboratori di arti applicate" Zaobanchu alla corte Qing," in AA.VV., *Ferdinando Moggi (1684-1761) architetto e gesuita fiorentino in Cina* (Firenze: Angelo Pontecorboli Editore, 2018), 63-85, among others. Less known is the plant of AHU, *Cartografia Manuscrita*, 098/00760.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

## FINAL REMARKS

Francisco de Cordes and José Rosado, both General Procurators of the missions of East Asia, were two Portuguese Jesuits whose biographies have been in no small extent unwritten. As Procurators, they were actively involved in the ordering and circulating artistic and liturgical objects between Portugal and the missions of East Asia and vice-versa. If Cordes operated in the field and was able to contact directly with local artists and artisans, Rosado had his intervention only at a distance. Among the products both men traded are textiles, porcelain, and painted wallpapers, as well as books (European and Chinese) and pieces of Portuguese stonework. This is shown, as we have seen, by their correspondence as well as the records of their possessions at the time of the Society's suppression. Finally, while not being part of a concerted plan of cultural and artistic exchange on the part of the Society of Jesus, these agents were an expression of the consumptions of their time, both in the Portuguese and in the Asian markets.